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Celina López González
General translation proofreader

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Silvia E. Álvarez Arana
Responsible Editor

Gabriel Velázquez Toledo
Executive Editors

Celina López González
General Translation Proofreader

Joshep Fabian Coronel Gómez
Web and Editorial Design

Diego Mendoza Vazquez
Web developer and technical editorial support

Lucía G. León Brandi
Founding Director (2012)

University Campus, Building D,
Ejido Emiliano Zapata Highway, Kilometer 8
Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas; Mexico. Zip Code 29000

E-mail: espacioimasd@unach.mx

www.espacioimasd.unach.mx

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EDITOR'S LETTER

Welcome to number 20, Volume VIII, of the Digital Magazine of the Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, *Espacio i+d. innovación más desarrollo*, which on this occasion presents a series of articles that have a common characteristic: high human sense.

From the University Martha Abreu of Cuba, we have the collaboration "Fables of sustainable agriculture for school with intellectual disability"; from the Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa we have the article "New interpretative ways to study the transnational migrant organizations. Case of Agua Verde, Sinaloa" and from the Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco "Comparison of two chemical agents' performance in the stabilization of a clay soil", ending with a collaboration of the Universidad Veracruzana entitled "Literary representation of mothers and whores in two stories by José Revueltas".

Articles from authors of the Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas in collaboration with other institutions are also integrated, such as the article "Bullying in young students: perceptions, conceptualization and experiences" in this case with collaborators from the Universidad de Guanajuato. To finish with the articles of the researchers from our institution, we can find "Communication and information technologies in reading habits of university students in Mexico", "Structural crisis: poverty and migration in Chiapas", and "Saint Bartholomew, the ray of Venustiano Carranza. Religious beliefs and agricultural ritual between the tojolabales of Buenavista Bawitz, Chiapas".

The multimedia reports on this occasion address the vision of the Institute of Legal Research, where the testimony of the Judge of the Inter-American Court Eugenio Raúl Zaffaroni is presented, as well as the work of an outstanding scholar of the pre-Hispanic cultures of the State of Chiapas, the historian and chronicler Fernán Pavia Farrera.

In this new number we also acquired a new innovation in our indexes, because we have added the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) a tool with which we seek the positioning of academic production in new spaces.

We hope that the content of this new issue will strengthen the academic work of teachers, researchers, students and the general public, for which we will continue to work hard, with the aim of seeing the effort of those who, from the academy, want to contribute to progress and the development of the world.

Enjoy this Space of Innovation!

"*Por la conciencia de la necesidad de servir*"
Universidad Autonoma de Chiapas

The editors

ARTICLES

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SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE FABLES FOR STUDENTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY

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Natacha Coca Bernal[1]
nlcoca@nauta.cu

Pablo Ángel Martínez Morales[2]
pmmorales@uclv.cu

Marieta Álvarez Insua[2]
mainsua@uclv.cu

1 Escuela Especial "Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán". Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba.

2 Universidad Central "Marta Abreu" de Las Villas, Cuba

To quote this article:

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— Abstract—

The present investigation facilitates elements on the creation and narration of fables for students with intellectual disability, it was applied in the school Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán located at the municipality of Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba. The objective to build as a result of a participatory-action-research, a Book of fables for the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture, for the students with intellectual disability. The social, psychological and pedagogic value was defined in the creation and narration of the fables; the moral dedicated to the conservation of the environment from the sustainable agriculture; the component game and the attention to the diversity. The methods used for the investigation were: analysis of documents, newspapers, informal groups of discussion, pedagogic tests and multiple-case study, applied during four years. The results that are obtained in the investigation evidence that the creation and narration of fables impacts favorably in the affected thought processes, in vocabulary, memory and spheres of the students' personality with intellectual disability and it forms the elementary notions of sustainable agriculture, as content of the Environmental Education.

Keywords

Fables; Sustainable agriculture; Environmental Education and students with intellectual disability.

There have been different denominations that have segregated and damaged people with intellectual disabilities among them: amnesia, mental weakness, mental deficiency, mental subnormality, oligophrenia, intellectual deficiency, mental defect, and mental retardation. These definitions have depended on the historical period and the development of the medical, psychological and pedagogical sciences.

People with intellectual disabilities need support, in such a way that they affect the different spheres of personality. Fables and literature in general is a means of teaching conducive to this end.

The most representative authors at the international level of the subject of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities are: Díaz, Noell, & Rovira, (2018); García-García & López-Torrijo, (2016); García-Romero, (2016); García *et al*., (2009); López, Echeita, & Martín, (2009); Novell, Rueda, & L, (2002); Pallisera, Fullana, & Puyaltó, (2017); Schalock & Verdugo, (2009), (2016); Verdugo, (2002), (2005).

The researcher agrees with what Schalock and Verdugo said because it considers the 5 spheres of personality development of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities:

> Intellectual disability is characterized by significant limitations in both intellectual functioning and adaptive behavior, which are expressed in conceptual, social and practical adaptation skills. The disability originates before the age of 18... its individual functioning results from the interaction of supports with the dimensions of Intellectual Skills, Adaptive Behavior, Participation, Interactions and Social Roles, Health and Context (Schalock & Verdugo, 2009).

Treatment of the contents related to Environmental Education for students with intellectual disabilities is governed by the objectives of the subjects included in the general curriculum; socio-educational activities, developed by the school, adjusted to the environment and the productive relationships that are carried out in it. Environmental Education is aimed at mastering the learning that allows schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities to function in natural and social environments, who can adapt to them without damaging it and do not receive the harmful effects of environments in return.

Within the environmental problem, which is diverse and extremely complex, the following themes are included: "climate change; disaster risk management; sustainable use of water resources; sustainable use of biological diversity; sustainable land management; fight against environmental pollution; safe handling of chemical products and hazardous waste; sustainable consumption and production; management of the coastal zone, law and citizen participation; protection of natural and cultural heritage; sustainable use of energy; environmental and ecological economy; watershed

management; environmental legislation; food security and social equity with lifestyles." (CITMA, 2017).

The present investigation focuses on the agrarian theme framed within the Environmental Education, for the importance that it has for the survival of the human species. In this sense, it is assumed as a definition of sustainable agriculture:

> Agriculture that seeks to reconcile the conservation of natural resources and the protection of the environment with the production of sufficient quantities of food to guarantee the well-being of present and future generations ... within sustainable practices is the management and use of land, techniques of cultivation to increase soil fertility, alternatives to fertilization, water use, integrated management of pests and crops (FAO, 2016).

The formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture is a socializing process through which schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities acquire new knowledge of the environment, it is the propitious vehicle to develop love of nature; the understanding of the importance of saving and efficient use of resources related to the agricultural process; instill in them the sense of belonging to their community and the search for solutions to their environmental problems, taking into account the benefits of sustainable agriculture, in this way contributing to prepare them for working life independently and therefore, for an adequate social inclusion.

The Special School "Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán" in the municipality of Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba; hosts, in the first cycle, students with intellectual disabilities, in ages ranging from 6 to 10 years of age, with an enrollment of 110 students.

As a result of visits to classes; sampling of official documents; participation in system meetings at the center; exchanges with teacher or non-teacher workers, specialists, families and the community; as well as interacting with students with intellectual disabilities and visits to job training workshops to which they are linked, it was possible to confirm the knowledge and behavior of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities regarding sustainable agriculture through the following facts:

- They do not perceive themselves as entities capable of transforming their environment and feeling part of it
- They cause damage to the plants consciously or unconsciously
- They do not know that agriculture is the sustenance of humanity
- They see it as hard work and not appropriate for them
- The agricultural work they perform is not sustainable
- They are influenced by the family to perform other jobs

- Use of renewable resources is insufficient, so that they do not degrade the environment
- The specialized literature on sustainable agriculture is written mostly by scientists for readers with a high IQ
- Teaching methods created by teachers do not reflect the agrarian theme
- Teachers do not carry out the inter-disciplinary agrarian theme with the prioritized subjects

The exposed situation, which is an expression of failures in the treatment of the contents of Environmental Education in the educational practice of the school, makes it possible to propose as a general objective to: build, as a result of a participatory action research, a Fables Book for the formation of elementary notions about sustainable agriculture, as a content of environmental education for students with intellectual disabilities.

METHODOLOGY

In the research, participatory-action-research techniques described in the research strategy of Kemmis were used, which is based on the "notion of a self-reflection spiral of cycles of planning, action, observation and reflection. Expresses a commitment to perfecting the practices and is collaborative." (1988)

The analysis of documents was applied to assess aspects of the content of the programs, methodological guidelines, curricular adaptations of Special Education, psycho-pedagogical records, lesson plans; as well as the existing bibliography of the subject of environmental education and sustainable agriculture necessary for the construction of the proposed Fables Book.

The researcher's diary was used to collect qualitative research data, tastes, motivations and interests. The construction process of the Fables Book was recorded in chronological order. As well as the progress of school children with intellectual disabilities, their imagination and creativity in the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture as content of environmental education.

Informal discussion groups allow the collection of qualitative data related to the construction of the Fables Book; methodologically train teachers in the narration of fables; link them affectively with the objectives, missions and actions proposed taking into account their experience in teaching, to then determine the weaknesses, strengths of the Fables Book and give suggestions.

A pedagogical test was applied to verify the dominance that first grade schoolchildren with intellectual disability possess, in terms of the essential features of the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture.

They were applied in each of the proposed agrarian subsystems. They were recorded on video with a hyperlink to the researcher's diary. The pedagogical tests registered the imagination and the creativity of the students with intellectual disability in the formation of each elementary notion with the use of puzzles, word search, order of sheets, and excluded term.

The multiple case study allowed to evaluate the internal expression of the scholar, from a totality of factors, both in time and space, with the participation of the different educational agents who carried it out. It was applied during 4 years, 2014-2018, and the Fables Book was also validated for the training of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture.

DEVELOPMENT

Setting description

The place of research is the school "Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán", where students with intellectual disabilities between the ages of 6 and 17 attend, located in the municipality of Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba; and it can be found in the 2nd North street between the 2nd and 3rd East. The school is a house of the neocolonial period with large rooms and windows; it has an interior patio of 75 m2 suitable for the activities of the garden and the creation of the Fables Book.

First-cycle students with intellectual disabilities are between the ages of 6 and 12, 98% live in the urban area and do not have previous knowledge of agriculture. Of a population of 29 schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities, they have conditions that aggravate the diagnosis; 1 psychiatric disorder representing 5%, epilepsy 3 (15%); 2 cardiac patients (10%). On the oral level, 5 with language delay (25%). On the affective level 1 behavioral disorder, (5%). In the family environment the great majority of households are dysfunctional: 7 inmate parents, (35%); 2 alcoholics, (10%); 10 without any employment, (50%).

There are 18 teachers who cater for first grade students with intellectual disabilities, classified as: teachers (5), specialists (6) and pedagogical assistants (7), only 10% are graduates with a Special Education Degree. The specialists are: Speech therapist, Psychopedagogue, Professor of Physical Education, Professor of computer science, Librarian and Nurse.

The author assumes the phases and stages declared by Rodríguez Gil (et al: 1996): preparatory, field work, analytical, and informative because they are the most propitious to approach the study of the object, given its nature; the characteristics and particularities of the subjects that have served to develop the research for the conformation of the main results; the background in studies of this type and the possibilities of the empirical methods used.

PREPARATORY PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

Data gathering

A pedagogical test was designed in correspondence with each of the grades. The way of applying, stimulated the logical processes of thought with: games, puzzles and word search that were part of the test.

Diagnosis: allowed to determine the potentialities and needs in school children with intellectual disabilities as the following:

Potentialities

- The motivational affective sphere of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities
- The motivation of school children with intellectual disabilities due to the use of teaching aids
- Willingness of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities
- Imagination and creativity of school children with intellectual disabilities in these ages

Needs:

- Failure in the identification of the parts of the plant
- Failure in the characterization, utility and function of plant structures
- School children with intellectual disabilities do not identify agricultural work or its importance

Design stage

In this stage, the needs and units of analysis emanating from the pedagogical practice were consulted in the existing bibliography for its possible solution and construction of the Fables Book for the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture. The theme of fables in students with intellectual disabilities has been insufficiently addressed.

Through the fable the laws of psychic development are reflected (Vigotsky, L. S .: 1972). According to the fundamental law of development to each period of the individual corresponds a particular form of social relations and in turn to each period corresponds a particular creation and narration of the fable, different, that meets their needs tastes and interests. These demands of the activity must be manifested in the fable or it would cease to be striking.

The creation and narration of the fables in the activities allows the teacher to appropriate the scholar with intellectual disability from social experiences. The fable as a teaching medium facilitates the motivation of external stimuli that are given to the scholar. The social experiences provided by this way facilitate the psychic development of school children and positively influence the development of their personality. "The child, during his growth... goes through a phase in which the fables serve him mostly as symbols. It is the phase in which the symbolic functions of language and play are instituted to become components of the personality" (Rodari, 2010).

The fable is a social mediator, in turn is an instrument, a teaching medium, with a psychological and semiotic load created by man with the aim of transmitting historical-social experiences to those around them. The teaching-learning process allows the development of personality. The use of the fable with simple dramatizations makes it possible to create positive experiences in schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities, to reveal meanings through the elementary notions of sustainable agriculture. Access to manifest moods and emphasize positive experiences. "The fable has as its purpose the clear and alive knowledge of a moral rule... it provokes experiences that are characteristic of the tragedy... a sensitivity is organized and directed to understand the words" (Vigotsky, L. S., 2008).

Different authors make reference to the importance of art and specifically of literature for the teaching-learning process such as Blanco & González, (2015); Craft, (2013); Dopico, García-Vázquez, Alonso, & Vázquez, (2015); Montañés, (2001); Salas, Dario, & Fernández, (2007).

The use of the fable, enhances the development of creative skills before different trades, based on the aesthetic and artistic taste of schoolchildren. "It is a didactic resource for training, in order that they include it in their classes and thus favor a learning of science from an innovative point of view" (Blanco & González, 2015).

The formation of elementary notions in the teaching-learning process promotes social inclusion, the rules of social coexistence, job training and responsible behavior towards natural resources.

The researcher joins Álvarez in that the goal of the teaching-learning process is "to prepare man for life. That is to say, the society proposes to the school, as a function, the formation of a graduate who meets certain qualities that allow him to face a set of situations, which are modified by the action of the same graduate, relying on the sciences or branches of the knowledge that he has dominated in this process" (Álvarez, 1999).

The teaching-learning process of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities has the social mandate to prepare them for life, to equip them with the knowledge, skills, principles, values and qualities that enable them to take care of themselves, when they reach independent adult life. They

are offered in the teaching-learning process the supports, resources, multidisciplinary interventions, the possibility of correcting and compensating their needs, influencing their potential so that they have a profitable life.

The formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture is achieved with the mastery of teachers of the diagnosis of school children with intellectual disabilities, their tastes, motivations and interests; without expecting homogeneous answers with a culture of equal opportunities for all. By understanding that each teaching-learning process is unique and that each situation requires the integration of different human groups. Giving to those who need it, to maximize their resources, autonomy, independence and creativity.

Students with intellectual disabilities show different degrees of commitment in the intellectual and emotional volitional sphere, which requires comprehensive educational attention. Strategies are drawn up that make the most of educational potentials, which allow them to face with greater success the social and personal demands that are presented to them throughout their lives.

The researcher joins the author (Guerra *et al* .: 2010) since the peculiarity that could be highlighted in the teaching-learning process of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities would be the use and creation of different teaching methods, the diversification of the different forms of organization of the class so that they satisfy the same objective thought in the diversity of the classroom; as well as how to evaluate is determined by the characteristics of each student so that they enhance their creativity and compensate their needs.

> The educational process in schoolchildren diagnosed with mental retardation occurs under the same laws and principles that are evident with other students, although they acquire certain peculiarities, which is expressed in the classification of the content of teaching, the selection of methods that contribute to the development of the school, the variety of activities and the specificity of certain teaching media, incorporating at all times the corrective-compensatory and developer dimension, which is essential to evaluate the quality of educational work, constituting a condition and result of the work in the special school (S. Guerra *et al*, 2010)

Fables are a means of teaching conducive to the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture; they can be used as long as the program and the instructional objective allow it, with which, in addition, attention to diversity is facilitated.

There are four aspects that identify the fables as a literary construction: brevity with an abrupt ending; characters represented mostly by animals with a marked psychological nuance; it contains a moral. The fourth aspect

of the fable is the narration, this literary work comes alive when it is narrated. "The fable contains a germ of lyric, epic and drama ... the characters of the fables are the same prototypes of the epic and dramatic characters, the unusual choice of characters, are preferably treated animals, sometimes introducing inanimate objects and very rarely people; this is done to elicit surprise" (Vygotsky, LS, 2008).

FABLES CHARACTERS FOR THE FORMATION OF ELEMENTARY NOTIONS OF SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE IN SCHOOLCHILDREN WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES

Forage intake, kg

The selection of the characters of the fables has an important weight in its creation, they were detected by the different methods and research techniques; the needs, tastes, motivations and interests of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities regarding the subject of sustainable agriculture to build the characters.

The fables are located in imaginary territories located in the Sierra Maestra, Nipe-Sagua-Baracoa, La Ciénaga de Zapata and Viñales. Because these areas have a high percentage of endemism in flora and fauna, "40 and 60% of insects, 90% in molluscs, 36% in freshwater fish, 78% of reptiles, 6% in birds and 13% of mammals." (González, AR 2008).

The characters of the fables are the following:

The cork tree (*Microcycas calocoma*); the royal palm (*Roystonea regia O. F. Cook*); the cedar of Cuba, (*Cedrela odorata L*); Mahogany from Cuba (*Swietnia mahogani (L.) Jacq*); the pine of Cuba (*Pinus cubensis Griseb*).

The scorpion (*Heteronebo bermudezi bermudezi*); the spider (*Barronopsis arturoi*); the ladybugs or parrots (*Coleomegilla cubensis*) and the bee (*apis mellifera*) that is not endemic.

The pearl crocodile (*Crocodylus rhombifer*); the lizard (*Anolis quadriocellifer*); the iguana (*Cyclura nubila*); the bayoya (*Leiocephalus stictigaster*); the ant (*Leptothorax barroi*); elmajá bobo (*Tropidophis melanurus*).

The parrot (*Amazona leucocephala*); the zunzuncito (*Mellisuga elenae*); the tocororo (*Trogon temnurus*); the carpenter bird (*Colaptes fernandinae*); the negrito (*Melopyrrha nigra*); the goatherd (*Spindalis zena*); the chillin (*Teretistris fernandinae*); the bijiritas (*dendroica*); the partridge pigeon (*Starnoenas cyanocephala*); catey (*Aratinga euops*); the long-tailed hawk (*Accipiter gundlachi*); the crane (*Grus canadensis*); Sijú platanero (*Glaucidium siju*) and cartacuba (*Todus multicolor*).

The jutía conga (*Capromys pilorides*); the jutía carabalí (*Mysateles prehensilis*); the almiquí, (*Solenodon cubanus*); the fishing bat (*Noctilio*

leporinus); the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Invasive and domestic animal cat and rabbit.

The frog (*Eleutherodactylus limbatus*); the hawksbill (*Eretmochelys imbricata*); the grouper (*Epinephelus sp*); the snapper (*Lutjanus sp*); the fragile star (*Ophiocoma echinata*); the striped sharks (*Chondrichthyes*).

The contents of the Fables Book were determined according to the structure, function and habitat of the plants; the teachers detected the greatest deficiencies in the orchard activity; in this way, conceived as autochthonous and endemic animal characters, many of them in danger of extinction, narrated the complex contents of the necessary sustainable agriculture. The notebook was constructed in such a way that in its first part a content is dedicated to the orientation of the teacher to impart the elementary notions of sustainable agriculture in the subjects of Spanish, Mathematics, Labor Education, Library, World in which we live, Physical Education, Logopedia, Psychopedagogy, Recreation activities, Morning and the garden; the fables were grouped as follows:

First subsystem, Fruits: it was applied from September 8th to October 30th 2014, it was contemplated in this period of time because it is the picking peak of fruit trees and crops are interlaced like: guava, mango, pineapple, avocado, coffee, cocoa and some citrus fruits. It began with a population of 29 schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities. This subsystem has objectives degraded by degrees:

- Identify structure and function of the fruits in Cuba
- Characterize the most representative fruits: coffee, guava, mango and cocoa
- Demonstrate the function of fruits in the protection of the seed
- Identify the seeds in the banana and pineapple
- Act with discipline, order, demand and efficiency in agricultural tasks
- Observe carefully the environment and identify possible damage to the environment
- Characterize the importance of irrigation, so as not to make excessive use of the water resource
- Demonstrate, through mimicry, agricultural work

The elementary notion of fruits: The plant has fruits to protect the seed and then a new plant is born; man takes advantage of the fruit as food; it has sugar, they are tasty and healthy. The fruit trees need an irrigation and suitable fertilizer that is determined by the color. The dark and malodorous fruits are sick and only the plant doctor puts the medicine.

The fables of this subsystem that allowed the formation of this elementary notion are: "La jutía María", "Emilio y sus guayabas", "La Mazorca ronca" and "El Carey Catey". The moral is the structure of the fruit and its usefulness for the plant and man, as well as an efficient use of irrigation in sustainable agriculture.

Second subsystem, Flowers: applied from November 3rd to December 22nd, 2014 was designed in this stage because the beekeeping harvest begins, it had as objectives:

- Identify the flowers
- Exemplifying the importance of pollination in the reproduction of plants
- Identify the soil as an important resource for agriculture and people's lives
- Identify and elaborate organic fertilizers
- Show full dedication to the study, work and social activity that takes place

The elementary notion of the flowers subsystem to be treated is: Plants have flowers to later have a fruit and for that they need a bee. The parts of the flower are: petals and pollen, the bee comes to the pollen and takes it to the hive to make honey. The man who cares for bees is called a beekeeper. The food of the plants is called manure. The way to obtain sustainable fertilizer is by compost and vermiculture. If you do not take care of the soil it leaves, it drains away.

The fables of this subsystem are: "La abejita Natacha", "La lagartija Canija", "La conejita Sofía" and "Nancy la gatica arañona". The moral included the arduous process of pollination, the care of the environment in the conservation of the beekeeping process, the protection of the soil and a sustainable agricultural tillage, were designed according to the needs of the teachers and the agrarian and environmental objective.

Third subsystem, Leaves: from January 5th to February 27th, 2015, was applied on this date because it is the peak of the vegetables, this subsystem had the following objectives:

- Identify and characterize the leaf as a source of energy for the plant
- Exemplify the importance of the process of photosynthesis for the plant and for man as the planet's lungs
- Describe biological control techniques and their importance to the planet
- Water in an efficient and ecological way
- Know, respect and enforce phytosanitary regulations in the garden

- Take care of your own health and that of other people in the agricultural and family environment

The elementary notion of the leaves subsystem is: Plants have green leaves to make photosynthesis. The plants take the water with the fertilizer by the roots they raise it by the stem, they take it to the leaves where they create sugar, like a candy factory that is called photosynthesis. The leaves have stomata where they breathe, mime. The distance of planting of the vegetables is a rule of 30 cm. Pests are harmful animals and there is the nurse of the butterflies that attacks them. You have to take care of the soil.

The fables of this subsystem that allowed the formation of the elementary notion of leaves are: "Podunio Podador Podano", "El Cocuyito Tito medio cojo y cansadito", "La babosa Yasmany comelona y mentirosa" and "La hormiga trabajadora". The morals of the stories are aimed at the students' understanding of the complex process of photosynthesis, the impact of water on the ground and sunlight in this process. The tillage of pruning in different crops, plant health as an indispensable means in sustainable agriculture.

Fourth subsystem, Stem: applied from March 2nd to April 24th, 2015 was designed at this stage due to the milling peak at the sugar mills and the full cycle of the nursery can be observed; This subsystem had as objectives and its degradation by degrees:

- Identify and characterize the stem in the circulation of the plant
- Describe the cultivation of the cane in a simple way
- Describe the afforestation and the use of wood for man
- Exemplifying the importance of forests for soil protection
- Describe the danger of a forest fire and ways to avoid it

The elementary notion of stems content is: Plants have a stem to sustain themselves. The water goes up the stem with the fertilizer that comes from the root and is called xylem; the photosynthesis is made, it goes down the stem and it is called phloem. Identify the cultivation of cane and the process of the plant. The planting distance of the cane and the cedar. The cane is milled in the center to obtain sugar. When planting is important the nursery, the forester and the fireman.

The fables of this stem subsystem that allowed the formation of the elementary notion are: "El Carey bondadoso”, " El fuego malvado ", " El bosque mágico de Tararí ", "La historia de la casa fría", "La lagartija Canija" and "La Bijirita Rita que se quedó sin comida ni casita". These fables had as their main axis the importance of the forest as the planet’s lungs, the reforestation and the interpretation at an elementary level of the complex process of the cane cultivation.

Fifth subsystem, Roots: from May 5th to June 13th, 2015. It was designed at this stage because these crops need 6 to 8 months to be optimal. They are planted in September and are ready on this date, this subsystem had as objectives by degrees:

- Identify the roots in the plant
- Describe sustainable agriculture
- Determine the root as support and way of feeding the plant
- Identify the root as a warehouse of the plants studied
- Characterize the root as a healthy food for men
- Identify the Research Institute of Tropical Viandas as a center of international level

The elementary notion of the root content is: The plants have roots to be fixed to the earth and absorb the nutrients and water with the fertilizer. The plants take the water with the fertilizer by the roots they raise it by the xylem, they take it to the leaves where they do the photosynthesis, they lower the sugar or starch by the phloem; they store it in these crops at the root. The most representative crops are: yucca, malanga, yam; sweet potato, garlic, onion, beet, sago; with their respective planting distances. The objective of the planting distance. The importance of having varieties of root vegetables; different moms and dads; the laboratory to obtain those children of the viands. The importance of climate and irrigation in crops.

The fables of this subsystem are: "La tetuán comelona y enamorada", " El gato haragán que aró en busca de un tesoro ", "La rana diferente", "El caracol ronco Proronco", "La caguama cara de crimen", "The loggerhead face of crime" and "El que no rota no tiene". The guiding thread of these fables was the elementary notion of sustainable agriculture on roots; the importance of the root for the plant; the utility and long tradition of food in the country; the importance of having different moms and dads for crops; the biotechnology of plants; industriousness in the field; the rotation of crops; its importance for plant health and plant performance.

NARRATION OF THE FABLES FOR THE FORMATION OF ELEMENTARY NOTIONS OF SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE IN STUDENTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES

Students with intellectual disabilities present a scattered attention and difficulties to concentrate it for a long time, it is important the reiteration of the fable. Memory is indispensable in the narration, has a tendency to be a mechanical memory which undermines the quality of understanding of the characters. They find it complex to arrive at judgments and conclusions

by themselves, they need help to interpret the moral. The processes of thought, analysis, synthesis, comparison and generalization are affected by what the narrative requires to adapt to their learning style. The language so important in the narration of the fables is affected, most of them present a delayed appropriation of the language as well as slowness in its development. Schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities have limitations in the comprehension of the foreign language, poverty of their active and passive vocabulary and a reduced number of grammatical constructions. The teacher has to be cautious in the narration of the fables and to emphasize mime.

The narrative process is in the very genesis of the creation of the fables, the characterization of the characters, their differentiation into positive and negative and the imaginary environment promotes a histrionic display of school children with intellectual disabilities. For their representations the suitable locations were searched, in evening hours, with a suitable psychological climate.

An indispensable moment in the narration of each fable is to make a model reading so that students with intellectual disabilities understand the context. The characters are subdivided in a subtle way, with onomatopoeic sounds, high and low voices; Acting gestures are displayed by the teacher, emphasizing drama, such as the movement of wings or exaggerated twists of the torso, to achieve a favorable climate that leads to the understanding of the moral.

In the narration of fables puppets, objects of nature, drawings created by the own students with intellectual disabilities can be used; photos of the animals to be interpreted, videos, computer animations and songs; all of which allows them to become protagonists of the work, more than just listeners.

It is important in the development of the personality of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities to narrate the fables in a playful way, since the game itself has a psychological and pedagogical function.

The fable through the game mobilizes the scholar with special educational needs with intellectual disability towards new group models, which is important for attention to diversity; it allows you to share with enthusiasm; facilitates social relations and exchange, while providing satisfaction. The game has "a determining factor in the operative development; the maturation of the nervous system is limited to opening excluded possibilities up to certain age levels "(Piaget, 1964).

INFORMATIVE PHASE

In the process of construction of the Fables Book on sustainable agriculture for schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities as content of Environmental Education, applied in the municipality of Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba; in the

school "Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán": in four cycles from 2014 to 2018, the research was able to verify through the multiple case study the following aspects emanating from the practice:

- Developed attention in each of the subjects and activities where it was applied, with emphasis on the Spanish Language in each of the grades
- It affected the memory with the creation and narration of the fables, where they interpreted characters that described in a simple way the complex agrarian and environmental phenomena proposed by the investigation
- The thought was developed with the use of role plays and dramatizations in a playful way during passive games and under the supervision of the teacher
- The senso-perceptions were favored with a stimulus of new sensations for them. It stimulated their perception of the environment and its care
- Motricity was developed with the use of artistic expressions, as well as the use of objects and materials of nature
- The fables allowed linking the school with the community where it is located, from the creation and narration the family of the students gets involved stimulating them, according to the potential of their children. Then in the theatrical performances the neighbors of the community participate in them stimulating in turn the social inclusion of schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities.
- The use of fables had an impact on job training and the possibility of a decent job, with an elementary knowledge of offers of science and technology in terms of agricultural biotechnology used in their locality.
- The use of fables in the teaching-learning process allowed the recognition of the local agricultural sector, by schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities, motivating them as future farmers committed to the environment.
- The creation of their own stories stimulated the imagination, helped to discard consumerism and commercialism in school children with intellectual disabilities, the formation of a human being as creator of well-being and pleasure.
- The fable stimulated senso-perceptions and especially the ability to observe
- It stimulated the taste and motivation of the *beautiful*
- It caused sympathy to the environment and responsible behavior
- It favored self-evaluation, at the elementary level, as an indicator of ethics and morals

- It allowed spaces to dilute the stress that the teaching-learning process can provide in teachers and schoolchildren

CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical foundation of this work favored the analysis of the background and theoretical research on environmental education, it was appreciated how its treatment of environmental education in school children with intellectual disabilities still crosses limitations and challenges, not resolved at present, it was identified that fables are the means of teaching conducive to the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture, from the contents of Environmental Education, in schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities.

The specialized bibliography of sustainable agriculture in its great majority has a high scientific level, is difficult to understand. The elementary notions of sustainable agriculture that a scholar with an intellectual disability has to know for their social inclusion have been insufficiently treated by science. Fables are the ideal teaching method for the formation of elementary notions of sustainable agriculture in schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities since it contemplates the creation and narration of these ages.

The process of creation and narration of fable notebooks about sustainable agriculture takes into account the particularities of school children with intellectual disabilities, the characters were based on endemic animals of the country in danger of extinction, the contents were selected in such a way that they express the elementary notions of sustainable agriculture treated, according to the imagination of these ages. The narrative process of the fable for schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities allows to correct and compensate the affected processes of language and thought.

