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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Saidian Inputs to a (De)Colonial Law: On Revolutions and Odalisques Iconologies[1]

By Antonio Carlos Wolkmer & Ana Clara Correa Henning

Universidade La Salle

Abstract- Applying the ideas of Edward Said about orientalism and the relationship between colonialism and culture, we discuss the eurocentric opposition between the Western "I" and the Oriental "Other". We analyze works by European painters from the 19th century using both the compared and iconological methods to highlight the marginality of some images and the centrality of others. We show that such representations are also found in Western law, which acts as a discourse of the colonial power that is felt at the metropolis and at the periphery, a discourse that still lives today and still finds resistance and opposition.

Keywords: edward said. european art from the nineteenth century. iconological method. colonial law. decolonial law.

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Saidian Inputs to a (De)Colonial Law: On Revolutions and Odalisques Iconologies[1]

Antonio Carlos Wolkmer [α] & Ana Clara Correa Henning [σ]

Abstract- **Applying the ideas of Edward Said about orientalism and the relationship between colonialism and culture, we discuss the eurocentric opposition between the Western "I" and the Oriental "Other". We analyze works by European painters from the 19th century using both the compared and iconological methods to highlight the marginality of some images and the centrality of others. We show that such representations are also found in Western law, which acts as a discourse of the colonial power that is felt at the metropolis and at the periphery, a discourse that still lives today and still finds resistance and opposition.**

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I. Introduction

> To read these major works of the imperial period retrospectively and heterophonically with other histories and traditions counterpointed against them, to read them in the light of decolonization, is neither to slight their great aesthetic force, nor to treat them reductively as imperialist propaganda. Still, it is a much graver mistake to read them stripped of their affiliations with the facts of power which informed and enabled them (SAID, 1994, p. 161).

Contemporary debates on decolonialism have reached the most varied fields of knowledge in a way that is extremely difficult to study this transdisciplinary theme through the lens of a single area. Therefore, in this text translated by Lucas Braunstein da Cunha, we discuss methodology, art, history, power relations, colonialism and many others subjects that we understand indispensable to comprehend the scope and strength of law when applied to non-Western territories conquered by European countries, especially by France and England.

The delimitation of our theme has two different dimensions: its theoretical foundation and its temporal limit. Edward Said was one of the greatest precursors of the decolonial studies. Said's work has both strength and depth, even though it cannot be considered immune to criticism and beyond the need for complementation. We use the theoretical contributions of two of Said's books, these being *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism,* where debates such as the European colonialism over the Orient through the representations that the first make over the second and how these cultural artifacts – such as the paintings that we study in this text and the law itself that was in use back then – create a social imaginary through narratives that are capable of creating a material reality, as will be seen. In this text, we bring authors from many study fields to verify, endorse and complement Said's argumentation, besides the aim of highlighting social and individual resistance occurring in the web of power and the development of some concepts considered pertinent to the theme.

Beyond the theoretical foundation, the temporal limit is also a factor that delimits our research, since it focuses on the relations established between the metropolis and the periphery during the nineteenth century under the representation of two French painters, Delacroix and Ingres. What interests us the most is the connection between images and law and the possibility of a better understanding of this or that legal culture through the analyses of painting and their authors' personality. To this end, we divided the text into four parts. Initially, we present some intersections between the cultural environment, the legal systems, and the formation of identities, besides exposing the iconological method used in the analyses of the chosen images.

The second part we reserved for the appreciation of two works, *Liberty Leading the People* (DELACROIX, 1830) and *The Fanatics of Tangier* (DELACROIX, 1837). It is also the part where we highlight their theoretical ties with the most diverse fields of knowledge, especially those related to legal and cultural aspects of the nineteenth century. The same method of analysis is seen in the next section when used with the other two works, *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (INGRES, 1845) and *La Grande Odalisque* (INGRES, 1814). To better comprehend our line of thought, we recommend the visualization of these four paintings, whose electronic addresses are in the references. Lastly, from all that we discussed, we present some considerations on the matter of the colonial law and possibilities for its decolonization.

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II. Connections between Culture, Law, and Identities: Iconology as an Empirical Work Tool

We start from the assumption that the law is a cultural artifact elaborated by men and women, being inserted in this world and formed by many voices. This way, we are capable of bringing together its elaboration to that of artistic works, showing the similarities and connections between them. To do so, we present an empirical search guide where we utilize the documentary method of analysis to highlight the formation of identities by both the legal systems and the paintings used in this work.

a) Law as Cultural Artifact, Documentary and Iconological Method

The cultural world that we live in is extremely imaginary in many ways. Pictorial media have an immediate force of persuasion, hardly found in other forms of communication, and we can see it being used from advertisements to legislation, from teaching materials to the construction and fall of social icons. We understand that the cultural environment is build - and in turn, builds - by shared mindsets and perceptions in a specific time and place.

The mutual influence between cultural narrative (whether through painting, romance or another form of artistic manifestation) and the historical, political and economic dimensions of society where these works are produced or reach through other forms is one of the objects of study of the American of Palestinian origin Edward W. Said (2011). Thanks to his book *Orientalism* (SAID, 2012), published originally in 1978, where Said discusses the imaginary and material constitution of the Orient through the Eurocentric discourse of superiority over non-Europeans, he is considered one of the precursors of the post-colonial studies (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005, p. 20). To him, this discourse encompasses political, economic, moral and legal narratives - in short; it is based on cultural productions made both in the West and in former European colonies.

We note that the law is also a cultural artifact built by men and women. It describes conducts, represents alleged consensus and, aims to organize the society under a certain hierarchy of actions and even through punishment. In this sense, the law also creates images that serve as models of social conduct:

> Does not the law even request the colors to become more imperative? Black is the garment of magistrates and court clerks, black is used by police forces. Colors that echo the black of the referee's uniform and the priest's cassock. All of these characters are there to remember the rules and, if necessary, force their fulfillment. The funeral is not far away. Also the red, a colour preferred by power (let's think of the imperial and cardinal purple, the various red carpets): the magistrates of the high jurisdictions also share the love for red; it is present on the cover of most French codes; it is the red that tells us when to stop when driving [...] The law imposes itself on our retina[2]. (ROULAND, 2008, p. 6-7).

The dimensions shown by Said and Rouland are valid for the study of visual culture in literate societies, where image often replaces writing. We find interesting to observe the diversity of images and colors that, together, translate a narrative: photographs in both print and electronic media, traffic signs, a layout of a jury court, works exhibited in a museum of fine arts. Many of them accessible to anyone when others are aimed at specific groups, although technically available to popular knowledge. All, in one way or another, related to the perspectives and worldviews of the societies that gave rise to them.

Although colonial enterprises originate earlier than the nineteenth century (MIGNOLO, 2008, p. 7), what we propose is to understand aspects of colonial law through some naturalized Eurocentric perceptions that influenced paintings from the nineteenth-century. To do so, we conducted an empirical research using the documentary analysis method (BOHNSACK, 2007), considering the images as direct and documentary sources (KNAUSS, 2006, p. 100).

The differentiation between pre-iconography, iconography, and iconology, according to Ralf Bohnsack (2007, p. 290-292), resides in the questions asked by the researcher at the moment of the image analysis. At first, the researcher should wonder what is represented by the image: people, historical facts, landscapes, events. Both pre- iconography and iconography are non-theoretical, being dictated by immediate and descriptive perceptions. The pre-iconographical description of the work reaches its composition, the incidence of light and shadow, and the shades of the colors used there. In the iconographical description, what we should consider is its intentionality, that is, what the image wants to represent.

The next moment of this work is where we put the iconological questions. We now discuss how these facts were produced by both the author of the image and the characters - if any. This stage demands

[2] From the original: O direito não chega até a solicitar as cores para tornar-se mais imperativo? Preta é a roupa dos magistrados e dos auxiliares de justiça, escura as forças da polícia. Cores que fazem eco ao preto do uniforme do árbitro e da batina do padre. Todas essas personagens estão aí para lembrar a regra e, se preciso, forçar sua observação. O fúnebre não está longe. Mas também o vermelho, a cor de que gosta o poder (pensemos nos púrpuras imperial e cardinalício, nos diversos tapetes vermelhos): os magistrados das altas jurisdições se revestem dele; ele colore a capa da maior parte dos códigos franceses; deu seu nome aos sinais de trânsito que prescrevem parar [...] O direito se impõe até à nossa retina.

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theoretical deepening and historical contextualization of the moment represented in the paintings and the actions of the people there portrayed. Likewise, it is necessary to know the artistic influences of the author that is under study, the artistic movement to which he is affiliated, and even aspects of his life, which we present now.

b) Producing Representations and Identities: A proposition of an empirical research script

To operationalize our investigation, we associated the documentary method with the studies of Martine Joly (2012). The research script elaborated by her brings practicality to the study, without neglecting the complex nuances indispensable for understanding the meaning of the image. We must remember that the image represents, evokes, and even replaces the thing pictured. It produces meanings and designations inserted in the historical moment in which the work was elaborated (JOLY, 2012, p. 16- 17). About this:

> Fields of study, as well as the works of even the most eccentric artist, are restricted and influenced by society, cultural traditions and by stabilizing influences such as schools, libraries, and governments; furthermore, […] both scholarly and imaginative writings are never free, but limited in their images, presuppositions, and intentions; and [...] are less objectively true than we would often think[3]. (SAID, 2012, p. 274).

