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Anilton da Silva Estevam;Sérgio Luiz Malta de Azevedo

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Anilton da Silva Estevam, Sérgio Luiz Malta de Azevedo

Federal University of Campina Grande- UFCG

Brazil

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This article deals with the contributions that the principles of the Chicago School, proposed for the urban centers, can bring in the analysis of the problems existing in the rural space. For the theoretical basis, the discussion of these concepts was carried out; of traditional peoples and communities, of the communities that exist in the northeastern semi-arid region, such as the Caiçara I Population. It discusses the process of urbanization of rural areas and their consequences; on the fragility of existing studies, especially on critical rural sociology and its role in the elaboration of concepts specific to the rural area. It is observed the elements that approach rural areas in the process of urbanization the emergence of segregated communities and if rural communities can be the new "ghettos" of urban centers. The identification and discussion of the principles of the Chicago School in the rural community under study is carried out. The methodological proposal used is the bibliographical research, performed through the systemic review of literature that dialogues with the use of methods of critical ethnography. It concludes with the suggestion of a model for the development of the public policy agenda aimed at identifying and meeting the real needs of these communities.

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1. Introduction

This article aims to contribute to the construction of a dialogue that involves the institutions that make up the Social Defense System (ESTEVAM, SOUZA; SILVA, 2018b) responsible for elaborating the public security agenda and rural communities, aiming to analyze public safety actions will become an instrument of sustainability for these communities, collaborating with their integration the social and economic dynamics of the city.

In order to do so, we initially discussed the origin, the concepts and identified the main researchers from the Chicago Sociological School, the cradle of the current Human Ecology of American Expiration, with the purpose of demonstrating its importance for the analysis of social relations, especially in the study of urban social problems and the consequent emergence of segregated communities.

We then discuss the physical and social characteristics that characterize the Northeastern semi-arid region; where we evaluate the concepts of peoples and communities of the Northeastern semi-arid region, an opportunity when the differentiation between these and the traditional peoples and communities took place.

Later we discussed the urbanization process of the urban centers and the consequences of this expansion for the rural communities, trying to identify if at present the rural communities constitute the new segregated communities (ghettos); in this scenario we examine the contributions of rural sociology at a time when urban centers stand out as the focus of public policies.

At this moment, a comparative study was carried out between the theoretical principles of the School of Chicago and the reality observed in the Caiçara I Village, in the rural area of the municipality of Paulo Afonso, state of Bahia.

Focusing on qualitative research, exploratory in nature; used as a proposal the bibliographic and ethnographic methodology, by comparing the theoretical reference with the observed reality, made during the analysis and the global interpretation of the data collected through the annotations of the characteristics of the mentioned village.

The methods of critical and historical-dialectical ethnography were articulated with the main methodology when analyzing and establishing a logical temporal sequence of the studied question and of the global interpretation of the data collected during the research.

The authorization for field research was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee (CEP) of the State University of Bahia (UNEB) under the number 2,948,771, CAAE: 94020718.3.0000.0057.

2. The Chicago School

Man's perception of his relationship with the environment has changed over time; from pioneering scientific studies it is observed that for many years man conceived of himself as separate from animals (HARARI, 2017) in an environment where the existing natural resources were abundant, without outlining concerns, limits or consequences of the use of inventories of the aforementioned resources.

However, modern approaches, such as those observed in modern human ecology, seek "to develop studies on man's relation to the environment and its consequences, understanding that everything is closely intertwined in a kind of 'web of life' [...]" (SILVA, BOMFIM, 2019, p.35), that is, including the human vector in the approach of phenomena, not only social but also environmental phenomena.

The growth of human agglomerations has been boosted by the agricultural revolution (Harari, 2017); of these clusters emerged the core of what we now call urbanized urban society, yet it can be said that this social phenomenon only came to be scientifically emphasized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century due to the need to oppose problems linked to the growth of large cities, arising as a result of industrialization and capitalism, through urban sociology (COELHO, 1967).

