DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL SERVICE: ON THE CONSERVATIVE REVISIONISM OF CRITICAL RENEWAL

democracy and social service: on the conservative revisionism of critical renewal

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to present a brief reflection on the democratic crisis and the current trends of the political and economic context of Brazilian society, looking at some of its main developments for Social Work, particularly for the legacy of the critical renewal of the profession. Among these, the emphasis is on the expressions of reactionary conservatism and authoritarianism in the theoretical-methodological, political-organizational dimensions as well as in the legal and institutional framework of the Brazilian Social Service, configuring itself as ongoing disputes and threats to professional design and status. Because it is a theoretical essay, the methodology used was fundamentally based on bibliographic research and the study of important authors, classic and contemporary, of critical social thinking.

KEYWORDS: Democracy. Social services. Reactionary conservatism.

RESUMO

O presente artigo tem como objetivo apresentar uma breve reflexão em torno da crise democrática e das tendências atuais do contexto político e econômico da sociedade brasileira, atentando para alguns dos seus principais desdobramentos para o Serviço Social, particularmente para o legado da renovação crítica da profissão. Dentre esses, o destaque para as expressões do conservadorismo reacionário e autoritário nas dimensões teórico-metodológica, político-organizativa bem como no arcabouço legal e institucional do Serviço Social brasileiro, configurando-se como disputas em curso e ameaças ao projeto e ao estatuto profissionais. Por se tratar de um ensaio teórico, a metodologia empregada baseou-se fundamentalmente na pesquisa bibliográfica e no estudo de importantes autores/as, clássicos e contemporâneos, do pensamento social crítico.


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1 INTRODUCTION

The debate on the democratic issue crosses the history of Brazilian Social Service, more forcefully, from the end of the 1970s, when representative sectors of the profession were positioned in the fight against the military dictatorship and in defense of the democratic state and law, expressed by the "Diretas Já" movement and the 1988 Constituent. The demands in society for so-called "citizenship rights", combined with the initiatives of workers' organizations and their historical agendas, repositioned the professional project, now allied to a new corporate project. This, however, is also born from the bowels of a deep critique of professional conservatism and begins to claim a "radically democratic" society. Thus, themes such as State, democracy, citizenship, social struggles and rights became part of the daily formation and professional practice of Social Work, present not only in the theoretical debate, but also in the normative instruments that guide the work of social workers and social workers, such as the current Code of Professional Ethics of 1993.

This process involved the construction of a new professional project ethically and politically situated on the horizon of the interests and needs of the working class. A unity was built in the diversity of professional subjects around democratic values and principles based on the struggle for civil, social and human rights, such as the defense of freedom, citizenship, social justice, the refusal to authoritarianism and all forms of prejudice and discrimination. These elements form the basis of the Ethical-Political Project of Social Service (Pepss), based on the struggle for rights and in the defense of another corporate order without domination, exploitation of class, race/ethnicity and gender, as Ivane Boscetti pointed out at the 16th Brazilian Congress of Social Workers (CBAS, 2019).

However, the advancement of reactionary conservative thinking and values antagonistic to the FSIFY have had permeability within Brazilian society and, consequently, in the category of social workers, also expressing themselves through the dispute of the social direction of the professional project. At the same time, the collective subjects of the Brazilian Social Service, represented by the CFESS-CRESS and ABEPSS Group, reaffirm the commitment and direction of the profession in line with the needs of the working class, the defense of democracy and the
struggle for rights, which take in this context an even more radical nature.

Faced with the challenging scenario not only for Social Work, but for workers as a whole, in the midst of the structural crisis of capital, the deepening of the crisis of Brazilian democracy, the advance of market authoritarianism and the resurgence of the autocratic pattern of bourgeois domination via the State, having as a more contemporary expression the Bolsonaro government and the rise of neofascist forces in its surroundings, with full offensive to democratic freedoms and social rights, we ask ourselves: how to think viable tactics to build a more favorable correlation of forces to ensure the social needs of the working class and, consequently, the reaffirmation of the strategic social direction of the Brazilian FSIF today?