Joly (2012, p. 63-113) elaborates her pictorial analysis in four steps. Initially, she contextualizes the artistic movement in which the painter is inserted, this way identifying differences with other movements. Then she describes the image, highlighting the choices of shape, colour, how elements are arranged in the frame, lighting, and angle. In the third stage, she looks at the iconic meanings, including the depictions of any portrayed people and the qualities attributed to them. Finally, she identifies the linguistic messages of the work, its title, and possible subtitles, all that can soften the polysemic meanings typical of the images.

Combining the Bonshack's method (2007) with that of Joly (2012), we elaborated a study script whose steps are summarized as follows: a) contextualization of the artistic movement and biographical information of the painter; b) pre-iconographic and iconographic dimensions, when occurs the description of the image; c) iconological stage, when we observe the meanings and representations of the narrative exposed in the image, including the titles of the works.

The methods of image analysis elaborated by these authors are valuable empirical research tools to be used in both direct and documentary sources. In this text, they are useful for connecting visual narratives and legal systems of the Eight Hundred, taking both Law and painting as strategies of power and convincing not only in the aesthetical terrain but also in the social one (KNAUSS, 2006, p. 112). Therefore, we can perceive the works of art studied here as products of its time, but also as producers of aesthetic tastes, world perceptions and a hierarchy of values in groups of people who had access to these kinds of cultural manifestations (such as rulers, European bourgeoisie and intellectuals) through systematic exhibitions in art halls and galleries.

Such representations surpassed the West by reaching mostly the whole globe and this way, supporting a European cultural imaginary that opened a fissure between the metropolis and the colonies. We should note the importance that is to remember that the colonial enterprise will experience unprecedented expansions, especially in the late nineteenth century (MERLE, 2004, p. 729). Its institutions, such as education and science, followed this colonial path by disciplining and classifying people and knowledge. What this pedagogy taught, through English literature, is the idea of a European superiority – which we could see in both metropolitan and colonial schools. Besides, the ethnography then practiced deepened the cultural abyss by producing and exposing images that referred to a supposed native barbarism and primitivism (SAID, 2011, p. 173).

Still, the colonial experience is built by incongruities, resentments, resistances, but also compatibilities, collaboration, and conviction. Mutual experiences, dependencies, and dialogues. Neither the metropolis nor the colony emerged unharmed from these relations: processes of exclusion and, therefore, inclusion forged their identities. In a study of Edward Said's work, Juan Ignacio Castien Maestro (2013, p. 13-14) states that:

> The content of each identity, its own and foreign, integrated by the different characteristics attributed to each one by the fact of having a certain identity, is not something that can be understood separately. On the contrary, it can only really be understood when it is compared with the content of other identities to which it is opposed. [...] The Other is not for us a mere object of contemplation; it is also the object of our actions and we of its, although this may occur somewhat indirectly[4].

Therefore, the colonial works - artistic or not - created knowledge, provided contemplation and study, often even built the reality they described, acting on Europeans and non-Europeans. This social substratum is shared by any cultural artifact produced at the same time - including the existing legal system. The law also

[3] From the original: Os campos de estudo, tanto quanto as obras até do artista mais excêntrico, são restritos e influenciados pela sociedade, por tradições culturais, pela circunstância mundana e por influências estabilizadoras como as escolas, as bibliotecas e os governos; além disso, [...] tanto os escritos eruditos como os imaginativos nunca são livres, mas limitados nas suas imagens, pressuposições e intenções; e [...] são menos objetivamente verdadeiros do que muitas vezes gostaríamos de pensar.

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contributed in this endeavor to transform the Orient into a province of European scholarship, domesticating it, unifying and translating its legislation, classifying customs, and comparing them with Europeans (SAID, 2012, p. 120-121).

These works are not, after all, neutral, but they reflect pleasure and displeasure, hatred, and passion. Thus, in analyzing the paintings described here, we aim to highlight the contrast between the marginality of certain representations, the centrality of others, and the numerous strategies that have arisen from what we perceive as a dispute. From a Saidian perspective, it is not up to us to judge the evident qualities of the artistic techniques used by the artists here presented but to make a study that allows the intersection of resistances and colonialisms, since the representation is, to some extent, a way of participating in the battle described (SAID, 2011, p. 484 and 139).

III. Western Revolution and Oriental Mob: Crossing Representations of Europe and its "Others"

Highlighting the power achieved by European colonialism, we discuss the imbrication of western representations of the Orient and the construction of certain lifestyles, subjectivities, and materialities both in Europe and in its colonies. We can see such constructions in the iconological analysis of two works by the nineteenth-century French painter Eugène Delacroix *Liberty Leading the People* and *The Fanatics of Tangier*. In both paintings, we can infer discourses, including legal ones, being these capable of validating or invalidating peoples and customs, according to the side they inhabit on the dividing line between the European "I" and the "Others", their subjects.

a) Validated Revolution: *Liberty Leading the People*

We propose to think the theme of this study, the representations of certain European perceptions, through nineteenth-century painting. To better understand this period, we have to consider it as a booming world. The years between 1815 and 1914 were a very relevant period for the European colonialism, being called by Marcel Merle (2004, p. 729) "the hour of truth". Back then, By the year of 1815, Europe held 35 % of the land surface, including its overseas colonies; the percentage gets up to an impressive 85% in 1914 (SAID, 2012, p. 74).

Besides the territorial expansion of this period, we can think of the advances in technology and communication, the significant increase in production and consumer goods, and population growth in European countries (HOBSBAWM, 2010, p. 272-273). A very small part of this, however, was reverted to the benefit of the colonized peoples and territories in the face of a plundering discipline, the impossibility of self-government, and the widening social gulf between the resident Europeans and native peoples.

England, for example, brought some advantages to its colonies (especially concerning its administration practices) and respected local religions whenever possible. Nevertheless, despite English efforts, "[...] colonial statistics reveal that malaria, respiratory disease, tuberculosis, and dysentery account for approximately 90 percent of India's mortality from 1872 to 1921 [...][5]", which should be considered alongside the severe famine that plagued India in 1876 and lasted until 1920 (FOURCADE, 2004, p. 355-356). The local reality was so different from the metropolis that even if England took full advantage of all the advances in medicine (which was unlikely considering the colonial posture) it still would be difficult to combat such diseases. We note that, not coincidentally, the period in which the local population was affected by hunger and the aforementioned diseases was practically the same.

At the same time, the metropolis trade, which consisted on sugar, slaves, cotton, opium, and precious metals, was intense. We add to these facts the compromise of the circulation of cultural goods and people, creating an atmosphere that allowed the acceptance of the idea of subjugation of races considered biologically and rationally inferior by western nations in what Ramón Grosfogel calls "epistemic racism or Islamophobia" (GROSFOGEL, 2011, p. 343), which gave some coherence in a set of experiences, in one way or another, shared:

> A young Englishman sent to India to be a part of the "covenanted" civil service. He would belong to a class whose national dominance over each and every Indian, no matter how aristocratic and rich, was absolute. He would have heard the same stories, read the same books, learned the same lessons, joined the same clubs as all the other young colonial officials (SAID, 1994, p. 151).

[4] From the original: El contenido de cada identidad, propia y ajena, integrado por los distintos rasgos que se le atribuyen a cada cual por el hecho de poseer esa determinada identidad, no es algo que pueda entenderse de manera aislada. Por el contrario, sólo puede ser realmente comprendido cuando se lo coteja con el contenido de las otras identidades a las que se contrapone. [...] El otro no es para nosotros un mero objeto de contemplación; también es objeto de nuestras acciones, y nosotros de las suyas, aunque ello pueda darse de un modo un tanto indirecto.

[5] From the original: "[...] as estatísticas coloniais revelam que a malária, as doenças respiratórias, a tuberculose e a disenteria estão na origem de aproximadamente 90% da forte mortalidade indiana de 1872 a 1921 [...]".

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That is why Said considers *Orientalism* as a form of understanding the Orient – a place not only adjacent to Europe but also Europe's colonies (especially France's and England's), a place where resides an "Other", Europeans' cultural rival. Its intellectual construction integrates the material culture of Europe: a discourse configured in colonial institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, images, and bureaucracies (SAID, 2012, p. 27-28).

Artistic manifestations created an authorized space for discourse, connecting life in the metropolis with peripheral everyday life, through representations of control, and a whole set of meanings of what is convenient or not for those who lived on either side of the dividing line. Over time, societies have come to differ so much that Orientalism becomes a source of identity for both Westerners and their "Others". Thus, the dissemination in Europe of "new styles of art, including travel photography, exotic and Orientalist painting, poetry, fiction, and music, monumental sculpture, and journalism" (SAID, 1994, p. 109).