Simonard (2017) referring to the works of Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau clarifies the authors' different views on the social contract, specifically on the role of man and the state within society; the former understands that the man in his state of nature threatens the social fabric, and the State must exercise control and solve the conflicts; Rousseau presents an opposite view, understanding that the man in his state of nature is good and that society can corrupt him, thus lacking the state to defend him.

In this context, the Chicago School originates from the dominant evolutionary thinking in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century; originated ideas that influenced several areas of human knowledge, such as ecology, sociology, politics, architecture, economics and urban planning. Thus, this way of thinking

social relations starts from the premise that the social body is an organism and that, for this reason, in order for it to be healthy, all organs (each individual) must be functioning harmoniously (MENDES JUNIOR, 2017).

The same author teaches us that:

The School of Chicago was founded at the end of the nineteenth century with Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Roderick Mackenzie, as well as contributions from Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth, Max Weber and Chombart de Lauwe. The School worked with urban, ecological and environmental studies, race relations, social conflicts, immigration, socio-behavioral studies and revolutions. (p.78)

The denomination of Chicago School is due to the contributions of professors and researchers of the University of Chicago, who at the beginning of the 20th century developed their research in the empirical horizon of the city of Chicago in the United States. From this point on, the Chicago School constitutes an innovation in the field of social studies, since in order to understand the existing relations in the urban centers, it seeks to relate theoretical presuppositions and field researches with ethnographic methods (Coelho, 1995, Marques and Netto, 2017).

Among these contributions are the cycle of Park's ethnic relations (rivalry, conflict, adaptation and assimilation) and Ernest Burgess's proposal of concentric zones (Coulon, 1995); or the study of urban social phenomena such as poverty, crime, alcoholism and ethnic relations; concepts considered to be social problems; or social disorganization (EUFRÁSIO, 1999).

In this way the sociological theory of the Chicago School constitutes a version of urban sociology, or for some in an Urban Ecology or in a Criminal Ecology, that seeks to understand the phenomena, especially the criminal ones through the interdisciplinary social analysis that originates from ecological structure of the urban fabric (ALMEIDA, 2013).

In this same passage the author, when discussing the work of Sérgio Salomão Shecaira (2012), teaches that there are two basic concepts for the understanding of the Theory of Criminal Ecology of the School of Chicago, namely: the definition of social disorganization and identification of distinct areas of delinquency that obey a gradient tendency; or as a gradient tendency as affirmed by Basilio (2015), constituting these in elements that will be approached later in this essay.

The existing criticism of the analysis of social reality from the perspective of the Chicago School lies in its determinism, in the context of the emergence of segregated communities (ghettos) and in the hierarchical way in which the city is conceived, in the separation between urban and peripheral, between city of the holders of capital and that of the various classes of individuals marginalized within this so-called ecological cycle (MENDES JUNIOR, 2017).

3. Nordeste Semiárid peoples and communities

Brazil has high ethnic, racial, political and social diversity; one of the great challenges for the country lies in guaranteeing the rights and social welfare of the Brazilian people (DIEGUES, 2000; SILVA, BOMFIM, 2019); it adds to these social factors the great territorial extension and the regional heterogeneity. However,

for this article we will analyze only the semiarid subspace and the communities that live with it.

The Brazilian semiarid was defined by Federal Law No. 7827/89 (BRASIL, 1989); has a total area of 1,127,953 km² and an estimated population of 27,870,241 inhabitants (MEDEIROS, 2018) and its characteristics are associated with those of the largest biome in the region, the caatinga biome. Nascimento et al. (2013) teaches that:

The Caatinga is a 735,000 km² vegetation formation that is primarily located in the northeast of Brazil with a total size equivalent to approximately 11% of the country. The Caatinga is subjected to extreme meteorological parameters, including high solar radiation, low levels of cloudiness, high temperatures, low levels of humidity and low and irregular annual rainfall patterns (Reis 1976). Approximately 25 million inhabitants (IBGE 2000) live in this region; these inhabitants largely depend on family agriculture, livestock, and vegetable extraction. Because of severe weather conditions, which give a dry appearance to the vegetation during most of the year, it was long believed that the biodiversity of the regional vegetation is poor. Today, we know that the Caatinga contains complex vegetation that is rich in species, many of which are restricted to this ecosystem (Giulietti *et al.* 2004). Studies are needed to better understand how local populations utilize the region's plant resources (p.319-320).