Certainly, it is necessary to resort to the teachings that tell us how much of history seems, in our eyes, to repeat: "the first time as a tragedy, the second as a farce" (MARX, [1852] 2008). To this end, we propose to make a brief path in this theoretical essay, carried out through bibliographic research, which allows us, on the one hand, to identify some aspects that constitute Brazil as a particular social formation within a universalizing movement of capital; on the other hand, to situate the reflections of this process in the Brazilian Social Service and in its professional project, in order to identify how and by what means the old, dressed in Novo, continues marching in search of his triumphal procession, taking with him the New and displaying him as Old (BRECHT, [1913-1956] 2003).

2 DEMOCRACY IN THE CURRENT FACE OF THE MODERNIZATION OF THE DELAY

The Brazilian reality has been particularly conforming to the unequal and combined development of world capitalism. In the 1971 text Notes on Fascism in Latin America, Florestan Fernandes tells us that "fascism has not lost as a historical reality, neither its political significance nor its active influence". In other words, fascism has persisted to this day, in a diffuse way or as a powerful political force organized against not only all socialist movements but also the processes of democratization themselves. It is a very modern force, although part of our colonial heritage, holding the history of Brazil and Latin America to a past that should be dead.
and that was resurrected by the forces of dependent modernization (FERNANDES, [1971] 2015, p. 33).

We live in a process of fascistization that socially impregnates all the structures of power within society, expressed in the autocratic configuration of the Brazilian State. The present time demonstrates not only the validity, but the full vigor of dependent capitalism orchestrated by the functionality of the delay. We are faced with the contemporary expression of the bourgeois autocratic pattern in Brazil that carries with it the traces of colonial slavery and the sociopathic aversion of the dominant sectors to social changes, an increasingly common trait not only here, realigning the country to new imperialism in the context of the endemic capitalist crisis (HARVEY, 2014).

In view of this, the Brazilian bourgeoisie demonstrates, today even more, that it does not assume, nor has it ever assumed “the role of paladin of civilization or an instrument of modernity. It is equally committed to everything that is advantageous to it” (FERNANDES, [1975] 2006, p. 204). The ideological decay of the bourgeoisie and its project of society takes new breath at the moment of the profound capitalist crisis, in which the levels required of private accumulation of wealth, maintenance and increase of the rate of profits are increasingly incompatible with the conditions demanded by the democratization process, even within the strict limits of revolution within the order (FERNANDES, [1981] 2015). On the contrary, archaic mechanisms are (re)triggered, with ultraliberal bias, of expropriation of national wealth and overexploitation of the workforce as a constitutive part of the modus operandi beyond the regional scale.

In fact, history on a global scale demonstrates the organic relationship between capitalist crises and the rise of reactionary conservatism, the greatest expression of which occurred in the authoritarian post-crisis experiences of 1929 in Europe, that is, Italian fascism and German Nazism. Similarly, there is a growing rise of the white supremacist far right after the crisis of the 1970s in the United States, from the election of Regan and his amplification after the 2008 crisis, culminating in the election of Donald Trump, but not only. It identifies, in the face of the sharpization of the capitalist crisis, the arrival to power of countless authoritarian leaders representing interests linked from the sectors of the great bourgeoisie to religious
fundamentalism, such as Orbán in Hungary, Salvini in Italy, Kurz in Austria, Erdogan in Turkey and Bolsonaro in Brazil (CARAPANÃ, 2018).

It is necessary to say that democracy has never been a central presupposition for capitalism, being discarded whenever it needs to be. In this sense, the advancement of capitalism in its contemporary phase "requires a process of dedemocratization, that is, a progressive withdrawal from the possibility of democratic decisions or from the majority of interfering in the economic order" (ALMEIDA, 2018, p. 32). Extremely aggressively, it makes use of oppression and savage agency in an attempt to accumulate without limits.

It is clear that the parameters for the realization of bourgeois democracy are extremely contradictory and develop differently between imperialist and dependent countries. In the latter, the subordinate character and colonial remnants tend to deepen the weakening of the state that guaranteed social and nationally sovereign rights, in addition to the permanent attempt to fragment the working class and destroy the empires that feed the movements and social struggles (SANTOS, 2007).