The conditions of possibility were there. The cultural environment has contributed very strongly to this. We do not suggest that such artistic manifestations caused imperialism, nor that all the marks existing in the former colonies are there due to European rule. Rather, European culture has often validated itself by drawing dividing lines between it and other peoples, reaffirming its dominance in these distant territories (SAID, 2011, p. 144-145).

We can observe the discipline of bodies provided by this mentality in the works of Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Auguste Ingres, contemporary painters in nineteenth- century France. Although affiliated to rival artistic movements, some of their works analysed here are examples of the Orientalist discourse in question. Four of their paintings were chosen for analysis in this text, according to the script previously elaborated: *Liberty Leading the People* (DELACROIX, 1830), *The Fanatics of Tangier* (DELACROIX, 1837), *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (INGRES, 1845) and *La Grande Odalisque* (INGRES, 1814).

We begin with the author of *Liberty Leading the People*, whose works were inspired by dramatic themes, sometimes heroic and violent actions. Born in 1798, Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix, who lived until 1863, was one of the most important exponents of nineteenth-century France. The French administration commissioned him to paint the ceiling of the Luxembourg Palace and the Bourbon Palace. This first painting symbolizes the romantic movement in his country, characterized by the appreciation of colors, movement, the contrast between light and dark, having as its subject the individual, the ideas of a hero, shady or even libertine individual, all to achieve a less rational result, aiming to be as emotional and dramatic as possible (COSTA, GOMES, MELO, 2014, p. 477).

The fight against neoclassical rationalism and the appeal to nationalist causes meant that romantic artists were "[...] inspired and involved in a direct way by public matters [...]", social issues being "[...] frequent, which refer to national and contemporary events in the life of artists [6]" (VIEIRA, 2009, p. 10). It was a historic moment marked by the double revolution – the French and the English ones (HOBSBAWN, 2009, *passim*). *Liberty Leading the People* (DELACROIX, 1830) became popular as a symbol of the French Revolution, even though it does not refer to it but to a popular French uprising in 1830. Later this work would become an icon of French nationalism (BELL, 2008, p. 318).

In this painting, Delacroix portrays several people in the midst of a struggle in the streets of Paris. Framed by the smoke of battle, a female figure in flowing white robes occupies the centre of the painting, especially illuminated in contrast to the other characters. Carrying the red, white and blue republican flag in one hand and a bayonet in the other, she goes on, stepping over fallen combatant bodies during the battle, leading a group of revolutionaries. Around her, people dress in all kinds of clothes: ordinary workers clothes, jackets, top hats, ragged shirts. They are all carrying weapons, whether pistols, carbines or swords. According to an art critic:

> The picture cleverly combines gritty contemporary reportage with allegory in a monumental way. Place and time are clear: Notre Dame is visible in the distance and people are dressed according to their class, with the scruffy boy on the right symbolizing the power of ordinary people (FARTHING, 2011, p. 395).

The title of the painting contributes to its understanding. It highlights certain elements to the detriment of others. Here, the word freedom is fundamental, considering its meaning in the artistic movement to which Delacroix was affiliated: the Romantic Movement usually associated freedom with national independence. Thus:

> This is where Delacroix's freedom comes in. It guides the people, it does not command them, it does not give orders, it does not take away from them the perception that they are agents in a material world and in which abstract entities need to personify themselves - become equal - to act equally[7]" (COSTA, GOMES, MELO, 2014, p. 481).

[6] From the original: "[...] inspirados e envolvidos de forma direta pelos assuntos públicos [...]" and "[…] frequentes as temáticas de cunho social, que remetem a acontecimentos nacionais e contemporâneos na vida dos artistas."

[7] From the original: É aqui que se insere a Liberdade de Delacroix. Ela *guia* o povo, ela não o comanda, não o ordena, não tira dele a percepção de que ele é agente em um mundo material e em que as entidades abstratas precisam se personificar – tornar-se *iguais* – para agirem igualmente.

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The enlightened personification of Liberty ahead of the French on the urban battlefield is emblematic. These people fought for their self-determination, for the possibility of organizing themselves politically, freed from reins that did not suit them. They carried instruments that allowed conquering these objectives: weapons and a flag, strength and nation. The modern idea of state is, this way, legitimated, bringing with it the legal notions of national sovereignty and individual freedom, both figuring as citizens' protectors against external advances and damage to their private dimension: identity, privacy and heritage.

b) Invalidated mob: *The Fanatics of Tangier*

The narrative told in *Liberty Leading the People* allow us to think that the French revolutionaries and their successors would make radical changes in the destinies of their colonies. What happened, though, were demonstrations of even more colonial power: Louisiana, for example, was sold to the United States by Napoleon in 1803 - its price, $ 15 million. After all, "what do some 'sugar islands' weigh in the face of the fascination of the revolutionary brazier and the glory of the empire? [8]" (MERLE, 2004, p. 728).

Within this line of thought and praxis, legal monism occupies a prominent place. We observe that "it was with the post-revolutionary French Republic that an eagerness to integrate the multiple legal systems based on equality of all under common legislation was accelerated [9]" (WOLKMER , 2003, p. 04). It is, then, in the State that lays the unique legitimacy of dictating the law, which holds the capacity of validation or invalidation aforementioned.

Even though the British colonization were based on an indirect administration model, that was more receptive to the local legal costumes, France, on the other hand, focused in a more direct administration intending to assimilate the native peoples even in the legal aspect (BÔAS FILHO, 2007, p. 338). Beyond these differences, both models understood as necessary knowing better the colonized peoples to exercise their power over them. To do so, Orientalism fitted perfectly: its set of texts and practices sustained an imaginary over degraded populations that, therefore, deserved the legal discipline - to a greater or lesser extent - that only the European legal systems could guarantee.

The mere thought that the law in other places could be grounded in a "set of religious, legal, and social norms directly based on canonical doctrine[10]" of Islam, such as the *sharia*, was unthinkable in the European scenario (LOSANO, 2007, p. 402). The Quran, a fundamental prophetic and religious work, has only one-tenth of its verses of what could be interpreted as legal rules, aiming to indicate the steps to a life of righteousness (WOLKMER, 2013, p. 325). Because of this, the non-religious Western authority, guardian of sovereignty and freedom, was felt in the Orient by delimitating the dividing mark between "legitimate" law and its illegitimate "Others". It passed the idea that Islamic law was nothing more than a collection of religious books, and native customs.

Following this line of thought, by contemplating the *Liberty Leading the People* (DELACROIX, 1830) we feel that, after all, truth and safety will prevail, this way justifying any loss of men and women during the process. This is a very different feeling from that experienced when seeing *The Fanatics of Tangier* (DELACROIX, 1837).

In this painting, we see an utterly different scenario if compared to Delacroix's previous painting. We see an oriental city with its white buildings and colourful rugs. Portrayed in it, a group of people: brown-skinned men with dark hair and beard, wearing Arabian clothes in shades of yellow, red, and terracotta. These men occupy the street in a disorderly way, being this a manifestation of violence and ferocity. In the center, a figure wearing a white shirt and with his arms raised is portrayed as out of control and, to the right, a serious man on horseback, holding a green flag. On the left side, a runaway child, and on the opposite side, a man protects two other children. Around there, we see people standing, watching the protest.

The scene concerns a group of religious protesters - dervishes - in a public act of frenzy. In this work, Muslim culture is presented as wild, bizarre, and dangerous:

> Delacroix' images are in fact not objective depictions but instead shaped narratives informed and controlled by Western preconceptions and prejudices. [...] Where in Liberty Leading the People, the flag was a unifying manifestation of civic ideals carried by Liberty herself, the green banner here is held by an Emhaden, a religious leader, who also restrains the dervishes through chains or ropes (HARTMANN, 2002, p. 7-8).

We find interesting that Delacroix did not paint this image during his trip to Morocco, but only "[...] after his return to Europe, this way being free to paint only the emotion and not the details that laid before him[11]" (BOTTON, BOTTON, 2012, p. 95). Since he disregarded

[8] From the original: O que pesam algumas 'ilhas de açúcar' diante da fascinação do braseiro revolucionário e da glória do império?"

[9] From the original: Foi com a República Francesa pós-revolucionária que se acelerou a disposição de integrar os vários sistemas legais sob a base da igualdade de todos perante uma legislação comum.

[10] From the original: Conjunto de normas religiosas, jurídicas e sociais diretamente baseadas na doutrina canônica.

[11] From the original: Após o seu retorno à Europa, pois, assim, estaria livre para pintar apenas a emoção e não os detalhes que se postavam à sua frente

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any empirical data, his narrative did not seek precision, but rather to characterize oriental "strangeness" and capture it from the European perspective (SAID, 2012, p. 113).

Looking at Western culture by the end of the nineteenth century, we see a depository of made-up identities concerning these strange, non-Western beings: inferior, immoral, slow, greedy races, holders of an unchanging essence, and therefore in need of the severe European rule. Generally, we can find these perspectives in advertising pieces, postcards, in artifacts as different as board games and musical scores, all accepted by nineteenth-century societies (SAID, 2011, p. 244-245).