The multiple case study applied during 4 years revealed that the Fables Book on sustainable agriculture for schoolchildren with intellectual disabilities of the special school "Camilo Cienfuegos Gorriarán" of the municipality of Placetas, Villa Clara, Cuba; facilitates the formation of the elementary notion of sustainable agriculture.

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ANNEX

Image 1. Orchard activity

Image 2. Speech therapy treatment

Image 3. Psychopedagogy activity

Image 4. Library

Image 5. Fables writing workshopt

Image 6. Fables narration

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NEW INTERPRETATIVE WAYS TO STUDY THE TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS. CASE OF AGUA VERDE, SINALOA

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Renato Pintor Sandoval
renato_azul@hotmail.com
ernestoss@uas.edu.mx

Ismael García Castro
ismael@uas.edu.mx

Faculty of International Studies and Public Policies of the
Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, México

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— Abstract—

This document analyzes, from the study of transnationalism, the mechanisms and strategies implemented by home towns associations to maintain social, religious, political, family and economic relations between migrant communities and societies of origin: takes as a case study San José's transnational home town association. The analysis of this organizations shows how relationships and links between family and community are expanding, including organizational strategies and leadership that lead to social infrastructure projects and community services. This reflects the formation and operation of a solid social capital, which procedurally defines the identities of the migrant subject with bases to the intervention in the place of origin; Agua Verde, Sinaloa. As a methodological strategy, a qualitative approach was implemented through the documentary review, taking as an analytical axis the transnationalism, social capital and *habitus*. Likewise, personal interviews were used in this migrant community to document the links and identity recognition of the migrants.

Keywords

Transnationalism; social capital; habitus; Home town association.

For a long time, the research that has been done on international migration, especially that from Mexico to the United States, has been characterized by touching or deepening the approach of the transnational migrant. What attracts the students of the transnational theory or approach is the relationship between the emitting societies, as well as the receiving societies, as well as between both; trying to investigate and know the link and why the migratory movements are narrower, bidirectional and simultaneous.

Authors such as Guarnizo (1998, 2003 and 2006) Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (2003); Moctezuma (1999, 2003 and 2011); García (2007); Goldring (1998 and 1999) addresses the migratory phenomenon of Mexicans to the United States, with special interest in a central question: how are the bonds, values, loyalties, commitments and political participation of international migrants changed with their home localities? This led Stefoni, (2007: 7) to wonder if trying to answer the previous question would be talking about a societal process or daily practices carried out by migrants in their places of destination. And if so, when do the migrants' actions start being transnational and when do they cease to be?

The criticism towards the transnational lies in the lack of a frame of reference that allows to delimit and categorize the different units of analysis of the transnational. One of the purposes of this research is to try to help the transnational approach and try to see if this delimitation will be possible to determine through a case study, that of the Benítez family and the San José Club, which are part of a transnational community, or if they have even gone further.

Stefoni (2007) says that one of the elements that allows to place studies as transnational is the "composition of the locality". It must be seen that not all locations remain static; for this reason, there have been structural patterns typical of a society of rural origin, which with international migration and under the effects produced generate changes in parts of its structure, such as schooling, employment opportunities, the region or even the political that modify the socio-economic, political, cultural and values that societies suffer after migration.

A study carried out by Portes together with Guarnizo and Haller (2003, cited in Portes, 2007, p.660) to Latin American immigrants from Colombia, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic, in migrant communities in the United States, found that participants in transnational activities, entrepreneurs economic and political or socio-cultural activists, in general, "were not the most recent migrants nor those who were in a more marginal position educationally or economically". On the contrary, they found that the level of education correlates positively with participation in transnational activities, as well as the level of occupation and income. This shows that the activities

of transnationalism imply a certain economic solvency and a minimum of job security and income.

This statement allows two axes of analysis; one that transnationalism is not a model that can be applied indistinctly and another, the condition and historical development, together with the economic condition of the subjects, depends on the degree of assimilation by the target society, since it produces conditions to provide accommodation for transnational activities when there is economic solvency and migrant residence time. Based on the described lines, we begin to describe the case study, which is the Benítez Family, executed through the leadership imposed by Javier, with the intention of exemplifying that there are leaderships, antagonisms, social capital, but mainly, practices and transnational links, that together with identity factors allow migrants to be and live the transnational in their different transnational fields, or understand that there are elements beyond the transnationalism that allow the migrant to feel attached to a society of origin.

Thus, according to Stefoni (2007) the notion of family, is a nodal category in the understanding of this transnationalism in rural communities. The presence of this link allows contextualizing the value that is culturally assigned to the family and its descendants, since it allows the departure of one of its members not to mean family dissolution (Ariza, 2002). On the contrary, through the practices and links of bi-national reciprocity, they can feed transnationality, but also reinforce identity bonds, allowing them to be part of different units, according to the migrant's wishes; for example, it allows the family to be the main social organizer, while maintaining loyalty to the family and to the community that has physically left behind.

The present work is divided into three parts, one on the different studies and initial forms of the process of migrant transnationalism, a second on the Benítez family and its levels of organization and implementation of social investments (collective remittances) in Agua Verde, and finally, the analysis of the degree of transnationalism and if there is a transnational erosion.

THE STUDY OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION: BETWEEN SOCIAL CAPITAL AND *HABITUS*

Since the eighties, due to the tendency towards migratory mass, theoretical perspectives on international migration began to be written; the supposed advances in establishing a general theory of international migration have consisted in a succession of separate approaches, models or frameworks, which are usually a series of cumulative and disconnected contributions, based on previous structuralist and functionalist contributions of the general theories of the social sciences. Starting from the division carried out by

Doña-Reveco (2004)[1], we find three theoretical generations that intend to explain international migration. The first two focuses[2] on the object of study, the migrant being (act of departure), and are based on questions about the role that migrant work plays in a society, particularly in capitalist societies and what kind of impulses promote said displacements.

From a contemporary methodological perspective, the transnational one, starts mainly from the contributions made by anthropology and sociology, where it is conceptualized based on the following questions: how is the relationship between migrants and their places of origin? And also, what social and cultural characteristics do migrants sustain by preserving their identity? This analysis of the transnational being is based on a set of practices, values, histories, loyalties and social commitments that migrants hold with their family and place of origin, beyond the national border.

The idea of how transnational links and practices start and sustain, is based on the assumption of Portes (2006) and Portes and Jensen (1989), which stresses that the mechanism of the transnational approach must start from a linear and sustained process (Image 1). The author argues that "once international labor flows start, social networks emerge between migrants and their localities of origin, which over time, allow this movement to stand on its own" (Portes, 2007: 17). This basic phenomenon, the author continues, in its economic, political and sociocultural spheres can represent the constitution of transnational communities, from the bottom up, from the local to the transnational, from popular solidarities to transindividual emergencies. Despite being a grassroots phenomenon, transnationalism has a greater social impact; the most obvious example of this is collective remittances (Portes, 2003). Furthermore, this same impulse "can support the continuity of migration even when the original economic incentives have been reduced or completely disappeared" (Portes, 2007, 11).

1 Doña-Reveco starts from how this accumulation of theories has been adjusted to the economic and social problems of humanity. Currently, the process of globalization has brought with it changes in the composition of migratory flows, mainly through a diversification of its origin, the temporality of migration and the feminization of the migratory flow. These changes in the structure of international mobility have been related both to the process of globalization and to the end of the cold war, since, on the one hand –in what has become a common place in the countries receiving immigrants, the increase in the speed of displacements and communications have facilitated migration (Doña-Reveco, 2004: 4).

2 The theory of neoclassical economics can be found in the first generation. In the second generation, there are approaches such as the new economy of migration (NEM); theories of the dual market and of the world systems.

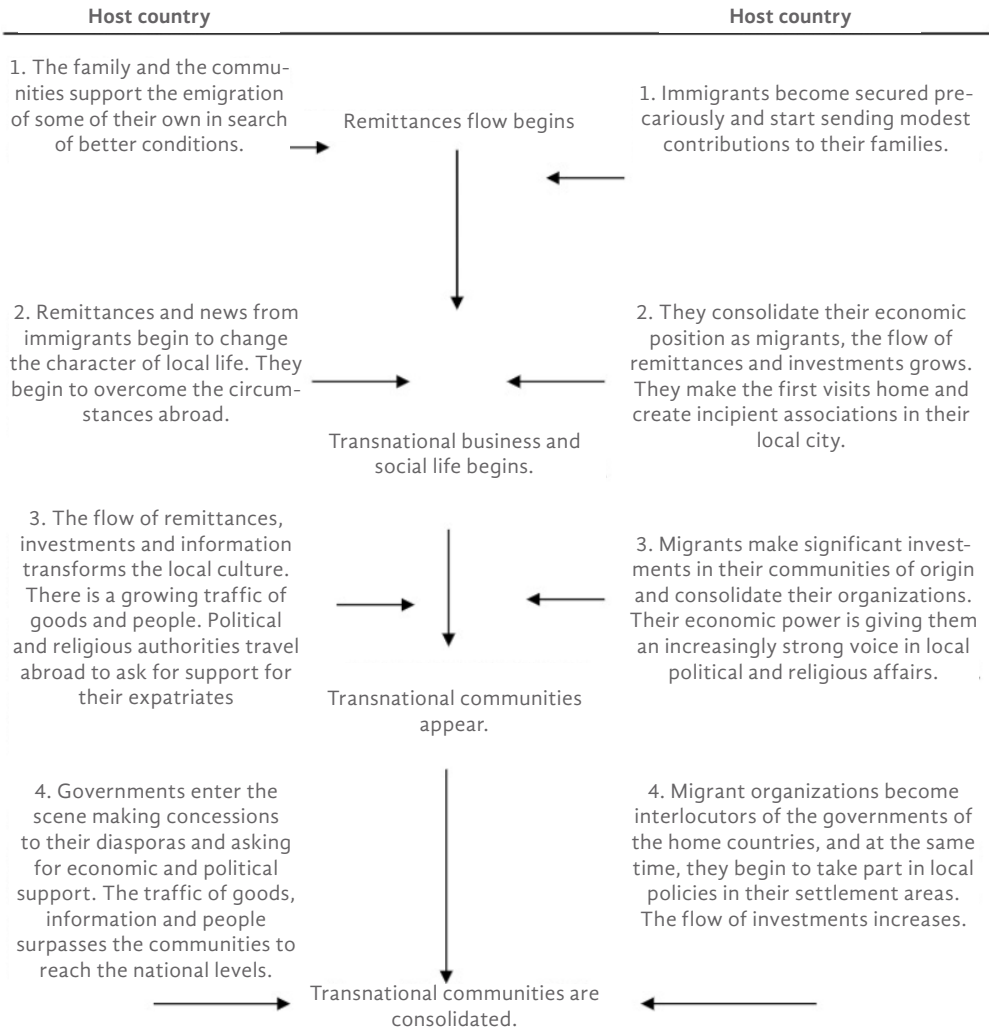

Figure 1. Transnationalism migrant process. Source: Portes y DeWind (2006, 10)

Certainly, transnational practices have always been present to a greater or lesser extent in migratory movements. If transnationalism is understood as the establishment of links of a diverse nature between the place of origin or reference and the place of establishment or arrival. But where does the process of migrant transnationalism begin in itself? For Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (2003), the recurrent practices carried out by migrants lead to a rethinking of the very concept of the migrant, since he is not only an international worker, but a person who "from the distance maintains contacts, manifestations and cultural ties and that has an impact, not only economic, but sociocultural in their place of origin; just what is called migrant transnationalism "(p.45). In addition, they point out that there are three requirements that allow identifying activities of a transnational nature, and, therefore, justify the use of the term.

- The process must involve a significant proportion of people in the relevant universe (namely, immigrants and their counterparts in the countries of origin).
- The practices of object of study cannot be fleeting, transitory or exceptional, but must show some stability and resistance over time.
- The content of these practices cannot be captured from other pre-existing concepts, since this would mean that the creation and use of a new term would be unnecessary. (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (2003: 140).

In short, transnational living thus becomes a behavior with different focuses of attention, ranging from the family to the community level, and from a community loyalty to a strictly family or individual transnational field, whose interest varies, according to the commitment and the strength of this one. The transnational fields where migrants live condition the nature of themselves, as Guarnizo explains (2007: 57), facilitate or prevent, encourage or discourage, claim some or all of the transnational links and practices that migrants form.

Within transnationalism the unit of analysis surpasses the migrant himself or the individual himself and the organizations, communities, companies, political parties that directly or indirectly intervene in the migratory process adhere. However, the greatest importance remains in the individual, since in this subject, always active, the most viable starting point in transnational migration research is centered (Guarnizo, Portes y Landolt, 2003). The selection of individuals as a starting point to venture into different stadiums or fields, allows us to go back to their history, to their trajectory, in which they can "differentiate the initiatives and practices that are carried out" (Guarnizo, Sánchez and Roach, 2003: 22). As the individual is the starting point, his activities are aimed, first, at assessing his legacy and his migration experience, and the way in which his connections have developed. Individuals treat their migration experience, from their background, their mobility and their distance, seeking to approach their actions and practices with their society of origin, even in a symbolic way.

This way of acting allows to collect the analysis of the migrant's history and his different individual activities. This position indicates that the activities at the individual level allow us to understand the different structures of transnationalism and its effects since "the data obtained in individual interviews can identify the counterparts and establish the effects of those activities" (Guarnizo, Sánchez and Roach, 2006: twenty-one).

All these characteristics and methodological reformulations have their validity, but in each case, the unit of analysis allows to deepen the attention, where the individual through the development of their social networks

reaches a degree of consolidation through their migrant organizations, and even, with his intervention in his community, in some cases with leadership and negotiations undertaken, allowing him to give meaning to his identity and recognition. But as Aroncena (2001) warns, it also tells us that when dealing with the issue of strategies in local development, we are introducing, in fact, one of the most important determinants of local development processes: the capacity to constitute local actors. "Local actors are simultaneously motor and expression of local development" (Aroncena, 2001).

We propose to reflect on the idea of transnationalism and social capital, as part of the reinforcement of social networks, where it allows us to focus on the discussion of the question of how the first relations between migrants and their place of origin are gestated, and if Social links are lasting. At the individual level, the relationship between transnationalism and social capital is delimited by *habitus*, proposed by Pierre Bourdieu, where he notes that the difference between *habitus* and habit is that in the second, is considered spontaneously as something repetitive, mechanical, automatic, more reproductive than productive. As regards the *habitus*, we have to:

> It is defined as a system of durable and transferable dispositions - structured structures[3] predisposed to function as structuring structures- that integrate all past experiences and functions at all times as the structuring matrix of perceptions, assessments and actions of agents for a conjuncture or event. (Bourdieu, 1972: 178).

It is important to clarify that the transnational *habitus* proposed here is an analytical category that serves as a starting point to account for the path that migrants, even without reaching the level of social associations, establish the first ties or networks that will lead to the formation of the so-called transnational subsidiary communities. Obviously this cannot exist without the presence of the migrant established in a certain geographical area and whose establishment will be first made with the family, which will be the main interlocutor of community events (Pintor, 2011). Then it will be from the *habitus* that the "subjects" will produce their practices. The *habitus*, allows the "internalization" of the structures from which the individual and

3 The structured structures referred to by Bourdieu (1988: 37 and 1999) are the principles that generate different and distinctive practices (for example, what is eaten and how it is eaten, rituals and how to apply it in a party, celebration, etc.), the way of expressing their practices differs systematically from the consumption or from the corresponding activities of the industry (massive or general). Habitus are also structured structures that contain classifying schemes, principles of vision and division of differentiated tastes.

the social environment in which he has been educated (re)produces his thoughts and his transnational practices, will form a set of practical schemes of perception -division of the world in categories-, appreciation - distinction between the beautiful and the ugly, the appropriate and the inadequate, what is worthwhile and what is not - and evaluation -distinction between the good and the bad- from which the practices -the "elections"- of the social agents will be generated (Bourdieu, 1997). This way, neither the subjects are free in their choices, since the *habitus* is the unelected principle of all choices, nor is it simply determined; it is a disposition, which can be reactivated in differentiated sets of relationships and give rise to a range of different practices (Safa, 2002).

The foregoing is related to the migrant who converges through his practices, and allows the concept of social capital to be operative, and thus measure the importance of the network's performance and its confidence, its degree of consistency; in which you can build trust between people who had different ideas or symbolic representations of the social projects to which they were subjected. The development of the network and the accentuation of trust evolve towards the construction of a social capital.

The first studies of the concept of social capital are located in the field of economic activities and, precisely, it is linked to the "social phenomena that condition the functioning of the economy" (Pizzonio, 2003: 34). Currently, the new sociology -as Pizzonio points out (2003: 34), wants to measure this concept in relation to the economy in its own territory: the choice of non-economic means to achieve an end. In other words, we want to show that economic choices are not only influenced by the availability of economic resources, but also by the availability of social agents, in particular by the relationships and information that fall within them.

Although we must be careful when we use the concept of social capital and not as a mechanism to solve the problems of poverty and economic and political development, but to the criterion of the non-economic capital that people and their uses have (Kliksberg, 1999). On the other hand Durston (2000) deeps in the fact that social capital is a resource or access to other resources, which in combination allow to achieve benefits for those who own it; this capital resides and is based on social relations. Bourdieu (2000) defines it as "the sum of resources, real or virtual, that becomes an enduring network of more or less institutionalized relations of knowledge and mutual recognition" (Guarnizo, 2003). In short, social capital can be defined as: goodwill, companionship, empathy and social relations between individuals and families that make up a social unit, or community "(Ostrom and Ahn, 2003). Likewise, he argues that "the social capital of the people is added to the social capital of the organization, since the skills, the knowledge of the environment, the availability and the trust, represent the social capital".

Perhaps the concept is not related to the solution of an internal problem of collective action of the group, but rather it is the sum of connections of networks between the members, as well as of their personal skills (human development), which can be used for achieve your goals.

The recovery of the concept of social capital, says Ostrom (2000), should be given in the field of local development, although this does not mean resigning to the objective of national development, rather: "return to the deposit of trust and cooperation". This capital cannot be combined on a large scale, as Bertucci (2003) says, but it must adjust to the conditions and scale of the neighborhood, town, ranch or small population, a convenient scale in order to allow sufficient interpersonal contact to develop relations of trust.

The point where social capital originates is in primary networks, which based on trust where they are mainly represented, such as "neighborhoods, family and neighbors, everything else is virtual" (Caracciolo and Foti, 2003), starting with that the strengths and opportunities of a given territory are established based on trust and the organization of the neighbors. Apart from generating development in the communities of origin, their deposits are translated into actions that radiate in optimism; through their transfers, there are also goodwill links, hence they are labeled as "high quality" resources (Torres, 2001 and 2001a).

For Bourdieu (1999, 2000), the benefits of these successes can be material and symbolic, where a mixture of strategies and cooperation is allowed. Moreover, "the existence of a network of relationships is the product of the work of installation and maintenance, which is necessary to produce and reproduce social relationships, to be durable and useful (Enríquez, 2000), but implies having obligations towards theirs. This means that the more the social network is reinforced, the more sustained are the projects that are carried out and allow the incorporation of new social actors.

In short, migrants depend on their friends, relatives, neighbors, partners in their social networks, in obtaining the resources they need for a successful border crossing and a place to live in the United States; but in the same way, as Spener (2007, 127) suggests, migrants depend on their network and the social capital deposited in them, to obtain information and guidance to make the trip across the border, recommendation of "reliable coyotes", money loans, transportation, work, obtaining documents; but above all, information about job offers, among others. However, as far as the trust of the social network is concerned, destroying it is very easy, for this reason trust and solidarity are fundamental pieces in social relations through reciprocal exchanges of cooperation and mutual help, which constitute a core aspect in the development of societies, of origin and destination.

ANALYSIS OF THE BENÍTEZ FAMILY AS TRANSNATIONAL ACTOR

Among the group of Agua Verde migrants, belonging to the municipality of Rosario, Sinaloa, who left for the metropolitan area of Los Angeles in the seventies in search of work and well-being, the Benítez family stands out, with a strong social roots in the region, because some of its members were teachers of the primary school of the locality, and as organizers of the religious festivities to the patron saint "San José".

The Benítez family maintained abroad the principle of coexistence between their own and with the people of the Sinaloa town; one of those who most fostered that nostalgia, among the residents of Los Angeles[4] was José Javier, the oldest of the Benítez. He is currently a businessman in the service sector, with a cleaning company and a leading member of a local Christian organization: *All Saints*.

In one of his continuous trips to Agua Verde, at the end of the seventies, José Javier was visited by Filemón García, parish priest of the local church. He tells that in that meeting, the father asked him to make a collection to help build a new temple, since the previous one was too small, and Javier accepted, committing to take the collection to Los Angeles. The need to rebuild the temple of the patron saint of the place gradually expanded among the people of Agua Verde who emigrated in Los Angeles, and managed to get together and then find a way to help. The request lasted for three years, and the need for the members to organize and carry out actions without the intervention of the State began to be perceived. Here two subjects excelled; the migrant, as part of a family, and on the other hand, the parish priest as part of a religious institution.

At the patron saint's party, the facade of the temple and the parish atrium were inaugurated. This was the founding action of the Agua Verde migrant club, and for this reason, with this community action, the group of organized migrants received the social recognition that gave their collaborators the opportunity to recover the community membership that had been diluted due to their condition of migrant. Thus, social integration within the community of origin from abroad is an expression of the transnational process.

The realization of projects of migrant organizations is not an easy task, especially when it comes to raising funds, since the problem of resource

4 It is normal for individuals in the distance to manifest that feeling of nostalgia when they leave their homeland, since in general, this state of mind is related to the spatial displacement and the separation of the place and the loved ones (Hirai, 2009 : 32-33).

management arises, as well as that of possible government obstacles, so the interest of migrants tends to disappear as the work does not culminate in time and form (Morán, 2002 and 2004).

This shows that behind an investment is an organization with objectives and missions, and that in this set, the activities of the associations, are not only limited to how to gather financial resources, but also to human and social capital within the transnational community.

However, when it comes to seeing the reach of these groups of migrants or associations, one must evaluate not only the number of social investments but above all the level of organization, management, negotiation and evaluation within the transnational social field where they perform. This social field allows not only the recreation of transnational *habitus*, but the extension of their social networks: "loans and free work" and "forms of mutual aid", typical of this type of community. The formula therefore is: "I can cooperate now with you, hoping that later you can do it for me" (Fernández Kelly, MP, 1997: 216) or as a classic of sociology says: "like you with me, I with you" (Weber, M., 1984: 293 in Moctezuma 2011, 62). On this subject, Arizpe (2004, 37) highlights just what is essential in rural migrant culture: "... the importance of these groups lies not in the work force gathered, but in the reciprocity that is generated ... ", Or in other words: the social rationality of this type of community comes into clear contradiction with the cost-benefit mentality.

This social learning that must be experienced by migrant clubs, makes them prone to postpone works with a slow process; however, the main thing is to recognize who is interested, what functions they will play, what is the situation of migrants to participate, because, as Gibson (1994) points out, "collective remittances that reach the communities of origin, as well as individual remittances that arrive at homes, may be delayed or never be present", but in this transnational social field it is allowed to find a space where they revive and recreate *habitus*, with the character of transnationals.

The success or failure of these investments is due to "the forms of maturation of the organizations and the degree of collaboration and negotiation they have with local governments" (Sada, 2007, 21). These negotiations can lead organizations to fail because sometimes the cases are presented in an advantageous manner for one of the parties; or, because there is a lack of knowledge about the scope of migrant organizations and the scope of municipal or state participation. In addition, governments change continuously, interests are put before needs and this has an impact on the fact that long-term goals cannot be achieved (Soto and Velázquez, 2007, 11).

In this understanding, it fits what Arocena (2010) points out, migrant organizations, linked to the community, feeling part of it as part of their identity, make possible the design and execution of long-term strategies

linked to local development. However, it is not a matter that is concrete, as it can act as a lever of development when there is support behind, not only formalized institutions, but also that there are social and economic conditions that allow it, since negative factors can intervene of null real commitments and only nostalgic. Based on Arocena (2010), the successful dynamics of transnational migrant organizations linked to local development are related to economic, social or political and cultural dimensions, but at the same time as demonstrating and experiencing the collective identity linked to the place of origin, as development engine. This shows that in this migratory process, where the relations that go and remain are conjugated, a local society is recreated with a collective project.

SAN JOSE CLUB AND ITS TRANSNATIONAL ACTIONS/ACTORS

Agua Verde's club abroad, motivated by its leader Jaime Benítez, soon became a prestige, due to the experience and the success obtained in the realization of social investments in favor of the town. This translated into a social capital that was based on the organization and personal attributes, which now puts the organization before new social norms. To the extent that the organization responds to the actions of social agents, as pointed out by Moctezuma (2011, 69), the level reached is also due to the competition of its protagonists.

In the first phases of the migrant organization or level 1, trust is equivalent to mutual respect, recognition as migrants, understood as the mutual benefit or the calculated risk for not doing so. These are the main factors that determine the functioning of the network and trust in the dawn of the volunteer organization.

Thus, the family and its networks make migration continue with its bimodal information elements, functioning as the axis of organization of the social life of the international migrant, contributing to the deepening of local roots, providing a sense of continuity and permanence to migrants, serving to give interpretation to the meaning of their personal stories and constituting a social instance of vital importance in their environment.

It should not be forgotten that the political and economic environment "can encourage or discourage the organization from abroad and offer people incentives or punishments according to their participation" (Goldring, 1999). A favorable environment is characterized by a good mandate of the club, association, but also conditions of sociability in the community that minimize conflicts among the participants.

Currently, other problems faced by groups are bureaucratic relations with municipalities that can lead to the organization of migrants not to carry out social works, because without the support of some institutional authority

and local leaders, the objectives fail. Which suggests that with a public policy with management and intervention the results in the financing for the development of communities of origin would be enhanced and would translate into a better standard of living.

In the transition from the beginning of a work to its conclusion, actions of the members that obey rules are presented, and in the case of non-compliance, sanctions can be applied, but there are also changes in the perception of the club, or a positive recognition can be increased or the opposite. Sometimes it has been generated that they temporarily be isolated to those who fail; and it has even reached the point that, in the face of so much discontent in the club, aggression is generated. It is not easy, then, for emigrants to continue the works of a social nature, since there is a series of problems, as we have exemplified, where reality is extremely complicated. (Goldring, 1998).

For Smelser (1989), the success of this type of actions allows the group to meet individual needs, both explicit and implicit. The former usually fit directly with the tasks and the specific objective of the group. Implicit ones can be less evident-friendship or leadership, for example- but they mobilize the individual to participate in group activities. And as Arocena (2010) points out, organizations, in this case migrants, are seen as functioning as open systems, but in a vulnerable scenario, subject to situations that require pressure and to regulate specific actions, and in which the subjects of the community, migrants or not, are visualized with multiple belongings, interests and multiple loyalties.

TRANSNATIONAL PROCESS: BETWEEN CONSOLIDATION AND WEAR

Historically, among migrant organizations that have carried out their first social works through collective remittances and others that have not done so, there are notable differences, mainly in the internal social process of the organization. Organizations with completed works have advanced in more complex organizational charts, specifically pointing out roles and hierarchies among their members. From the lack of recognition, that informality was given to the organizations, it became formal, the "tasks entrusted" became their own objectives and the leadership ceased to be symbolic and ephemeral to be representative, community.

In Agua Verde, during the realization of projects that concluded successfully, there was full social and community coexistence that functioned as a neural axis of collective remittances; which later was translated into status and social integration by their collaborators. The works of greater recognition were: multipurpose rooms, renovation of squares, benches for

the temple, arrangement of facades and welcome arch, and symbolically reinforced the local religious and cultural festivities.

The "tasks entrusted" by Father Filemón of Agua Verde to the San José Club, created an acknowledgment and an important social status in the organization of bi-national migrants when they finished such works. Although the objective is not to compare, it is necessary to point out that the absence of a good leader and the null participation of the other members of emigrants lead to inactivity, and that collective works are not carried out; in these cases, there are more limitations or failures than the successes that can be had. For example, in his study of Jala, Nayarit, Imaz (1999) reports that migrants fixed the central square, cleaned the gold plate from the altar of the basilica and gave school scholarships. Coordinated with authorities and teachers of the town, they built the secondary school, donated an ambulance car, chose a day for the patronal feast and gave donations for municipal pre-campaigns. But when they were going to carry out their most important project: the expansion of the potable water service, they had problems with the money collected, causing clashes between themselves and with the municipal authorities.

With a more organized scheme and with the degree of social integration gained, the San José Club undertook the task of totally rebuilding the village church; donate a truck to the high school so that students from more remote locations could attend classes; remodel the primary school; reforest and build benches in the plaza; as well as building the public library of the town. In this situation what Smelser (1989) points out fits; once the work is finished, the added value of the collective action is obtained; prestige, recognition and roots that the workers achieve. A finished work gives to the group an important status in its community of origin. When a group is formed, other migrants will try to join it, because this reduces the insecurity that the works would not be carried out. They feel stronger, have less personal doubts and resist threats better when they belong to a group.

The current parish priest, Carlos Ramírez with five years in the town, narrates that with the contributions of the San José Club have managed to rebuild the church, provide it with furniture, sound system, ventilation equipment, remodeling the altar, religious images and sculptures and do carpentry and painting works to the facades. Thanks also to the club, annual donations have been obtained for the feast of the Patron Saint and other religious festivities (mainly Christmas, day of the dead, mothers' day).

The previous consolidated that the aguaverdenses that stay grouped in the organization of "San José" migrants play a role that the association and the status that is granted to them, as having a set of shared ideas, beliefs, evaluations and symbols. This reflects a shared identity that mobilizes collective representations in the form of symbolic unions, such as the fact

of belonging to the same place, which makes it possible to bring together a certain number of people, but also to separate them or limit their external links to the group. Here it is worth noting what Hall (2002) says, in terms of not only talking about identities, but also a sense of identification in which an acknowledgment of the common origin and shared characteristics with another person or group is established, framing axes of solidarity and loyalties. However, from the discursive approach, this identification with the community is seen as a construction, an unfinished process because interests and subjects in motion will be included or excluded. Thus, identification is a process of articulation that can bring together what was thought to be forgotten or alien to the group or community but pointing out differences with "others", that is why identities are never unified and it seems that they are getting more and more fragmented and fractured, without disappearing, of course, because they are constructed in different ways through speeches, practices and different positions, sometimes even antagonistic (Hall, 2002)

These migrant organizations of a transnational nature make it possible for more organized and more transcendental schemes to appear, which facilitate the creation, or inclusion, of associations or federations. Table 1 shows the characteristics and the way in which transnational participation takes place and that leads to the formation of a transnational association.