Like the recent Brazilian experience, in which the gains allowed in the period of rise of neodevelopmental governments, through the expansion, even if restricted, of democracy and rights (civil and social), have become too much in view of the current needs of capital reproduction, combined with the bourgeois autocratic pattern historically instituted in this country. The social pact made possible by the class reconciliation policy, in that format, became incompatible with the needs of recomposition of capital profit rates. On the other hand, the improvement of the living and working conditions of the working class began to represent a threat to the historical self-privilege of the Brazilian bourgeoisie. This, added to the absence of the construction of social force by these governments, favored the political dispute by the far-right sectors and the operation of their mechanisms of economic, political, cultural and moral hegemony. As a result, we identified the unfolding of another Coup in the history of the country, another step of the preventive counterrevolution (FERNADES, 2006) of the Brazilian bourgeoisie associated with the interests of the great international capital.

What we have seen is the conformation of a broad and articulate game between the intra-bourgeois fractions that try at all costs to clean the midfield, finally
removing from the popular sectors and left the ability to play. This through a unit, although fractured and full of amendments, around the ultraliberal economic program, difficult to be implemented through democratic expansion. Moreover, cultural conservantism, militarization (and "milicianization") of social life and bolsonarist authoritarianism tension democratic institutionality. These processes are sharpened in the context of the current health and political crisis. We could say, therefore, that the current crisis of Brazilian democracy means the "decomposed composition" or a "composite decomposition" between neoliberalism, neocolonialism and neofascism.

Another important determination in this process is the growth of religious fundamentalism in Latin America, associated with the so-called theology of prosperity, underpogds neo-Pentecostalism, a trend present in various denominations of Christian churches (Catholic and Evangelical). The selective use of sacred texts reinforces socioeconomic, political, cultural and behavioral structures, having as its central characteristic the intolerance, fanaticism and absolutization of truth. Thus, religion gains new add-ons, especially in the midst of a social formation that bears with it the mark of an interrupted decolonization.

Tied to this, centrality in the traditional family, in bourgeois and heteronormative ways, takes center stage. Not by chance, the reinforcement to this institution so functional to the maintenance of cohesion and social harmony for the primary defense of private property. According to Miguel (2018), the alliance between ultraliberalism and reactionary conservatism has as a common enemy the Democratic and Legal State, either by regulating economic relations or by "reducing" patriarchal authority by recognizing certain civil and social rights. If in the past the Democratic and Legal State was functional to the expanded reproduction of capital, as in the golden period of capitalism, today it is not. Increasingly capital, in its destructive centrifugality, imposes authoritarianism for its continuity.

Social protection systems become extremely unstructured and commercialized, based on the justification that there can be no limits to economic development and profit-making and, in this sense, the State begins to serve the super-rich summarily. Fundamental rights and guarantees become disposable, in a movement of complete trivialization of the lives, especially of the poor.

In another perspective, recurrent in some more recent analyses, in addition to
these aspects, the State would be absorbing the prospects of a "death policy" or, in the terms of Mbembe (2016), a "necropolitics", where the interests of the ruling classes, public security issues and the resolution of social inequalities are resolved from the summary execution of undesirables in this society. When not executed, these subjects are inserted in "worlds of death", "new and unique forms of social existence, in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that give them the status of 'undead'" (MBEMBE, 2016, p. 146).

It is also a reflection of the barbarism of our historical time, which Dardot and Larval (2016, p. 344) call neoliberal rationality, based on the idea that individuals are entrepreneurial subjects, in continuous competition and competition with other "entrepreneurs". On the other hand, this rationality requires that the neoliberal subject continually overcome himself, be flexible and adapt to the changes and needs of the market and embrace risks. This infinite accountability of individuals for their own destiny, always meeting the imperative (unreachable) to be "successful and happy".

Obviously these directions find fruitfulness in the material conditions of life of the working class, which due to structural unemployment, weakening of public policies and increased poverty and violence, end up being inserted in an increasingly fragmented, individualistic and insecure space. It is this insecurity, linked to other structures of oppression, such as racism and patriarchy, that support the reproduction of dehumanization processes, such as the genocide of black youth, LGBTphobia, xenophobia, misogyny, religious intolerance and others.