In these kinds of representations, the oriental peoples were simplified entities, all considered foreign demons, terrorists, violent and undemocratic. A hasty imperialistic perspective may lead to the realization that the idea of freedom is exclusively Western and that:

> […] the European tradition is the only natural and inherently democratic one, while it is claimed that the non-Europeans "others" are naturally and inherently authoritarian, denying the non-Western world democratic discourses and forms of institutional democracy (which, of course, are distinct from Western liberal democracy), and as a result, end up supporting authoritarian political forms[12] (GROSFOGUEL, 2011, p. 345).

In this way, the struggles against European colonization were translated by the Orientalist discourse as an inability to understand legal institutes such as freedom and sovereignty, disregarding the historical resistances to the European domination that such peoples carried out all along. Assuming the binary division of the "eastern/oriental" and "western" categories, freedom and self-government were of less importance to the characters from *The Fanatics of Tangier* than to the French combatants from *Liberty Leading the People*. When the non-Westerners later claimed the end of colonialism, the Orientalist canon understood such revolts as derived from western influence, more specifically, from the western notion of freedom (SAID, 2012, p. 159; SAID, 2011, p. 314 and 402). The Saidian insights apply until this day:

> To be non-Western (the reifying labels are themselves symptomatic) is ontologically thus to be unfortunate in nearly every way, before the facts, to be at worst a maniac, and at best a follower, a lazy consumer who can use but could never have invented the telephone (SAID, 1994, p. 304).

[12] From the original: [...] la tradición europea es la única natural e inherentemente democrática, mientras se pretende que los "otros" no europeos son natural e inherentemente autoritarios, negándole al mundo no occidental discursos democráticos y formas de democracia institucional (que, por supuesto, son distintos de la democracia liberal occidental), y como resultado, terminan apoyando formas políticas autoritárias.

IV. Intimate Place: Female Resistances and Conformities

A home where a family lives - a place reserved especially for women - is surrounded by various rules, both social and legal. This way, we present a discussion about cultural representations of women in two works by the French painter Jean-Auguste Ingres, a Delacroix's contemporary. In both the *Comtesse d'Haussonville* and *La Grande Odalisque*, we observe, through the empirical method used here, a game of inclusion and exclusion to which female representations were subjected in different legal systems.

a) *Comtesse d'Haussonville and the obligatory web of marriage*

We already said that every exclusion presupposes some inclusion. The counterpart to Oriental barbarism was European civility. Westerners, therefore, should follow certain rules of conduct: actions, words, gestures, thoughts, and feelings, to which they might or might not realize, but were, indeed, being followed (SAID, 2012, p. 308). To women, conversational arts, delicacy, and modesty. To men, the world to be conquered. It is interesting how, above all, freedom was painted as a feminine image: various representations of the French Republic translated it into a young, familiar and affectionate woman (HUNT, 1991, p. 31). The young Republic needed to be a place of shelter against tyranny and ill-treatment - the expression of femininity seen here served the purpose of attenuating the intrinsic violence of an armed revolution.

Modesty, affection, receptivity: these characteristics were considered female. Subservience was the counterpart to the protection of its fragility. The Code Napoléon was very explicit in his article 213: "The husband owes protection to his wife, the wife obedience to her husband", to the extent that the wife is unable to exercise guardianship or even compete equally in inheritance, for example, because of her civil disability (PERROT, 1991, pp. 121-122). Her place was a private, intimate one, though not entirely owned by her - the money and the decision-making were held by her husband, or her father, if still single. Married, she could not be, by herself, part in any contracts or use her salary; even to practice a profession, the women would need the consort's endorsement, as in everything else. This way:

> In English mid-nineteenth century imagination, the house was the place of sweetness and delight, but perceived in different ways by men and women. Men could mix the worries, fears, and deep satisfactions of public life with the hidden charms of home. For women, this duality rarely existed: they had only and

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exclusively home, the "natural" place of their femininity[13]. (HALL, 1991, p. 87).

Private conservatism in the midst of a public revolutionary furore is a combination that was not restricted by family affairs. In addition, the artistic circles mirrored such ambiguity. Neoclassicism was a nineteenth-century artistic movement influenced by the Enlightenment and was characterized by the rescue of ancient Greek and classical Roman traditions, besides the maintenance of academic rules and styles of great masters from the past. At the same time, its themes political and not outdated, depicting scenes and heroes of the French revolution, always highlighting feelings considered universal, such as patriotism and courage (BELL, 2008, p. 312; NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, 2015). If historical scenes are grand, the portraits bring an ideal of classic beauty, as found in Ingres's work.

Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres was born in 1780 and died in 1877. He struggled against the Romantic Movement that took control over French paintings scene, in which we can insert Delacroix's works. Ingres' iconic paintings of well-dressed models and his fantasies of oriental concubines occupied a prominent place in the French society of the time:

> The clientele he had chosen, his classic references, and the linear control of his design gave him a certain place in the politics of French art. Until his death in 1877, this master of revised neoclassicism became the epitome of conservative values, despite the strange instinctive intensity of his actual paintings.[14]. (BELL, 2008, p. 312).

We chose two of Ingres' works. The first is the portrait of *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (INGRES, 1845). In it, we can see a young woman with a blue silk dress and hair trimmed with a red ribbon, pictured in front of a mirror, on a velvet sideboard in a darker blue colour. The garment, lace-adorned, and the objects arranged on the sideboard - including an oriental vase on the left - are indicators of its upper class. The level of detail in the portrait justifies the three years it took Ingres to complete it. We are talking about a classic representation from nineteenth-century European painting: a thoughtful woman holding her chin in a chaste attitude (ROUSSEL, 1985).

The demand for Western female decorum was fundamental. Nineteenth-century bourgeois Europe surrounded marriage in an obligatory web, that in both legal and moral dimensions. For women, especially from the upper class, this was the ultimate goal: to get married. Achieving this goal involved the fulfillment of other tasks such as taking care of her husband and children, attending the halls of friendly and well-known families, welcoming them in her own home, worrying about fashion and body. What happened, in most cases, is that they were to become "men's insignia" (CORBIN, 1991, p. 449).

Despite this, and despite what one might think at a glance of the model in Ingres's painting, she was Louise de Haussonville (1818-1882). Although young and of high social position, she was a recognized liberal writer, an odd path for women at such a historic moment. Haussonville's example demonstrates one of the difficulties of generalization: there are always resistances, conformities, ambiguities.

> The harsh yet intelligent woman went on to publish five books including a two-volume chronicle of the life of Lord Byron and an unpublished autobiography. […] Ingres found her to be a modest young matron who did not conform to the assumed frivolous nature of the ruling class. The portrait was extremely successful, both in its precise execution of the Comtesse and her personality and with the Haussonville family and ultimately Parisian society as a whole (WERLY, 2011, p. 159-160).

On the other hand, the division of male and female roles was a social force. Sex was an object of normalization only legitimized in the marital bed, making it inappropriate or even abnormal elsewhere. Once again, what was invalidated from the domains of the "I" was sent to the territory of the "Other."

b) La Grande Odalisque and the Misunderstanding of Oriental Culture and Law

The exoticism and moral lassitude of these Orientals "Others" can be observed in the depiction made in the painting *La Grande Odalisque* (INGRES, 1814): blue silk curtains in the background, censer on the right of the canvas and a naked woman - with western features - reclined on pillows, wearing a turban and holding a fan of peacock feathers.

> Cette femme allongée sur un divan est offerte par sa nudité et son visage tourné vers nous. Le titre de l'oeuvre, signifiant "femme de harem", ainsi que les accessoires orientaux qui l'entourent suggèrent l'Orient sensuel. Mais cette femme est aussi discrète parce qu'elle ne montre que son dos et une partie d'un sein. Le thème du nu, majeur en Occident, était surtout lié à la mythologie depuis la Renaissance, mais Ingres le transpose ici dans un ailleurs géographique (LOUVRE, 2015).

[13] From the original: Nos meados do século XIX, na imaginação inglesa, a casa realmente era o local das doçuras e delícias, mas percebida de formas diferentes pelos homens e pelas mulheres. Os homens podiam mesclar as preocupações, temores e profundas satisfações da vida pública aos encantos recônditos do lar. Para as mulheres, raramente existia essa dualidade: possuíam apenas e exclusivamente o lar, quadro "natural" de sua feminilidade

[14] From the original: A clientela que ele escolhera, suas referências clássicas e o controle linear de seu desenho conferiam-lhe um certo espaço na política da arte francesa. Até sua morte, em 1877, esse mestre do neoclassicismo revisado se tornou o epítome dos valores conservadores, apesar da estranha intensidade instintiva de suas pinturas efetivas.

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Such pictorial narrative has a discourse that characterizes the Orient with a very specific vocabulary, filled with figures so representative that in fact are closer to theatre characters (SAID, 2012, p. 112-113). This theatricality may be because Ingres never traveled to the Orient, making his paintings based on travelers' accounts and other images from books and diaries (FARTHING, 2011, p. 408) - hence the model's western features and absence of her name in the title of the work. No name fit her, being her originated from the orientalist fantasy of its creator, added with paints of exotic literature.