Table 1
Categories and sociopolitical impact of the clubs in their place of origin

Type of club	Characteristics	Transnational participation
Transnational organization	* Frequent meetings. * Organizational schemes more or less normalized. * Founding leaders * Inclusion of new actors as intermediaries, parish priest, director or teacher, cooperatives, etc.	* Organized migrants seeking the reproduction of their culture. * Participate in simultaneous celebrations of civic, religious and sports festivities on both sides. * Raising funds to beautify the town. * Some autonomy in the decision to get involved in the project. * The members of the club by the emigrated society support mostly the design and operation of social investments. * Social remittances
Transnational association	* Frequent transnational meetings between emigrated society and authorities. * Standard organizational schemes. * Board of directors and periodic elections among the members of the Federation of Migrant Clubs.	* Co-participation of authorities with the emigrated society. * Participation sponsored or institutionalized by local society authorities. * Management of resources before local, state or federal co-investment authorities. * Co-participation of authorities and Migrant Club in the design and operation of the project. * Social and political remittances.

Source: Own elaboration

This table shows us that migrants contain different organizational structures, which have different levels and different degrees of maturity, as Moctezuma explains:

> The former have an informal, unstable structure, almost of a community nature that serves as civic clubs; others have a certain degree of formalization, their permanence has not yet been consolidated, but they have a minimum of stability, with recognition and legitimacy at the community level and have the capacity to negotiate with the municipal authorities as the most advanced, when they are already part of a club association, their structure is so complex that it is necessary to regulate and formally register it, they are permanent organizational structures that also count on the wide recognition and social legitimacy, their actions are referred in municipal, state or binational projects, and they are used to influence the design of public policies (Moctezuma, 2007, 40-41).

Similarly, identity is not lost if there is a referenced framework, since the individual belongs to a subjective and objective territory at the same time, because it belongs, apart from criteria of training, thought and character, as Gendrau and Giménez tell us (2002: 149) "When we speak of socio-territorial belonging we are referring specifically to the feeling of territorial belonging shared by a human group, with a specific cultural, economic and demographic substratum", which in the distance migrants try to conserve, being partly transnational and at the same time migrants. As Robins (2003, 112) points out when resorting to Paul Ricceur; it is no longer spoken in terms of cultural identity, as something static and provided by the society of belonging, but it is spoken of a cultural exchange in which they conjugate and exchange memories and experiences, so that identity, then, is in terms of relationship experience, what can happen through relationships and what happens to them.

Group identity, which is not only geographically delimited, such as this migratory case, is the product of a collective definition that is obtained through the results of the identification of similarities and differences of the actors through relationships, in this case transnational, and in which other actors may intervene that do not necessarily belong to a group. As Chihu (2002: 7) says in this group identity, a process of identification of those that do not belong is created; that is, there is a process of social categorization.

CONCLUSIONS

In Agua Verde, Sinaloa, there is an integration and transnational social *habitus* developed from the substantive membership to the San José club, public actions are carried out from a distance and promote new rules of community coexistence.

In carrying out this analytical exercise, it is concluded in the first instance and in a very general way, which identity is redefined from transnational practices. That is, despite the fact that the migrant organization does not massively carry out actions in its community of origin, the mere conformation of the club reveals the strength of the sense of identity and belonging of its members for their homeland. That is, from the outside the migrant subject is part of the community of origin.

A second instance, we have that the degrees of transnationalism vary due to the fact that there is no course of uniform trajectories that are closely linked to the migrant social network, which allows the so-called transnational filial communities to be developed or established; first, the migrants reach a transnational community membership to later become what is known as a collective migrant, whose function is to be constituted as an "agent of change".

It is necessary to understand that the social capital within the study of transnationality, allows to capture the differentiations in the social relations of each community. The rules of each organization or institution show different experiences, social and economic environment, which makes each organization contain different components of society but that are enriched from a migration process.

Within organizations of natives or groups of migrants, we have that the organization is encompassed in transnationality, reflected in mutual practices and commitments among migrants, and this is one of the elements that reflect this type of identity enriched by the degree of politicization in the organization, therefore, influences the leadership, management and cooperative coordination between the migrant and the one who continues in the place of origin, together, of course, with the dynamics of collective remittances.

In sum, when carrying out the analysis of the San José migrant organization, and the leadership of the Benítez family, it should be noted that its result from transnational practices and *habitus*, as well as the social capital built, along with strongly politicized leadership, show a recognition and community participation within a migrant social structure. However, we can see that for some authors like García Zamora (1999 and 2003) maintain in the organizational dynamics of migrants: as long as Mexican migration continues to the United States, new grassroots associations will increase and will be grouped into new organizations or they will be complemented with existing ones, thus increasing their links to Mexico and their communities.

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COMPARISON OF TWO CHEMICAL AGENTS' PERFORMANCE IN THE STABILIZATION OF A CLAY SOIL

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Julio César Tique Zapata
jcesar_tz94@hotmail.com

René Sebastián Mora Ortiz
rene.mora@ujat.mx

Sergio Alberto Díaz Alvarado
alberto.diaz@ujat.mx

Francisco Magaña Hernández
francisco.magana@ujat.mx

Academic Division of Engineering and Architecture, Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco, Tabasco, México

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— Abstract—

During the execution of engineering works, it is common that the soil that one wishes to use does not meet the quality criteria that the corresponding regulations require to guarantee the structural stability of the structures. For those cases in which the value of the soil plasticity index exceeds the maximum allowed, the chemical stabilization has shown the best results. In this research, a comparative analysis of the performance of calcium oxide (CaO) or lime, and sodium chloride (NaCl) or salt, as stabilizing agents. These chemical agents were added in different proportions to the soil under study. The variations of the liquid limit, plastic limit, and the plasticity index were monitored. The results showed, contrary to what is traditionally expected, that for the case of the soil under study the best stabilizing agent is sodium chloride, because not only is it more effective in reducing the plasticity index, but also is cheaper than the lime.

Keywords

calcium oxide; clay; plasticity index; sodium chloride.

The soil is the most superficial layer of the earth's crust, which has its origin in the decomposition of rocks due to the action of weathering agents. The mechanisms of attack on rocks can be classified into two groups: mechanical and chemical. Starting from numerous minerals (mainly silicates) found in igneous and metamorphic rocks, the agents of chemical decomposition reach a final product: clay (Juárez and Rico, 2005). The hydro-mechanical behavior of these soils is decisively influenced by their structure and their mineralogical constitution. Clays are soils whose particle size is less than 0.002 mm and consist of hydrous aluminum silicates, sometimes presenting magnesium, iron or other metals silicates, also hydrated. The structure of these minerals is generally crystalline and their atoms are arranged in a laminar form, there being two types of such sheets: silicic and aluminum (Braja, 2001). The surface of each clay particle has a negative electric charge. The intensity of this load is a function of the structure and composition of the clay. Thus, each particle attracts positive ions from water [Juárez and Rico, 2005]. This characteristic of clay soils gives rise to a very important property: plasticity. This property causes some soils to change their consistency depending on their moisture content, that is, when the clay soils are dry they show great resistance and very little deformability, but when wet they lose much of that resistance, they become very compressible soils. The parameter that allows to quantify plasticity in soils is the plasticity index (PI), which is defined as the difference between the liquid limit (water content in percentage for which a soil goes from a plastic to a liquid state) and the plasticity limit (water content in percentage for which a soil passes from a semi-solid state to plastic). In general, it is considered that when the IP is greater than 18% there is volumetric instability in clays.

From a civil engineer's point of view, all the above makes the clays a complicated material to work that regularly does not meet the minimum requirements that building standards require to be used in construction projects (roads, foundations, earth dams, etc.). However, the abundance of clay soils and the need to use them as construction material has led to the development in recent years of techniques that contribute to improving the engineering properties of these soils. Soil stabilization procedures have as main objectives to increase the resistance and decrease the volumetric variation before changes in its moisture content. The methods to stabilize soils are classified into two categories: mechanical stabilization and chemical stabilization. Chemical stabilization consists of altering the properties of the soil using a certain additive, which, mixed with the soil, produces a change in the superficial molecular properties of the soil's grains. For its part, mechanical stabilization is the alteration of soil properties by changing its granulometry, either by mixing it with other soils or by compaction (De Solminihac and Thenoux, SF).

The improvement of the behavior of clay soils is essentially achieved by decreasing the value of the plasticity index (IP), the smaller this value the better its performance from the point of view of the construction engineer. To achieve the above, chemical stabilization is the one that has shown the best results (Nuñez, 2011, Kalkan, 2011). In this type of stabilization, the improvement of soil properties depends mainly on the chemical reactions between the stabilizing agent and the soil minerals, that is, the choice of a type of chemical agent depends essentially on the type of soil.

For many years, chemical products have been tested to stabilize clay soils, in the majority of cases satisfactory results were obtained. However, the cost and availability of these products have meant that only some of them are used (Little, 1999). Among the chemical agents that have been used successfully are sodium chloride (NaCl) (Garnica *et al*., 2002, Roldan, 2010, Abood *et al*., 2007), and calcium oxide (CaO) (Olinid1 and Olinid2, 2016- Jawad *et al*., 2014). This article compares the performance of these two chemical agents as clay soil stabilizers of the Chontalpa Unit of the Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco (UJAT), located in the municipality of Cunduacán, Tabasco, Mexico. The results allowed to identify the better of the two stabilizing agents for the soil of this zone and to define their optimum amount of use.

METHODOLOGY

The area from which the study material was extracted is located behind the Applied Science and Technology Research Center of Tabasco (CICTAT) in the Chontalpa Unit of the Universidad Autónoma de Tabasco (UJAT), in the municipality of Cunduacán, state of Tabasco, Mexico (image 1). In this unit the Academic Divisions of Basic Sciences (DACB), Computing and Systems (DAIS) and Engineering and Architecture (DAIA) can be found. The original basic characteristics of the soil used are shown in table 1. The material under study was extracted to a depth of 1.5 m by the OPM method (open pit).

Image 1. Origin of the under study soil. Chontalpa Unit of the UJAT

Table 1
Basic characteristics and material classification

Liquid limit (LL)	69.2 %	**Relative specific weight of solids**	2.62
Plastic limit (PL)	49.06 %	**USCS classification***	CH (high plasticity clay)
Plasticity index (PI) = LL - LP	20.14 %	**Sand quantity**	2.41 %

* Unified Soil Classification System

As seen in table 1, the soil is a clay of high plasticity with 2.41% sand. Due to the high value of the plasticity index (PI ≥ 18) this soil is resistant during the dry season, but it is susceptible to large deformations when wet.

The criterion of improvement of the terrain that was followed in this investigation was the decrease of the PI, because the smaller this value is, the better the behavior of the soil from the point of view of the construction engineer.

The chemical agents that were used to reduce the plasticity of the soil were sodium chloride or common salt (fine grain) and calcium oxide (lime). These agents were chosen because of their high availability and low cost in this area.

The manner in which the chemical agents were applied to the soil is described next. First, the soil was dried in the sun for 24 hours, then sieved by the number 40 mesh (4.25 mm opening). Next, the soil was divided into two groups, A and B (image 2). Each group was composed of six pairs of samples of 300 g of soil each. These samples were placed individually in aluminum cups of 1 liter capacity. Each group was added with a single stabilizing agent (image 2). The agent was added to each pair of samples as a percentage of its dry weight (300 g). The percentages used of the chemical agents in this investigation were 2%, 4%, 6%, 8%, 10% and 16% (image 2). That is, two soil samples were added with 2% of a stabilizing agent, two samples with 4% of the same chemical agent and so on. Two samples with the same percentage of chemical agent were added to have a redundant reading and to ensure that the results obtained were correct. Image 2 schematizes the process described above. It was decided to work with the aforementioned percentages of stabilizing agent (2%, 4%, 6%, 8%, 10% and 16%) because the consulted bibliography suggests that the optimal amount of said agents is generally between 5% and 8% (Roldán, 2010; Jawad *et al.*, 2014).

Once the stabilizing agent was added to the dry soil, it was mixed with the help of a low speed mixer for 30 minutes in order to homogenize the mixture. Said mixture was allowed to stand for 48 hours in a chamber at a constant temperature of 25°C outside of direct contact with the sun's rays and humidity. After this curing period, the liquid limit (LL), plastic limit (PL) and the plasticity index (PI) of all the samples added with both

stabilizing agents were determined following the procedure marked by the NMX-C- 416-ONNCCE-2003 standard chapter 6.

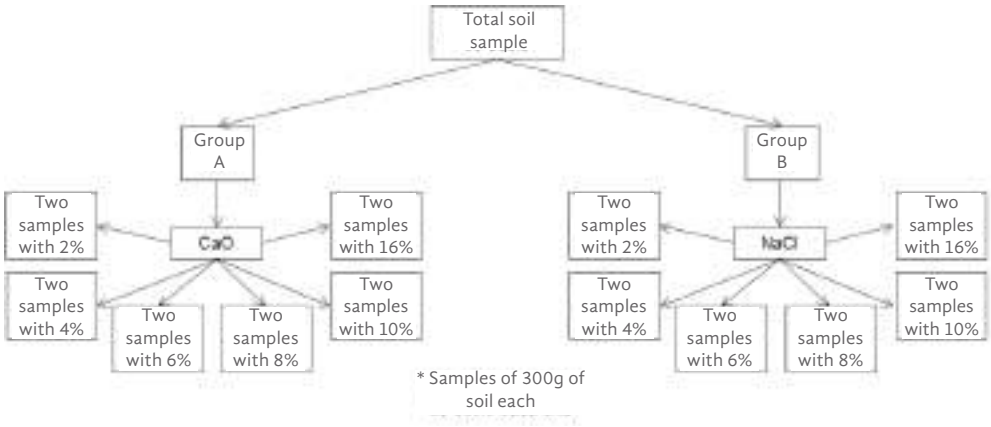

Image 2. Samples with different CaO and NaCl proportions

RESULTS

To analyze the performance of the chemical agents, the original plasticity characteristics of the material were taken as control (table 1). Only these properties were monitored (liquid limit, plastic limit and plasticity index) because the stabilization of the soil seeks to reduce the characteristics of plasticity of the material, since it is well known that by decreasing these, the characteristics of strength and volumetric stability ground improve.

Next, the results of the determination of the liquid limit (image 3), plastic limit (image 4) and the plasticity index (image 5) are presented in all the samples added with the stabilizing agents.

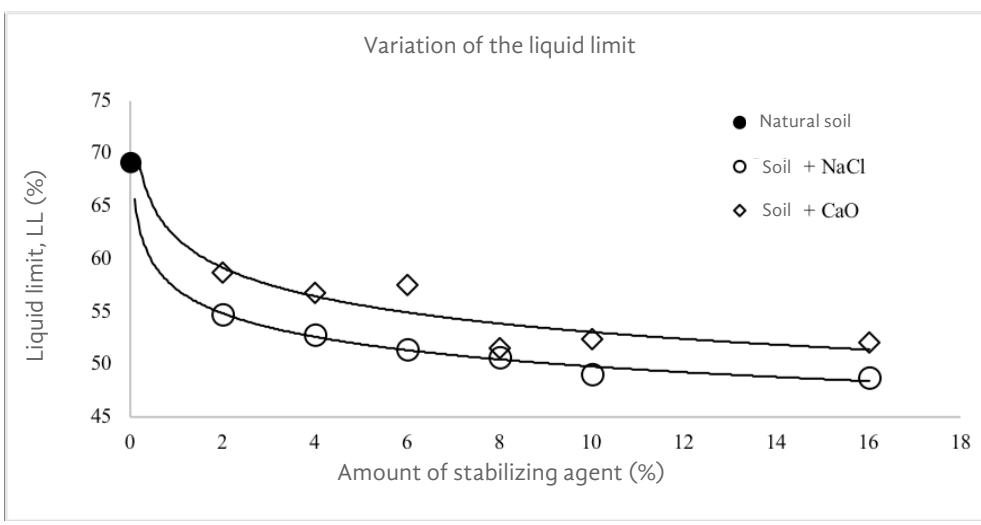

Image 3. Effect of chemical agents in the liquid limit

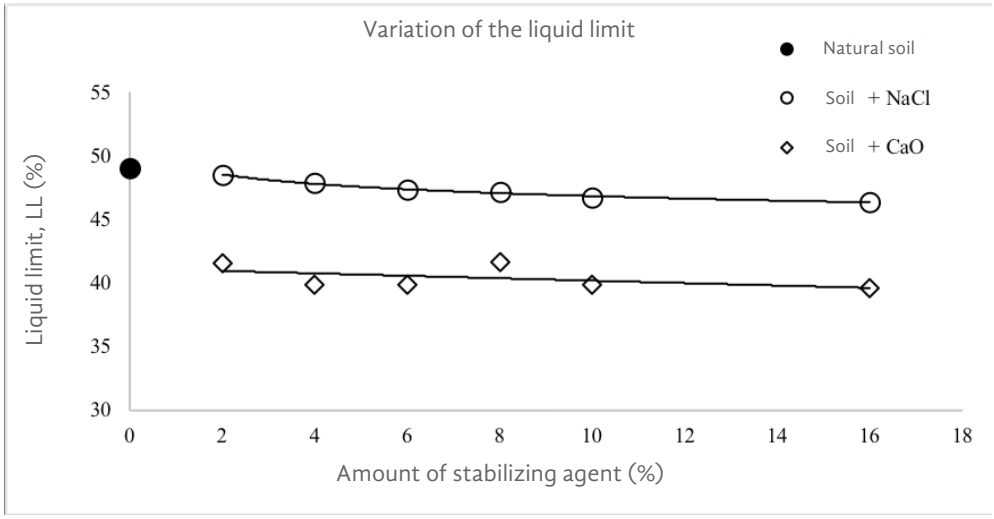

Image 4. Effect of chemical agents in the plastic limit

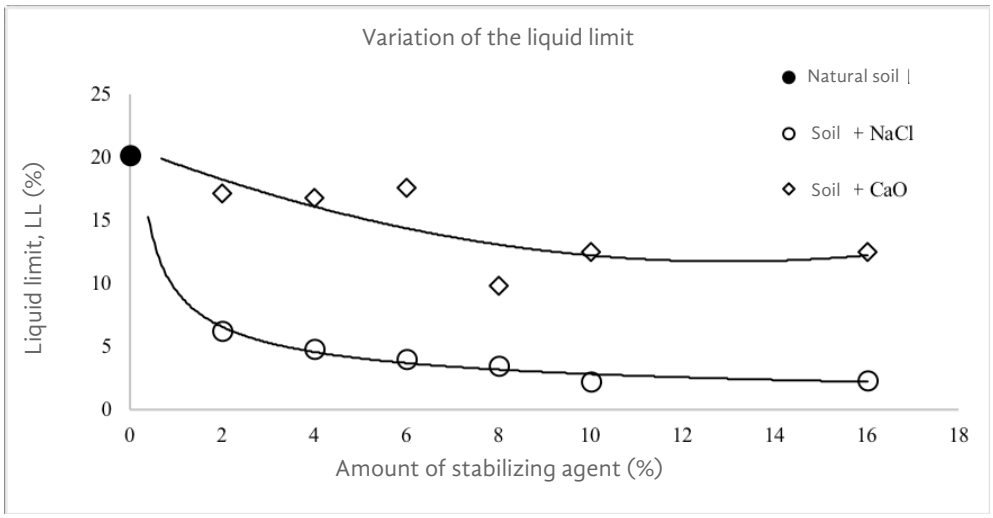

Image 5. Effect of chemical agents in the plastic index

As seen in Image 3, both chemical agents decrease the value of the liquid limit (LL), with sodium chloride (NaCl) consistently being the most effective. It can be seen that each increase in the percentage of NaCl corresponds to a decrease in LL, generating a reduction curve (trend line). It should be noted that for the range of 2% to 6% the curve is going down sharply. From 8% the curve begins to become horizontal and from 10%, it is increasingly flat. This behavior indicates that from 10% of salt the benefits are practically the same as if 10%, 12%, 14% or 16% were added to the soil. That is to say, from 10% it is no longer advisable to add more salt. Therefore, the optimal amount of NaCl to stabilize this soil is around 8%. This implies that, for this type of soil, it is enough to add 8% NaCl to obtain the best cost-benefit results. Adding a larger amount of this agent no longer generates a reduction in the

liquid limit that merits the application cost. Similarly, in the case of calcium oxide the optimum amount of stabilization is around 8% (image 3).

Image 4 shows the variation of the plastic limit (LP) due to stabilizing agents in the material under study. As can be seen, NaCl has little effect on the LP of the soil, showing a practically linear trend. A similar behavior is observed in the samples added with CaO, although for this type of stabilizing agent there is a reduction in LP greater than in the case of NaCl.

Regarding the variation of the plasticity index (PI) in the soil samples, both agents proved to be effective in reducing this value (image 5), however, it was NaCl that showed the best results.

Table 2 shows the percentage of reduction of the limits of consistency with respect to the natural characteristics of the soil (table 1). It is important to note that the optimal amount of chemical agent is the same in both cases.

It is observed that both chemical agents reduced the liquid limit by approximately 25% (with respect to their initial value shown in Table 1). Regarding the plastic limit (LP), the samples that experienced the greatest reduction were those added with CaO. The chemical agent that proved to be most effective in reducing the plasticity index was NaCl, since it was able to reduce this parameter by 88.93% with respect to its initial value (table 1).

Table 2
LL, PL and PI soil reduction by effect of the chemical agents

			Reduction percentage*	
Stabilizing agent	Optimal quantity by dry weight of soil	Liquid limit (LL)	Plastic limit (PL)	Plasticity index (PI
NaCl	8 %	25.19 %	4.67 %	88.93 %
CaO	8 %	25.58 %	15.02 %	51.29 %

*According to the natural soil sample

DISCUSION

Lime (CaO) is one of the chemical agents that has traditionally been used successfully in the stabilization of soils. Several studies mention the positive effects of the use of this agent (Olinic1 and Olinic2, 2016, Olinic1 and Olinic2, 2014, Aldaood, 2007, Holt and Freer, 1996, Rogers and Glendinning, 1996). However, in these investigations a comparison of the performance of this important agent with other stabilizing agents was not performed. The comparative analysis between different soil stabilizing agents is very important, since the factor of greatest impact on the success of the stabilization is the relationship between the stabilizing agent and the soil minerals, that is, the choice of the type of stabilizing agent will

depend of the type of soil. For example, the National Association of Lime Manufacturers (1982) notes that the effectiveness of lime as a stabilizer is considerably reduced in soils with a plasticity index (PI) of less than 10. This organism mentions that in cases in which Soils do not respond to lime, a second pozzolanic additive is required. Fly ash, waste material from coal calcination plants is the pozzolan most commonly used for this purpose.

In this research it was found that for the stabilization of the soil in the study area the best chemical agent performance is table salt. It was found that, if 8% dry weight of the chemical agents is added to the soil, the IP of the samples that were added with salt decreases on average 37% more than those to which lime was added. With regard to the costs in the study area of each stabilizing agent, the kilogram of salt costs on average $7.00 Mexican pesos, while the kilogram of lime is sold at $8.00 Mexican pesos. That is, salt (NaCl) is approximately 12.50% cheaper.

It is important to bear in mind that even with the improvement achieved by these stabilizing agents, the occasion may arise in which the limits established by the current regulations (SCT Standards) are not reached in order to use these stabilized soils in road pavement structures. In these cases, other alternatives must be analyzed.

CONCLUSIONS

The abundance of clay soils in nature creates the need to use them as building materials. The main problem of working with clay soils is their high plasticity because this property causes the soils to change their consistency depending on their moisture content. The plasticity index (PI) is the parameter by which the plasticity in clay soils is quantified. The most efficient way to decrease plasticity is through chemical stabilization. Traditionally this type of stabilization has been carried out with calcium oxide (lime). In this research, the performance of this important chemical agent was compared with the sodium chloride NaCl (table salt) in the stabilization of the clay soil of the Chontalpa unit of the UJAT. To achieve the above, different percentages of these chemical agents were added to different soil portions (image 2), this allowed to monitor the effects of the stabilizing agents on the liquid limit (LL), plastic limit (LP) and the plasticity index (IP). The results showed that, for the soil under study, the optimum amount of each stabilizing agent is 8%, however, table salt (NaCl) is the agent with the best results, since for the same optimum percentage (8% in dry soil weight) reduces the PI by 37% more than lime. Regarding the cost (in the study area) of the aforementioned stabilizing agents, using salt to stabilize the soil is not only more effective but also approximately 12.50% cheaper. Another benefit of

using salt in the stabilization of soils is that it presents less volatility than lime, in addition, salt represents a lower health risk for the personnel who apply it. A relevant aspect regarding the application of both agents is that it can be done as a slurry, so that its volatility is practically null.

It is important to point out that the use of salt or another chemical agent as soil stabilizing elements, can cause ecological problems and in cases of contact with reinforced concrete structures or steel can cause corrosion.

Lime is one of the most successful stabilizing agents in the world for its effectiveness and great manageability, however, for the particular case of the soil analyzed in this research, the best stabilizing agent is table salt.

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LITERARY REPRESENTATION OF MOTHERS AND PROSTITUTES IN TWO STORIES BY JOSÉ REVUELTAS

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María Guadalupe Flores Grajales
genegflores@yahoo.com.mx
ORCID 0000-0002-0719-3226

Universidad Veracruzana, México.

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— Abstract—

This paper focuses on the duality of female characters in two texts written by José Revueltas, an acclaimed Mexican writer devoted to denounce politics and social structures. The first story is *El apando*, a short novel, the second is "Dormir en tierra" a short story. First I will provide an overview about how women evolve in the last manuscripts and what concepts they are seen from the masculine eye and the female eye. That is to say, the way men and women are seen, will depend on their role: mother, life partner, prostitute, lesbian, worker, worker trafficker. The femininity, in Revueltas writings is not idealized as we were taught, thus motherhood is not something to be glorified, and the prostitute's role is not judged or demonized either. In this cases, women characters will present nuances to which some are not accustomed to see and read. Especially, this paper will examine how mother and prostitute coexist despite the fact that, in the Mexican culture, they are not commonly found mixed in the same situation. Until now it seems impossible that a woman can be both, we are used that the maternal figure should not be presented with sexual charge in the same manner that a prostitute cannot exercise the rights of mother. Finally, we will see how the grotesque aesthetics of both Revueltas' writings encompass not only the woman, whether mother, prostitute or the two of them, but also the rest of the characters as well.

Keywords

female representations; mother; prostitute.

One of the most interesting and primary characteristics of José Revueltas' work lies in showing situations to the limit. These circumstances are framed in a grotesque and punctilious for the reader, who is overwhelmed by the brutal and stark information that shows in each corner of his narrative. Jorge Ruffinelli offers two stages in his narrative production, in the first statement: "Revueltas is learning to find himself: find a style, an anxious roll, hesitant, and a content of ideas that reflects the problematic existence of contemporary men" (Ruffinelli : 29) and begins with the publication of *Los muros de agua* (1941) to *Dormir en tierra* (1944); the second, starts with *Los terrenales* (1949) and concludes with the publication of *El Apando* (1969), Ruffinelli states that this second stage "[...] defines a thorough narrator, owner of an expressive, powerful, challenging vehicle and safe in a universe unmistakably his" (Ruffinelli: 29). José Revueltas creates and constructs, from his first novel, a narrative universe of his own, where social political concern, alienation and isolation, as well as loneliness and desolation, will be resources that will define each of his characters.

El Apando is one of Revueltas' most read novels, in spite of its brevity, in it aesthetic and political worries come together. To Vicente Francisco Torres, in this short novel José Revueltas' narrative and philosophical concerns appear, in which Torres identifies in three basic points:

> 1. The painful and sickening deformity as an eminently human sign that carries with it the lucidity of the thinking matter known as destruction.
> 2. The idea of the world as a universal prison, issue that according to Revueltas, grants fatalism luck to the human life, where men can be fulfilled only by acquiring consciousness of his extinction, his instability and assume death as a loving act.
> 3. Men's alienation by his own scientific conquests.
> [...] (Torres: 94-95).

In an exemplary way, Revueltas' narrative shows that we are all *apandados* and that this cell is an allegory of society, in which each man lives under a series of norms, principles and identities that constrain him, and in other cases, grant him an apparent freedom. *Apandarse* then, not only alludes to the physical space, but in general terms to all the oppression marks that submit the human existence. The author's literature suggests this vision in order to dismantle the political system of his time, as well as to recreate his stay in prison and pose to the reader all the infamies and violations suffered by the prisoners. His stay in prison worked very well to expose the paradoxes of a larger area, such as the case of Latin American politics and society.

This type of literature, which we might call prison, places the reader in front of a series of uncomfortable images that, far from showing him a foreign space, question him about his own existence. *El Apando's* characters

live in a small cell, but in turn they are prisoners of their society and their bodies. This analogy is well indicated at the beginning of the novel, when the narrator quotes the following about the guards:

> The monkeys were held there, only them, female and male monkey; well, male and male, both in their cage, still without despair, without despairing at all, with their steps from end to end, detained but in motion, trapped by the zoological scale as if someone, others, humanity, impiously no longer wanted to take care of their business, the fact of them being monkeys, of which on the other hand they did not want to know either, monkeys at the end, or they did not know nor wanted to, imprisoned in any sense that you looked at them, caged inside the drawer of two-story bars, inside the blue cloth suit and bright rosette over the head, within their coming and going without training, natural, however fixed, without taking the step that could make them leave the interspecies where they moved, walked, copulated, cruel and without memory, female and male monkey in Paradise, identical, of the same hair and of the same sex, but female and male, imprisoned, fucked. [...] More prisoners than Polonio, more prisoners than Albino, more prisoners than *El Carajo* (11-13).

Later, the narrator insists on human degradation, going from the general to the particular and conically refers to the guards who have a level of imprisonment, even greater, than the prisoners themselves:

> So stupid as to not realize that the prisoners were them and not anyone else, with everything and their mothers and their children and the parents of their parents. They thought they were born to watch, spy and look around, so that no one could get out of their hands, or from that city and those streets with bars, [...] they said and thought to eat and to eat in their homes where the family of monkeys danced, screamed, boys and girls and the woman, [...] Everything was a failure to notice anything. Of life. Without realizing it, they were there in this drawer, husband and wife, husband and husband, wife and children, father and father, children and parents, terrified and universal monkeys (13-14).

What does the narrator mean when he aludes the idea of the drawer? Why are the guards, these vigilant monkeys, more stubborn than Polonius, Albino or *El Carajo*? The novel offers an easy answer: the apparent freedom of the wardens is no more than a subjection to a regime that scourges life as much or more than the prison itself. The quote maintains, in turn, a close relationship with the theme of identity: the representation of each of the roles assigned socially and culturally, with the aim of gaining prestige and maintaining an adequate relationship with the environment.

This is a good starting point to delve into the topic that concerns us here: the representation of the feminine in Revueltas' work, especially in *El apando* and "Dormir en tierra". In the case of the first text, we see that the approach of the feminine/masculine gender device is more than explicit, on top of that it congregates at different levels, both corporal and intangible, the marks established by a certain convention. The prison, as an analogy of the society, refers to the space in which the subjectivity of the characters is constructed and the way in which they interact and express their actions.

For example, each of *El Apando's* characters "suffers" an indelible imprint created after a cluster of representations that determines them to live in this or that way. In an extraordinary way, both from the aesthetic point of view and from the anecdote, the novel does not discriminate on the subject of subjection: from the perspective of the narrator, each individual is described in a fenced environment, degraded internally and externally; no possibility of redemption.