It is added that, culturally, the Brazilian semi-arid is usually seen through the prism of climatic determinism, a discourse of victimization elaborated and diffused by the dominant classes that has the drought as a reference for the approach of socio-environmental and political relations existing there (SANTOS, 2016). In this scenario, the Bahian semi-arid corresponds to a total area of 390,549.4 km² and a population of approximately 7,227,399 people, distributed in 277 cities that have the Caatinga as a hegemonic biome. The lifestyle of the traditional populations of this region has a close connection with the exploitation of the existing fauna (ALMEIDA; SANTOS, 2018; ALMEIDA et al., 2018).

However, people living in the Brazilian semi-arid region, especially those in the rural area, are culturally diverse, plural in their customs and traditions. This is one of the essential questions of this research, that is, whether or not it is recognized as a People and Traditional Community (of the aforementioned region) is a fundamental parameter of identity differentiation in this research.

The concept of Traditional Peoples and Communities was formally inserted into the country by Decree No. 6,040 / 07, which established the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (PNPCT) (BRAZIL, 2007); from this legal framework are identified as People and Traditional Community:

Culturally differentiated and recognized groups, which have their own forms of social organization, which occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition (BRASIL, 2007).

From the analysis of the legislation it is evident that only a portion of the population living with the Brazilian semi-arid region can be identified as a Traditional People or Community; not being protected by

the same legal diploma the other communities, largely of rural origin, that coexists with similar structural problems, since they are in "an area with more or less common characteristics" (AZEVEDO, 2018, p.178), in the same region.

These people, even though they are not conceived as traditional populations, are also "the result of intense miscegenation between the white colonizer, the Portuguese, the indigenous native population and the black slave" (DIEGUES, 2000, p.15) of the agrarian semi-arid and continue to suffer along with the Peoples and Traditional Communities the effects of the droughts and the absence of efficient public policies.

Thus, even agreeing with Silva and Bomfim (2019) when they affirm that:

The traditional peoples and communities are a part of the country's population that remains invisible, excluded and are constantly subjected to various forms of discrimination, thanks to the struggle of several social movements that have gained evidence, articulation and mobilization which has also generated some recognition of these before the laws and bodies that make these laws in the country (p.36).

We understand that other people who live with the semi-arid should be included in this discussion, so that they are not left out of discussions of access to their rights, made invisible.

4. Town of Caiçara I

The community of Caiçara I, located in the northeast region of the State of Bahia (Northeast of Brazil), belongs to the rural area of the municipality of Paulo Afonso, municipality with a total area of 1,574 Km²; located between the parallels of 09°39'27 " and 09°21'10 " south latitude and the meridians 37°59'52 " and 38°32'16 " west longitude, distant 12 km from the seat of the municipality (REIS, 2004, p. 47 and 246, BARRETO JUNIOR, 2014, p.29).