These writings portrayed "[...] a place where you could search for a sexual experience that did not exist in Europe[15]" (SAID, 2012, p. 263). An extravagant and permissive place that allowed Westerners to move there and find a life with fewer restrictions than the European one, being able to do countless activities that were not allowed in their countries of origin. Travel to the Orient also played the role of sexual initiation in the imagination of many wealthy young men (CORBIN, 1991, p. 467).

Ingres followed a path common to many other artists: from Orientalist literature to fantasy, finding in the last one the source to represent an eccentric culture that was far too difficult for him to grasp. Hence the habit from middle nineteenth-century European art to portray the oriental woman as a dancer, slave, servant, concubine, or belonging to the lust of some harem. Several paintings inserted her in places where "[...] sensuality and cruelty are inevitably associated (SAID, 1994, p. 121). The conclusion date of *La Grande Odalisque* – 1814 - is noteworthy. The Western fantasy of dominance over this Oriental "Other" had concrete reflexes: a year later, the West already had dominion over 35% of the territories of the world (SAID, 2012, p. 74).

Once again, we recall the materiality of these representations, which was reflected in the validation of actions by both European and Oriental women. In the words of Santiago Castro-Gómez, commenting on Said's work:

> The representations, the "world conceptions" and the formation of subjectivity within these representations were fundamental elements for the establishment of the Western colonial dominance. Without the construction of an imaginary "east" and "west", not as geographical places but as forms of life and thought capable of generating concrete subjectivities, any explanation (economic or sociological) of colonialism would be incomplete. [...] orientalism is not only a matter of "consciousness" (false or true) but the experience of objective materiality[16] (CASTRO-GÓMEZ, 2005, p. 22).

Yet, this harem so desired by young Europeans was a place reserved for family life, a place for living among relatives and servants, where women could be comfortable (DIB, 2011, p. 149). This was also reinforced by the Islamic law, which "[...] is directed not at the individual but at the family [17][...]", including the regulation of marriage, polygamy, inheritance, and affiliation (LOSANO, 2007, p. 413).

We should note, also, that Ingres misunderstood even the meaning of the word "odalisque". They were housemaids, slaves, spoils of war, or bought in markets still very young. Because of this, it was not possible to stipulate which skills they would develop, and were, therefore, educated for various tasks, including Quran reading, weaving, poetry and dance. An odalisque would only change her life if she stood out among the others, becoming the sultan's concubine, a hierarchically superior position (DIB, 2011, p. 149- 150).

The orientalist discourse is one that passes the idea that represented women are accessible to any man that arrives in the Orient; these women being nothing more than an object of lust for male pleasure. We can see this orientalist discourse among other works of the studied painters such as in *Le Bain Turc*, 1862, and in *L'Odalisque à l'esclave*, 1842, these both by Ingres and in Delacroix's works *Odalisque Reclining on a Divan,* 1828 and *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827.

> The Orientalist paintings, which were largely based on imagination, played a big role in portraying the image of the Arab woman as a sexual figure. In those paintings, the Arab woman is dancing, taking care of herself, or sitting doing nothing in her own woman space (ABURWEIN, 2014).

This perception disregards the cultural and moral particularities of the represented place. Such Western men would not be admitted to these places simply because they did not belong to that family. More important, in our view, are the power relations within the harem. Being odalisque, concubine and even, more fortunately, the mother of one of the sultan's children was a career that many of those women strove to pursue.

[15] From the original: Um lugar onde se poderia procurar a experiência sexual que não existia na Europa.

[16] From the original: Las representaciones, las "concepciones del mundo" y la formación de la subjetividad al interior de esas representaciones fueron elementos fundamentales para el establecimiento del dominio colonial de occidente. Sin la construcción de un imaginario de "oriente" y "occidente", no como lugares geográficos sino como formas de vida y pensamiento capaces de generar subjetividades concretas, cualquier explicación (económica o sociológica) del colonialismo resultaría incompleta. [...] el orientalismo no es sólo un asunto de "consciencia" (falsa o verdadera) sino la vivencia de una materialidad objetiva.

[17] From the original: [...] o direito islâmico dirige-se não ao indivíduo, mas à família [...].

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Finally, we should mention that despite the role assigned to the European women in the nineteenth century, some did not exactly follow social conventions. Louise de Haussonville wrote a biography of Lord Byron; himself considered a cursed poet (SILVA, 2010, p. 8). In this sense, feminist studies have been questioning some of Said's considerations regarding the heterogeneity of discourses within the scope of colonialism. There are investigations that analyse how, through travel diaries, Western women sometimes identified with the oppression experienced by the natives, while other times they shared Western male discourses of power over the colonies (GARCIA-RAMÓN; MAS, 1998, p. 04-05).

We remember that the European woman was destined for a peripheral public and legal role, her place was at home, surrounded by household chores, her children, and her husband. On the other hand, traveling afforded greater freedom - both socially and geographically, the reaffirmation of European superiority placed women side by side with men. This way, amid criticism of the colonialist conduct of officers and residents and sympathies for the modernization brought by colonial administrations, several women experienced ambiguities between local and western powers.

V. (DES) Colonial Law as a Strategy of Power

Descolonial studies, especially when seen through the work of Edward Said, serve as powerful tools for discussion of numerous legal issues. We understand that its association with the documentary method of analysis presented here provides a better view of colonialist discourses within legal systems of metropolises and their colonies. We also emphasize that the relationship between conformity and resistance permeates the entire social fabric and may present alternatives to the coloniality of power, especially in times of contemporary persistence in an invalidation discourse of the Orient.

a) The role of Law in the Orientalist Inclusion-Exclusion Game

The ambiguity between collaboration and resistance is, in fact, part of the subjective and objective world created by the colonial and patriarchal enterprise. We note that resistance to colonialism existed from the beginning. This way, the colonizer has always needed natives to cooperate in combating this opposition - the institutional force cannot be felt everywhere and with the same intensity. Thus, local collaboration with European colonization was active and, in many cases, it came with the intention of adopting the modernization of the metropolis. This also occurred through colonial education, through the reading of scholarly works and novels and the aesthetics from paintings and music, all this bringing the European lifestyle to the colony (SAID, 2011, p. 404).

We perceive, then, the connection between colonialism (the political domain of the metropolis over the colony and the exploitation that settles there) and coloniality (born with the first and built on the cultural, sexual, and political perceptions - among others – of the colonizer over the colonized). As we have argued, the natives end up assuming such representations as theirs, even though they diminish and underestimate them (GROSFOGUEL, 2010, p. 464-465). Both identities intertwine with the hierarchies that come from them, forming narratives that sometimes are harmonious and sometimes are not, such as the examples of European travelers that identify themselves both with non-Westerners and, at the same time, with the colonial administration.

This also came the other way around: as it turned out, the colony was also represented in the West. The image of an odalisque was the counterpoint to that of a French noblewoman, since "[...] in contrast to European rationality and sobriety, extravagant pleasures were part of the Oriental identity family[18]" (SAID, 2012, p. 132). The mob running through the streets of Tangier highlighted the heroism and organization of the French revolutionaries. The power of the image, its didacticism and persuasion were exposed in halls and galleries. Oriental objects were transported there, receiving attention from curious Europeans. Shiv Visvanathan (2010, p. 565) makes the following comparison: "[...] to the Western mind, the museum is a large humanitarian institution that reflects Western sensitivity to past cultures. However, for the oriental look, the museum is almost the rationalization of piracy[19]."

Law, a potent cultural artifact, was central in the colonial enterprise and its patriarchalism both geographically and representatively. Assuming that there was "one" Islam (rather than several societies, each with its characteristics), nineteenth-century French law intended to reformulate its legal bases through the French Revolution's postulates: liberty, equality, separation of the State from Religion, the division between public and private law, and so on. This way, numerous European legal institutes have been adopted by the Islamic world (LOSANO, 2007, p. 438).

[18] From the original: [...] em contraposição à racionalidade e à sobriedade européias, extravagantes prazeres faziam parte da identidade oriental.

[19] From the original: Para a mente ocidental, o museu é uma grande instituição humanitária, que reflete a sensibilidade ocidental para com as culturas do passado. Mas para o olhar oriental, o museu é quase que a racionalização da pirataria.

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Achieving this "westernization" would bring some dignity to this "Other" by domesticating him, hierarchizing his behaviors, legally assimilating an entire discursive place, rewriting it according to the validation rules of the Western "I". Thus, the legal code that was imbued in the Orient was a non-religious one in a deeply religious world; it was one that differentiated the public from the private in legal systems that did not attach any relevance to this stratification (WOLKMER, 2012, p. 330-331).