To begin with, Revueltas transgresses the narrative order by describing his characters in the form of animals; this implies a destruction of its symmetry, whether bodily or in a state of mind; since the balance of human and natural proportions is violated. In that sense we could say that there is a certain equity in the degraded assessment of being a man or being a woman; perhaps because this is how the human condition is perceived in the narrative world of Revueltas. From this perspective, the representation of the female characters attracts attention: the sense that acquires their doing and acting in relation to the other characters; that is, the way in which their subjectivity manifests itself along the narrative journey.

In some cases, the female characters drive the story, condition the anecdote and close the actions. Through them, the rupture of the social and cultural order that connotes the feminine is expressed, in the middle of a deformed reality that becomes a referent of itself and skips all the barriers of referential equilibrium, about the representation of the image that society tries to build for itself. Such is the case of the imaginary related to two stereotyped representations of women: as a mother and as a prostitute, the two faces of being a woman in Mexican society, be it good or bad woman. Marcela Lagarde adds another imaginary: madness in women:

> Women possess the subaltern power, of the dominated. From specialization in a small area of life and the world, discover and deploy their strength. Consecrated women possess the positive power emanating from the spirit, and mothers develop the power derived from motherhood, prostitutes have the negative power that emanates from their erotic body and from evil, and mad women from delirium and unreason face their destructive power, the power of the norm (Lagarde: 199).

Madness in women, from the point of view of Lagarde, defies the normativity sheltered by their mental state; challenge that translates into behaviors that transgress established roles. For Octavio Paz, the stereotyped functions of the feminine and the masculine result from the indigenous and Spanish cultural heritage where the role of women has been objectified and seen as simple:

> [...] instrument, either of the desires of man, or of the purposes assigned to her by law, society or morals. Purposes, it must be said, about which her consent has never been asked and in which she participates only passively, as a "depositary" of certain values. Prostitute, goddess, great lady, lover, the woman transmits or preserves, but does not create, the values and energies entrusted to her by nature or society. In a world made at the image of men, women are only a reflection of the will and want of men. Passive, she becomes goddess, beloved, being that embodies the stable and ancient elements of the universe: the earth, mother and virgin; active, it is always function, medium, channel. Femininity is never an end in itself, as is manhood (Peace: 12 and 13).

In contrast to the masculine, in Western culture, passivity is associated with the feminine, which makes women a subordinated subject and socially and culturally impeded to express their true desires; mainly when these are related to the exercise of their sexuality, Paz adds:

> It is curious to note that the image of the "bad woman" almost always comes along with the idea of activity. Unlike the "self-sacrificing mother", the "waiting bride" and the hermetic idol, static beings, the "bad" comes and goes, looks for men, abandons them. [...] its extreme mobility makes it invulnerable. Activity and impudence join forces in her and end up petrifying her soul. The "bad woman" is hard, impious, independent, like the "macho". By different ways, she also transcends her physiology and closes herself to the world (14)

The case of the female characters in Revueltas' work is highly paradigmatic. The narrator raises the prison for some of the protagonist men -Polonio, Albino and *El Carajo*-; however, for women, despite living in freedom, there is also a direct signal to the fact of the prison: Meche, *La Chata* and the mother of *el Carajo* are subject to constant scrutiny, which ranges from the revisions by the guards, until their conception of the world. The first two live in an area that often objectifies them and makes them participants in the fantasies of others, although in their own way, they also desire and turn others into an erotic object, especially their secluded husbands. For example, when Polonio imagines *La Chata* being touched by the warden, at the same time that he gets angry, he cannot control the arousal that comes from recreating the images and the sensations that are generated by the encounter between the two women:

> The memory and the idea blinded Polonio's mind with jealousy, but total strangers, a kind of not being able to be in space, not meeting, not giving himself with his own limits, ambiguous, stripped, jealousy in his throat and in the solar plexus, with a tingling sensation, loose and atrocious, involuntary, behind the penis, like some previous ejaculation, not true, a kind of contact without semen, that fluttered, vibrated in tiny, microscopic, tangible circles, beyond the body, outside of any organism, and *La Chata* appeared before his eyes, jocund, beastly, with her thighs whose lines, instead of coming together to impinge on the cradle of sex, when she joined the legs, still left on the contrary a small hollow separated between the two walls of solid skin, tense, young, shuddering (21-22).

Also interesting is the homoerotic feminine wink in the process of auscultation carried out by the women guards in Meche's body: "[...] because she was already here, inexorable, diligent, thumb and forefinger of the keeper who would open her lips, while suddenly, with the middle finger, began a suspicious exploration inside, kind and delicate, in a leisurely come and go, eyes completely still until death" (28). On her part, Meche "[...] did not allow herself to be a pimp, she was an honest woman, a thug, yes, but when she slept with other men she did not do it for money, nothing more for pleasure, without Albino knowing, of course. So she had slept with Polonius many times. She was pleasing, very much pleasing, but she was honest" (24). It is obvious that in the female representation of these two women, the narrator highlights how attractive the exercise of their body is. Although they are not whores, their erotic practice transgresses the role assigned to the configuration that is culturally granted to women in the Mexican environment.

But it is with Carajo's mother that the narrator rejoices, especially in the descriptive field. In the same way that for Meche and *La Chata*, the weight of the social -and it could be said of the prison- lies in the erotic space and the adjudication of a role. In the case of *Carajo's* mother it is given under a panorama accentuated by the fact of the relationship she has with her son, where the corporality is closer to the grotesque and where the erotic is apparently denied. For Marcela Lagarde the mother: "[...] contributes to the generic conformation of roles, activities, identities, forms of behavior, attitudes and needs" (378). In fact, *Carajo*, from the descriptive point of view, is incarnated as an extension of the mother. *Carajo's* mother is raised within a strange duality. From the beginning the narrator describes it mercilessly in the following way:

> Surprisingly as ugly as her son, with the trace of a knife that went from her eyebrow to the tip of her chin, she remained with a low and stubborn gaze, without looking at him or at anything other than the ground, the attitude full of rancor, reproaches and remorse, God knows in what sordid and abject circum-

> stances she would have joined, and with whom, to engender him, and perhaps the memory of that distant and gloomy fact tormented her more and more (16-17).

The construction of the ideal of motherhood appears confusingly confined to the realm of the sordid, completely removed from the parameters of the "home's angel" or the "little white head" created by Mexican society. For these reasons, the vision of a duplicity between mother and child emerges: *Carajo's* mother is an older woman (besides being a mother herself), both identity marks create the idea of respect; however, in turn, she is a woman whose past is related to prostitution as *cliché*. On the other hand, the body of the mother in our culture always appears hidden and reserved, a situation that is subverted in *El Apando* to be granted a very unusual activity for her time: to move drugs inside her vagina in order to satisfy the need of her son. Revueltas is very close to a very intimate fiber of the fabric of Mexican society: take the body of the mother and make it the object of a "criminal" act. Irremediably there is an analogy with procreation, since the image reminds us so much to think about *Carajo's* birth, as in the vicissitudes of his upbringing. We have then a woman who, far from procreating a child again, "gives birth" a small package of drugs. The body is changed and given such prison qualities as those that characterize the social sphere. In the end, the action performed by the mother is nothing more than a continuity of the affective relationship with her child and the dependence load that she manifests towards him.

The change alone generates a situation of broad questioning of the symbolic networks that make the individual a subject engaged in the "prison of society", that is, *apandado*. The proposal articulated by the narrator is equivalent to putting into question all these principles using the exhibition plan and at the same time that of subversion: if the mother is able to do "anything" for her son, she will also be able to violate her morality.

On the other hand, there is the direct pointing to the erotic representation of the mother, when the barrier of respect disappears, socially speaking. In this case, the transport of the drug in her vagina is an obvious subversion; however, there is another indication that is also denoted: the idea of how *Carajo* was conceived. Because of the information that the narrator provides, it is clear that this woman had a very dynamic and frequent sexual life during her youth. The scope for motherhood and, indirectly, for sexuality is integrated in the same conception of the feminine. A reference to this plane of the mother is when in the visiting room the characters contemplate Albino's tattoo:

> (...) but Meche could not get away from her mind, precisely, Albino's dance, a week before, in the defenders room, as soon as they finished making the last

> details of the first plan, from which had failed because of the *apando*, and the mother of *El Carajo* contemplated the contortions of the tattoo with the air of not understanding, but with a sly smile on her lips, very capable of still making love the old mule, despite her nearly sixty-odd years (26).

For *Carajo's* mother, age does not matter, but reliving part of the experiences through memory. The "sly smile on her lips" reveal the erotic experiences of the old woman. Another circumstance that should be noted with respect to this character consists of that unusual relationship with her son. In some contradictory way, the mother establishes a love-hate relationship with *el Carajo*, since she is capable of taking risks by supplying the drug, but at the same time reproaches the birth of the latter: "The fault is no one's, but *mine*, for having had you" (17). In this sentence, the mother assumes herself as responsible for the acts committed by her son and for being submerged in an unpleasant environment, as the narrator further delimits it:

> *None*, this sad plural. No one was to blame, fate, life, fucking luck, *none*. For having you. The rage of having now *El Carajo* locked up with them in the same cell, next to Polonio and Albino, and the acute desire, imperious, supplicating, that he died and finally stopped rolling in the world with that degraded body. The mother also wanted it with equal force, with the same anxiety, she saw herself. Die, die, die. It raised a mercy full of disgust and anger (17).

In the case of *La Chata* and Meche, the call of corporality is much clearer, in addition to not facing too many paradoxes as in the configuration of *el Carajo's* mother. These two women represent the incarnation of a more traditional beauty, opposed to the grotesque characterization of the first two characters. The first one that appears in the novel is *La Chata*, who is immediately described with an accelerated and vehement eroticism, in order to highlight her attractive corporality:

> *La Chata* reclining on the balcony, on her back, her naked body under a light dressing gown and her legs slightly ajar, the mount of Venus as a capital of hair on the two columns of her thighs -that was impossible to resist and Polonius, with the same sensations of being possessed by a religious trance, he knelt shaking to kiss it and to sink his lips between her lips (22).

Meche's description, on the other hand, is more concise and less poetic: "She was pleasing, very much pleasing, but she was honest, whatever each person's business is" (24). The two characters enact the most exalted incarnation of the feminine in terms of the erotic field and, in turn, act in a similar way to *Carajo's* mother by providing their respective partners, Polonio and Albino, the satisfaction they get with the supply of drugs, given

that the impossibility of introducing themselves the "package", they teach how to do it to the old woman, *El Carajo's* mother. This gesture implies a certain subversion of the traditional roles assigned to the feminine and, beyond this circumstance that could be transitory, it acquires a completely active lining in terms of the conception of their sexuality.

It is noteworthy that the narrator follows, in most cases, the drives of Albino and Polonio regarding the memory of their women; however, there is also interest in the erotic recesses of Meche and *La Chata*, as they decide to exchange their partners and satisfy their wishes. On the other hand, there is the evidence of homoerotic relationships, which although they do not reach a space of fullness, are very important. They are given, as mentioned above, by the review carried out by the warders (the monkeys) to the women before entering the prison, with the intention that they do not introduce drugs: "They stick their finger in us. Monkeys daughters of bitches, you lesbian bastards" (23). This fact causes anger between Albino and Polonio, because they experience jealousy when imagining the scene, especially in the case of the last character:

> The memory and the idea blinded Polonio's mind with jealousy, but total strangers, a kind of not being able to be in space, not meeting, not giving himself with his own limits, ambiguous, stripped, jealousy in his throat and in the solar plexus, with a tingling sensation, loose and atrocious, involuntary, behind the penis, like some previous ejaculation, not true, a kind of contact without semen, that fluttered, vibrated in tiny, microscopic, tangible circles, beyond the body, outside of any organism, and *La Chata* appeared before his eyes, jocund, beastly, with her thighs whose lines, instead of coming together to impinge on the cradle of sex, when she joined the legs, still left on the contrary a small hollow separated between the two walls of solid skin, tense, young, shuddering (22).

Contrary to the thoughts of Polonio and Albino, for Meche, the homoerotic approach becomes more palpable when the warder begins the revision, because it updates the memory and builds the image of her first sexual encounter with Albino, scene that allows her to enjoy this process.

If in the field of sexuality the female characters acquire this facet, their performance in front of the confinement of their partners in the punishment cell experiences a similar trance. Meche and *La Chata*, observing that Polonio and Albino are in the camp and that they will not be able to have access to the visit, start a revolt that spreads throughout the prison and ends with the brutal punishment carried out on these last two. During this fact, both, with the purpose of unleashing their fury on the guards who hit their partners, are directly involved in the dispute:

> The women, impotent on the other side of the fence, shouted like demons, kicked the nearest attendant and pulled the hair that fell for a moment nearby, to pluck strands whose roots bled with whitish pieces of scalp (53-54).

The performance of these women is in correspondence with the way in which they are represented from their corporeality, which is undoubtedly one of the driving elements of the narrative.

However, in the case of "Sleeping on land" we see that the issue of prostitution is much more energetic than in *El Apando*. Each one of the women that appears in the story possesses the power of seduction and this power connotes the processes of construction of the feminine from an abjection desired by the male characters. As Marcela Lagarde affirms "In our culture, the ways of being men and women are qualified as sexual characteristics, and this consideration is part of the ideology that analyzes the human, as part of human nature" (Lagarde: 178). This is how in this story we see from the beginning the insinuation of the subject of sexuality and the constant exhibition of the female bodies that wait, at the age of the river, the arrival of the sailors who will be their clients for a few hours:

> There were some of them at the top of their houses, astride the handrail at the top of the stairs, or leaning on one shoulder in the doorframe, with the ordinary cloth dresses that were wrapped around their naked bodies, absolutely sweat, panting, strange sacred and dirty cows, slow, idle, all with the same expression of hopeless boredom, wet (104).

This representation of the prostitute is a kind of *leitmotiv* throughout Mexican literature, since it always oscillates between what is desired and, at the same time, repudiated. The conception of prostitution is the antagonist of the identity of the mother; however in "Dormir en tierra" this antithesis disappears. With mastery, Revueltas blocks the separation between these two representations that could be antagonistic to make them a close event and whose contradiction could be null. It is in the character of La Chunca that this characterization is synthesized, also associated with a vision about the properties of beauty that a prostitute should possess. The physical description of women, as in most Revueltas narrative, is grotesque and degraded. As in the mother of *El Carajo* in *El apando*, La Chunca is ambivalent, if the origin of *El Carajo* is no one's fault; in this case the phrase, "I do not know why they did it!" (110), triggers feelings of love/resentment toward the abandoned son: "She looked at the creature a moment longer, with a tender and loving grudge, because all the unnerving sadness of the last hours had its origin in the unhappy presence of that child "(111).

Later, the narrator states in the child's voice: "She does not want to have me because I am a son of a bitch". This affirmation involves removing one of the most intimate fibers of the identity of the Mexican, which is very close to that posed by Octavio Paz in his famous book The Labyrinth of Solitude[1]. The maternity associated with prostitution generates a complex vision in the individual and moves in an area that plays with the sexuality and the domain established on the mother. The modesty that should be fulfilled by the mother figure is broken with the presence of this irrepressible and painful identity; with this, the proposed appointment generates a complete restlessness and, in the case of the story, more than related to an offense, it is anchored to the fact of being the son of a prostitute, a space that is also prone to discredit. However, there is a double allusion to the son when a "without work" lifts the skirt to La Chunca and makes an obscene caress that arouses the spiteful glee of surrounding males and females. "He fucks her," you could say. The child of "Dormir en tierra" would then be stigmatized doubly as a repulsive spawn of a whore who is also raped.

Thus, the insurmountable frontier between maternity and exorbitant sexuality, which immediately refers us to the prostitute's vision, remains a close rather than distant field and refers to the same essence: the construction of the feminine. As was said at the beginning, Revueltas emphasizes the breaking of the guidelines that shape a certain society, as in the case of the Mexican one, with the intention of showing the way in which each individual is subject to an accumulation of representations that define him and mark his activities in the world. Being subject to these networks, both in *El Apando* and in "Dormir en tierra," implies submitting to a certain domain of power that changes the conception of our body and destiny. At the same time, he emphasizes with wise and direct phrases, the way in which the author dismantles all this congregation of masks in order to show the man as he is. At this point the literature of José Revueltas acquires a profoundly testimonial value: although the presence of the fictional is remarkable, the relationship of this way of being in the world implies a reflection on one's own environment that cannot be understood if the author it is not directly related to it. This testimonial literature then allows a more intrinsic vision not only of the characters, but also the perceptions that we can have about them and about the world view that this narrative tries to give us.

1 For a Mexican it is more infamous to be called "hijo de la chingada" than "hijo de puta": "La Chingada is the opened mother, raped or forcibly evicted. The 'hijo de la Chingada' is the spawn of rape, abduction or ridicule. If you compare this expression with the Spanish, 'hijo de puta', you immediately notice the difference. For the Spanish dishonor consists in being the son of a woman who voluntarily surrenders, a prostitute; for the Mexican, to be the fruit of a violation." Octavio Paz (87-88)

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STRUCTURAL CRISIS: POVERTY AND MIGRATION IN CHIAPAS

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Apolinar Oliva Velas
cuitt2006@yahoo.com

Jorge López Arévalo
jalachis@hotmail.com

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales
Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, México

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— *Abstract*—

The economy of Chiapas faces a structural crisis, which is why this paper analyzes its performance with a long-term vision (1900-2015). There is still no research about the causes of its low growth, which has lagged it behind the national average and maintains it as the federal entity with the highest levels of poverty and increasing flows of migration to the United States of America.

The production of studies on the subject and the regional results of the change of national strategy in this regard since 1982 is null. That is why this investigation deals with such effects. It is worth noting the lack of an analytical base supported on the predominant economic policy in Mexico and its brand in impoverished territories in a context dominated by global trends that alter the regions of the countries in many ways.

Keywords

Structural crisis; poverty and migration.

This work is based on the analysis of the structural crisis of the economy of Chiapas with a long-term vision (1900-2015). There is no research about the causes of the low economic growth of Chiapas, which has lagged it behind the country's average and maintains it as the state with the highest levels of poverty and, recently, of increasing flows of international migration to the United States. That is why it is necessary to empirically determine what has happened.

We consider analyzing the dynamics imposed by the new system of accumulation, which not only act in the national structures of the economies, since they affect smaller spaces of the federative entities. In these territories, the dynamics driven by the predominant economic policy and the tendencies of globalization are mixed with old structural problems of social inequality that have generated and sustained exclusionary labor markets. In this sense, migration of Chiapas to the United States is part of the new labor adjustment mechanisms in times of globalization.

The Zapatista movement of 1994 caused the country to turn towards Chiapas and made visible the poverty of its population. Then federal funds came in significant amounts as part of the counterinsurgency policy, but also to combat poverty. However, today there are more poor people than then.

It has been a state traditionally excluded from productive investment and trade flows and, on the contrary, has been included in the migratory flows to the neighboring northern country. According to data from the Survey on Migration in the Northern Border of Mexico and the Bank of Mexico, people from Chiapas began to migrate to the United States and send remittances in the second five-year period of the 1990s, with which the state went from an agro-export model to one exporter of labor. That is why it is imperative to analyze the effects of the structural crisis of its economy.

1. THE STRUCTURAL CRISIS OF THE CHIAPAS ECONOMY

The "perverse economic cycle" or "poorly behaved" is a clear symptom of a crisis of the current pattern of accumulation. What can be understood from this? Under normal conditions, when the crisis opens the recession, a stage opens in which apart from the known features (falls in investment, GDP, employment, etc.) begins to correct, gradually, the problems that in the phase of the boom ended in chaos. For example, if the crucial thing was a decrease in the rate of profit due to an increase in wages, higher than the productivity when the recession begins to operate, unemployment spreads. This weakens union organizations and the bargaining power of wage earners. In the end, the real wage falls and, above all, the salary-productivity ratio decreases. With this the rate of surplus value rises and, finally, that of profit is recomposed, giving rise to the recovery and the consequent new maximum. In

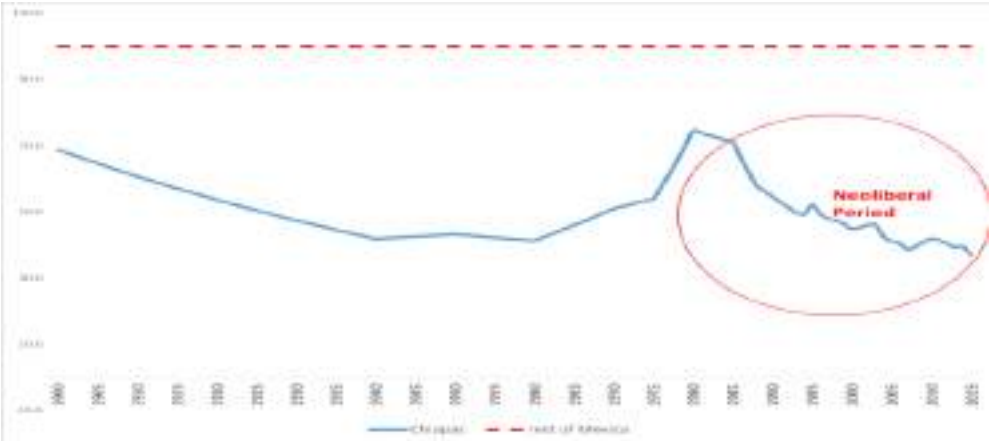
short, the capitalist economic cycle is based on internal causes: the apogee causes problems leading to crisis and recession, engendering processes that recompose the profitability of capital and the consequent investment activity; for this reason, it produces a new pinnacle. This is qualified as a "normal" or "well-behaved" system trajectory.

However, from time to time the recession fails to effectively fulfill its tasks of creative destruction in Schumpeterian terms. It is no longer enough to revive the system. In such cases we speak of a "perverse cycle" and the phenomenon goes on to show that a major structural change is required to resume a dynamic behavior. In these cases a transition period is opened from the current accumulation pattern to another capable of resolving the contradictions (Valenzuela, 2011).

That is to say, the economic cycle does not fulfill the positive functions, in which the recession works as a purge for the system, because it cleanses it and paves the way for a new boom. About the economy of Chiapas there is long-term empirical evidence. It is not that the case analysis replaces the whole, but for reasons of space we will refer almost exclusively to the state.

Poverty has marked the lives of many generations in Chiapas. For more than a century the economy has shown mediocre economic growth rates, well below the national average, except for the period 1970-1980 (Peláez and López, 2013)[1], which, together with the problems of inequality in the distribution of wealth has resulted in the highest levels of poverty in the entire country, evidencing failures in the state's economic structure. In relative terms, the smallest distance of GDP per capita from Chiapas with respect to the national one was recorded in 1980. However, even in the years of greatest prosperity, the average wealth of Chiapas came to represent barely two thirds of the rest of the country. The year of greatest distance was 1960, when the per capita product reached only 41.3 percent of the rest of Mexico. In 1900 its per capita GDP was 63.1 and it was only exceeded in 1980. It took 80 years to surpass the average of which it had started (Graph 1). However, in 2015 GDP per capita had the greatest distance since 1900, since it was just 37.1 in the rest of Mexico.

1 There is a bias in 1980 for oil, which generated more than 44 percent of the GDP of Chiapas and thus the entity ranked second in its production, only after Tabasco. About Campeche, its production was computed as territorial waters. If we remove oil in 1980, Chiapas ranks 16th in GDP and 30th in GDP per capita. If the territorial waters are imputed to Campeche, as it was basically, without oil, Chiapas climbs to 29th place in GDP per capita without oil; in any case, it was not the last with and without oil in GDP per capita.



Graph 1. Gross Domestic Product per capita of Chiapas compared to the rest of Mexico based on Mexican pesos values of 2008, 1900-2015 (%). Source: Peláez y López, 2013.

Graph 1 provides information about the economic growth of Chiapas in the 1960-1980 period, in which GDP per capita tripled, while in the rest of the country did not even double (the Import Substitution Industrialization Model period). The opposite occurred in the last two decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, since the implementation of the neoliberal model, causing that in 2015 it represented only 37.1 percent of the national (calculations based on INEGI and CONAPO).

2. POVERTY AND MIGRATION

The recent crisis in Chiapas, since the implementation of the neoliberal model in 1982, reaches practically three decades and a lost five years, due to the lack of dynamism in the accumulation of capital and flows of external capital (national and foreign) to its economy to compensate their scarce internal savings[2], making it impossible for the modern sector to absorb new entrants into the labor market, whose dynamism increased as a result of demographic trends and the increase in the participation rate, as well as the gradual incorporation of women to the labor market.

Therefore, according to the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL), in 2010, three out of every four people in Chiapas were in poverty and one in two in food poverty. That

2 Although Chiapas has a very low saving in all the entities of the country, the smaller number of bank branches per inhabitants and the bank rate of its population, transfers part of the savings of the Chiapas through the commercial bank, since each peso that is collected only returns 30 cents as credit to the entity (López, 2007).

is, only those who enjoyed a level of income that escapes poverty, one in four, could constitute effective demand and acquire "luxury" goods in the Ricardian sense (Salama, 2008). On the other hand, food poverty levels reported are much higher than the national average for the three measurements presented by Coneval. It can be seen that they are above twice the national average and, most serious, the gap widens (López and Núñez 2015).[3]

Table 1
Evolution of poverty and the Gini index in Chiapas and the national average

	Poverty by income evolution									Social cohesion degree		
	Food			Capacities			Heritage			Gini coefficient		
Federal entity	1990	2010	Difference	1990	2010	Difference	1990	2010	Difference	1990	2010	Difference
National	23-7	18.8	-4.9	31.3	26.7	-4.6	53.2	51.3	-2.0	0.562	0.500	-0.062
Chiapas	46.2	48.6	**2.4**	55.1	58.0	**2.9**	75.1	78.1	**3.0**	0.543	0.515	-0.028

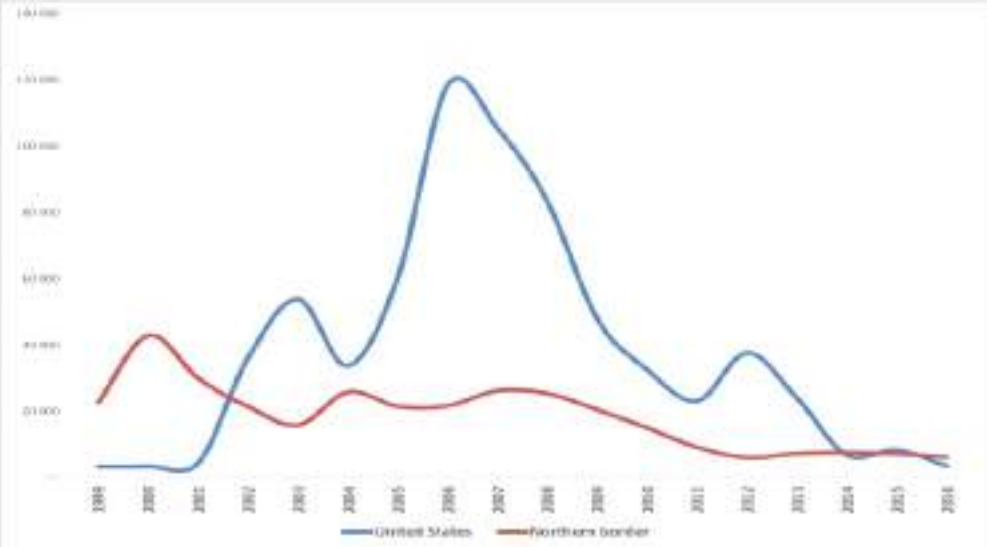
Source: Coneval, from López and Núñez, 2015

In Chiapas there were more poor people in 2010 than in 1990 in the three modalities (food, capacities and heritage). It is not the case of the national average, because it decreased slightly. In relation to the Gini index, it is the most unequal entity in the country and where it decreases least. That is to say, the EZLN took up arms to improve the living conditions of the indigenous peoples, but now there is more poverty than in 1990. Before the Zapatista uprising, even with the massive transfer of federal resources, poverty was democratized. Its distribution by municipality, in 1990, showed "normality", since there were few with high and low levels, most concentrated in the center of the distribution. In 2010, the placement of municipal poverty was uniform, all municipalities with the same (high) numbers; sign of the failure of social welfare programs (López and Núñez, 2015).

Historically, the state of Chiapas has not been oblivious to a migratory population dynamics, since it has had processes of intense intrastate migration, forced migrations (attachment system and political conflicts), colonization of the Lacandona jungle, interstate migration, Guatemalan immigrants and refugees, definitive immigrants, transmigrants from Central America and other countries (Betancourt 1997, Cruz et al 2007 and Pérez

3 Food poverty, capacity and heritage are used because the multidimensional began to be calculated in 2008 and does not allow for an analysis like the one we made.

2009). In terms of international migratory flows it has been a place of transit and destination, but in recent years it has become a place of expulsion and return, which is why since the early nineties and even in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, works like those of Martínez (1999) and Balkan (2001) tried to explain why the Chiapanecos did not emigrate. Other studies such as Tuirán, Santibáñez and Corona (2006) and Garavito and Torres (2004) questioned the increase in international remittances to the state between 2000 and 2006, considering that according to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey, the National Survey of Demographic Dynamics of 1997, the National Employment Survey of the fourth quarter of 2002, which includes a module on international migration, the flow of Chiapas did not correspond to the registered amount for remittances (Nájera and López, 2012). The emigration of the people from Chiapas has been gradual and gradual, transiting from the interregional or intrastate, and, relatively recent, the international.

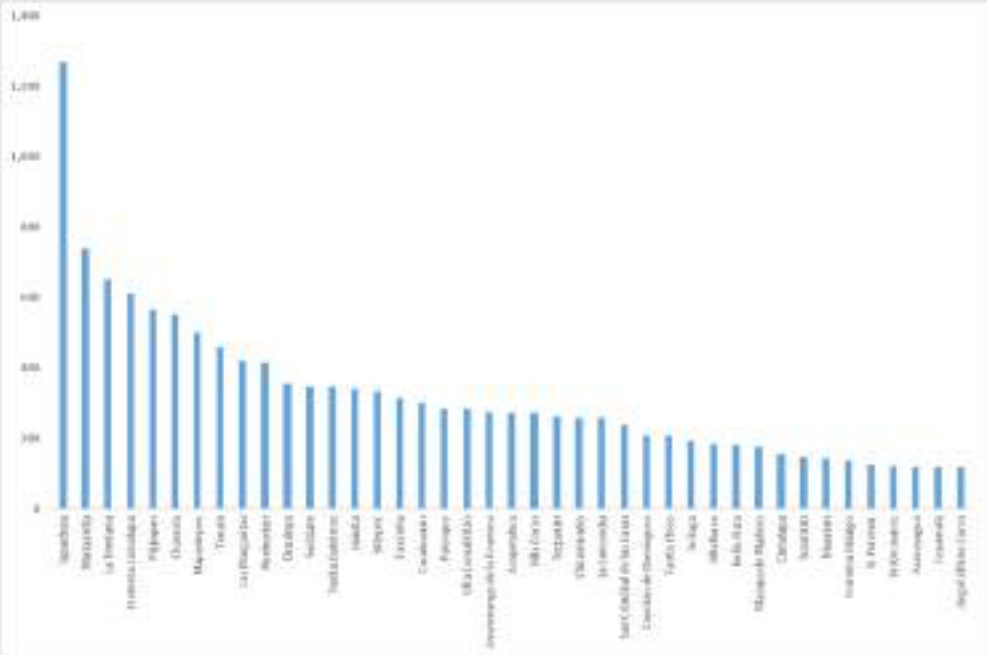


Graph 2. Chiapas' migration (1999-2016). Source: EMIF-Norte

The emigration of the Chiapanecos to the United States was explosive, but the cycle closed quickly. It was very affected by the 2008-2009 recession in that country (Graph 2). The peak of the international migration from Chiapas was 2006 and in 2007 the downward cycle began, caused basically by the recession of the US economy, and the flows have not recovered. It does not mean that they do not keep going, they leave, but with a much smaller output. In the case of the northern border, the summit was 2000.