It is, therefore, on the basis of these historical circumstances that we understand the "politics of the Coup" as a policy of extermination, devastation, hatred, unmeasured expropriation and cultural brutality, from the privatizations and authoritarian forms of withdrawal of rights historically and hard won to the numerous environmental crimes that, in this context, take a new outline, as presented to us the excerpt below taken from the Letter of Bethlehem produced on the occasion of the 48th National Meeting CFESS-CRESS:

Criminals fires and deforestation in the Amazon; the rupture of the dams in Mariana and Brumadinho (MG); floods and constant flooding in Brazilian cities; climate change is the most concrete and immediate expressions of a structural process. Such "episodes", which seem isolated, have the same determination, are
consequences of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism, which, in the face of the
great crisis, expresses its anticivilizing face, from a neocolonial, ultraliberal and
neofascist direction (CFESS, 2019, p. 01).

Such tendencies could not exempt the Brazilian Social Service from its
incidences, both from the point of view of a greater precariousness of exercise and
professional training, resulting from attacks on social and labor rights, as well as
internal tensions of groups that express this reactionism within the profession.
Professional projects that announce a true return to the past based on criticism stem
and resurfaced, based on criticism sums very similar to those already made by
conservatives in the face of the emergence of critical renewal of the profession in the
late 1970s and early 1980s. Thus, they seek to rescue elements that, in our opinion,
make up conservative revisionism to the legacy of the critical renewal of Social Work
in Brazil.

This as part of a gear aimed at adapting the profession and its entities to the
new/old interests of capital. Gear, composed of conservative ideopolitical
mechanisms, founded on liberalism and moralistic and sensory content, committed to
distorting and misrepresenting central conceptions for the profession. Among these,
the very meaning of the democratic question.

In the next session we will focus better on this issue, part of the current
process of neoconservative offensive in the profession.

3 CRITICAL RENEWAL AND PROFESSIONAL PROJECT OF THE BRAZILIAN
SOCIAL SERVICE: THREATS AND ONGOING DISPUTES

The capitalist crisis and conservative restoration measures have presented
several developments on the social issue and its expressions on a global scale, as
well as the ways of coping by the State, raising new demands on professional
practices, professional training processes and the organization of categories of
workers, in particular, of social workers.

Addressing our attention to the most recent reality of the country, we
observe obvious threats to the attributions and professional skills and new (and old)
dilemmas put to the profession, updating and recomposing disputes around the
professional project expressed, for example, through theoretical revisionism to the critical renewal of Social Work, as well as in the expansion of disciplinary practices, moralizing and punitive of the working class.

In fact, the neoconservative offensive is committed to building mechanisms of disqualification, misrepresenting and delegitimization within the professional category of virada's legacy, from its progressive wave that enabled the "constitution of a new professional culture, essential in the definition of a strategic social direction" (MOTA, 2019, p.169).

This reality demands a reflection on the hegemony of critical direction for Social Work, both in the scope of professional practice and in academic training. This, conformed from the parameters supported by a critical, continuous and qualified formation, combined with the exercise of a deontology based on social conducts and values such as freedom, democracy, citizenship, equality, social justice and respect for diversity, which contrasts with the reconfigurations of the State, work processes and ideological-scientific standards that increasingly require a sterile professional of collective projects.

Such circumstances combined with the change in the professional profile, produced by a precarious and light-eased formation, in the midst of an adverse situation, as we characterize, tends to intensify the increase in unemployment in the area of Social Work; wage reduction, precarious and job insecurity; the "pejotization" of working relationships; the consolidation of a "reserve assistance army" and the depoliticization of the category, are aspects that could decisively compromise the social direction of the professional project (IAMAMOTO, 2011).

Braz and Teixeira (2009) indicate constitutive elements of the ethical-political project of Social Work, namely: the explicitness of ethical-political principles and values; the theoretical-methodological matrix in which it is anchored; radical criticism of the prevailing social order reproducing inequalities; the struggles and political positions accumulated through political organization in a strategic alliance with sectors of Brazilian society.

According to the authors, in order for these elements to object and express themselves in reality, they have components that give them materiality, that is, that structure the professional project: a) the production of knowledge within social work;
b) the political-organizational bodies, which involve both the deliberation forums and the entities of the profession; c) the legal-political dimension, in which the legal and institutional framework is constituted, involving two distinct but articulated spheres, namely: professional legislation through the set of laws and resolutions that guide and discipline professional practice and social legislation that aim at rights and structure the set of social policies.