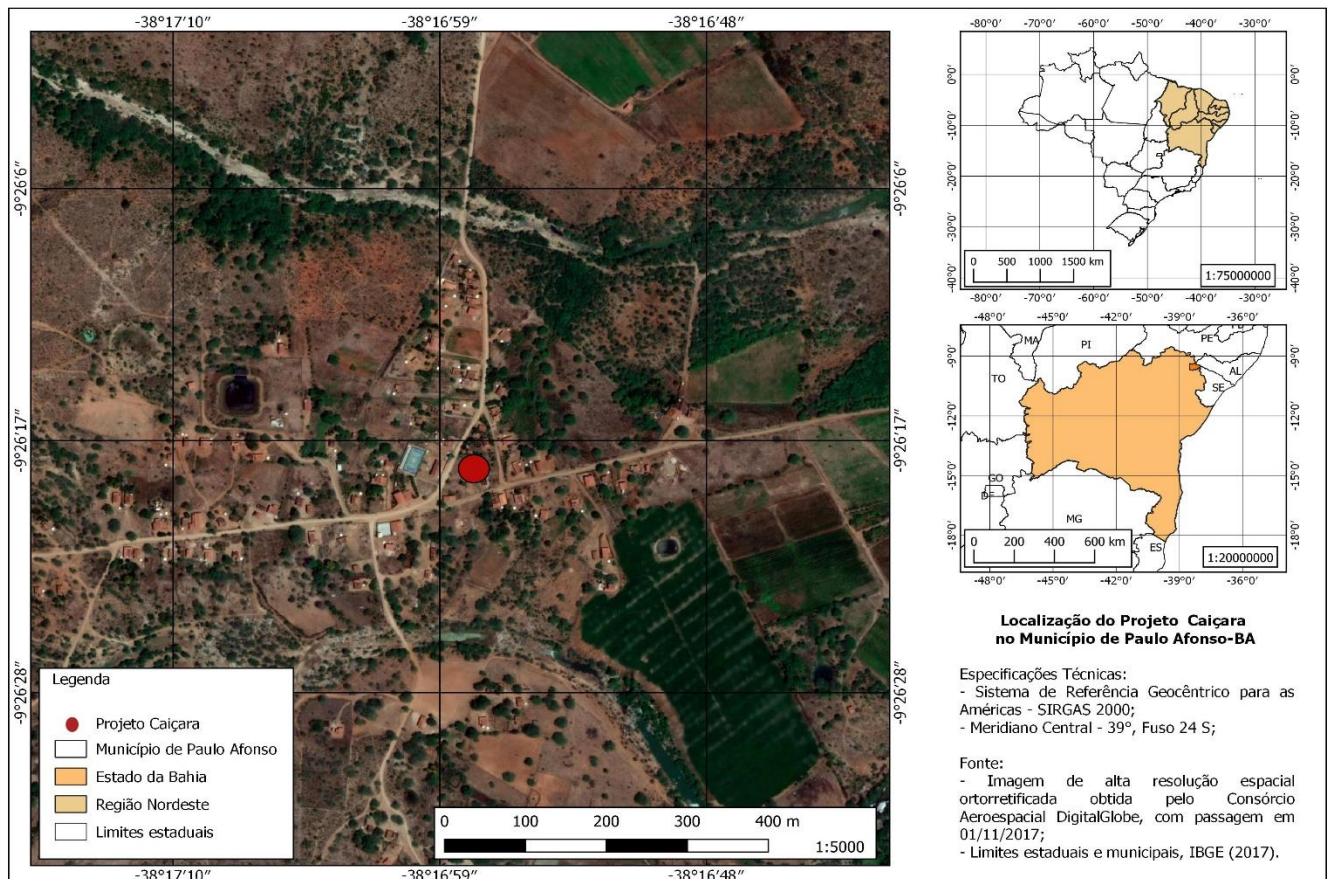


Figure 1. Povoado Caiçara 1.

Pedro Alexandre Teixeira (2018), one of the oldest inhabitants of the community and a member of one of the pioneer families in the occupation of part of the territory of Paulo Afonso (SILVA; AZEVEDO, 2016), reports that the village already existed before the dams built by the Company San Francisco Hydroelectric Plant (CHESF); belonging to the municipality of Glória Velha, local residents used the land for small brushcutting and small livestock, goat and sheep farms (LINS-NETO; PERONI; ALBUQUERQUE, 2010). It complements his narrative by saying that the people of the area were native to the place; possibly originated from the miscegenation of native native pancararus or ladybirds with the bandeirantes (REIS, 2004; BARRETO JUNIOR; AZEVEDO, 2014), and that at the beginning of the settlement there were about five (5) houses belonging to Alexandre Teixeira Lima; Januário; Antônio Grosso (who later migrated to the town now known as Bogó); Pedro Januário and Francisco.