In 2017, of the 118 municipalities of the entity in 114 emigration was present, according to the consular registration, leaving only Aldama, San Andrés Duraznal, Santiago El Pinar and Sitalá (Institute for Mexicans

Abroad) exempt from this current. It is not that they do not have migration, it is not registered in the high security consular registration. In a very short period, all of Chiapas, practically, became a territory for the expulsion of population. The consular registration is underrepresented because many of them do not approach the consulates to process it, but it shows a tendency.



Graph 3. Municipalities of Chiapas with a high number of consular number plates (people). Source: Institute for Mexicans Abroad, DGAC, SRE 2018

Outstanding are Tapachula, Motozintla, La Trinitaria, Frontera Comalapa, Pijijiapan, Chamula, Mapastepec, Tonalá, Las Margaritas, Huehuetán and Ocosingo in number of high security consular number plates (Graph 3). Among the destinations with higher numbers are Florida, California, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Kentucky, Illinois and Alabama (Institute for Mexicans Abroad, DGAC, SRE 2018).

3. STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE CHIAPAS ECONOMY IN THE RECENT THREE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD

Based on data from the National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Information Technology (INEGI, 2017), we present the trajectories of economic growth, the specialization processes and the analysis of change and participation.

In the period 2003-2015 the context of the development of the economy of Chiapas was that of the national economic growth and this one behaved

in a mediocre manner, while for 2003-2008 the average annual rate was of 3.36 percent, reflecting the increase of the Oil GDP influenced by the exponential rise in the price of a barrel of crude oil, but in 2008-2015 it suffered a deceleration, growing at an annual average of 2.036 percent, affecting the effect of the 2008-2009 global crisis of the developed countries. However, the economy of Chiapas still performed worse, growing at an average annual rate of 0.75 percent for the first period (2003-2008) and 1.18 percent for the second (2008-2015).

The agriculture sector, although representing a low percentage of the state GDP, is a relevant factor for the generation of employment and for other activities of the productive chain, but its behavior was adverse, decreasing to an annual average of 0.797 percent in the period 2003-2008 and of 1.03 in the period 2008-2015.

The behavior of the primary sector in Chiapas presents a deep crisis, as the restructuring caused by the commercial opening dismantled the traditional productive chains of basic grains and livestock, which shows that even in the window of agricultural price boom from 2000 to 2010 could the local productive chains be restructured.

Other sectors that declined in Chiapas were construction and metal-mechanic industries, with sharp drops in average annual growth rates, which means that the scarce manufacturing industry was practically dismantled. The same fate had mining.

The economy of Chiapas was reconfigured with the growth of the services sector, where trade showed great dynamism, having average annual rates of 5.8 percent for 2003-2008 and 4.64 percent in 2008-2015, and the same for professional activities.

However, this GDP growth in trade is associated with the appearance of supermarket chains, convenience stores and small-scale marketers, although none of these activities generates productive linkages, as they do not market regional products and small-scale marketers do not generate great added value. Its objective is to obtain resources for social reproduction. That is to say, the chains and the bank capture the scarce surplus generated in Chiapas, as well as the governmental transfers.

Public spending for the state has lost capacity to expand the GDP of Chiapas because the generation of value linked to direct government activities and services such as education and health, linked to public spending through salaries and investment, is filtered to other regions of the country, since is not a demand base for internal products and is anchored in the territory through services.

Table 2 shows that the participation of the most important activities in the generation of GDP for 2003 were agriculture, mining and construction,

which lost weight in 2015, while trade and real estate and rental services gained in the composition of GDP in 2015.

On the other hand, public spending, between 1994 and 2000, an important driver of the Chiapas economy in educational services and direct government activities, kept its participation stable.

The loss of importance productive activities of the primary and secondary sectors with productive chains is critical for the entity, because they produce tradable goods, movable outside the territory, with which the balance of goods and services of the entity is balanced by weakening productive activities of these two sectors and basically depends on remittances from workers in other states or from outside the country to maintain stable demand for goods not produced in the state.

Table 2

Percentage share in GDP of the most important activities in the economy of Chiapas

ACTIVITY	2003	2008	2015
Agriculture	9.33	8.63	7.39
Mining	12.67	7.46	6.39
Construction	13.28	8.58	7.51
Commerce	12.21	15.59	19.71
Real estate services and for rent	13.25	15.42	16.02
Educational services	7.79	7.93	7.97
Legislative, governmental activities and delivery of justice	5.71	5.67	4.52
Other	25.76	32.42	30.09
Total	100	100	100

Source: Based on data from the BIE by INEGI (2017) consulted at http://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/bie/ on November 23, 2017. * By presentation, the activities have been summarized so that they are identified, so as not to only include the codes of the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS)

The comparison of the weight of the activities in the composition of the GDP in relation to the whole of the national economy is worth noting to see the activities in which Chiapas specializes with respect to the nation.

For this, the quotient of location of the relationship between the participation of the sector "i" in the region "j" and that of the same in the national total and as a measure of the "relative or interregional specialization" is used. On the other hand, with regional exports compared to world exports, is interpreted as "Index of revealed comparative advantages" (Lira and Quiroga, 2009).

About the location quotient by dividing the percentage share of the activity in the state's GDP among the country's, a value greater than unity indicates specialization.

In 2003, Chiapas had a specialization in agriculture, mining, construction, petroleum and coal derivatives manufacturing, real estate and rental services, education and health, and direct government activities.

In 2015, mining and construction lost the quality of specialized activities for the economy of Chiapas, while generation and supply of electricity, water and gas were assumed as such.

Table 3
Location ratio of the activities of the Chiapas' economy with specialization

Code SCIAN	Activity	2003	2008	2015R
11	Agriculture	2.62	2.62	2.37
21	Mining	1.16	0.84	0.97
22	Electricity, water and gas	0.86	2.78	1.75
23	Construction	1.71	0.99	1.00
311	Food industry	0.80	0.90	0.98
324-326	Petroleum and coal products	1.29	0.95	1.14
337	Manufacture of furniture, mattresses and blinds	0.28	0.37	0.62
43-46	Commerce	0.86	1.04	1.22
48-49	Transportation, mail and storage	0.89	0.86	0.65
53	Real estate services and rental of personal and intangible assets	1.09	1.27	1.31
61	Educational services	1.78	2.00	2.21
72	Housing and preparation of food and beverages	0.85	0.88	0.86
81	Other services except government activities	0.84	0.91	0.98
93	Legislative, governmental activities and delivery of justice	1.35	1.48	1.22

Source: Based on data from the BIE by INEGI (2017) consulted at http://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/bie/ on November 23, 2017. * By presentation, the activities have been summarized so that they are identified, so as not to only include the codes of the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS).

To analyze the economy of Chiapas in the 2003-2015 period, the technique of change and participation was used as part of the hypothesis of what the state GDP level would be if all the activities of the state had grown at the same pace as at the national level.

"The logical basis of the method is based on a very simple empirical finding: growth is greater in some sectors than in others and in some regions than in others. Thus a certain region may present a growth rate higher than the average of the regions, either because in its productive structure there

are dynamic sectors at the national level or because its sectors (whether dynamic or not) are growing faster than the average of the sector in the comparison pattern" (Lira and Quiroga 2009: 24).

In the analysis of change and participation, the total effect results from measuring the state GDP with the hypothesis of an increase at the same rate as the national one, discounting the actual growth value of the state, a differential consequence considering the increase in activities at the same rate as the national and discounting the real value, as well as a structural one that analyzes the behavior of the most important sectors of the state economy.

For the 2003-2008 period the analysis of change and participation indicates that Chiapas is a losing state, because despite the mediocre growth of the economy at national level it does not reach the hypothetical value of GDP, calculating a total loss of 35.914 million Mexican pesos (2008=100). As a differential effect, there are significant losses in agriculture, mining, construction, wood industry, oil and coal derivatives manufacturing, transportation, mail and storage, business support service, education, housing and direct government activities. As a structural effect, activities that were important during this period, such as agriculture, construction and transport, had a poor performance.

In the 2008-2015 period, given the low average annual growth of the economy in the country, with only 2.03 percent, the expected hypothetical value was not high; however, due to the low rates of Chiapas, of 1.18 percent annual average, there is a total loss of real value against the expected of 13.501 million Mexican pesos (2008=100). The loss due to the differential effect was 23,038 million Mexican pesos (2008=100). The activities with a poor performance in this period were agriculture, generation and transmission of electricity, water and gas, construction, transport, mail and storage, information in mass media and financial, real estate and rental services. However, there was a structural gain of 9,537 million Mexican pesos (2008=100) due to good performance of important sectors for the economy of Chiapas, such as commerce, educational services and health services, which are non-tradable.

CONCLUSIONS

The absence of GDP growth per capita in Chiapas in the very long term (1900-2015) indicates a crisis of a structural nature, from which it will only emerge if the pattern of accumulation is modified. Changes must be implemented in the production (distribution) and use of the economic surplus, which implies developing capitalist forms to the detriment of non-capitalist ones, reducing structural heterogeneity, but with better standards of income distribution and greater productive investment.

Poverty in Chiapas has structural roots associated with the social capacity to generate goods and services and the way in which they are distributed (Rodríguez and López 2014). Currently the way to generate wealth has changed a lot; the detonators are no longer the classic factors of production (land, capital and labor), since elements such as innovation and technological development have come into play, in addition to geolocation, the efficient use of energy and resources, associated factors to education, health and the formation of social capital. These new elements play a decisive role, but productive investment is required from any source in the entity, a key variable, through a new development strategy.

High levels of underemployment and informality, low rate of salaried work (including low wage levels) and poverty rates limit the internal market and minimize the possibility of expanding that market and develop economies of scale for the growth of the sectors tradable (Ros 2015). Economic stagnation interacts with inequality and income concentration limits the expansion of the domestic market and fosters social unrest, all of which reduces the increase. In turn, low growth accentuates inequality and informality and reduces the productivity and income of informal workers. Piketty (2014) has shown that a low growth rate increases the gap between the return of capital and growth, increasing the share of profits in the functional distribution of income and that of the super-rich sector in personnel (Ros 2015).

The conditions of the economic structure do not favor either economic growth or income distribution, as growth rates continue to be below national indicators, with which the differences widen.

The activities in which there is economic specialization are reduced and lose weight in the composition of GDP, especially in the primary and secondary sectors with productive linkages, generating local added value, tertiary activities becoming important as retail trade.

In relation to the structural changes in the three recent five-year periods, Chiapas is the loser in tradable sectors - the most worrisome - and the little it gains is in non-tradables and that surely has to do with public and private transfers (remittances), not with productive activities of the entity. That is to say, in spite of the mediocre economic growth of the country in this period, that of the state has a worse behavior.

The migration of Chiapas to the United States is the result of decades of economic stagnation, part of the new mechanisms of labor adjustment and global character that tend to balance labor markets. However, this does not mean an improvement in its situation: migrants are excluded and expelled from the labor markets in their entity or country of origin to be incorporated into those of the receiving countries in very precarious conditions, generally submerging them in the economy of poverty. In addition, the phenomenon is recent and occurs in a context of synchronization of the economic cycles

of Mexico with the United States, favoring returns when the recession occurs in the receiving country, but in this, because the cycles are synchronized, they encounter the same situation, without alternatives in the labor market.

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BULLYING IN YOUNG STUDENTS: PERCEPTIONS, CONCEPTUALIZATION AND EXPERIENCES

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Flor Ivett Reyes Guillén[1]
ivettrg017@gmail.com

Luis Enrique Nájera Ortiz[2]
naorti@hotmail.com

Ana Berónica Palacios Gámaz[1]
avgamaz@hotmail.com

1 Facultad de Ciencias Sociales,
Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, México

2 División de Ciencias Sociales - Departamento de Educación.
Universidad de Guanajuato, México

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— *Abstract*—

Mexico ranks first in cases of bullying in basic education, affecting more than 18 million students, both public and private institutions (OCDE, 2014). Students affected by bullying suffer repeated humiliations and acts of violence, resulting in low self-esteem, low school performance, attrition, and sleep problems. In addition to presenting severe emotional conflicts and depression, which in some cases leads to death. The current study presents results of an analysis of the construction of concepts and perceptions about bullying, harassment and intimidation by upper secondary students, which allows the possibility of reflecting that the imputation of violence to a school etiology is frequently postulated; but rarely proved.

Keywords

Bullying; perceptions; concept building; teenagers.

Bullying is a concept that has now been adopted by most countries where English is not necessarily the mother tongue. It can be described as a type of harassment with repeated and deliberate use of verbal, psychological or physical attacks to hurt and dominate another child, adolescent or young person without previous provocation. In this act, the victim lacks the possibility of defending himself (Gómez and López, 2011). The participants in bullying can be classified into four categories: "bully", "victim", "victim-aggressor", and the "neutral" that is the partner not involved in the bullying phenomenon (Albores, Sauceda , Ruiz and Roque, 2011).

Bullying is a concept that has now been adopted by most countries where English is not necessarily the mother tongue. It can be described as a type of harassment with repeated and deliberate use of verbal, psychological or physical attacks to hurt and dominate another child, adolescent or young person without previous provocation. In this act, the victim lacks the possibility of defending himself (Gómez and López, 2011). The participants in bullying can be classified into four categories: "bully", "victim", "victim-aggressor", and the "neutral" that is the partner not involved in the bullying phenomenon (Albores, Sauceda , Ruiz and Roque, 2011).

> [the harassment is] ... repetitive, provokes physical, verbal, gestural contact, etc., with intentions of doing harm. Generally involved in this violent process the victim or person violated, victimizer (person causing the damage) and bystanders (people who observe violent acts and usually do not intervene in their prevention or during the act itself) (Velasco, Ledesma and Gómez, 2014, p.87).

Precisely, the beginning of research on this phenomenon began in Sweden in the late sixties as a result of the suicide of three teenagers. However, the studies on this violent behavior were directed in greater proportion towards the infant population of primary school age (Cabezas, 2007). It is precisely in the sixties that violence becomes visible and is analyzed as an object of study by specialists, not as a human condition but as a serious problem that is increasing (Pinhero, 2007).

In Mexico, school bullying, or *chascarrillo* is not a new phenomenon, but now has become very important due to the events mainly in schools of basic education and that has awakened the need for a social awareness for their care and eradication. This importance has also been charged by the relationship between this concept adopted from another language and culture, with concepts such as violence, intimidation and harassment.

Bullying is a phenomenon of unjustified aggressiveness that occurs with a greater or lesser level of seriousness; but it is always violent because it alters the order of social relations. In order to generalize this expression

it is necessary to consider the way in which bullying and harassment are conceptualized, moreover, when dealing with Latin American countries.

Within these social relations, the most felt implications have been in the order of education and to date have exceeded the limits to become, also, a public health problem that affects students, regardless of the level (Valadez, 2008).

Craig, Harel-Fisch, Fogel-Grinvald, Dostaler, Hetland, Simons-Morton (2009), reported that the prevalence of bullying in 40 countries with representative national samples was 8.6 to 45.2% in males and 4.8 to 35.8% in females. In Mexico, as in several countries of the world, the problem of bullying has intensified, to such a degree that the OECD (2014) places Mexico in the first place of bullying in the countries that make up this organization. However, and without appearing to be an excuse, it is necessary to carry out quantitative and qualitative measurement studies regarding the phenomenon, since quantitative measurement instruments do not detail the nature of the problem addressed.

When dealing with the violence that is registered in schools, mainly, it is necessary to carry out a detailed analysis of the actions, a careful record of the interactions and of the constant exchanges between the subjects, as well as, addressing spaces for adolescents and young people, age gap where delicate extremes such as suicides and murders have been reached.

It is important to emphasize the implications that bullying has in the areas of education and public health, and that they have come in continuous growth. In the field of education, according to data proposed by (Craig, 1992, Avilés, 2003, Morales, 2012), the rates of low performance, school dropout, and attention deficit are sensitive. In public health, the diagnosis of gastrointestinal problems, headaches, sleep disturbances, depression and anxiety have increased, and as serious consequences that bullying has on the physical and mental health of victims and victimizers, at ages ranging from childhood to adolescence and youth. The actions and repercussions, as well as the nature of the acting interactions and the legislation involved in these scenarios, are undoubtedly the basic elements for the understanding of the phenomenon, its approach and above all its prevention. For the previously described, this study presents results of a construction analysis of bullying and harassment concepts, by students of upper secondary level. The study proposed a vision and multidisciplinary approach, where scholars from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, medicine, biology and sustainable development participated. This, due to the dimension of the problem, which went from being an isolated phenomenon, to being a social problem with serious consequences, even more so when the trend is towards the naturalization of violence.

ANALYZING CONCEPTS

Both bullying and harassment are concepts used in Mexico to refer to acts of violence against the physical, mental and social integrity of a person (Gómez, 2013). They are concepts that indicate violent and recurrent behaviors among people, usually peers, that is, they belong to groups with the same characteristics. It reflects a diversity of actions, attitudes and facts that different social actors exercise in the school space.

That is why, in the research carried out, special emphasis was placed, firstly, on the conceptualization that adolescents of upper middle level have regarding bullying and harassment. Secondly, but not least, there were elements indicating whether there are violent acts between peers or between different social actors in the educational environment. Identifying, finally, the position of victim or victimizer between actors.

The relevance of violence in educational centers, generates the need for this type of detailed analysis trying to interpret both the inter-agency framework and actions, as well as the conceptualization developed by the different actors. It is important to analyze the cultural aspects immersed in the subject, that is, to identify the existence of elements of power, force, gender, which evidences the nature of the interactions.

The analysis of these concepts leads us to the need to situate the problem temporarily, in what way, chronologically and culturally we go from "heavy jokes among schoolmates" to "violent and malicious behaviors of ´bullying and harassment´". Unfortunately at present, a violent society can be identified, where according to some authors (Hernández, 1998, Gómez, 2005, Vizer, 2006), a new canon of appreciation has been established in the face of violent acts and the brutality, savagery and death that victims can experience.

There are several analyzes that accompany the conceptualization and acceptance of violence, within these, Moscovici (1976) mentions that, in the faculties of the process of thought and language, is the fact of converting abstract objects into an objective representation. This can be explained because the categorization of an element of reality is related to the records of human memory; achieving later, the conviction to participate in the original abstract object, resulting in the conceptualization and generation of actions coherent to it. What makes the situation more complex is that this process leads to the naturalization of actions and behaviors.

In the case of bullying and harassment, some authors, such as Hernández (1998), maintain that the concepts have been naturalized and established within the current culture, as a consequence of the continuous sending of messages through mass media. That is, media, indiscriminately and continuously, sends information related to violence, as dissemination

of a show, influencing the naturalization of violent behavior, impunity and the socialization of these events, real or fictitious.

AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF BULLYING IN SCHOOL

Most studies of bullying and school violence have been conducted in primary education, the concept refers to bullying, physical and psychological abuse between classmates (Ortega, del Rey and Mora, 2001). There are few studies carried out at the upper and higher secondary level in this regard. The concept includes a long list of actions that are considered elements of bullying: heavy jokes, taunts, beatings, exclusion, abuse, sexual connotations, physical attacks, lies or false rumors about him/her, hurtful notes are sent. Even some authors (Castillo and Pacheco, 2008) classify the types of bullying that can occur, among which we find: 1) Physical types: direct, against the body, hit, and push; indirect, against property, to steal, to break. 2) Verbal type: insults, ridicule, nicknames, slander. 3) Psychological, undermine self-esteem and foster insecurity and fear. It is important to mention that the psychological component is found in all forms of abuse. And 4) Social, which isolate the individual from the group (Castillo and Pacheco, 2008).

Culturally, there are elements that mark differences between the ways in which these violent actions are carried out. Hence the interest to explore the construction of concepts and the perception that the main actors of the educational context have regarding bullying and harassment specifically, that although these types of studies have been developed, it is also interesting to be able to explore them more in students from Latin American countries, and even more so in upper secondary educational level, where students are in an age range from approximately 15 to 18 years.

Regarding the pioneering research on the subject, they have approached the problem from different perspectives; some of the main orientations are:

1. Discovery and conceptualization of the phenomenon (Olweus, 1978, Ronald, 2010).
2. Frequency with which it occurs in institutions (Ortega, 2010).
3. Description of victims and victimizers (Debarbieux, Garnier, Montoya and Tichit, 1999).
4. Plot of relationships (Abramovay and Rua, 2003).
5. Consequences and psychological repercussions (Miller, 2010).
6. Alternative solutions (Ortega, 1996).

However, specifically for Mexico, although several studies have been carried out in this regard, many of them have adopted analysis models from countries different from ours, and the results have been generalized in an alarming

way, without stopping to evaluate contextual aspects such as culture, ages, ethnic groups, gender and even perceptions related to violence. In this regard, several authors refer to this contextual need and the particularities (Gómez, 2005; Valadez, 2007; Prieto Quezada, 2008).

Everyday violence is part of a prevailing reality, unfortunately normalizing it is even more delicate. It then becomes a process originated by several factors, in different dimensions and that are loaded with subjectivity immersed in social relationships. In this reality with the sum of objective, subjective and even trans-subjective elements, violence takes different concepts and is expressed in different ways.

In the educational context, it is convenient to have a detailed diagnosis of this phenomenon in the different levels, among the different actors that comprise the educational environment, analyzed to be able to indicate the ways by which to influence the search for change of attitudes, violent actions towards healthy attitudes and actions, both for individuals and for groups.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research carried out addresses the measurement and characterization of bullying. The study is of a cross-sectional nature, and the analysis of the inter-agency structure and relationships that keep the processes of violence in upper secondary educational institutions is considered.

The study was conducted in the Región Altos of the state of Chiapas, Mexico. Specifically, the research focused on high school students of the Colegio de Bachilleres, campus 58 (justification of the unit of analysis), located in the municipality of San Cristobal de Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico, which contains a total population of 953 students, during the 2016-2017 school year. For the study, a random sample consisting of 225 students of upper secondary level was defined, in equal proportions for men and women: 24% of indigenous origin (Tzeltal and Tzotzil) and 76% mestizo; with an average age of 16 years, whose average school performance is 8.3 (0-10 scale). The participants were selected under the following requirements: students enrolled in an educational institution selected for the study and who agreed to participate, with informed consent considering the ethical principles of rigor for studies with human population.

In order to collect the information, the Survey was used and a specific questionnaire was applied to the upper secondary level, prepared according to the context of the indigenous and urban zone, in a state with a low level of human development. The questionnaire addresses the conceptualization that students have about respect on the one hand and bullying, harassment and intimidation on the other. It also retrieves information about experiences of teasing, exclusion and harassment on more than one occasion.

Information was processed using the Windows acces 2013 package, which allowed the analysis of the study variables, taking into account the qualitative and quantitative information collected.

RESEARCH RESULTS

1. Concepts:

Respect: Students consider respecting the fact of treating people well, providing understanding and maintaining a relationship without blows and insults, interacting without problems or exclusions.

Bullying: this concept is referred to as school abuse through verbal and physical aggression, discriminating, harassing, and making a person feel bad.

Harassment: they define it as the act of annoying a person by telling those profanities, obscenities, forcing them to do something they do not want, sexually violating.

Intimidation: when someone threatens you, humiliates, instills fear in order to demonstrate superiority.

2. Violence experience

The experiences mostly reported are 58% insults, shouting, beatings, threats and intimidation. Despite this, only 36% of the young people interviewed have ever been defended, 66% give notice, mainly to school authorities, followed by family and friends.

Now, when asked specifically about experiences in one or more of the following situations, statistics show that:

- They experience bullying (associating the concept): 18%
- Pushing and hitting (physical violence): 47%
- Teasing (verbal violence): 29%
- Exclusion (discrimination): 16%
- Robbery (announced by removing or snatching their belongings): 15%
- They consider themselves harassed and intimidated: 31%

Regarding ethnic origin, there is no statistically representative difference in any of the cases described above.

Another element as a result of the study was to consider the variables of violent relationships between the different actors in the educational center, from teachers to students, from students to teachers, from men to women. The statistics indicate that, of the interviewees:

- Considers that the teacher makes fun of him or her: 22%
- Identify as bullying the violence from teachers towards students: 35%
- Identify as bullying the violence from students towards teachers: 48%
- Identify bullying mostly from men towards women: 60%
- Have been involved in harassment towards a partner or companion: 16%

In order to find some relationship between the school environment and the family, we inquired about family relationships:

- Tranquility prevails at home: 93%
- Your opinion is taken into account: 93%
- Problems are solved by talking: 93%
- Your parents punish you with blows: 7%
- Your parents shout at you: 7%
- In your house you hear many obscenities and cuss words: 9%

DISCUSSION

In the school environment and in the popular voice, there are complications regarding the conceptualization of bullying, harassment, intimidation and any other type of violence. Bullying as a concept, is relatively recent in our country and apparently still cannot be clearly defined in terms of the use that gives the population in general to this concept against another type of violence and the participation of different actors in it.

To authors such as Trianes (2000) and SanMartín (2006), school violence encompasses all those actions and negative behaviors carried out by any type of actor in the school environment and its surroundings, including fights between students, gangs, antisocial behavior, or vandalism, among others. Bullying occurs exclusively among peers, that is, among students, being one of the multiple expressions of violence in the school environment. In the present study, it is clear that the confusion between concepts exists; but this does not stop the high rates of school violence and bullying.

However, based on Taylor and Bogdan (2000) social phenomena are understood from the perception of the actors and the ways in which they experience the world, therefore, the present study throws the analysis of

the experiences lived about violence and the conceptualization of bullying, harassment and intimidation, by a sample of high school students.

Several studies on climate, conflicts and violence in schools confirm that the analytical construction of the concepts of violence and bullying is extremely complex; mainly due to the social and historical nature of these terms and even to the idiomatic origin (UNICEF and FLACSO, 2011). However, conducting studies on conceptualization allows us the possibility of reflecting that the imputation of violence to a school etiology is frequently postulated; but rarely demonstrated.

As an initial part of the discussion it is relevant to mention that the conceptualization that the interviewees make about bullying, strictly concerns the school environment: "School mistreatment by verbal and physical aggression, discriminate, harass, and make a person feel bad". It can even be tacitly differentiated from what they perceive in their homes, where tranquility prevails, their opinions are taken into account and problems are solved by talking (93%).

Conceptualizing is the way to represent and simplify what a person knows about a topic or the way they are perceiving their environment (Fauconnier and Turner, 1994). As an important result of this research, it is precisely the perception of the school (upper middle school) as a violent environment, identifying mainly physical violence (47%) and verbal violence (29%). Specifically men to women (60%) and even more interesting is that the violence from students towards teachers is considered higher (48%).

Now, with regard to the violent behavior of teachers towards students, this study shows that the interviewees identify teasing (22%) and bullying (35%), as violent behavior of their teachers towards them; unfortunately, the percentages are not minimal and are manifested as important elements when considering that the function of the teacher is to train students; but this teaching process should not be considered with examples of violence. This becomes even more complex when considering that school violence is the product of institutional mechanisms that constitute violent practices and/or accentuate situations of social violence (UNICEF and FLACSO, 2011). It is at this point that we specifically discuss that processes of social violence are being accentuated in the educational sphere.

Among the violent acts that are manifested in the school, physical violence is recognized (pushing and shoving), harassment, ridicule, exclusion and theft (100%); but only 18% of them report it using the bullying concept.

Education is a fundamental tool for changing cultural patterns that perpetuate or condone violence against children (UNICEF, 2011); so, in this study we found that far from reducing violence, behavioral patterns are perpetuating it. The foregoing, we can analyze from its context to mention that, at a basic level and above, in Mexico, and Chiapas specifically, there

are historical structures that mark violent events of the teaching profession to claim their rights before governmental structures, having repercussions, unfortunately, in the loss of social peace, free transit and the right to receive classes. That although, these acts take place outside the schools, we can also affirm that they directly affect the image of the teacher before their students. It is not an isolated event that the students interviewed conceptualize bullying, harassment and intimidation and relate it directly to the school setting, contrary to what happens in their homes, where they perceive a peaceful family environment.

According to the information issued by the Ministry of Public Education (SEP), on Friday, May 30, 2014, the SEP announced 15 actions to combat bullying, these were released 10 days after the death of Hector Alejandro Méndez, a 12-year-old teenager who died in Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas, due to beatings he received from his classmates in the classroom, including:

1. Strengthen early warning mechanisms to timely identify manifestations of school violence, know their causes, their scope and consequences, and design strategies to contribute to their prevention and containment.
2. Incorporate in the institutional electronic pages links for the reception and channeling of the denunciations.
3. Encourage the creation of inter-institutional collaborative networks to assist in the prevention and care of school violence.
4. Develop action protocols for principals, teachers, and students; to assist parents with the purpose of preventing, and where appropriate, adequately channeling situations of violence in the school environment and encouraging the immediate provision of support that is required in each case.
5. Enrich the curricula of basic education, higher education and teacher training with instruments that allow the prevention and attention of cases of school violence.
6. Organize consultation forums on topics related to school violence.
7. Reinforce the management and school organization strategies, the promotion and daily supervision of the exercise and protection of human rights, democratic life and appreciation of diversity, as elements of school coexistence, so that in all, respect for the principle of the best interests of children is ensured.
8. Provide materials to strengthen the work of school technical councils so that in the month of June, the discussion will focus on the issues of improving the school environment and encourage the holding of workshops with the same theme for parents.

9. Establish in the federative entity an official instance, dependent on the local educational authority, for the attention of cases of school violence.
10. Recognize and strengthen the role of teachers and managers providing them with tools that allow them to understand the culture of children and youth, the promotion of a culture of inclusion, peace and tolerance, as well as the establishment of relationships based on mutual respect and the resolution of conflicts in a framework of healthy coexistence.
11. Incorporate in the programs of "schools for parents" the elements that allow attention to violence in the school environment and in the family.
12. Promote that the national council, the state council, the municipal and school children of social participation in education, carry out activities for the prevention and attention of violence.
13. Encourage the participation of parents and other social actors in the daily life of schools, to develop a continuous and effective communication that promotes the prevention and attention of school violence and accompany the educational trajectories of the students.
14. Develop systematic and permanent social communication campaigns to disseminate the actions undertaken for the prevention of school violence, and the means available to receive advice or make complaints.
15. Elaborate studies at national, state and regional level regarding the problem of school violence; identify the schools with the highest incidence of problems, in order to have elements that allow designing a map and implement solutions, as well as raising awareness among parents, students and teachers (SEP, 2014).

Unfortunately, after three years, many of these actions have not been followed up in elementary schools.

CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, a reality is undeniable where children and adolescents are exposed to different forms of violence, in their homes, at school, on the street. Importantly, this research shows us how these adolescents conceptualize violent actions, how they live them and also where they live them. Although the violence that takes place in schools reflects, commonly, the universe around the child in the community and the family (UNICEF, 2011) for this study, it is the school setting where they experience violence and does not coincide with what they live in their homes, or at least not for 93 percent of the interviewees.

Violence in schools does not constitute a world isolated from the rest of society, and has a serious impact on the training of its users, being children,

adolescents, young people or adults. Historically we have generated a socially violent environment; where, apparently, the rights of some are over the rights of others, leaving us in a completely distant position to equity. Equity that in the discourses is reflected as a politically correct and necessary concept; while in the academy they are studied as adequate forms of reasoning and progress in human development.

The teaching task should not only focus on the curricular advancement of its students, but on the necessary integral formation that will allow them to carry out practices of social relationship and these based on the full exercise of Human Rights, in the example for the normalization of healthy behaviors, proactive, participatory, inclusive and respectful. Although, we cannot generalize by its honorable exceptions, it seems that the teacher's view has become politicized, and much remains to be done to dignify again the teacher's formative image, which the memorial of grievances to citizens has distorted in recent times.

Specifically on bullying, harassment and intimidation, violent acts that occur in the school setting registered in this study, which is aggravated by the violent practices of teachers. In this regard, Zurita (2010) states that within the definition of violent personalities, these have their origin in actions occurring in extra-family contexts, a coinciding element in this study.

Therefore, it is urgent to improve the climate of educational institutions, focusing on what the same parents suggest in the study conducted by Ruiz, Riuró and Tesouro (2015): sensitize teachers and, we would like to add, work in a coordinated manner to heal inter-agency relations in educational spaces.

Finally, it is important to promote coherent care mechanisms, mainly in relation to basic protocols of attention in case of bullying, destined to the educational and family intervention; as well as preventive actions that humanize the relations of coexistence between peers, teachers, parents and the community in general.

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SAINT BARTHOLOMEW, THE RAY OF VENUSTIANO CARRANZA. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND AGRICULTURAL RITUAL BETWEEN THE TOJOLABALES OF BUENAVISTA *BAWITZ*, CHIAPAS

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Juan Martín Coronel Lara
yanchenchabuk1993@gmail.com

Social Sciences Faculty, Campus III,
Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, México

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— Abstract—

The Tojolabales of Buenavista *Bawitz*, in the state of Chiapas, make throughout the year a circuit of pilgrimages to different sacred points of the entity which has as fundamental purpose to impetrate the rains to the lightning-saints. From the study of the ritual and the worldview we will examine the image of Saint Bartholomew, patron of Venustiano Carranza which is visited by Tojolabales in April of every year. We will see how its climate management capacity derive of a series of conceptions: its faculty of transmuting in lightning its association with the hills and the corn.

Keywords
Ritual; worldview; ray; hills; corn.

In the following lines, the divine figure of San Bartholomew, the tutelary saint of Venustiano Carranza (Chiapas), is examined schematically, from the study of the ritual life of the Tojolabales of Buenavista *Bawitz*. The inhabitants of this community, located in the border town of Las Margaritas, attend every year to the city of Venustiano Carranza in April, to deposit offerings and prey to this superhuman entity as part of a wider circuit of pilgrimages to various sacred sites in the state of Chiapas; and whose main purpose is to impetrate the rains and agricultural fertility to the deities responsible for climate management. Emphasis is placed, above all, on its aquatic attributes: its link with hills, lightning, rain and corn within the framework of the Mesoamerican worldview.

The central content of the article is structured in seven sections. In the first, the general characteristics of the pilgrimages practiced by diverse populations of the border municipalities of Chiapas are described roughly, and then the role of the sanctuary of San Bartholomew is described in the following section. Subsequently, the cycle of pilgrimages is examined as practiced by our studied community and then some of the most important aspects of the peregrination that has Venustiano Carranza as destiny are pointed out, above all, emphasis is placed on the importance that it fulfills. The last sections describe the rites that take place in honor of Saint Bartholomew and the complex of beliefs associated with his divine figure. Finally, through an exercise in comparative ethnography, we review a series of beliefs shared by several Mayan peoples of Chiapas according to which, as with the Tojolabales of *Bawitz*, the patron saints are considered lightning.

METHODOLOGY

This research is of a qualitative nature (Hernández Sampieri, Fernández-Collado and Baptista Lucía, 2014) and the ethnographic method (Guber, 2001) and the comparative method (Tonon, 2011) were employed successively as methodological strategies. In the ethnographic field, data collection was done using the techniques of Participant Observation and the Ethnographic Interview (Guber, 2011). It was observed and participated in the ritual carried out by the Tojolabales of *Bawitz* in honor of Saint Bartholomew, in the years 2015 and 2016. The interviews, about a dozen, were carried out, mostly, during the stay of the rituals in that city and focused on investigating especially the religious ideas around St. Bartholomew and to a lesser extent on aspects related to the religious organization of the pilgrimages and in the agricultural and seasonal cycles of the *Bawitz* region. From the friendship that I have established with some people dedicated to pilgrimage, I have visited *Bawitz* on several occasions, since March 2016, where I have also carried out interviews related to the same thematic lines. The data obtained from these activities

have been recorded in field notes that I have been able to collect on site and in field journals that I regularly wrote at the end of the field day. It was essential to use electronic devices to record the interviews; also several dozens of photos have been captured, which, together with the rest of the data, have formed the basis of our ethnographic analysis. To contextualize our study it was important to carry out a thorough review of the historical and anthropological literature on the peregrination a of the border area of Chiapas. This methodological exercise was fundamental for the drafting of our sections one and two.

To include a second level of analysis in the study, I resorted to the comparative method. Simultaneous to the process of analyzing my ethnographic data, in which I was understanding the series of beliefs and religious practices linked to Saint Bartholomew, I began the search and review of ethnographic literature on religious life in the Mayan area of Chiapas. This methodological approach included the analysis of about 50 texts between books, chapters and specialized articles. I searched among this considerable corpus for information about practices and beliefs analogous to those registered in my field work, or rather, I considered a single variable: the Mayan peoples of Chiapas in which the patron saints are conceived, with the power of Lightning. In this way I founded my comparative activity privileging similarities over differences. The texts that complied with the variable were studied jointly and in relation to the results of my ethnographic research. Agreeing with what Alejos García (2018) said about the ambivalence and contradictions between "the model and praxis", I must point out that I am aware of the

> Concrete existence of a diversity of ritual meanings among participants (...) even divergent and conflictive (...) but I also recognize a plane of abstraction in the culture itself where fundamental ideas of culture are condensed (...)
>
> In this sense, it is important to clarify that this study proposal is located in a certain plane of abstraction of culture, recognizing the enormous changes, historical and contemporary, as well as the level differences between the mythological stories, the ritual canon and the "reality" concrete "where the phenomena may appear far from the proposed model and even contradict it, as could be the case of the" faithful or the "community"; the mythological narrative may present contradictory versions, or have disappeared, or not be linked by the villagers to festive activities, or new rituals may coexist, or internal conflicts may arise related to the rejection of "the traditions", etcetera. In my opinion, these phenomena do not necessarily contradict the abstract model, but rather they are located on a different plane of cultural life, their distance or proximity being points of reference with respect to the model itself. (p.141)

Finally, I deem it convenient, without pretending to delve into the extensive and inexhaustible epistemological debates referring to the link between theory and method[1], to emphasize in this section that the research, both in its ethnographic dimension and in its comparative level, had as theoretical referent the concepts of worldview and ritual proposed by Broda (1991, 2001) and López Austin (1996, 1998) in their studies on religion in Mesoamerican societies. The first author defines the worldview as: "the structured vision in which the members of a community coherently combine their notions about the environment in which they live, and about the cosmos in which they situated the life of man" (Broda, 1991: 462). Its study "aims to explore the multiple dimensions of the cultural perception of nature" (Broda, 2001: 16). The worldview, López Austin (1996) tells us is a historical fact, it is a social creation product of the daily relations of man with nature: "as a historical fact it is a human product that must be studied in its temporal evolution and in the context of the societies that produce it and act based on it "(472).

We understand, meanwhile, by religious rites "all practice strongly directed that goes to the supernature" (Lopez Austin, 1998: 6). The rite implies an act of communication. The *ritualists*, through verbal and non-verbal expressions, intend to enter into a dialogue with the deities. The rites have precise purposes: they seek to affect the will of the gods (López Austin, 1998). In as much the ritual is a social fact, is action, its execution reflects the conceptions of the world of its practitioners. The rite "expresses in an empirically observable way the worldview". According to Broda (2001), the ritual establishes the link between the abstract conceptions provided by the worldview and concrete men. It implies an active participation and affects the reproduction of society.

THE PILGRIMAGES OF THE BORDER AREA OF CHIAPAS

Originated in the first decades of the last century, the *k'u'anel*, as the pilgrimage is called in the Tojolabal language, continues to be a central activity in the religious life of several peasant communities in the border municipalities of Chiapas. A brief compendium of the anthropological and historical works that have studied from different perspectives this religious manifestation should include Ruz (1990 [1982]), Adams (2005 [1988]), Gómez Hernández and Pinto López (1998), Gómez Hernández (2000), 2012), Guzmán Coronado (2001), Moreno Muñoz (2001), Chavarochette (2004), Cuadriello Olivos (2008) and more recently Straffi (2015) and Nájera Castellanos (2016).

1 See, for example, the discussion generated on this topic in Vasquez (s.f.).

On the origin of this practice there are different opinions among researchers. Mario Humberto Ruz (1990) points out in his classic study on the Tojolabales; that the pilgrimage in honor of Saint Bartholomew of Carranza arose in the 1930s and after that of Saint Thomas of Oxchuc, which would have been established in 1919 after a drought that struck the border region. The one of Saint Bartholomew would have arisen after the devotees put in doubt the effectiveness of Saint Thomas in its functions of enabler of the rains[2].

On the other hand, it seems that the pilgrimage to Saint Mateo Ixtatán, in the Guatemalan department of Huehuetenango, is even older than the previous two. According to Straffi (2015) who carried out ethnographic fieldwork with the pilgrims of Tseltal descent from La Trinitaria, Don Juan, one of his informants, told him that in the "Casa de Junta" a notebook with records was kept since 1910 on the pilgrimage to Saint Mateo. At present, this book is lost. Don Teófilo, an 86-year-old man -Straffi carried out most of his research between 2009 and 2011- told the anthropologist that his grandfather, who died aged 110 when Don Teófilo was still young, told him that he had not witnessed the origin either of this pilgrimage. These ethnographic data have led Straffi (2015) to consider that the pilgrimage to Ixtatán could begin around 1860 although there is no historical evidence to support it.

The pilgrimages, which start mostly from agrarian communities in the municipalities of Las Margaritas, Comitán, La Trinitaria and La Independencia, are destined for sanctuaries of saints, virgins and Christ that are considered rain givers, throughout a complex ritual geography that includes peregrinations sites in Chiapas and even the neighboring country of Guatemala. In this sense, the dates in which ceremonies take place are commonly correlated with seasonal and corn cycles.

Today several groups from these municipalities, on dates and with different pilgrimage destinations, separately carry out pilgrimages, but it did not use to be like that before. For the pioneering works of Adams (2005) and Ruz (1990) we know that until the end of 1970, the participating communities were united in a single corporation under the direction of the Tseltal *rezadores* of La Trinitaria. The conflicts that arose during those years culminated in the disintegration of the large delegation, leading to the formation of several minor contingents, a process that continues to this day, apart from the fact that several communities have abandoned this ritual custom in recent decades. The major split occurred when several Tojolabal communities, bordering the city of Comitán, formed another group, dispensing with the religious specialists of La Trinitaria since then (Straffi, 2015).

2 In this regard there is a myth that I recorded for the first time in April 2015, which, as we will see later, involves both saints.

To this group that separated from the "original" contingent, Straffi (2015) calls it "Villahermosa Yalumá Romerías Organizers" because it is in this latter community where the main managers currently reside. According to the version of one of its members, its founder, don Hermenegildo, was originally from the community of Los Riegos, in Comitán and it was because of a fight with the *rezador* of La Trinitaria during a pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza that he decided to leave the group and create another (Straffi, 2015). Unfortunately, the year in which such an event occurred is not mentioned (Image 1).

It is precisely these two religious corporations: on the one hand that of the "Organizadores de romerías de La Trinitaria" and on the other, that of the "Organizadores de romerías de Villahermosa Yalumá", the most important in terms of the number of communities that make them up[3]. In addition they are those that have been reported during the last years in the studies on the pilgrimages; however, in addition to these groups, there are others from the municipalities of Las Margaritas and La Trinitaria, which on their own carry out the pilgrimage circuit to request rains and that, to wit, have not yet been reported in the ethnographic literature.

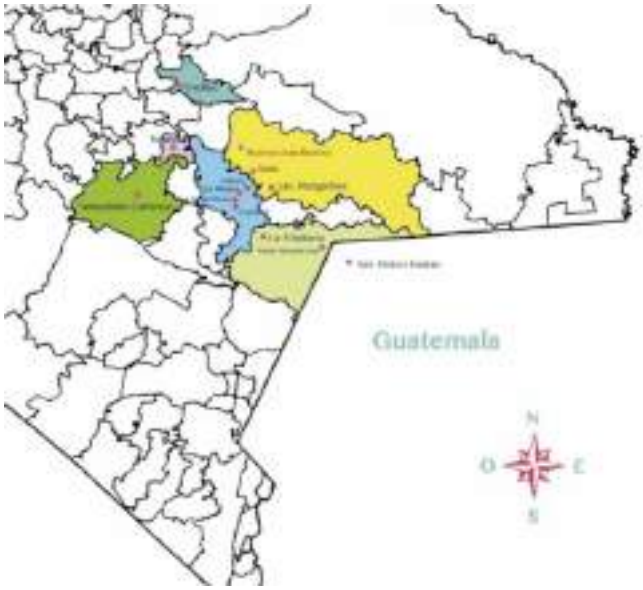

Image 1. Towns mentioned throughout the article. Source: Personal archive

3 We chose in this study to use these terms with which Straffi (2015) designates the two troupes. From now on we will refer to them preferably with the expressions: those of "La Trinitaria" and those of "Yalumá".

It is precisely one of these contingents that we will discuss here. In recent years I have followed the groups of pilgrimages who arrive in the city of Venustiano Carranza between the months of March and May, specifically I have documented the presence of devotees from Buenavista *Bawitz*. Today, it is difficult to determine how many communities in the border region continue to practice pilgrimages and how many groups exist

PILGRIMAGES WHO GO TO VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

Venustiano Carranza is one of the centers of peregrination that is part of the cycle of pilgrimages of several peasant communities, even though in the last decades the number of individuals who attend them has come down[4]. Established in 1930 in honor of Saint Bartholomew, this pilgrimage seems to be the third in antiquity practiced by inhabitants of the border region, only after that of Saint Matthew in Ixtatán and Saint Thomas in Oxchuc (Ruz, 1990).

When Walter Adams (2005) carried out his field work in 1977, before the disintegration of the pilgrims, he recorded that the numerous troupe carried out:

> (...) five pilgrimages a year (...) The first is to Saint Mateo Ixtatán, Guatemala, corresponds to the second Friday of Lent. The second to Our Lady [farm located a few kilometers from the municipal seat of La Trinitaria] (...), is held on March 22. On April 11 pilgrims visit St. Thomas in Oxchuc; and on April 26 they venerated Saint Bartholomew and other saints in Venustiano Carranza. The last pilgrimage is towards Las Margaritas, on July 11 (94).

Now, this researcher mentioned in 1988 - year of the publication of his article in English, that is, 11 years after his field research- that the pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza had been carried out for the last time in 1977. According to this author, the reason for the suspension of the pilgrimage was due to the fact that the inhabitants of the latter city prevented the assistants from arriving with flowers, rather the locals wanted to monopolize their sale. In this way the Tseltal manager of La Trinitaria excluded this point of pilgrimage from the annual ritual cycle (Adams, 2005).

4 The elderly inhabitants of Carranza account for this, according to estimates made by several of them, during the seventies and eighties came to Carranza between 500 and 700 pilgrims. The current estimates I have made for the years 2015 and 2016 indicate very low figures: between 120 and 140 pilgrims and approximately 23 to 25 communities continue to send their delegates annually.

Whether this version is truth or not, the important thing to note is that Walter Adams (2005) certainly obtained this information from La Trinitaria specialists with whom he developed his ethnographic research, however I consider that the 1977 date is about the end or about the last years of the pilgrimage to Carranza from the "Organizadores de romerías de La Trinitaria", not from the rest of the communities.[5]

Indeed, what is clear is that with the division of the pilgrims into two blocks the pilgrimage destinations were modified, thus, those of "La Trinitaria" stopped attending Venustiano Carranza, while those of "Yalumá" continue to perform the pilgrimage to this day. This fact has not gone unnoticed among the residents of Carranza who still remember that once "this pilgrimage had many participants while 'they're only a few now" (Straffi, 2015: 427).

Nothing strange is that the communities that continue to promote the pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza are, above all: Yalumá, Yaxhá, Los Riegos and Señor del Pozo within walking distance of the city of Comitán. Mario Humberto Ruz (1990) indicates that in the 30's when this city was integrated into the annual cycle of pilgrimages "were the colonies bordering the municipality of Comitán, the closest to the town of Carranza, who were responsible for propagating the virtues of Saint Bartholomew "(228). In this sense also Straffi (2015) reports the importance that this cult has for the devotees that make up the group of "Yalumá" and supports what was said by Ruz (1990).

Another aspect of the pilgrimage dedicated to Saint Bartholomew that has been documented by several researchers (Ruz, 1990 [1982], Adams, 2005 [1988], Díaz de Salas, 1995, Gómez Hernández, 2012, Moreno Muñoz, 2001, López, 2013 Straffi, 2015, Nájera Castellanos, 2016, among others) are the rites that take place on the sacred hill, on whose slopes is the city of Venustiano Carranza, commonly known by the pilgrims of "Yalumá" with the name of "El Volcán". At present these ceremonies enjoy a central importance for this last contingent and are carried out during the first days of May and after the Catholic feast of the Holy Cross, festivity with which these rites are linked.

On the other hand, also a small contingent of the community of San Diego, belonging to the municipality of La Trinitaria, has been going for

5 Do not forget that in the version that Straffi (2015) compiled with those of "Yalumá" about the division of the pilgrims, it is mentioned that the conflict between the rezador of the Trinitaria and the old man of Los Riegos took place during a pilgrimage to Carranza but the case of the supposed obligatory sale of flowers is not mentioned at all. The current versions that this anthropologist compiled with those of "La Trinitaria" regarding the abandonment of the pilgrimage to Carranza explain it especially in terms of lack of economic resources to cover the expenses of this pilgrimage.

about 15 years to make offerings to St. Bartholomew in his church and to celebrate rites on the sacred hill. The ladino peasants of this town, dedicated mainly to the cultivation of seasonal corn, arrive at Venustiano Carranza during the last week of April, days before the feast of the Holy Cross.

This pilgrimage; however, it includes few individuals and, contrary to the other contingents that arrive in the city, it is not of a community nature. That's right, it is organized in a particular way by some men without the intervention of the political and religious instances of the community. Years ago the number of individuals who participated was on average 20, but in 2016 it decreased to 11 people: five women and six men. The third and last group that makes a pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza, although the first to make its arrival, is that of Buenavista *Bawitz*. It is about this community that we will speak in the following sections.

PILGRIMAGES CYCLE OF BUENAVISTA BAWITZ

The *Bawitz* calendar includes six annual pilgrimages. The order of visits is given in the following way: 1) *k'u'anel* to the Eternal Father, La Trinitaria (February); 2) *k'u'anel* to Saint Thomas, Oxchuc (March); 3) *k'u'anel* to San Bartolomé, Venustiano Carranza (April); 4) *k'u'anel* to the "Señor del Trapichito", Tulancá municipality of Amatenango del Valle (end of April or beginning of May); 5) *och nichim*[6] to the Eternal Father, La Trinitaria (May or June) and 6) *och nichim* to Saint Margarita, Las Margaritas (July 11) (Image 2).

This activity, at least as practiced in *Bawitz*, involves practically all the members of the community –although is only a small contingent of pilgrims- and legitimizes their belonging to it. In fact, each head of the family has to cooperate 50 Mexican pesos for each of the six pilgrimages. There is, however, an exception with six families "who are not Catholic" and

6 It seems to be that at least in the case addressed here there is a differentiation of the terms *k'u'anel* and *och nichim*, both in the Tojolabal language. The ritual format of the *k'u'anel* is more linked to the agricultural ceremonial. For example we could say that throughout the year there are two pilgrimages to the shrine of the Eternal Father, in the Trinitarian, however the February is considered by the Tojolabales as *k'u'anel* and according to their exegesis is closely linked with the sowing of the corn, while the one that takes place during the movable festival of the Holy Trinity, between May and June, is considered *och nichim* (entrance of flowers) and it is done because it is the official date in the catholic santoral of its commemoration, the ritual format in both cases is different. No doubt deeper studies will help us understand the local classifications of these activities. The analytical concepts of pilgrimage and peregrination have been used indiscriminately by the majority of researchers who have devoted themselves to the study of the subject that concerns us here. Both concepts have been, in a broader sense, discussed by various social science researchers who have studied this religious phenomenon. As the subject is not exhausted and as here we are interested above all in the analysis of the rite in the church and the worldview, we have considered not going into the matter. Here we use both terms pilgrimage and peregrination indiscriminately, because both are, in Spanish, of common use among *ritualists*.

to whom a fee of 100 pesos has been established for each pilgrimage, twice as much as the rest of the families, this "for not getting involved in any of the activities". The money collected, prior to each departure, is deposited in the hands of the ritual specialists who are the voice of the community during prayers for rainy requests and is basically used for the purchase of community offerings.

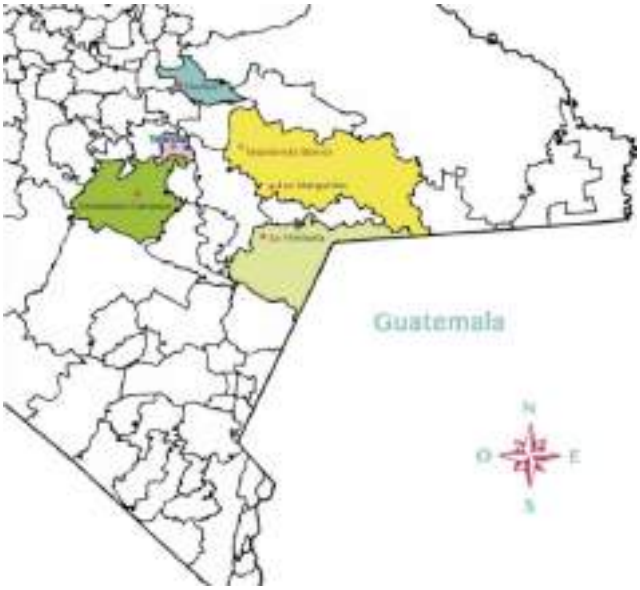

Image 2. Pilgrimage circuit of Buenavista *Bawitz*. Source: Personal archive

To make the circuit of visits there are six permanent groups that rotate annually the pilgrimage points. Each procession is made up of 25 individuals, but before carrying out each pilgrimage, people from the community who want to participate are invited whether for a debt and for any particular request they wish to make to the sacred entity visited.

Finally, it should be noted that the cycle of pilgrimages is organized by "the group of catechists", representatives of the official Catholic institution in the community. The catechists are at the same time responsible for leading each group. For example, the 2016 *rezador* who led the pilgrimage to Venustiano Carranza, Don Antonio, 55 years old, is at the same time a catechist, although this does not exclude that he shares common elements of the conception of the world with the rest of the Tojolabals.

PEREGRINATION FROM BUENAVISTA BAWITZ TO VENUSTIANO CARRANZA

As it was already mentioned, here we will take as an ethnographic reference the pilgrimage in honor of Saint Bartholomew, patron of Venustiano Carranza,

who year after year carries out a Tojolabales troupe from Buenavista *Bawitz*, community belonging to the municipality of Las Margaritas. Both locations are not far from the border with the neighboring country of Guatemala and close to the city of Comitán de Domínguez.

During the month of April and determined by the movable date of the Holy Week[7], the Pilgrims, designated by the community, travel in vehicles in an approximate time of two hours, the 120 kilometers that separate it from the pilgrimage center (Image 3). In this sense, the movement of pilgrims, once carried out on foot, is characterized by the gradual descent from the temperate lands of the Central Highlands, where *Bawitz* (1710 masl) is located, to the fertile and warm lands of the Central Valleys. In the vicinity, on the slopes of an orographic elevation, is Carranza (780 masl). In effect, this last city is easily located from different geographical points because it is settled on the slopes of one of the few elevations that, detached from the Altiplano, enters the region known as the Central Valleys (Viqueira, sf) (Image 4).

Image 3. Pilgrimage route from Buenavista Bawitz to Venustiano Carranza. Source: Personal archive

These particular characteristics of the local landscape of Venustiano Carranza have been a fundamental reference in the construction of the belief complex of the Tojolabales. The hill where Carranza sits is considered

7 It is a ritual norm to carry out this pilgrimage after Holy Week. In the years 2015 and 2016 took place on April 11th and 12th and on April 9th and 10th respectively.

a sacred space by the Pilgrims as they link it with Saint Bartholomew (Image 5).[8] The cult of this saint was introduced by the friars of the Order of Santo Domingo since the founding of the former village of San Bartolomé de Los Llanos -name with which Venustiano Carranza was known until 1934-, in the middle of the 16th century (Calnek, 1990, Morales Avendaño, 1985).

*Image 4.*Sunset in the Central Depression. In the background you can see the sacred hill where the city of Venustiano Carranza is located. Source: Personal archive

On the other hand, it should be noted that Buenavista *Bawitz* is a small town that did not add, in 2010, the 800 inhabitants, most of them, around 84%, were speakers of the Tojolabal language (INEGI, 2010). As in the whole region of study, social life is determined in part by the economic activity of growing corn. The farmers of *Bawitz* practice seasonal agriculture. The sowing of corn takes place between the months of February and March. Rainfall during these months is scarce; however, the sporadic rains support the corn plant, which in April "is already raising". This last month undoubtedly constitutes a crucial period in the cycle of this crop, since it is urgent, as soon as possible, that the rains be established regularly to avoid risks of loss.

8 The fact that the hill where Carranza sits is surrounded by lowlands, dominating different geographical points, has also been a central factor in the conformation of the ritual landscape of the tsotsiles that inhabit it for whom it is also the sacred orographic elevation par excellence. This observation had already been made by Díaz de Salas (1963): "The great prestige of the hill [called *Ch'ul Vits* - sacred hill - by the local tsotsiles], is explained, in natural terms, since it is an atypical phenomenon in the region; it is the only considerable elevation in a vast plain "(266).

Image 5. San Bartholomew, titular image that is being kept in the greater altar of the main church of Venustiano Carranza. Source: Personal archive

The pilgrimage dedicated to Saint Bartholomew is framed according to the calendar. The ritual sequences, which include prayers, offerings, drums and flutes music etc.; they are on the way, as our informants insistently affirmed, to achieve the establishment of the rains. The Catholic saints mark August 24 as the date of celebration of this saint; however, for the Tojolabales interviewed, this date does not seem to have such significance, nor does the canonical hagiography of the saint[9]. Saint Bartholomew is, above all, a superhuman entity with the power of Lightning, as we will see later.

THE AGRICULTURAL RITUAL[10]

Preliminaries

The Pilgrims devote a weekend, on Saturday and Sunday, to this religious practice. The troupe, which in 2016 was made up of forty-six members[11], is directed by the *rezador*, a religious specialist in charge of establishing communication with Saint Bartholomew during the rites. It is helped by a

9 On the theoretical distinction between canonical hagiographies and popular hagiographies, consult the works of Báez-Jorge (1998, 2013).
10 The description presented in this section is based on the observation of the 2016 ritual.
11 22 men and 16 adult women; in addition to 8 children.

small group of men, who perform tasks related to collective offerings; such as his transfer and his offer. A third subgroup of men, who march in front of the processions, is responsible for carrying the ceremonial banners; one major and the other minor which are inscribed with the name of the locality, and also to perform the ritual music using two large drums, three small ones and a reed flute. The women, who do not neglect the children, sing the second voice during the prayers directed by the *rezador*. Some men more without apparent charge, complete the entourage.

The collective offerings: candles, torches, incense, rockets and flowers; they constitute the element of exchange with Saint Bartholomew, ritual forms developed by the Tojolabales that seek to obtain the gratitude of this and thereby deserve reward, that is, it is a clear example of what Mauss (2009) has called *give and take*. These offerings have been purchased with money that some days ago every family in *Bawitz* had to cooperate as part of their obligations and responsibilities but also of the benefits they get from being part of the community.

Beginning of the rite and first part of the ritual discourse. On Sunday, April 10, in the morning , the pilgrims move in a ritual procession from the temple of Saint Peter, where they stayed the night before, until the church of Saint Bartholomew[13]. After walking for a few minutes the main streets of the city, enter the interior of the temple, thus formally beginning the ceremonies dedicated to St. Bartholomew (Image 6). Immediately everyone, except the men without charge, kneel in front of the image of the saint, which is deposited on the cusp of a neoclassical cypress, on the high altar. The *rezador* proceeds to execute "prayers and praises" in Spanish that last a few minutes (Image 7). The musicians, meanwhile, continue to perform outside of the church.

Community offerings

At the conclusion of the "prayers and praises that are dedicated to our Lord St. Bartholomew," the *rezadores* and their auxiliaries place communal offerings in front of the saint, under the toral arch that divides the nave and the main altar of the church. 30 candles are offered and four candles arranged in four rows, and two bouquets of flowers are placed on the sides. The offerings are

12 In 2015 the rites to Saint Bartholomew were unfolded in the afternoon of Saturday, April 11.

13 Halfway through the ritual tour they visit the sanctuary of Señor del Pozo, an image of a crucified Christ of dark tonality. Saint Peter and Señor del Pozo are also the object of a secondary cult during the pilgrimage. The ritual sequences in honor of St. Peter are, in general terms, similar to those that unfold to St. Bartholomew. Mr. del Pozo is only visited for a few minutes and not offered.

taken by the oldest auxiliary (Image 8). During this operation, the rest of the *ritualists*, seated in the wooden benches that are arranged in the nave of the church, hold candles in their hands and make personal requests to the saint. Later these place their candles, already consumed in part, next to the community offerings. The musicians have stopped playing.

Image 6. Pilgrims troupe on its way to San Bartholomew church. Source: Personal archive

Image 7. Pilgrims prey in front of San Bartholomew. Source: Personal archive

Image 8. One of the elderly lightning the candles in front of the saint. Source: Personal archive

Prayers to request rain

Only when the communal offerings have been set in their entirety and at an indication of the prayer, do the women gather next to the offerings and kneel in front of St. Bartholomew. The *rezador* directs a new account "prayers and praises" in Spanish. When concluding, the prayers begin. This ritual act, which is carried out exclusively in the Tojolabal language, is undoubtedly the moment of greatest danger in the pilgrimage. Likewise, in a certain way, it is the culmination of a ritual process that involves, directly and indirectly, all the members of the community. The ritual specialist, who becomes the voice of the community, interacts Saint Bartholomew, with a certain subordination, that sends the necessary rains for the corn and that protects the inhabitants of *Bawitz* from diseases. Prayers last between three and four minutes. When concluding, the participants cross themselves (Image 9).