Religion is at the foundation of Muslim societies: Islam is literally "total submission to God" (LOSANO, 2007, p. 399). Religious rituals are everywhere and are not understood as that "savagery" that Delacroix's work represented (as examples we suggest the observation of *Massacre at Chios*, 1824, and the aforementioned *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827), but as an essential part of everyday life. Hence the law addresses not only to a social organization but - and above all – to a mystical and spiritual dimension. In this, we do not see any western separation between law and morality (AGUIAR, 2001, p. 272). Thus:

> Any comparative attempts at approximation, and subordination, with the Latin ethnic categories that historically informed the *lex* in the designation "Law", such as "Private Law" and "Public Law", end up being anachronistic and Eurocentric. Islamism consolidated political domination in the opposite direction to that of European ethnic groups, in which there was a problematic and progressive disjunction between the Collectivity-State and Religion. (CAMPOS NETO, 2006, p. 47[20]

The concepts of freedom and privacy, for example, so dear to the West, also have dimensions that can be associated with Ingres' orientalist work, here under study. Firstly, because the private life of an oriental woman is different from the European one, their religious senses, the wearing of the veil, the centrality of the family, the social roles they play, all mean that the supposedly universal European law is not easily applied to them.

Secondly, because the iconological analysis used demonstrates the fissure that divides the "we" and the "they" of Orientalism. The privacy of the Countess of Hassounville was largely protected by her lace-trimmed blue silk dress; the same privacy was denied to a nameless Muslim woman, who was presented naked, even though being part of a religion that stipulated the use of a veil. That is why:

> "Western" epistemic racism/sexism, by diminishing "non-western" epistemologies and cosmologies and privileging the "western" men's epistemology as the superior form of knowledge and as the sole foundation for defining human rights, democracy, justice, citizenship, etc., ends up disqualifying the "non-western" as incapable of producing democracy, justice, human rights, scientific knowledge, etc. This is based on the essentialist idea that reason and philosophy are rooted in the 'West' while non-rational thinking is rooted in the "rest" [21]. (GROSFOGEL, 2010, p. 346).

Human rights, the hallmark of French constitutionalism, have their foundation in the bourgeois individualism of the Eight Hundred, in which the concept of freedom has as its antithesis the notion of tyranny. From a Muslim perspective, tyrannical action is opposed to "fair action" (LEWIS, 1996, p. 283). Divine justice, applied by men and achievable, among other ways, by the holy war (*jihad*). From the three meanings of *jihad*, referred to by Mario Losano (2007, p. 426-427), one can see how generalizations can disfigure an image: in addition to the well-known "war against infidels", it also means controversy with Westernized Muslims and, equally, the effort each one makes to follow the rules of the Quran, despite all the difficulties encountered. We see, then, a very personal and peaceful dimension.

Despite all these obstacles, law institutes from Europe were adopted in the various colonized Muslim countries, leading to a decrease in the application of *sharia*. Today, even after World War II and the national independence movements, coloniality remains.

b) Resistances and Legal-Decolonial Strategies

However, as we have shown so far, there are innumerable resistances in any relation of power - in fact, power only exists if such oppositions are exercised.

We can present a large number of resistances that follow this line of thought, such as Islamic countries that apply both Muslim and Western laws at the same time; "Islamization" of European institutions; and legal pluralisms due to the various systems of law, mixing ancient and modern rules. We add, among many other movements, discussions within these societies between fundamentalists and secularists and claims by organized groups of women and non-Muslim citizens (WOLKMER, 2012, p. 332-333). Such a perspective leads us to Said's words:

[20] From the original: Decorrem por isso anacrônicas e eurocêntricas quaisquer tentativas comparadas de aproximação, e-ou subordinação, com as categorias étnicas latinas que historicamente informaram a *lex* no designativo "Direito", tais como "Direito Privado" e "Direito Público" ou superposição deste em relação àquele. O Islamismo consolidou dominações políticas em sentido inverso ao das etnias européias, nas quais se deu problemática e progressiva disjunção entre Coletividade-Estado e Religião

[21] From the original: O racismo/sexismo epistêmico "ocidental", ao inferiorizar as epistemologias e cosmologias "não ocidentais" e privilegiar a epistemologia dos homens "ocidentais" como forma superior do conhecimento e como única fundação para definir os direitos humanos, a democracia, a justiça, a cidadania, etc, termina desqualificando o "não ocidental" como incapaz de produzir democracia, justiça, direitos humanos, conhecimento científico, etc. Isso se baseia na ideia essencialista de que a razão e a filosofia radicam no "Ocidente" enquanto que o pensamento não racional está radicado no "resto".

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> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental. Yet just as human beings make their history, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. No one can deny the persisting continuities of long traditions, sustained habitations, national languages, and cultural geographies, but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and distinctiveness, as if that was all human life was about (SAID, 1994, p. 336).

The same power strategy that provided years of European colonization (including a legal one) in the Orient can be used as a tool for its decolonization. Not to disregard undeniable Western contributions, but to recognize that our identities are increasingly multifaceted and mutually enriching. Hence the important debate provided by decolonial studies. For Walter Mignolo (2008, p. 10):

> [...] "coloniality" appoint colonized histories, subjectivities, ways of living, and knowledge, from which the "decolonial" answers emerge. So if coloniality is the invisible face of modernity on the one hand, it is also the energy that generates decoloniality on the other [22].

This leads us to the understanding that colonial law has decolonial resistances within it. Muslim adaptations to European laws, Arab revivalism in times of nationalism, different forms of understanding what *jihad* is, legal pluralism in these places, among other indications, occurred at the heart of the colony, whose domain, as these examples show us, was not complete. Yet, coloniality persists in every rule of law that differentiates the "other" from its Western "me."

The fight against the still present Orientalism virus, especially in Western foreign policies (VISVANATHAN, 2010, p. 566), passes on one hand through the respect and understanding of cultures as different as those here dealt with. On the other hand, through recognizing that the Muslim world is much more than what was represented by European arts, politics and law. Today, perhaps more than ever, this decolonial perspective is urgent. Western and imperialist countries, especially the United States, have been emphasizing strongly Orientalist images to justify barbarism (physical, social and legal) that they would never commit towards their own citizens. In the lucid words of our Palestinian author:

> Most images represent mass rage and disgrace, or irrational (therefore hopelessly eccentric) gestures. Lurking behind all these images is the threat of the *jihad*. Consequences: the fear that Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world [23]. [...] With such information about Iraq, what forgiveness, what humanity, what chance for a humane argument? (SAID, 2012, p. 383; SAID, 1994, p. 298).

Finally, one of our methods in this text is the intertwining of images and abstractions, providing an understanding of the materialities produced by law, often enabling unexpected comparisons and analyses. The artifacts that come from it - whether paintings or norms - are not innocent, translating values, choices, and clashes of their producers, whether these being artists, legislators or rulers.

The association between law and images is, nonetheless a strategy of resistance. The visual arts can translate narratives of power that, associated with legal meanings, allow differentiated views over the same issue. As social artifacts, art and law are human constructions that come from choices about what is valid or not, being testimonies of social normalization. These materialities form identities, direct actions, and, in turn, are formed by them.

VI. Conclusion

We tend to live each in our own way, in specific places shared with those who are part of our cultural heritage. Worldviews, images, identities, and materialities were constructed largely presupposing the differentiation between the "I" and the "Other". This binary line of thought is strongly reinforced by modern perspective, to which we are all contributors. Law - as a social artifact – is translated as a place of clashes, also dealing in its own way with a social organization that generates bodies and classifies them. We have shown that the law is permeated by relations of power and knowledge, always eager to develop strategies that may include or exclude specific people, objects and knowledge, organizing them hierarchically through the most diverse sources: legislation, customs and legal doctrines.

[22] From the original: [...] "colonialidade" designa histórias, subjetividades, formas de vida, saberes e subjetividades colonizados, a partir das quais surgem as respostas "descoloniais". De maneira que se, por um lado, colonialidade é a face invisível da modernidade é também, por outro lado, a energia que gera a descolonialidade.

[23] From the original: A maioria das imagens representa fúria e desgraça de massas, ou gestos irracionais (por isso, irremediavelmente excêntricos). Espreitando por trás de todas essas imagens está a ameaça da *jihad*. Consequências: o medo de que os muçulmanos (ou árabes) tomem conta do mundo.

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In this line of thought, we highlight the existence of these mentioned law sources - and of the legal systems that institute them - as inventions, artifacts constructed under certain conditions of possibility, born in historical, political, and economic schemes. Neither the law nor its subjects have a predefined essence. Hence the importance of decolonial studies for the present investigation, paying attention to our legal views on the contingency of knowledge, on the construction of law, and its application. Through these studies, we observe the positivity of power - its materiality, its ability to build the world in which it exists. In the same way, the old relations between colonialists and colonized countries are unveiled, as well as the new configurations between central identities and others considered peripheral.

Among such imaginary and material representations, we seek to demonstrate the strength of categorizations built on power relations between oriental colonies and western metropolises. The iconological method made possible comparisons and approximations in the analysis of the images described by us with Saidian theorizations about Orientalism and its imbrications with the European and Muslim culture of the eight hundred.

We have explored, then, the imbrication between law, images, documentary method, iconology, and decolonial studies. The investigation allowed us to observe the making of law and its knowledge, both products of countless decisions able to build our social practices, especially concerning its claims of neutrality, order, security, and equality, resulting from state codifications and legislations. The resulting coloniality of knowledge and power excludes and includes elements, establishes criteria and classifications, icons and materialities.