The interviewee explains that the name of Caiçara is due to the name of one of its first inhabitants, known as Manoel Caiçara or Mané Caiçara, who established a street that served the local breeders when the cattle were delighted during the rainy season.

Currently, its population is approximately 419 inhabitants, between men and women (SANTOS, 2019), distributed mainly in the small population cluster of that area. Most of the region's population depends on subsistence farming, mainly maize (*Zea mays*); of string bean (*Vigna unguiculata*) and cactus forage palm (*Opuntia ficus-indica*); which are used during the dry season to feed the animals (cattle, goats and sheep). It should be emphasized that livestock plays an important role in the community, since it meets the animal

protein needs of families, as well as the sale of specimens as a source of income (LINS-NETO; PERONI; ALBUQUERQUE, 2010). Household income is supplemented by resources from government programs and retirement benefits from older relatives.

The public services available to the community are limited, constituting a municipal public school for primary education 1, a medical post, a sports court and a large reservoir to supply raw water for the lots of the irrigation project; the houses are built in masonry and have electricity and cisterns in their majority. However, the region does not have potable water, medical facilities or paved roads, and transport is limited to vehicles used for school transport, which are used for the transportation of passengers.

5. Rural area urbanization process

Souza (2003) says that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Brazilian society still did not present answers to existing social demands, such as those resulting from the abolition of slavery, and even with this reality, it began to structure its economy towards grassroots industry and building infrastructure for large-scale capitalist growth; a condition that has favored the solidification, development and maintenance of a social stratum that is in sub-citizenship, a reality not very different from that found today.

Marques (2002) in commenting Abramovay affirms that for international scholars three aspects are pointed out to consider an area as urban or rural, which are; "the importance of non-densely populated areas, the relationship with nature and the dependence of the urban system" (p.100). The author says that Brazil adopts the political-administrative criterion to classify an area as being urban or not, being considered as urban area the headquarters of the municipalities, districts and every region, that legally constituted, has intense human occupation, constructions or streets ? fixtures; are included in this classification the spaces affected by the transformations of urban growth or that have been reserved for urban expansion. By this criterion, all regions that are not included in these factors are considered rural spaces.

Diegues (2000) teaches that to conceive a region of nature untouched and untouched by urban-industrial civilization constitutes a neomito; since nature in its pure state does not exist; this observation becomes clear when we analyze the reality of third world countries, as in Brazil, where the relation man-nature has contours that go beyond the limits of ecological, social and cultural.

In this context, the rural communities of the agrarian semi-arid, as well as the traditional peoples and communities living with the semi-arid rural zone, are communities formed by small producers; that originated from the miscegenation of the natives with the colonizers and that as a result of the relative isolation created particular ways of living with the environment from which they extract the means for their subsistence (PEREIRA and DIEGUES, 2010).

However, in the last years the Brazilian rural area has undergone a series of physical and social changes, a condition that attracts scholars committed to the elaboration of a development strategy, as opposed to the expansion and consolidation of agribusiness, that is adequate to the reality of the communities and that will overcome the existing social and environmental inequalities (MARQUES, 2002).

The author continues her reasoning in saying that the modifications in the rural space, resulting from the industrialization of agriculture and reinforced by the expansion of non-agricultural activities, such as tourism and commerce that triggered the urbanization of the countryside, even though their meaning

changed. differences between rural and urban continue to exist, emerging the rural by its diverse and complex relationship with the land.