End of the pilgrimage

The Tojolabales return in a ritual procession to the Temple of Saint Peter. The flags are disarmed and musical instruments are saved. They depart back to their community with the satisfaction that they have fulfilled their obligations, looking forward, in the best of cases, to the establishment of the rains.

Image 9. Pilgrims praying for raining season. Source: Personal archive

Belief complex around Saint Bartholomew

In July of 1961, the anthropologist Marcelo Díaz de Salas (1995) held an interview with the tsotsil Bartolo Sabanillo during his stay in Carranza. In it, Bartolo told him that the inhabitants of this town believed that the Tojolabal pilgrims, who since then came in May to perform ceremonies at the top of the sacred hill, sought to take to their lands "the spirit of water." This fact explained, said his informant, that rainfall had decreased throughout the region in recent years. Two years before the interview, if we must believe Sabanillo, the elders of Carranza celebrated at midnight at the top of the hill a ritual to "call back the water spirit", after one of the elders dreamed that the pilgrims had extracted it from their interior.

More than five decades of this story, this conception continues in actuality. For several decades, the Principales de Carranza[14] forbade the groups of pilgrims to ascend the hill before the agricultural ceremonies that the local inhabitants carry out in said elevation, the Saturday after the feast of the Holy Cross. In 2016, a Tsotsil religious musician was outraged to learn that a small contingent from San Diego, La Trinitaria, climbed the hill on April 26 or 27. Since this group does not use drums or flags, nor does it burn rockets, its presence has gone almost unnoticed in recent years. This explains why the *Bawitz* tojolabals, who reconfigured their cycle of pilgrimages independently in the 1990s, have been banned from climbing the hill in April[15]. The Tojolabal version of this fact roughly coincides with that of the Tsotsiles, except that those instead of talking about the spirit of the water say that "the leaders [tsotsiles] do not allow [ascending to the hill before May] because of the corn spirit". The above is only understood if we take into account that both indigenous groups conceive the hills as water deposits, in addition to being containers of plant seeds and riches in general.[16]

Despite this prohibition, the "Cerro Calvario" or "Cerro Dolores", as *Bawitz's* name refers to this elevation, continues to be a central reference point for its beliefs. The idea of its underground connection with the

14 The Krincipaletik (Main) are the religious specialists responsible for holding the agricultural ceremonies in the sacred hills of the region in May.

15 Meanwhile, as already said, those of "Yalumá" come to Carranza on dates after the feast of the Holy Cross, regularly arrive on May 6. This group does perform rituals in the hill and, at least in previous years, requested authorization to do so with the authorities of the "House of the People", an indigenous organization that administers the communal lands of that locality. On several occasions, the rituals of those of "Yalumá" coincide with those performed by Carranza's with a difference of one or two days.

16 Mario Humberto Ruz (1990) and Antonio Gómez Hernández (2012) have delved deeper into the symbolism of the mountains in the Tojolabal worldview. In this language the word *altz'il*, in one of its meanings, designates certain psychic entities. The gods have *altz'il* (spirit). Inside the mountains lies the *altz'il* (soul, spirit) of vegetables (Ruz, 1990). To deepen the notions of Carranza's tsotsiles around hills, rains and corn, see the texts by Díaz de Salas (1963, 1995), an author who has deepened the religious life of this indigenous group.

Tojolabal lands is expressed in a story that Don Antonio's grandparents, the *rezador*, transmitted to him. It is said that many years ago *Bawitz* farmers burned their land for planting; located near a cave without noticing that the smoke that was produced from this activity entered the hollow. The smoke soon reached Cerro Dolores filled with this subtle matter, so immediately two "Sanbartoleños", trying to find out where this substance came from, followed the underground path until they reached the entrance to the cave where the Tojolabales men worked.

The importance of this hill for the Tojolabales can also be understood by the close relationship it has with Saint Bartholomew. Owner of the hill and corn, Lord of the rains, Lightning, saint eponymous of Carranza, all these attributes make up the divine image of this saint. Although the idea is very confusing, there are pilgrims who consider that before going to their church and being the patron of their city, Saint Bartholomew was at the top of Dolores hill. Other similar versions; however, they suggest that these two manifestations, on the one hand as Dueño del Cerro and on the other as a resident of their church, constitute a fragmentation of the same divinity.[17]

There is a link between dwelling on the hill and being lightning. The main attribute of Saint Bartholomew is precisely that of transmuting into lightning what gives it the ability to control the climate at its arbitrariness. It is also in his capacity as the guardian saint of Carranza that he is responsible for protecting the corn seed against the threats of other lightning saints who intend to seize it for the benefit of their peoples. Possession or not of the seed or spirit of corn is linked to the abundance or absence in the production of this cereal. In a version of a story that those of *Bawitz* remember during the pilgrimage to Saint Bartholomew, it is said that he and "Thomas", patron of the Tseltales of Oxchuc, clashed in this last town after Thomas went to Carranza with the express purpose of stealing corn seed. The confrontation of the saints, imagined as a true meteorological battle between their lightning *nahuales*, culminated with the defeat of Thomas and the triumphant return of the "Bartolo" to his people with the coveted seed, which explains that, while in the temperate lands of Oxchuc produces a lot of apple, in Carranza the main production is corn.[18]

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17 The idea of the fragmentation of the divinities in Mesoamerica has been studied extensively by López Austin (2010). In the Mesoamerican religions the gods "can fragment and occupy two different places" (López Austin, 2010). A faithful image attracted a portion of the divine essence and became its recipient (Lopez Austin, 2010: 127). This theoretical proposal helps us to explain, in part, the manifestations of Saint Bartholomew. A portion of its essence is contained in the wooden image that is kept in the temple, while another lies in the hill, San Bartolo dwells in it.

18 The narrations of oral tradition around the disputes for the spirit of corn between lightning nahuales from different communities flood the Tojolabales beliefs for example I note again the works of Mario Humberto Ruz (1990) and Antonio Gómez Hernández (2012).

Another attribute to this saint is the Lord of the rains. The exegesis of the Tojolabals that I interviewed does not offer doubts: the pilgrimage to Saint Bartholomew takes place "to ask for water for the cornfield". The ritual action is aimed to achieve this end. For the pilgrims the peregrination is "a promise", a kind of reciprocal contract with this sacred entity in which the visit is exchanged for rains, hence the belief shared by several devotees that regularly, after making the pilgrimage to San Bartholomew, it rains on *Bawitz* farmland. As an elder of this community would say "after going to Carranza, when you get to *Bawitz* is already raining".

THE LIGHTNING SAINT RELIGIOUS COMPLEX BETWEEN THE MAYAN PEOPLE OF CHIAPAS

Comparative perspective

In her already classic *Supernatural power and social control*, published in 1970, anthropologist Esther Hermitte (2004) recorded the belief, until then unparalleled, in the ethnographic reports of the Mayas of Chiapas, according to which the patron saint of a town, in this case Saint Miguel Arcángel of Pinola, it was lightning "Saint Miguel has thirteen *nahuales*. It is Lightning and saves Pinola so that no other saint comes to harm people - it may be Saint Augustine of Teopisca who wants to come and do evil, or Saint Bartolo from his village." (p.53)

According to the author, derived from this, the Tseltal considered him the superhuman entity that, as Lightning sent the rains and decided on the fate of the crops, in such a way that the rites associated with the corn cycle, especially those that took place before the sowing and immediately after the harvest, they went precisely to him. It was usual in Pinola, for example, to offer mass and prayers to Saint Miguel when the rains were delayed. In its main festival, on September 29, the Pinoltecan farmers picked the first ears of corn from their fields and offered them to the saint. It was also, it was said, the person in charge of protecting the spirit of the corn and the beans of other peoples who wanted to kidnap them. The older peasants practiced in their cornfields, at the end of the corn harvest, an elaborate ritual in gratitude to this divinity. They separated the harvested corn into four piles. They dug a hole where they introduced a small image of a saint, preferably of Saint Michael, and offered four candles in the hollow. Rockets were burned and workers were invited to drink chocolate and alcoholic beverages; the four corners of the cornfield were also incense burned with incense. People considered that if the ritual was not done, the lightning would take half of the harvest for himself, gradually decreasing this cereal,

by moving it home. The youngest, however, had simplified this ritual, eliminating several procedures, as they said:

> (...) it was not worth doing all those rites, since the corn spirit had been taken away by Amatenango and it was too late to get it back. The myth related to the decline of the crops says that Saint Michael, who was the guardian of the corn and beans spirits, had them well hidden under his feet, but once he was distracted and raised his foot; then the Amatenango *me'iltatiles* stole some of them and took them away. As their *me'iltatiles* are smarter than those of Pinola, those spirits are unlikely to be recovered. (p.58)

Years later Mario Humberto Ruz (1990) recorded the relationship between Lightning-Saints present in the imagination of the Tojolabales, conceptions that later other researchers would study more deeply in communities of this language. Ruz indicated that, although the belief was shared by very few inhabitants, it was considered that Saint Mateo of the chuj people of Ixtatán, Saint Thomas de Oxchuc and Saint Bartholomew de Carranza, owned *wayjel* or nahual for Lightning. Several Tojolabales communities participated, led by specialists of Tseltal descent of La Trinitaria, in the pilgrimage circuit that had as main destinations Ixtatán, Oxchuc and Carranza. The three pilgrimages were made before the beginning of the rainy season, between the months of February and April, and had as a central purpose to impetrate the establishment of the rain regime. Saint Mateo was visited at the beginning of Lent. The pilgrimage to St. Thomas, meanwhile, took place in the first half of April; while on the 22nd of the same month they would go to Carranza.

More recently other researchers (Gómez Hernández and Pinto López, 1998, Cuadriello Olivos, 2008, Gómez Hernández, 2012, among others) have provided evidence that broadens our knowledge about saints with lightning power among the Tojolabals. Gómez Hernández (2012) has the merit of reporting the presence of these religious notions among people from Yalumá and Yaxhá, ladino communities of Tojolabal descent who actively participate in the pilgrimages. His informants told him that the Eternal Father, Patron of the Trinitarian as well as Saint Bartholomew of Carranza and Saint Mateo de Ixtatán become lightning. The inhabitants of these communities conceive the Eternal Father, as the most powerful Lightning and giver of water. During the pilgrimage to La Trinitaria, between May and June, seeds of corn and beans are taken, placed next to the holder image to be consecrated, and on their return the pilgrims mix them with the rest of the seeds they will use in the next sow "so that they germinate well and give good pods" (p.56). Of Saint Bartholomew, who is visited on May 7, it is said that many years ago, in his attribute of Lightning, rescued the sentinel snake that other lightning

enemy had kidnapped from the source of the town of Los Riegos.[19] The reintroduction of the snake made the water of the spring resurface again:

> It is considered lightning because it gave rise to a spring that lightning enemy, when stealing the sentinel snake, had dried up. The inhabitants "costumbristas" of the Ranchería Los Riegos, Comitan, who know the power when it becomes the natural phenomenon referred to drying the eye of water from which they supplied themselves, decided to go with the ritual specialist to ask for their help (. ..). (p.67)

On the other hand, Sánchez Morales (2011) and Sánchez Morales and Isunza Bisuet (2015) have documented this complex of beliefs among the Tseltals of Petalcingo, north of Chiapas, beyond the area in which it had been reported before. These authors have noticed the complex association that the Tseltals establish between their patron Saint Francis of Assisi and the lightning. Saint Francis is a being with human qualities; at times he is presented as affable and kind and in others grumpy and evil. Controls the climate at his will. He is imagined as a humble peasant. In a version of the founding myth it is narrated that prior to the formation of Petalcingo, the unhappy people died of hunger and suffered from drought. The arrival of the patron saint by the river *Pajwachil* meant the end of the drought and with it the abundance of corn. Saint Francis gave corn for the first time to man, as an old man by the name of Marceal Mendez related.

> Francis, his work was then in the town, because they say then that if he was not there, there was also no corn, no beans, what they used to lack before, he gave it. Then they say that his party came in, they say that he sent them the corn. They say that nothing grew, it is his miracle then that there is what we already have (...) it started to happen when he arrived in our town, then, our patron. So happy began to eat and drink our ancestors (...) he became the owner of corn (...). (Sánchez Morales, 2011, p.13)

The control of Saint Francis on the rains derives from his *nahual* lightning as they refer several of the stories contained in the texts that occupy us. His temperamental character keeps the Tseltal constantly worried, because if he gets angry he may not send the rains in time or unleash terrible storms, hence the rites in his honor have to be observed punctually. Another of its functions is to take care of the soul of the cornfields and the animals.

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19 Among the principals of Carranza we have also registered ethnographically the beliefs in the lightning-saints. In this city it is said that the patron Saint Bartholomew is Red Lightning, while Saint Peter Mártir, which is found in the church that bears his name, is transfigured in Green Lightning.

> (...) Father Saint Francis is very strong, takes care of the soul of the cornfields, crops, of the animals, of the harvest. When it rains and is angry, his face lights up, he sends lightning. That screw us up then, no longer grows plants, breaks the trees (...) Someone of the main managers did not do what he should, maybe that's why he gets angry. When it rains hard, it is true, the cornfield is knocked down by the winds, it is trampled with water, many lightning fall, the plants die (...) that's why the elders were right to ask for forgiveness to calm him down, so it comes out a little by little the cornfield, the bean, a little bit for the animals, the chicken too, well, we have to have respect, if we do not, we die of hunger, because the earth dies. (Sánchez Morales, 2011, p.15)

FINAL NOTES

The attributes and functions that the Maya give to the images of the saints clearly express the symbolic reworks that have taken place in the context of contemporary indigenous religions. Indeed, the canonical hagiography of the saints is absent from the thinking of Mayan informants. They are, above all, superhuman entities that participate in human passions: they get angry, they could not send rains, if rituals are not performed in their honor and they can even fight with other saints. In the collective imagination of these peoples, as we have seen succinctly, they are closely associated with the lightning, the hills, the corn and the rain. Its capacity in the handling of the climate derives precisely from its main attribute: the Lightning

Outside of the observance of the official representatives of canonical Catholicism, the Mayans have modeled their religious practices and beliefs based on their material conditions of existence. The survival of an agricultural economy and the ever-present need to influence the will of the saints who personify meteorological phenomena are fundamental to understanding these expressions of indigenous religiosity. In the symbolic structuring of corn, a precious food in the indigenous worldview, there is an effort that indigenous thought focuses its world around agriculture (Sánchez Morales, 2011).

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COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES IN READING HABITS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN MEXICO

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Rosana Santiago García
rsgarcia@unach.mx

Gabriela Grajales García

Facultad de Ciencias Sociales , Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas

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— *Abstract*—

This research project was focused on the conception of Information and Communication Technologies as a mediation tool in reading and cultural habits of B.A. students of two campuses of the University of Guadalajara in Jalisco, Mexico: The University Center of Economic and Management Sciences (known as CUCEA because of its initials) and The University Center of the South Coast (known as CUCOSTASUR because of its initials), both of them offer the B.A. in Management.

The objective is analyzing the role of information and communication technologies as tools that could give an advantage about the reading exercise among higher education students, it is thought that reading habits make possible the increasing of their cultural, human and social capital, and, as a consequence they could face professional challenges successfully. The methodological approach used in this research was quantitative; the research problem was explained through data obtained by applying a questionnaire to a sample of 120 students of a total population of 172 students of the degree previously mentioned.

The results show that most of the students read with frequency but their reading is not related to the degree they are studying, also they normally read in printed text because of the reading habit generated around them, however, derived of globalization process students have access to information and communication technologies and even though its use for reading (mostly academic readings) is low, being in contact with this type of technology, possessing in a personalize way one or more device with Internet access and especially its use in classrooms with academic purposes, could generate the reading habit through them and, as a consequence, increasing the level of reading skills in students.

Keywords

University student; Information and communication students; Reading habit; Cultural and human capital; Social capital.

The importance of constant and permanent reading in higher education students is essential in their training process, it is through them that they access scientific knowledge and become professional with the appropriation of certain knowledge that allows them to successfully face the challenges that this discipline imposes.

Those who have the habit of reading are in a privileged position before the knowledge and information society, to which they can easily belong. For university students, the new Information and Communication Technologies represent, on the one hand, the possibility of important access to knowledge and information and on the other, they are a useful instrument to generate, consolidate and diversify study habits, the objective of this article is to analyze this relationship.

In view of the diversity of existing university contexts and the differences between them - products of their own social, economic, cultural and, of course, academic conditions - it is pertinent to study particular cases, and from that to account for the way in which students are taking advantage of these resources to achieve their school goals. This is the case of the students of the B.A. in Management of two university centers of the University of Guadalajara.

This paper is divided into four sections, the first corresponds to the background, this poses the problem of the existence of low levels of reading in Mexico and the absence of habits and reading culture and the possibility of reversing them through the proper use of Information and Communication Technologies, and generate through it a cultural, human and social capital; in the second section the methodology with which the research was carried out is explained; in the third section the discussion of the results is presented from the analysis of three dimensions, in the first of them the actors are characterized to later analyze the relationship between reading and cultural and human capital and the last part of this section reflects on the relation between reading and social capital.

Finally, the conclusions about the case studied, here it is highlighted that the new Information and Communication Technologies are a viable alternative to raise the reading level of university students and increase their cultural, human and social capital, by virtue of Students identify several positive characteristics present in the use of electronic devices to access the reading of electronic materials and above all, because for the case studied students have one or more electronic devices and have access to Internet connectivity.

BACKGROUNDS

One of the most important challenges facing school institutions in our country is to raise reading and comprehension rates of what is read,

according to Camacho-Quiroz (2011), more than 70 % of Mexicans do not even read a book a year, this due to several factors among which stand out: 1) because they cannot read (illiterate) and 2) because they do not want to read (functional illiterates).

The National Reading Survey has the intention of measuring the reading index in Mexicans, its latest results were published in 2015, and it emphasizes that: 1) of every ten people who read, four do so obligated. 2) Of every ten people who read, six do not understand what they read, these six do not read books and they have not read them before. 3) Out of every ten people who read, four read only when they need to read; these figures turn out to be alarming (CONACULTA, 2015).

Reading rates in Mexico are very low and have remained so until the second decade of the 21st century, showing that there is little reading culture in the country. According to the National Institute for the Evaluation of Education (INEE, 2013) in 2012, 34.5 % of 15-year-old students did not reach the baseline of reading comprehension, 27.5 % only understood fragments of information or paragraphs, 27 % are in an average level, while 11 % of students are in the lowest level, that is, they do not understand the text or an instruction to perform an activity.

Throughout history in Mexico, there have been several programs that have been promoted with the aim of encouraging reading.

> From the project led by José Vasconcelos at the beginning of the last century, to the most recent program called *Towards a country of readers*. All the efforts have turned fundamentally in two senses, the first is the development of great levels of literacy and the second in making books available to everyone. However, little has been done to train citizens with the ability, and commitment to make these books a part of their lives. Despite the achievements of the National Educational System, this has not been able to transmit to the population the need and the taste for reading as an activity of great individual and social benefits (Del Ángel and Rodríguez, 2007, p.12).

The little reading culture characteristic of all educational levels, forced the creation of the Law of Promotion for Culture and Books (the last reform was published on January 19, 2018), and the formation of the National Development Council for Books and Reading from which the Program of Promotion for Books and Reading 2016-2018 is derived. All this in order to create a reading culture among Mexicans and raise readership rates.

Reading is essential for the academic education of students, not only because it is a necessary tool for life, but also because it is a means for the incorporation of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1987).

Therefore it is necessary to generate in students the habit of reading, understood as the usual practice of reading. The Mexican educational system has as one of the fundamental objectives of training students from the basic level up to the higher level, the teaching of reading and writing; however, there is not specifically a habit formation plan reader, the plans and study programs focus on the need to teach reading, but not to generate the habit of reading, which results in the absence of reading.

The lack of a reading habit, makes that most students read by obligation more than by pleasure and this of course inhibits the frequency of reading.

The current social reality presents other alternatives to access information and knowledge (reading through electronic texts), however, its use is threatened by several factors: access to electronic devices, connectivity, reading culture and reading habits. Reading texts in electronic format requires, ideally, a special training plan for the reading habit of this type of texts, which would involve: familiarizing the reader with the format, structure and organization of the text, this represents an important challenge in a society in which the practice of reading has developed regularly in printed texts, to which students have become accustomed, that is: they know and dominate the format, structure and organization.

However, the contact of students with electronic devices, the attractiveness that these result visually, together with the generation of a plan for the formation of reading habits in electronic texts, represents an important possibility to increase reading levels in university students.

Yubero and Larrañaga (2015) consider that reading is fundamental within the university context, in a certain way it is part of the academic core, however, it is not just, since for it to be effective it is necessary to see it as a means to gather information and apply what is apprehended through the development of academic and professional competences.

The reading in university students is fundamental for the comprehension of texts that approach specialized subjects in the degree that they study, nevertheless, Yubero and Larrañaga (2015) maintain that, because in the previous formation to the university studies the students have not developed the skills necessary to understand the texts correctly; the practice of reading must be recovered and students must be introduced to the knowledge of the specific concepts and terminology of each career.

The aforementioned authors conducted a research about reading habits in various universities in Spain and Portugal, where 2,745 students participated, they chose the universities in such a way that the different regions of each country were reflected and the sample was randomly selected, always and when there are students from different careers such as: Arts and humanities, social sciences, health sciences, engineering and architecture; the students were between 18 and 65 years old, with an average of 21.98. In order to know

the students' reading habits, a questionnaire was applied, the questions were focused on knowing if the students read voluntarily, reading types, reading motivation and reading taste.

In the results the authors highlight that, although there are students who say they have not read any book in the last year (7.9 % in Spain and 7.4 % in Portugal), the fact is that 50.7 % of Spanish students have read between 3 to 10 books annually, a % rage very similar to that of Portuguese students with 51.5 %. Young people suggest that they read more out of necessity than by will. In this research the authors do not mention the reading made through mobile or electronic devices to read, this was not the subject of their research.

In what refers to Mexico, Márquez (2017) suggests there have been several surveys to know the level of reading comprehension in students, however, it is necessary to analyze how reader habits have changed due to the arrival of Information Technologies and the Communication:

> There is a tendency to think of reading as a complex sociocultural practice, trying to obtain information that goes beyond traditional reading media and inquires about these practices in different printed media (books, magazines, newspapers and comic strips), digital media and the Internet. The purpose is to provide a broader view of the means of reading used by the population, the social uses they provide and discover the practices associated with reading (Márquez, 2017, p.8).

This is proof that reading habits are dynamic, since derived from technological progress, reading through mobile and electronic devices is a recurring activity among university students, which is why the promotion of reading habits through this type of devices has become an essential task.

Despite the fact that Higher Education Institutions are at the top of the educational pyramid, the problem remains that students read little and even less is what they understand about what they read, that is why institutions are forced to confront it by launching a series of programs, among others are: The Manual for the Promotion of Reading and, the Program for the Promotion of Books and Reading and the Commitment for the Promotion of a Reading Culture, which have been promoted by the Federal Government. At the state level, some universities have tried to propose their own strategies, such as the University of Guadalajara, which, to achieve this goal, promotes the *Letras para Volar* program.

Beyond that, and countries are immersed in the globalization process, characterized among other things, by the high level of interconnection and intercommunication through the use of Information and Communication

Technologies, these are presented as an alternative to raise the readers indexes. However, Castells asserts that:

> The connectivity gap is one of the biggest obstacles for developing countries and poor regions to engage in the global dynamic economy and with global communication networks that offer access to information, education and services (2006, p.374).

In virtue of the existence of Information Societies and Knowledge Societies, it is interesting to know the mechanisms through which university students are apprehending knowledge, it is clear that reading is an indispensable vehicle for achieving the objective, therefore it is pertinent to identify the mechanisms through which this is done. Pay attention to the role of Information and Communication Technologies, in the sense of seeing if these are the means by which reading is increased in university students, is an indispensable task. Mayos (2009) states that:

> The postmodern society of knowledge and ICT has created the means for the collective creation of knowledge to expand exponentially and subsist without needing the conscience, memory, reflection ... of any individual. The "knowledge society" makes it possible for knowledge to exist in the Internet nodes independently of any of us (p.58-59).

There are several effects on the human individual that can be exposed to knowledge on a massive level, however, there is no doubt that in these first two decades of the XXI century and through electronic media, there is a huge possibility of access to knowledge and to the increase in reading levels.

METHODOLOGY

It is a quantitative work, which used the survey as a research technique. To carry out the research, a public higher education institution was envisaged that will have a program that encourages the reading of its students, once it has been chosen and for testing purposes, the participation of two groups of students who studied the same degree was required (with the same academic requirements), located in different academic centers of the same university and that would capture a population with different socioeconomic characteristics. To this end, a survey with 15 questions was carried out, which was applied to a sample of 120 students from a total population of 172 (the statistical formula for sample calculation

$$n = \frac{N \times Z_a^2 \times p \times q}{d^2 \times (N-1) + Z_a^2 \times p \times q}$$

The research was carried out at the University of Guadalajara, this university has a reading incentive program called "Letras para volar" and the questionnaire was applied to the students of the Administration Degree in two university centers: University Center of Economic Sciences Administrative (CUCEA) and University Center of the South Coast (CUCOSTASUR).

The survey has two sections, the first contains general questions essential to characterize the actors and the second raises questions that allow addressing the problem in question, such as: type of reading made by students, media or instruments used to read (printed material, electronic material or both), how they access reading materials, how often they read, reasons why they read and if they do, is it for pleasure or obliged, opinion on reading electronic texts, importance of this type of reading in their academic activities and belonging or participation in a learning community or a workshop or reading or social club; starting from the basis that a university student, must, to achieve school goals, make a set of readings that support and consolidate their learning and thereby increase their cultural and social capital.

Based on the hypothesis that by virtue of the age of the students (18 to 22 years old) and the contact they have with Information and Communication Technologies, they would make their readings using mostly electronic texts instead of printed books, in this regard Brey (2009) declares:

> It is evident that, at a professional level, daily use as a working tool of powerful personal computers permanently connected to a global network is modifying the rhythm and sequence of our mental processes. Today it is usual several documents at the same time while information is collected on the Internet, email is attended or simultaneous conversations are held through instant messaging services [...] (2009, p.28).

Based on this, it was considered that university students would use electronic media more than printed media to read and study. Therefore, in this analytical-descriptive research, a relationship between reading frequency and materials is established to perform it, and in the results and conclusions we carry out analyzes and inferences about the problem posed. According to Hernández (2006) the descriptive approach explains a phenomenon, situation or event, in order to know in detail what happens in a community, which is the case that concerns us, to account for the frequency of reading, types of reading and materials used by students to perform their reading practices, the case of B.A. Management students from two university centers of the University of Guadalajara.

The research process was carried out based on the phases suggested by Monje (2011):

Preparatory phase. Reflection and design of the research work, that is, elaboration of the research project whose general objective was to analyze the role of Information and Communication Technologies, as tools that can favor and increase the exercise of reading in university students, starting with of the hypothesis that due to the age of the students these would make their readings using mostly electronic material.

Phase of field work. This phase is a determining factor in the research process, as it provides access to the context and knowledge of the problems posed by approaching the actors. In this case, a survey was elaborated whose questionnaire consists of 15 questions, which was applied to a total of 120 undergraduate B.A. students of first and eighth semesters of two University Centers of the University of Guadalajara, 50 % of first semester and 50 % of the eighth semester, the students surveyed were chosen at random, of which 52 % are women and 48 % are men.

Analytical phase. Based on the hypothesis and the general objective of the research, a reduction of the data obtained in the field and captured in the questionnaires was made through the classification of variables. For the systematization of the data and its subsequent interpretation, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program was used.

Informative phase. After carrying out the research, it is of fundamental importance to disclose the results, which are reflected in this article.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

For the analysis of results, the variables were classified into three dimensions, the first is the characterization of the students, the second consists of the reading-cultural and human capital relations and finally, and the third in which the reading-social capital relation is expressed.

Characterization of students

These are university students whose ages range from 18 to 22 years, most of them from the middle stratum, whose average family income ranges between 6 and 10 UMAS[1]. The majority of the parents' education (62 %) completed secondary education, followed by those who have a primary education (20 %), 12 % have a high school education, and only 6 % have a

1 The Unit of Measurement and Update (UMA), in 2017 had a monthly value of $ 2,294.42MXN (Consulted from the page of the INEGI: http://www.beta.inegi.org.mx/temas/uma/

bachelor's degree, there are not illiterate parents. From the schooling of the parents it is inferred that the students -subject of study- are basically the first generation of the family that carries out university studies.

On the other hand, 85 % of the students did their previous studies in public schools, schools where there were no computers available for homework, 65 % of them did not have a computer in their home while they studied high school, only 33 % said they had a personal computer after they turned 15 years old, which could be used exclusively in their home and was shared with the rest of the siblings (97 % of students have at least one sibling). However, 67 % of them said that while they studied high school they usually used a computer to do some homework and they went to *cybercafés* or businesses where they could hire computer services with Internet.

Most students of the two university centers surveyed have electronic devices (68 %), among the CUCEA students include: iPad and iPhone of the Apple brand with iOS operating system; the Samsung Galaxy Tab Android and the Samsung S8 phone with Android operating system. In terms of the computer system highlighted Mac from Apple, Sony with Windows and Hewlett Packard with Windows.

In the CUCOSTASUR, the use of the Samsung phone with Android operating system and DELL computers with Windows operating system stands out, the possession of one or other electronic devices is directly related to the socioeconomic level of the students, while the average family income of the students of the CUCEA is from 8 to 10 UMAS, the average family income of CUCOSTASUR students ranges between 6 and 7 UMAS.

They mentioned that the decision on the choice of career they studied was based on economic interests fundamentally, since they consider that the degrees they study have a good working future, 85 % of them mentioned that the career choice was strongly motivated by their families and therefore are encouraged to study, only 12 % work and those who do attend 3 to 4 hours a day in a schedule that does not interfere with their classes.

On the other hand, 72 % say that the part that most convinces them of studying a B.A. is the curriculum, since most of them contain practical subjects, which makes the training process more dynamic and attractive.

They go to school in a single shift (morning), which allows them to perform other activities in the afternoon. These activities are: exercise, study a language, listen to music, some work, and do homework. They were asked if the tasks included reading and mentioned yes, but only sporadically, that is, twice a week 33 %, 42 % once a week and the rest (25 %) they did not answer.

Regarding the habit of reading, they were asked: Do you usually read frequently? What time do you dedicate to reading? Do you do it voluntarily? What kind of reading do you do?

The answers varied according to the university center, however, the students of the CUCEA 48 % assure that they read frequently, to the question of how much time they devote to reading, they answered that they do it from one to two hours a day and 40 % mentioned that they read at least once a week, of which only 20 % do it voluntarily, although what they read is not directly related to the contents that are addressed in the degree, most say they review social notes.