We consider the paintings here presented as narratives, acting in an inclusion and exclusion game that classified peoples and nations, domesticated legal rules, and created aesthetic canons. At the same time, it has become a field of resistance and persuasion in both geographical locations (West and East) to eventually overlap identities that today are admittedly more complex than conventionally accepted.

Delacroix's imaginative and allegorical richness materializes the Orientalist perception that draws a dividing line between West and East. In the first, freedom guides the French people, who remain agents of their own actions. Such autonomy is denied to the Orientals who run wildly through the streets of Tangier, incapacitated, for the most diverse reasons, for self-government. Hence the need for European law to impose itself on these distant lands, this being considered wiser and more balanced than mere sets of religious rules.

In turn, the discipline and differentiation to which female bodies have been subjected by nineteenth-century European culture are reflected in the postures of Louise d'Haussonville and her Oriental "Other", both portrayed by Ingres' undisputedtechnique. The modesty (and the clothes) that existed in one lacked in the other. Both, however, shared the perception that femininity served better at home, among their families, and under marital power. There were even legal rules that restricted their actions and reinforced their subordinate status.

Yet, the other face of colonialism has transpired in a variety of ways: from the Islamization of various Western legal concepts to Haussonville's literary freedom; from the discipline that allowed oriental women a hierarchical rise in their families to the plural mixture of ancient and modern law rules in non-western societies. Lessons emerge from all that was discussed to enable the construction of a decolonial law, especially in times when it is necessary to be aware of international policies of imperial and colonial advance in the Orient.

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Reason and Future of the Nation-State

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Introducción- Hace una década todavía se suponía que los Estados nacionales estarían entrando en declive y disminuiría su influencia en la política global. El Estado nacional era una de las entidades afectadas por el proceso de la globalización. Ahora ya no es tan clara tal tendencia y ha resurgido la temática para darle un tratamiento en condiciones de procesos globales que se detienen y se contienen, en los marcos de la política nacional. Rastrear en los orígenes de los Estados nacionales tiene un sentido importante, porque nos ayuda a entender la naturaleza, el carácter y el desarrollo de tal formación económica, social, política y cultural.

El Estado nación moderno se identifica con la modernidad en su forma más acabada, con la Ilustración y el racionalismo. Adquiere otra dimensión cuando enraiza con el romanticismo y la importancia de la singularidad histórica. Ya desde entonces quedaba en claro, que era una realidad cargada de tensiones y contradicciones internas. Rediscutir la naturaleza del Estado nación es importante para entender su relevancia actual y sus perspectivas al futuro.

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Reason and Future of the Nation-State

Razón y futuro del Estado-nación

Jose Luis Tejeda Gonzalez

I. Introducción

Hace una década todavía se suponía que los Estados nacionales estarían entrando en declive y disminuiría su influencia en la política global. El Estado nacional era una de las entidades afectadas por el proceso de la globalización. Ahora ya no es tan clara tal tendencia y ha resurgido la temática para darle un tratamiento en condiciones de procesos globales que se detienen y se contienen, en los marcos de la política nacional. Rastrear en los orígenes de los Estados nacionales tiene un sentido importante, porque nos ayuda a entender la naturaleza, el carácter y el desarrollo de tal formación económica, social, política y cultural.

El Estado nación moderno se identifica con la modernidad en su forma más acabada, con la Ilustración y el racionalismo. Adquiere otra dimensión cuando enraiza con el romanticismo y la importancia de la singularidad histórica. Ya desde entonces quedaba en claro., que era una realidad cargada de tensiones y contradicciones internas. Rediscutir la naturaleza del Estado nación es importante para entender su relevancia actual y sus perspectivas al futuro.

Igualmente, es importante la discusión sobre los elementos que delinean a los Estados nacionales modernos, en cuanto al realismo político, bélico y militar y en razón de expresar una cultura compartida. La relación de violencia y consenso, de singularidad y universalidad, de lo heterógeneo y la tendencia a la homogeneidad están implícitas en la evolución de los Estados nacionales. Finalmente, el proceso de globalización y el auge de las identidades más restringidas, tales como los regionalismos y los localismos, ponen en jaque la cuestión del Estado-nación. Lo ponen en el dilema sobre su existencia y obliga a una redefinición de los campos de acción y de incidencia de los Estados nacionales modernos, en los marcos de un proceso de globalización que adquiere dimensiones cada vez más complejas.

II. Origen y Concepto Del Estado Nación

El Estado-nación es una de las formas políticas más destacadas de la modernidad occidental. Al discutir sobre sus orígenes se puede tomar una posición también en lo conceptual. En lo etimológico, la palabra "nación" proviene de la raíz latina *nasci*, que quiere decir nacer y se inicia con la idea de que un pueblo tiene una ascendencia o lugar de origen común (Tivey, 1987, 13-14). De acuerdo a como se responda a la cuestión del nacimiento del Estado nacional, se aborda lo relativo a su definición y conceptualización. Uno de los desarrollos más sólidos sobre la cuestión nacional, la ha dado Ernest Gellner. Este autor tiende a identificar al Estado-nación como una de las creaciones del mundo moderno. Claramente, el Estado- nación se contrapone a los lazos y vínculos dinásticos que prevalecen en la sociedad agraria y medieval. En términos similares, en esta dirección, Schnapper sostiene que la idea de Estado nacional aparece en Inglaterra en el Siglo XVI y con las revoluciones de Estados Unidos y Francia adquiere legitimidad universal (2001, 15-16). En el centro de esta concepción está lo político, por la relevancia que se le otorga a las relaciones de poder.

Gellner concibe al Estado nacional como un producto de la modernidad ilustrada, en tanto constituye e iguala a los ciudadanos. Y es una forma de realización a medias del proyecto de la Ilustración europea. Dicho movimiento recibe una respuesta del romanticismo, más singularista, que refuerza otra línea del nacionalismo europeo (1998, 131-132). El proyecto ilustrador pretendía elevar a los seres humanos a su condición racional, dejando atrás prejuicios, mitos, religiones. Es la liberación del hombre de su culpable incapacidad (Kant, 1941, 25-26). En el tribunal supremo de la razón, los vínculos comunicativos serían más importantes, más allá de las diferencias dadas por el lenguaje, la cultura y la civilización, superando y dejando atrás atavismos, historias locales y parciales, singularidades culturales de todo tipo. En una sociedad como la medieval, en donde los lazos de sangre, familiares y dinásticos eran decisivos, la conexión de lo social se realizaba por la herencia, el abolengo, el poder y la política. Comunidades con una ubicación geográfica distante, con lenguas diferentes, culturas diversas, podían estar bajo el mando y la jurisdicción de un mismo reino, principado o imperio. Los procesos de interconexión, integración y comunicación humana ya permitían ciertos grados y niveles de homogeneidad en lo económico, cultural o político. Los grandes procesos de homogeneización social, de igualación de culturas y

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civilizaciones aparecen con la irrupción de los Estados nacionales.

La formación de la nación permite imponer, persuadir y consensuar aspectos comunes de la identidad nacional, realizando internamente el modelo ilustrador. Hacia fuera y en las relaciones internacionales, el Estado nacional se reafirma en su singularidad. Es por eso que realiza a medias y deja incompleto el proyecto universalista de la ilustración. En realidad, es una salida específica y singular al modelo universalista. Este último aterriza en formas nacionales, en raíces históricas y culturales establecidas, que dan cabida a la expansión de la ilustración y racionalización universalista hacia dentro del espacio interior. Lo que no se pudo realizar mundialmente se materializa dentro de cada comunidad nacional.

En el Estado nacional se condensa la universalización y la singularidad de la vida moderna. Es ilustrador y universalista, como factor homogeneizante e igualador al interior del espacio geográfico, político y territorial que le compete. Hay una ciudadanía nacional, con una historia y una cultura compartida. Las diferencias de lenguaje, étnicas, religiosas, sexuales, ideológicas y políticas serían asimiladas y superadas en el marco del acuerdo del Estado nacional. Se es español, francés, alemán, italiano, mexicano o brasileño, por encima de cualquier particularidad, regionalismo o localismo, más allá de las diferencias ideológicas, políticas, religiosas, étnicas, raciales o de clase social. Remueve, destruye y reconstruye las peculiaridades presentes en el espacio nacional, las que son como rémoras y obstáculos ante la cultura nacional instituida, reducidas a variantes y modalidades de la misma. Hay adhesión y consenso, aprobación y unanimidad en la construcción de la cultura nacional. Y eventualmente se da la violencia institucional y simbólica para hacer prevalecer lo nacional sobre las singularidades y especificidades. Se tiende a desalentar e inhibir las tendencias autonomistas y separatistas, que obstruyen y presionan hacia el quiebre de lo nacional. Las respuestas del federalismo y del fomento a las autonomías regionales, dan cuenta de las dificultades de asimilación de lo local a lo nacional y de las variaciones regionales ante la supremacía de lo central. Hay una desconfianza instintiva y un temor a la opresión de lo central y lo nacional, sobre las localidades y las regiones, las minorías oprimidas y excluidas. Sin los Estados nacionales, los lazos dinásticos y reales, la tribalización, la incomunicación, hubieran sido determinantes en la conformación del mapa sociopolítico del mundo moderno. Si nos asombramos por la multiplicidad y variación de la existencia moderna, tales tendencias hubieran apuntado a una mayor dispersión y difuminación social y cultural. El efecto centralizador e igualador de las naciones modernas es inocultable.