The approach adopted for the analysis is based on the rural-urban continuum approach, which in a dichotomous way places the urban at one extreme and the rural at the opposite (MARQUES, 2002), which, while recognizing the existing interrelationships and reinforced by the expansion of the centers urban society, believes that the urban presents itself as the holder of the largest state investments, as the focus of the greater contribution of public policies.

In this view historiography shows that in certain periods; by virtue of the discriminatory and exclusionary circumstances to which they are imposed and the expansion of peripheral areas of urban centers, rural communities are placed in a condition between what are called ghettos and the ethnic neighborhoods of Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Louis Wirth, segregated urban communities, meticulously analyzed and conceptualized since its origin and characteristics in the article What is ghetto? Building a sociological concept of Wacquant (2004).

At this point the contribution of a critical rural sociology is proposed, which sets out as a way of thinking the relations and transformations that are taking place in rural space; relations such as the emptying of the countryside and the invasion of the countryside by the cities (MARQUES, 2002), where it is proposed that:

Rural populations have their own codes of knowledge and their own conception of destiny, which are as legitimate as the codes and conceptions of the sectors of society from which sociologists feel closer and more receptive. No field of sociology has been more exposed to this disenchantment than rural sociology. Because no one was so stubbornly attached to the assumption that rural populations are lagging populations of economic development and history, supposed islands of primitivism in the supposed paradise of modernity. Different conceptions of rural sociology were faced with the same difficulty (MARTINS, 2001, p.31).

Rural sociology can provide even initial tools for rural populations to withstand morality in the questionable environments produced and solidified by large centers through planned institutional reflexivity (SODRÉ, 2002, p. 24); that recognize a creative, innovative and resourceful rural world within modern reality.

In opposition to the idea of the residue of political-economic relations, or as Martins (2001)

The rural world is also there, as a residue, as the rest of the forced and forcefully accelerated modernization, which introduced into the life of the rural population a rhythm of social and economic transformation that generates social problems that the system as a whole can not remedy p.33).

In this sense, this context presents itself as a tool that provides a new look at the contradictions experienced in the rural / urban relationship, which allows these communities not to be placed in a ghettoization process, in an exclusive enclosure (WACQUANT, 2004, p. .158); incorporating the stigma of communities segregated from urban centers.

6. Identification of the principles of the Chicago School in Povoado Caiçara I

In an analysis based on the urban environment, Barreto Junior (2014) states that the migration process from the rural zone to the large centers gave rise to districts deficient in basic infrastructure that were occupied by the proletariat, individuals who had as their sole survival resource of labor.

The author corroborates with Santos and Azevedo (2016) when he says that the Hydroelectric Company of São Francisco - CHESF was the catalyst for the population density and urbanization process of the municipality of Paulo Afonso-BA, since the need for manpower to the construction of the plants absolved an extensive migratory flow from neighboring municipalities and other states.

The regional modifications necessary for the construction of the plants, considered as synonymous with development and prosperity, but in some violent moments, have influenced the almost untouched local vegetation and the way of life of the previously existing communities, formed by riverine people, quilombolas and indigenous peoples (BARRETO JUNIOR, 2014, FELICIANO, 2016).

However, the description of the relations observed in this sense was not the object of the researcher; the socio-environmental consequences of the modifications resulting from the urbanization of the municipality of Paulo Afonso for the population existing in the rural area.

Thus, recognizing the existence of the city / field or traditional / modern interrelation, the interdisciplinary approach defended by Human Ecology was used to evaluate the incidence of the principles of the Chicago School, developed for urban centers, in a rural area. This analysis, even if superficial, proposes to evaluate the existence of "forces at work within the limits of the urban community-within the limits of any natural area of human habitation, in fact- which tends to bring about an orderly and typical grouping of its population and institutions "(PARK, 1992, p.1-2).