In this sense, we observe severe threats to the ongoing FSIFF, embodied by:

a) Together the rise of reactionary and neofascist ideologies that proclaim a true "witch hunt" to critical thinking as the so-called "school without party", the persecution of "cultural Marxism" and "gender ideology". Within the Brazilian Social Service emerges a set of ideas that express a return to the past, claiming the legacy of the "theoretical-doctrinal arrangement", in other words, of the "Traditional Social Service" against the direction of pepss, in its theoretical productions as the "23 Theses for the Reform of Brazilian Social Service" and in the digital book "Social Service for the courageous". This reminds us of the elements already so well listed by José Paulo Netto, in the 1980s, about conservative criticism of reconceptualization, what we are calling conservative revisionism to critical renewal.

b) In the last elections of the Cfess-Cress Group, several states were scenarios of disputes over the direction of the Regional Councils of Social Service (CRESS's), by conservative political groups encamping agendas that, for the most part, linked to market interests and divergent the ethical-political understanding of the entities of the profession. Other attempts are underway to delegitimize and disqualify the political and administrative function of councils, through populist campaigns, dissemination of fake news and attacks on entities on social networks. Along with this, initiatives encamped by the Bolsonaro government, in alliance with such groups, which seek to annihilate working-class organizations, such as unions and class councils, such as the Constitutional Amendment Project (PEC) no. 108/2019 that alters the legal nature of professional councils and establishes the non-compulsory registration. In practice this means the deregulation and deprofessionalization of professions; the unprotection of society and the intensification of competitiveness in the labour market, that is, "save one st if anyone".

c) The market began to require a multipurpose worker with new technical and
socio-intelecive characteristics, capable of occupying different functions and jobs, implying a process of despecialization of contemporary work, including, through the questioning of professional laws and the imposition of new competencies and attributions divergent to those legally guaranteed by the regulations of the entities. In this sense, the neoconservative Social Service demands, for example, the insertion of social workers in occupational spaces that require professional attributions and competencies that contradict the theoretical, ethical and technical directions collectively constructed by the category, such as clinical and/or therapeutic Social Work and coaching practice. In addition, business organizations judge representations in the judicial field of questioning the resolutions of the Federal Council of Social Service, such as the process presented by the National Association of Private Universities (ANUP) that resulted in the suspension of the mandatory presentation of the declaration of internship for professional registration. Furthermore, the market has demanded a series of changes in social legislation that deregulate social and labor policies, directly focusing on the working conditions and viability of the professional practice of social workers.

Thus, the FIFO does not present itself as a single understanding of the profession, as well as about the relationship between state and society, about the role of social policies, the conception of ethics and, therefore, professional practice. "That is, there are different theoretical-methodological [and ethical-political] references in the analysis of social life and profession and we have projects that have different social direction in dispute" (SANTOS, 2012, p. 51, grifos ours). What is certain is that, since the constitution of Social Work as a profession, the political conjuncture and the market constantly tension for changes in our competences and professional attributions. We are, then, faced with new (and old) conservative threats that claim a status and a professional culture that do not find any support in the values and principles of the professional project built by critical renewal and the entire legacy of the intention of breaking with conservatism initiated 40 years ago in the Congress of virada.

The scenario seems to us somewhat cloudy and discouraging, however, unlike endogenous and fatalistic theses, contradictions continue to enable the construction of collective strategies of resistance and confrontation to conservatism,
not only in the profession, but in society as a whole, such as the articulation in defense of critical social service and the unity of the different progressive forces in the profession in defense of the ethical-political project. This defense certainly puts us responsible and committed to the set of struggles and historical achievements of the working class that are embodied in the uncompromising defense of democracy and in confronting neofascism as a contemporary expression of the dictatorship of great capital (IANNI, 1981).

4 CONCLUSION

The synthesis presented in this theoretical essay does not seek to expose definitive conclusions, but makes the effort to present some trends, contradictions and challenges posed, not only to the subjects who, on a daily basis, in the singularity of their professional work, build and materialize the ethical-political direction of the profession, but also to the workers, in general, who fight for the construction of another form of sociability.