Students of CUCOSTASUR mention that they read frequently (52 %), 25 % dedicate to reading one hour a day and the rest say they do not read daily, only when they are required at school and that it is a sporadic requirement, 22 % mentioned that they read on average two hours a week and the rest (53 %) said they do it twice a month, but mentioned that they consult their electronic devices permanently and are aware of the most relevant news, especially those referred to the world of entertainment and sports.

In the two university centers, the reading of texts for school is not a fundamental activity and this is explained because they indicate that most of their subjects are practical subjects and for the development of these is not necessary to read a lot, although reading is essential to increase your cultural capital.

Reading-Cultural and Human Capital relation

An important part of generating the habit of reading in individuals is that through reading, they increase their cultural capital, for Bourdieu the cultural capital is constituted in the following way:

> Cultural capital can exist under three forms: in the *incorporated state*, that is, in the form of durable organism dispositions: in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods, paintings, books, dictionaries, instruments, machinery, which they are the mark or the realization of theories or criticisms of these theories, and of problems, etc., and finally in the *institutionalized state*, as a very particular form of objectification, because as can be seen with the school title, it confers cultural capital - which supposedly must guarantee - totally original properties (Bourdieu, 1987, p.12).

According to Bourdieu (1987), the incorporated state refers to the investment of time that the individual uses to learn, it is a constant work, this way the individual acquires it little by little until he understands, this is a personal and non-transferable possession. The school is one of the spaces in which cultural capital is incorporated, once this happens then it is objectified, this means that this will be reflected in the possession of books, paintings, instruments, normally the objectified state is related directly with the management of economic capital that the individual has, to greater

economic capital greater objectified cultural capital, or at least, greater ease of access to knowledge, in this case we see how the students of the university centers studied, have at least one electronic device, in this way cultural capital is objectified.

Meanwhile the institutionalized state refers to the school titles that the individual has and that endorse the possession of specific skills and knowledge, so that nowadays it is not only necessary to know, but also to verify through official documentation that you actually possess such knowledge, it is essential to obtain certification, in this case the certification extended by the University.

Cultural capital is directly related to human capital, the latter being for Schultz (1972) the set of knowledge, skills and attributes that the individual has so that he can perform a job productively, which must be permanently updated throughout the life of the individual.

According to Villalobos and Pedroza (2009) the knowledge acquired as human capital are tools that will allow the subjects to be productive, as a result, the subjects will enter the productive process of the country, but they will also be part of the productive society. This human capital is a personal possession and, like cultural capital, is non-transferable.

The possession of both cultural capital and human capital, will provide the individual with the tools necessary for success in life, however, both cultural capital and human capital require high levels of reading of the subjects. Reading is an ideal mechanism through which knowledge can be incorporated.

In the case at hand, it was essential to know not only the frequency and type of reading carried out by the students, but also to identify the means and materials through which the students read, in view of the need to determine the role the communication and information technologies are playing in the generation of reading habits in university students.

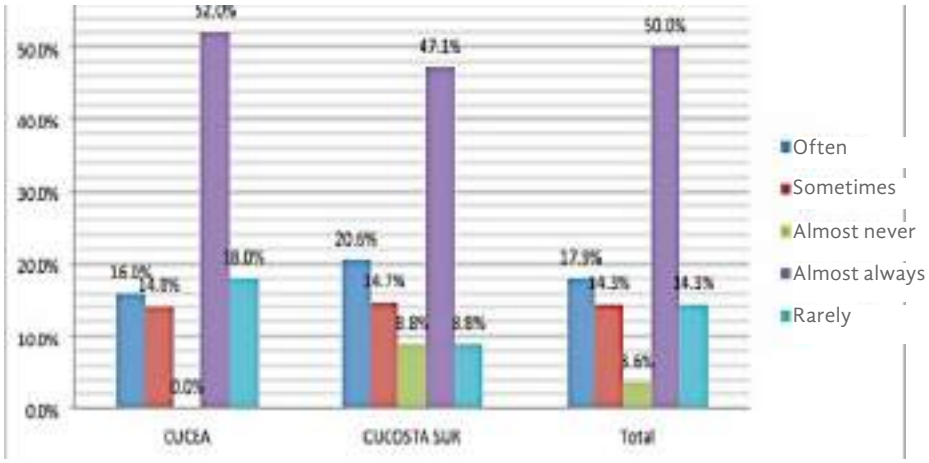
Of the students surveyed in the two university centers, 59 % prefer to read in printed material, 9.6 % in electronic material and 31.3 % use both.

Printed reading is the favorite in students. Due to their age, it was thought that their preference would be concentrated mostly in electronic documents, however, it was not. This can be explained because their first contact with a computer was in high school, and in previous years their relationship with reading was with printed texts, which may have generated the habit of reading in print, and now that they are college students due to the type of discipline they study, much of the material used for reading is not digitized.

The frequency with which they read is high, 50 % of the total population surveyed said they almost always read, 17.9 % read often, 14.3 % rarely, 14.3 % sometimes, while only 3.6 % say that almost never (See graph 1).

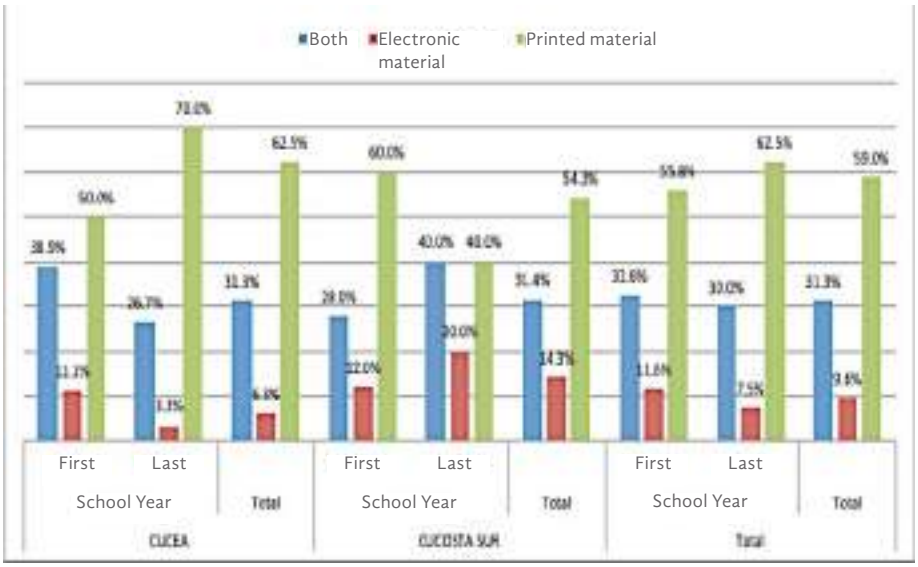
That is, 67.9 % of the population are constant readers, it is a quite significant percentage, however, they said that most of reading they do

is entertainment and leisure (60 %), 26% read scientific texts required at school and the rest, 14 %, read informative notes, in general social notes, the latter percentage corresponds to those who perform electronic reading.



Graph 1. Reading frequency in printed text. Source: Own elaboration based on applied survey to University Center students: Administrative Sciences (CUCEA) and South Coast (CUCOSTASUR), November 2017

The percentage of students who read electronic texts varies according to the semester and the university center where they study. In the case of CUCEA, the percentage of students that use electronic material to read is the following: 11.1 % in the first semester and 3.3 % in the eighth semester, in this sense it is evident that the preference for electronic reading increases according to age, so it is inferred that, in this case, the tendency to use electronic means to read is increasing, while for the case of students of CUCOSTASUR the trend is contrary, since 20 % of eighth-semester students use electronic material to read and only 12 % of first-semester students read through electronic material, which shows that the trend is towards decreasing the use of this type of material (See graphic 2).



Graph 2. Reading of the students, by type of material used. Source: Own elaboration based on applied survey to University Center students: Administrative Sciences (CUCEA) and South Coast (CUCOSTASUR), November 2017

When interrogating students about the importance of reading in electronic format and the way in which it supports the development of their school activities, the following results were obtained: 27.7 % mentions that electronic reading is positive, since that one of its characteristics is portability, which is an important factor, that is, it can be consulted in any space and/or time, the only inconvenience that they see is that they have to be connected to an Internet network and if it is not available then it will be impossible to access the document; 27.7 % say that it is positive for practicality (you do not have to be carrying books); 21.7 % consider that it is better than the printed reading, because the flow of information seems fast and the amount of information is greater; 12 % consider that it is better for saving physical space (this response is associated to students who live in rented homes); while 10.8 % said that electronic texts are a possibility to increase their readership, are more economical and are constantly updated, allowing them to engage in conversations between peers and their teachers with greater ease and knowledge. In addition, accessing this type of texts supports their opinions in class (although they also mentioned that some teachers do not allow them to be connected to Internet during class).

Of the total number of students who read electronic texts, 41.2 % prefer to read on a computer (either desktop or laptop), 17.6 % on a smartphone, 14.7 % on a computer and smartphone, 8.8 % on a smartphone and electronic tablet, 5.9 % only in electronic tablets, 2.9% in the computer and electronic tablet, while 8.8 % uses any of the aforementioned, depending on where they are.

It is evident that the students of the two university centers researched have the electronic devices necessary to access electronic information, which of course is an important possibility for their use every day. Nevertheless most of them do not use it because they have not yet generated the habit of reading through these devices; however, by virtue of the permanent contact with this type of devices and the opportunities they offer, which are recognized by the students, it is expected that their use is increased until generating a reading habit from them.

Reading-Social Capital Relation

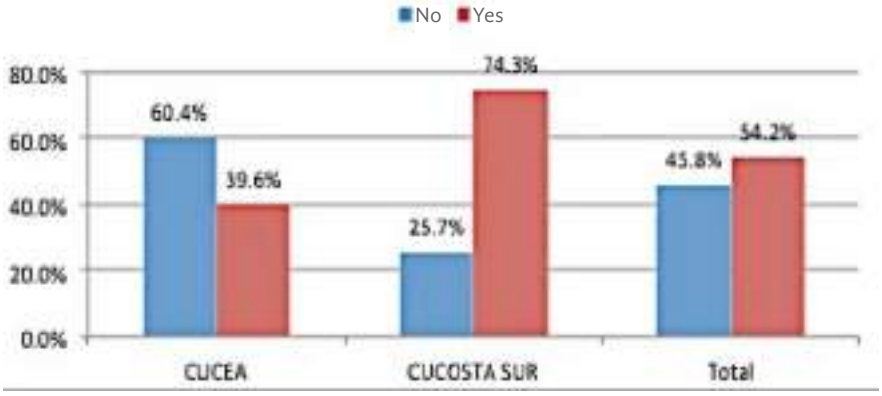
In the part corresponding to the social capital, it is understood as such:

> The totality of potential or current resources associated with the possession of a lasting network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual knowledge and recognition. Expressed differently, this is the totality of resources based on *belonging to a group*. The total capital possessed by the individual members of the group serves them all, together, as a backup, in addition to making them-in the broadest sense of the term-*worthy of credit*. In practice, social capital relationships can only exist on the basis of material and/or symbolic exchange relationships, and also contribute to their maintenance. [...] In these relations of exchange, on which social capital is based, the material and symbolic aspects are inseparably linked, to the point that those can only function and be maintained as long as this union is recognizable (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 148-149)

Consequently, it can be said that as part of their social capital students establish socialization networks mediated in a very important way by the means of communication that they have within their reach and that are not reduced to speech in face-to-face and co-presence relationships, referred to the rationalization of the action which is focused on an intentionality and that necessarily has to occur in circumstances of interaction in the routine (Giddens, 2015), but the electronic means that they have, such as computers, smartphones and electronic tablets, by the socioeconomic level of the students it was evidenced that 100 % of the students interviewed have at least one of the mentioned devices, more than 51 % two of them and 32 % have all three.

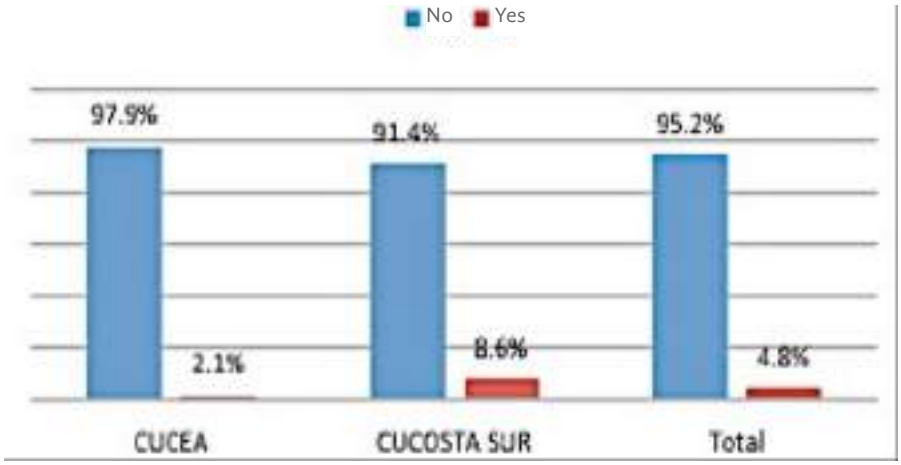
These attachments are part of their personal possessions, which they use regularly to communicate with each other and with their teachers, which of course increases their social capital, so they were questioned about whether they belong to a learning community understood as educational spaces which serve as meeting places to develop skills (Elboj Saso and Oliver Pérez, 2003). The questioning revolved around knowing if outside

the rigorous school activities and required by the curriculum, concur to extra-curricular activities that can enhance their training in the degree, 42 % mentioned yes, while 45.8 % said not (See graph 3).



Graph 3. Belonging to a learning community. Source: Own elaboration based on applied survey to University Center students: Administrative Sciences (CUCEA) and South Coast (CUCOSTASUR), November 2017

Among the questions, it was highlighted if they belonged to a club or reading workshop (since the University of Guadalajara provides such service), 95.2 % said no, only 4.8 % said yes (See graph 4). To the question that if they knew that the university provided the service, only 9.6 % said they did know of the existence of the Reading Club, while 90.4 % said they did not know it, which implies the University's need to do greater diffusion to this, which undoubtedly would result in the students raising their reading level and of course, the comprehension of texts.



Graph 4. Membership in a reading club or workshop. Source: Own elaboration based on applied survey to University Center students: Administrative Sciences (CUCEA) and South Coast (CUCOSTASUR), November 2017

They were also asked if they belonged to a social or sports club or had a social network of friends, only 15 % of them belong to a club or sports group, none to a social club and the social networks they establish are only with groups of friends of 3 to 5 members and in face-to-face relationships, and with larger groups through electronic messaging, specifically *WhatsApp*.

They are students whose levels of communication and interconnection are high and for this they keep their electronic devices active, this could facilitate their use for reading electronic texts.

CONCLUSIONS

The 21st century has been characterized by the high level of interconnection and intercommunication, which is expected to be positive for the socialization of knowledge at a massive level, however, this requires materials and means that are not always within the reach of most of the population, especially when it comes to underdeveloped countries. Additionally and very importantly, cultural differentiation presents broad resistance to changes and the implementation of the use of new technologies, which results in the diverse communities introducing them in different degrees and levels.

An important part of the globalizing discourse is centered on the utility represented by the use and management of new technologies in the educational field and the possibility of increasing the reading level of students through these media, for this reason it is essential to analyze each case in particular, since each context can report different results.

For the case studied:

It is necessary to include in the Mexican educational system a plan for the formation of reading habits, teaching reading and writing is not enough, if the habit of reading is not generated, it will continue an obligation than a pleasure.

Getting used to the reading implies to know the format, the structure and organization of the text, which implies that in the case of reading electronic texts, it is necessary a habit formation plan reader of this type of documents.

The research was carried out in two university centers of the University of Guadalajara, because of its location (west of the country) and the human development index of its population, the family socioeconomic level of the students who go there allows them to possess personal electronic devices, because the average family income of CUCEA students is higher than that of CUCEA students, the devices vary in brand and price, but all have at least one.

The possession of electronic devices in which they can consult electronic materials for reading is not a problem, as is connectivity, since most students have this service, either at home or at university.

In both university centers students have a greater preference for reading in printed texts, as a result of a habit of reading generated from the use of

this type of material in their previous training, however, Information and Communication Technologies permeate their lives and although they do not use them fundamentally to read texts about the degree they study, they have access to them permanently because most of them have the means to do so (computers, electronic tablets and cellphones), which is useful to increase both its cultural and human capital, as social. If the use of these instruments in the classroom for academic purposes is promoted, it could generate the habit of reading through them.

It was expected that because of their age, socioeconomic level and depending on the level of connectivity to which they are exposed, students would prefer to do electronic reading and not on printed material, however, it is clear that in the case of school material there is still the habit of read printed material.

In the two university centers studied the reading in electronic texts is low, however, in the CUCEA the trend is increasing, since in the first semester students, the percentage of its use rises with respect to the eighth semester, in addition it is observed that this university center has 10 computer labs which are available for permanent use, which undoubtedly encourages the use of this type of device and can be an element of motivation for reading electronic texts.

On the contrary, in CUCOSTASUR the trend is downward, there is a lower percentage of first-semester students who read electronic texts in relation to the eighth semester, students are of a lower socioeconomic level than those of CUCEA, therefore their level of connectivity is more restricted, that is, most of them access the Internet only at school, in addition to this university center there are only four computer labs; these could be the reasons why reading in electronic materials is less.

In general, the low percentage of reading in electronic texts in the two university centers investigated is explained by: 1) The contact of students with computer equipment up to the high school level and the generation of the habit of reading through printed material and not electronic, 2) Absence of computer centers in public high schools (from which most students come) that were available to them, 3) Absence of a computer in their home for their individual use and 4) Little digitized material for the B.A. in Management.

The reading materials for degrees (printed or electronic), is not a priority activity in the lives of students, it is necessary to make use of all available tools to increase the level of reading, including Information and Communication Technologies, taking advantage that students are able to recognize positive elements about the use of electronic material for reading, such as: portability, cost, breadth and diversity of information and increase of cultural and social capital.

Additionally, it is necessary to bring young people to the reading workshops offered at university centers and public libraries, and motivate

them by raising the importance of being informed and trained individuals to have informed opinions on relevant and important issues of society with high cultural, human and social capital. Increasing your readership is fundamental and that is achieved only through the habit of reading.

We believe that the type of reading material that students face (printed and/or electronic) has substantive differences that not only refer to access and connectivity, but also to the fact that the electronic format itself has its own characteristics to be learned and that you have to get used to, which means generating the habit of reading electronic texts, which represents a personal challenge, but also a school challenge, taking advantage of the possibility offered by the new Information and Communication Technologies is highly viable for both increase the reading levels of university students so that through them they can increase their cultural, human and social capital.

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A C A D E M I C S
P A P E R S

BOOK REVIEW: THE BORDERS IN *CALEIDOSCOPIO SONORO*

—

Vladimir González Roblero
vladimir.gonzalez@unicach.mx
Orcid: 0000-0002-9317-0636

Arts Faculty , Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas, México

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Caleidoscopio sonoro. Músicas urbanas en Chiapas (2017) by Martín de la Cruz López Moya, is a book that is settled in the border as a place of enunciation. I do not mean just the geographic place, Chiapas, but also the coexistence of speeches and approaches that I find in it. I will talk about three different border meanings.

THE BOOK AS A LIMIT

The first border is the idea of a book. At what point does the text become a book, what are its characteristics, who its readers? As the author narrates it, *Caleidoscopio* was first an idea that became reflections in a seminar; later it was developed as a doctoral thesis and later appears as what it is today.

A first border encounter is in the title: Kaleidoscope. Which refers to the multiplicity, to the diversity of music that coexist in Chiapas geography. This meeting shapes the boundaries that the author identifies and reflects throughout the text. But Kaleidoscope is also a strategy. With this I want to ask; what Ph.D. thesis, of those solemn ones, is called like that? In this sense the title is suitable for a book whose aspiration is the publishing market. The thesis is then at a border, at the limit with that market, with its audiences much wider than the academic.

Knowledge is also a frontier. The ethno-musicological work carried out by López Moya finds a dialogue, complement and new routes, with the photographic images presented at the end of the book. Efraín Ascencio Cedillo is an anthropologist and photographer, author of these images. These are not intended, nor should they be illustrative. Photography is another way of knowing the world, of looking at it with the sensitivity of the subject through its lens.

Then in the book two epistemologies coexist to the limit: social science and aesthetics. It is these modes of approaching reality, complementary and juxtaposed, rational and sensitive, which signify and justify the meaning of Kaleidoscope.

MUSIC AS SUMMARY

Three aspects are essential in the discussion of *Caleidoscopio* about urban music in Chiapas. Namely: the armed uprising of the Zapatista Army of

National Liberation in 1994; the different migratory moments in Chiapas of the 20th and 21st centuries, and cultural policies in the broadest sense, although with a certain emphasis on public ones.

Knowing these three historical moments we understand the following frontier: hybridization. The types of music that are the object of this study are marimba, rock and jazz. Each of them, it is argued, has suffered a reinvention of its tradition as a result of these historical events mentioned.

Has the marimba and its music ever been pure expressions? Without entering into the discussion of its roots, that is, whether it is originally from America, let alone Chiapas, the marimba has reinvented itself as an instrument and as a music. Thanks to the important role that *marimbistas* have played as subjects that migrate physically and symbolically. The twists and turns that have given explain the appearance of the orchestra marimba in the mid-20th century, as an adaptation to the urban space. On the other hand, also turn of the screw, has been the foundation of the degree in Jazz and Popular Music at the Universidad de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas. Here the migrations have been from the training of teachers. Many of them, academic musicians, have postgraduate studies abroad. I do not mean that they are better, much less. However, they have been a factor in the reinvention of the marimba when merging it with jazz, mainly.

Another element highlighted by the author, linked to the three processes mentioned above, is to understand the emergence of borders as a result of cultural policies. It has been fostered by the intense diffusion of the marimba as an identitary resource, but also by the strategies of promotion of artistic and creative practices among indigenous groups. The State, through programs such as the Support for Municipal and Community Cultures, or institutions such as the State Center for Indigenous Languages, Arts and Literature, has contributed tangentially to the reinvention of the musical tradition. The examples that are used in the book are the appearance of bands of breath, which decanted into music groups like the *sinaloense* or *technobanda* type. Also, and here the author stops, in the appearance of rock groups whose members come from indigenous communities. The founding musician of *Sak Tzevul*, the most recognized group in the genre, reveals that everything began when, through the Program of Support for Municipal and Community Cultures (PACMYC), he was able to obtain his first electric guitar.

In this way, says López Moya, young people *rock* their aesthetics and emerge in the culture of rock with a voice of their own, mixing music with their language: self-representations of their culture. Once its emergence, public cultural policies have been responsible for encouraging and spreading this reinvention. They do this by financing their record production and creating festivals in different parts of the local and national geography.

Martín de la Cruz also analyzes the practice of jazz. In the respective chapter, the sixth, in addition to returning to migrations and cultural policies, as in previous chapters, thinks of Zapatismo as a historical event that led to the hybridization of jazz with local music and musical practices. The practice of jazz was also rooted in the migrations to San Cristóbal de Las Casas, attracted by the appearance of the EZLN and the diffusion that, since then, the city became a tourist destination.

Jazz is hybrid, not only in this context but in a global one. Its plasticity has allowed crossing borders with regional music. Maybe that's why it found an ally in the marimba. This instrument is *ad hoc* to jazz. Because of its versatility and improvisation in execution. This also explains the appearance of the orchestra marimbas and the marimbas jazz band.

THE CITY AS A MEETING PLACE

The city is the place of musical practices. In the author's research, he wanted to define urban music as popular, that is, those that go through an idea of the massive thanks to cultural and creative industries, and to old and new communication processes. Then, the city is the place for the realization of these musical practices, a space where the urban is built in the dialectical tradition and modernity.

The cursed poets, those great poets, have been pointed out as fierce critics of the modern condition.

Baudelaire wrote:

> The stunned street around me howled.
> tall, thin, mourning majestic pain,
> a woman passed by, with a lavish hand
> picked up the lace that her walk was swinging.

With these words he showed the anonymity, the loneliness of the inhabitant of the city. But the city is also a meeting. It is the space where traditions and modernities converge. Ways of being. As in the 19th century, art showed the harsh city faces, but it has also shown urban possibilities. *Caleidoscopio sonoro* attests to it. The marimba, symbol of the Chiapas identity, as a tradition its place of origin was not necessarily the city; but in San Cristóbal, Tuxtla, Comitán, and Tapachula it has taken root. Much have had to do with cultural policies of a nationalist nature that have seen it as an identity resource. We observe it in festivals, in municipal marimbas and in public squares. In addition, as López Moya points out, it is the meeting place for old and new marimbistas, young people with strong cultural sediments, migrants and tourists.

It is in the city where the buildings of the Jazz degree of the UNICACH are located. Its students are from here and there, Mexicans and foreigners, as its teaching staff. This meeting has built the university seal: the renewal of the Chiapas' marimba. Another meeting scene is the nightlife. In this regard, he points out:

> After the neozapatista uprising, with the massive arrival of visitors and the increase of spaces for the practice of live music, the nocturnal experience in this city was potentiated. Streets, theaters, restaurants or bars are places that are activated with music (page 155).

Nightlife then, is the propitious moment for the meeting of musicians and their audiences. If something characterizes cities, especially those that are now called creative, it is their cultural offer. The musical geographies drawn by Martín de la Cruz, those that are linked to territorialities, in addition to the imaginary, have in common a vast offer that means a meeting place. At night you can hear the traditional marimba in Tuxtla, in its marimba park, where old people, adults and children converge; around this park bars can be found where mainly rock and jazz is played. It is a cultural cluster, meeting point for young people. The walkers of San Cristóbal are full of bars and cultural cafés, where *etnorrock* and "experimental" jazz play all day as the author maintains.

The faces are seen then, musicians are heard and delighted, with their hybrid proposals; their listeners are varied, and also liminal. In the end, what López Moya shows in *Caleidoscopio sonoro* is music as a testimony of creativity and cultural borders.

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BOOK REVIEW: *¿ADIÓS DEMOCRACIA DE PARTIDOS? UNA MIRADA DESDE LA COMUNICACIÓN POLÍTICA Y LA OPINIÓN PÚBLICA*

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Salvador Percastre-Mendizábal
salvador.percastre@upf.edu

Grup de Recerca en Comunicació Política, Mitjans i Democracia (Polcom) de la Universitat Pompeu Fabra en Barcelona, España

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The book entitled by a punctilious question *¿Adiós democracia de partidos? Una mirada desde la Comunicación Política y la Opinión Pública* by the professor and researcher from Chiapas Alberto Zuart Garduño, published by Editorial Fragua in the current year, deals on a subject of deep political relevance. Its object of study is the crisis of trust, of representation and the loss of the identity of the voters that has been evident in the traditional political rights in Mexico, this is an undeniable reality that has been revealed to the citizens, of age, when voting in the last presidential elections since 2000, and it punctuates a new way of thinking and acting within Mexican democracy.

It is a critical analysis of Mexican democracy through political parties, the realization of this work is done in a very useful research that has sufficient statistical, theoretical and social data of all strata of Mexican society, developed in a practical and understandable way, always on the basis of scientific studies of political communication and public opinion. It is precisely in this study that is used as an example and the very revealing way is described, the most emblematic partisan political institution of our country: Partido Revolucionario Institucional.

The power and decline of the PRI; for this political party that lost the presidential power in 2000 after it kept it for more than seventy years, but got to recover it in 2012. So, in the democracy of the parties of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional have played a predominant political role. And, as said by the author himself, is not until the end of the eighties, all the governors of the Mexican states were from the PRI; so to understand the Mexican political culture, one had to understand first the functionality of said party.

This investigation also focused on the study of the changes in the speeches of both the presidential candidates of the PRI in those years, as well as in its Declaration of Principles, widely taken up by the written press during the analysis period; which ended up being both revealing and antagonistic for the party, such as the newspaper *Reforma* (conservative) and *La Jornada* (left-wing). These are important reflective points in the interesting book, since they show the changes to the new paradigms that the longest party in the country was facing, and led the PRI to accept and face an identity crisis with its constituents.

The way to access to govern, in practically every country in the world, is the legally established public institution called political party, and until before the 2000 election no other presidential election winning party was known in Mexico, that's when the author tells us that the PRI in the Mexican social imaginary was conceived as a synonym for government. Hence the importance of this book: understand the causes of how Mexicans conceive today this new social and political reality.

It took a long time for a large majority of citizens to lose their identity with this traditional party, and the theory analyzed by Alberto Zuart in his study is that some of the reflections made by the North American essayist Campbell can be seen, specifically with regard to the fact that the identity with a political party is formed at an "early age and remains considerably stable throughout the life of the elector". On the other hand, other factors are added, as he also refers in his book to the American political scientist Morris Fiorina, who points out that "the identification with a party is the result of the past evaluation of the governments, which is updated as the events alter the perceptions of the capacities of the different political formations".

However, in our context, it is not difficult to notice that, before the first great electoral defeat in 2000, in Mexico there was no parameter of good, bad or regular government management, since the political party analyzed by the author in this part of the investigation (PRI) had always occupied the first political position in Mexico: Presidency of the Republic.

His study did not ignore the economic aspect either, given that, with different data evaluated, he points out that Mexican society did not have sustainable options for partisan election in order to generate an adequate evaluation, because the pockets of Mexican families had had a stable behavior during PRI administrations. For all these reasons, the author theoretically deduces that the PRI was able to create a close affective and social bond, but above all economic, making forget the complexity that surrounded its election as a political party.

The author analyzed that, indeed, there is a social bad mood based on a growing deficit of confidence towards the traditional Mexican political parties, of which the PAN and the PRD are also part, but, likewise, demand depth in the face of this crisis of trust and confidence. He recommends that more than demonizing, it should be nuanced, because if partisan trust is necessary for the permanence of parties, it cannot respond to subjectivity at all, because that is where distortions or false judgments find fertile ground.

As for the study on the crisis of representation, he also inclines not to demonize this aspect, because, the author considers, it is not known to what extent the representation in Mexico is in crisis. He concludes that there is indeed political representation even when there is no democracy. And gives

as an example the fact that dictatorships articulate modalities of representation, and in that sense, the author proposes to direct the investigation in raising the following question: "why have we reached the situation of saying that Mexican democracy is in crisis?", instead of just anchoring us in the idea that “the traditional Mexican political parties do not represent us and the rest can go away".

The author concludes that the first challenge of the representative democratic system is how to give more participation to the Mexican citizen in government decisions, and in addition, to make this intervention occur in a framework of free expression, and that can be based "on strengthening the capacity of representation of the traditional political parties", through the incorporation of "the co-participation policy" in their decision-making schemes, whether electoral or parliamentary.

However, one cannot avoid the fact that there is indeed a social anger towards the traditional political parties in Mexico, based on a growing deficit of representation towards those classic institutions of representativeness. However, the process of democracy in Mexico is very difficult to conceive without the participation of its political parties. That is why it is important that this book is also read by politicians, political scientists, communicators, lawyers, journalists and all those who are interested in the study of the representation crisis of traditional political parties.

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