From the point of view of the Chicago School, the central areas of the municipalities are the most violent and subject to crime while the more distant areas are quiet and organized; however, when mapping the city of Paulo Afonso under the theory of concentric rings of the Chicago School (MENDES JUNIOR, 2017, p.78-79), it is observed:

Exactly an inverse reality, where the center is the prosperous economic nucleus and its peripheries are decadent and spatially disordered, [...]. Pushing the less favored classes to external rings far from fairs, banks, schools, and the church, deprived of basic infrastructure for human settlement (BARRETO JUNIOR, 2014, p. 36)

The same phenomenon is observed when this analysis is carried out in the region known as Caiçara I Village, Paulo Afonso municipality, having as central reference the place where the greatest concentration of housing occurs.

This region concentrates the state apparatus (school, medical station, sports court and unpaved road) and commercial establishments, demonstrating that they have the initial elements of the urbanization process; including the existence of a catalyst, the Irrigation Project of the Caiçara Village, created about 22 years ago, with 35 irrigated lots that participate with part of the food demands of the urban center of Paulo Afonso.

The community is not oblivious to the socio-environmental and economic changes that occurred in the region with the river bus and the implementation of the irrigation project; once they identify that the value

of their land; especially: irrigated plots, those located close to the state apparatus and the areas flooded by the bus had their economic value modified, and even took place the dismemberment in a new settlement called Caiçara II (TEIXEIRA, 2018).

New inhabitants from the urban center, from other towns and other states, seeking to satisfy their needs were attracted to the region by virtue of State apparatus, which came to cause competition for space, social disorganization, lack of homogeneity of the uses of resources and composition of the population, modifying the ecosystem and triggering the evolution of socio-environmental problems (BARRETO JUNIOR; AZEVEDO, 2014), such as deforestation and crime.

These individuals, a new local elite, with no cultural ties to the region, now own the arable land bordering the lake of the Paulo Afonso IV Plant and part of the irrigated plots, and by virtue of their purchasing power began to interfere with the social dynamics, subjecting the local population to a process of segregation, adaptation and domination (SILVA; AZEVEDO, 2016), which results in gradual abandonment of livestock and subsistence agriculture, their main kind of life (SANTOS; AZEVEDO, 2016), to work as a household or day laborers.

7. Final Considerations

The research demonstrates that the principles developed by the researchers of the Chicago School, even having as focus the urban centers, can be used as the basis for the analysis of the rural spaces, that need own concepts that describe and analyze their problems, space that can contribute to the development of a modern critical rural sociology that reflects on the existing demands and contributes to the sustainability of these communities (MARTINS, 2001).

The analysis of the data reinforces Coulon's (1995) thesis that the rural family is disorganized and under the influence of the new consumption practices, which modifies the economic behavior and ultimately leads the community society to ruin. This social disorganization culminates in the immigration of the individuals to the urban centers where it undergoes a new process of societal organization, in the search to insert itself in this new environment.

It is true that, with the reflection of the speed of relations in a postmodern society (ESTEVAM, SOUZA, SILVA, 2018a), there is a weakening of immigration to urban centers, if the return of these individuals is observed, before urban reality has been reorganized, to the rural space where, in a new adaptation process, they take on new social roles and adopt new behaviors, different from those traditionally expected for the members of that community.

From the demonstrated, it is inferred that even with the existence and concentration of state apparatuses in the settlements they still do not meet the basic needs of the community, recipient of these services, reinforcing the thesis that does not occur the effective performance of the public power in a determined locality to This trend is the incidence of the occurrence of irregular occupations, which produce socio-environmental damages that interfere throughout the city.

In this perspective; the last years have shown that the social advances for the rural communities of the agrarian semi-arid follow the struggles unleashed by the social movements in the field (MARQUES, 2002), as exemplified by those led by the traditional peoples and communities. Thus, in this context, the

strengthening of social participation tools in the elaboration of the public policy agenda as a proposal that contributes to the construction of a "marginal man" who, by liberating himself from traditional conceptions, builds a new identity for himself (Coulon, 1995) ;

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