The profession currently faces its greatest threat in the country since the Turn, in the face of the "regressive culture of the crisis" (MOTA, 2019, p. 174) and a barbarism produced. The reflections of this process soon present themselves to the profession, both as a propitious ground for the (re)updating of conservatism, such as the defense of a "theoretical-doctrinal rearrangement" of the beginning of the profession and/or academic demotion that tends to imply a more pragmatic, technical, acritical and care professional profile; as a possibility for the construction of new strategies of resistance and collective confrontations, which are organized in the contradictions of this process.

In this sense, the Brazilian conjuncture produced by the confluence of capitalist crises, which are economic, environmental, social, sanitary and democratic, challenge the profession in the processes of apprehension of the movement of the real and production of professional responses consonating to the needs of the population using public social services. We need to be aware of this. On the contrary, we will reinforce historical misconceptions: on the one hand, the "technicality/pragmatism" that is configured by a methodological bias of professional
performance in the midst of a division between theory and practice, often manifested in the idea that there is a certain "limit" of theory in its practical "application" or that "in practice theory is different". This split, reupdated by the defense of a new curriculum that prepares the professional for the demands and requests of the market, such as Coaching, clinical Social Work and other so-called entrepreneurial functions. On the other hand, we observe the espiaação of an "academicism/theoricism" based on the fatalistic stance that is based on the idea of rights only as subjection to capital and participation in the valorization of value, therefore, of the impossibility of dispute of the directions of the profession today, due to the unviability of the FIFS.

It is not enough just to defend the principles of the FIFO. It is necessary that the Brazilian Social Service carry out research and theoretical, technical and ethical systematizations that guide and found professional practice, in view of the numerous provocations to the profession in times of destruction of social achievements resulting from the broad democratic movement that culminated in the Constitution of 1988. If we fail to dialogue with the concrete challenges of the present time, through renewed practices that correspond to renewed demands, the responses produced by the category as a whole will lose rooting in professional status and become merely residual practices. Even in this scenario, it is necessary to remember that, like history, nothing is absolute, and its movement demonstrates that the class struggle continues to cross the state, democracy, rights and profession.

Knowing that coping with barbarism will not take place in the short term, without any pretense of venturing possible answers, we have launched some clues for collective reflection:

From the more general point of view of the working class, democratic struggles are increasingly becoming a fundamental task. At this moment, emergency agendas of interest to workers take greater breath, because they relate to living and survival conditions, such as the recomposition of the Unified Health System and the continuity of its public and universal character, of promoting expanded health in its integrality; the approval of permanent basic income, in conjunction with a social assistance policy that, in fact, meets those who need them; coping with hyperprecarious forms of work as the tendency condition of "uberization", which is a form of "modern servitude" of broad sectors of the working class; and the unyielding
defense of free, secular and quality public education and science as a premise for social development and national sovereignty. To this end, measures such as the repeal of Constitutional Amendment No. 95, ending the freezing of primary spending and the constitution of a progressive tax system through the taxation of large fortunes and profits and dividends, for example, are central elements. Moreover, the unity of the class and the construction of a programmatic agenda, which is in line with popular interests, is indispensable. After all, history shows that, within the limits of capitalism, democratic conditions are still the best ground for class struggle from the point of view of workers, allowing better correlation of forces.

In particular, the Brazilian Social Service, as a profession and field of knowledge, has much to say and contribute from its intellect and political accumulation, since the critical renewal, through the systematization of professional and organizational practice, as ana Elizabete Mota (2020) recently pointed out to us. According to the author, it is urgent to build a thematic, instrumental and pedagogical agenda, involving fundamental themes to think about capitalist society and The Brazilian particularity, the emergency needs of the Brazilian people and the professional responses made by the profession based on popular demands.

It is, therefore, essential for Social Work to expand its roots in the popular sectors, contributing to the construction of social force through strategies also mediated by a popular education that dialogues with the present time and allows establishing the permanent bonds of the profession with the struggles and agendas of the working class as a whole. This will not happen without the broadest dialogue and articulation with the most diverse sectors of workers that, in fact, will give density to the social struggle against neofascism.

For this, it is essential to identify the objective and subjective conditions in which the professional subjects are, particularly in view of the worsening effects of the capitalist crisis in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic, further validating the weight of social macrodeterminations in the daily demands of social workers. Such demands remarkably crossed and deepened by the particularity of a social and regional formation where the crisis presents itself with more vivid and intense colors.

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