Y aunque es universalista y homogeneizante en su interior, el modelo de los Estados nacionales es particularista en el plano de las relaciones internacionales. Cada nación reafirma su pretendida singularidad ante el resto del mundo. El proyecto ilustrador proclamaría que a través de la razón y la comunicación se puede edificar una ciudadanía universal y cosmopolita. Siendo demasiado avanzado para su tiempo, tal ideal se realiza a medias, a través de Estados nacionales, cumpliendo los objetivos homogeneizadores al interior del espacio propio y levantando muros y fronteras en relación con otras comunidades nacionales. En palabras de Gellner, el nacionalismo impone una homogeneidad que sólo refleja la necesidad de la misma (1988, 67). El Estado nación, expresa la imposibilidad de realizar en lo inmediato la ciudadanía cosmopolita y el gobierno mundial, materializando una forma política mediada que incluye/excluye, realiza lo universal internamente y se afianza en la singularidad y la especificidad de lo propio y lo nacional ante los otros. El Estado nacional es la forma política de la modernidad universal, realizada e incompleta a la vez.

Una postura más tradicional sobre la cuestión nacional es la de Renan, quien siendo crítico declarado de la Revolución francesa, se niega a identificar el principio de la nación moderna, con la forma igualitaria, republicana y democrática, emanada del proceso revolucionario. Rebusca los orígenes de la nación moderna en tiempos más remotos y muestra vestigios de la misma en reinos fuertes, que forjaron identidades, que luego se extenderían hasta la constitución de las naciones contemporáneas, como pasa con Francia, Inglaterra. Alemania, Rusia, a las que describe como individualidades históricas (Renan, 2001, 10). Gellner, a su vez, ubica a una parte de tales países, como la zona de naciones de la modernidad en que prevalece la unidad del Estadso y la cultura a partir de dinastías fuertes en Lisboa, Madrid, París y Londres (98-99). Antes de la maduración de las sociedades republicanas, hay elementos de identidad cultural tan firmes y sólidos para dar lugar a una protonación y extender la continuidad de la misma.

Renan remarca la presencia de una reminiscencia subjetiva, como el alma nacional, el espíritu de los pueblos, para dar cuenta de la naturaleza última de la nación. Se encarga de enfatizar que la lengua, la raza, la etnia o la religión no podrían ser el soporte de la nación, por el carácter excluyente y conflictivo que les caracteriza. En lugar de aglutinar en torno a estos elementos de la identidad colectiva, Renan lo resuelve con un referente romántico, con una entidad metafísica y espiritual que da lugar a la nación. Ya no es el reino o las dinásticas monárquicas y aristocráticas las que sirven como punto de referencia para la identidad de las colectividades y aun no ha

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llegado el Estado de la nación republicana y ciudadana. La identidad colectiva estaría dada desde antes de la modernidad, en una espiritualidad de lo nacional, un soporte cultural, que explicaría la evolución de algunas comunidades europeas a la nación moderna. En términos similares, esta la formulación de Herder, que reivindica la sensibilidad de las naciones y su condición multicolor (1954, 53-67). Apela a la aceptación de la pluralidad y la diversidad, lo que contraviene el carácter homogéneo del nacionalismo republicano..

El término "nacionalismo" es claramente moderno y data de finales del Siglo XVIII. Para fines del Siglo XIX adquiere ya el significado de la actualidad (Smith, 2004, 19-20). Ya sea como identidad colectiva, como alma nacional o como cultura compartida, se forja una imagen consensual de las naciones, que encubre lo violento y lo coercitivo, tan presente en la gestación de las naciones, en su desarrollo y en su consolidación. Hay muchos aspectos de una cultura nacional, que nos han sido heredados de generaciones anteriores y que se nos impuso coactivamente. El trabajo pedagógico, educativo y cultural lleva implícito una violencia simbólica, que inculca e inhibe el acto mismo de la imposición. Se impone y a la vez se esconde el hecho mismo de la violencia ejercida. En las discusiones de Bourdieu, la educación es generadora de violencia simbólica contra comunidades oprimidas, marginadas y excluidas. Un poder arbitrario impone una arbitrariedad cultural (Bourdieu, 1977, 27-28). Tal violencia cultural está en el centro de la vida moderna. El nacimiento, el desarrollo y el establecimiento de los Estados nacionales, lleva implícito un doble movimiento de integración y exclusión, de afirmación de lo identitario, de valores y costumbres nacionales, así como se levantan muros y fronteras con el exterior, se persuade y convence y a la vez se impone y se ejerce la violencia, simbólica y cruda, contra quienes disienten, resisten, obstruyen el despliegue de la nacionalidad. Eso es muy claro con el manejo de la memoria y el olvido, como se recuerda y preserva lo conveniente y se tiende a echar tierra y encubrir aquello que debe ser políticamente negado y olvidado. Si excluimos, negamos y rechazamos en lo simbólico, histórico y cultural entre los semejantes, más aun se hace ante lo extraño y lo distinto. La nación corta y divide, para identificar y aglutinar. La exclusión ante los externos, los forasteros, los extranjeros y los vecinos es natural, ya que no forman parte de la comunidad política. La frontera, el muro y los límites naturales, geográficos e históricos, fijan lo que es una nación y aquello ante lo que se agrupa como comunidad económica, política, social y cultural. Las singularidades al interior, son asimiladas y toleradas hasta un cierto punto, siempre y cuando no amenacen la existencia de la nación colectiva.

III. Violencia y Coerción en la Nación Moderna

En algunas interpretaciones, la formación de las naciones europeas queda establecida con el Tratado de Westfalia. El final de una guerra y el afán por establecer la paz de las naciones, fija las condiciones de existencia de los Estados nacionales. La nación sería un resultado de un estado de guerra, que se estabiliza a través de la diplomacia, los acuerdos económicos y comerciales, los pactos políticos y militares. Toda potencia hegemónica intenta establecer una paz universal y duradera (Zolo, 2000, 30). Al buscar mover esas fronteras y alterar los límites se ponen en duda y entredicho los pactos y acuerdos establecidos. La cuestión de la nación debe ser pensada considerando los elementos constituyentes que le dieron lugar. Es un tanto ilusorio concebir que las naciones se deriven de un acuerdo contractual, constituyente y nada más, con una identidad colectiva y compartida, siendo a todas luces algo consensual. Esta imagen constitutiva de la nación independiente en los Estados Unidos y en la Francia republicana, enaltece el momento fundacional de los Estados nacionales. Ahí está presente el contrato y las bases consensuales de las naciones modernas. Es insuficiente cuando se revisa el proceso histórico de la nación, sus partes conflictivas y la relación con el exterior constituyente.

La violencia y la coacción han estado más presentes de lo que suponemos. Tales ingredientes del realismo político y de la correlación de fuerzas en lo político y militar, nos lleva a otra dimensión en la formación y la existencia de las naciones. Es lo que tiene que ver con la agresión y la conquista, la violencia y la guerra. Es por eso, que entidades como los ejércitos nacionales, acostumbrados a sortear las amenazas externas e internas a la existencia de una nación, suelen desarrollar un discurso y una práctica enfocada a la seguridad nacional. Con eso se pretende avalar y justificar un estado bélico y de guerra contra enemigos externos y, lo que ha sido bastante dañino, ante un "enemigo interno", para el cual no valen consideraciones y restricciones. Entre la violencia simbólica y la violencia del Estado en contra de los mismos ciudadanos, hay toda una historia, un recorrido y una gama de ataques y agresiones a las comunidades democráticas de nuestro tiempo. Todo ello en aras de la razón de Estado y de la defensa de una nación opresiva. Tal referencia a la importancia de lo bélico-militar en lo nacional se aleja de lo consensual y acaba siendo un justificante para la organización política contra los adversarios y enemigos externos y acaba inventan doy enfocando baterías contra la enemistad interior.

Insistir en el elemento identitario y consensual, nos lleva necesariamente a pensar en lo nacional, como

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articulación colectiva, que se construyó por voluntad propia y que resiste subjetivamente, ante un imperio, un poder externo, algo impuesto. Al tener más interés por la sobrevivencia y por las cuestiones internas, se diluyen las pretensiones de expansión imperial. El nacionalismo ha dado, sin embargo, para justificar invasiones, agresiones, expulsiones y persecuciones de todo tipo, de orden ideológico y político, de carácter étnico, racial, religioso. No faltan las caracterizaciones del nacionalismo, que enfatizan lo étnico y adquiere relevancia cuando rebasa lo regional y alcanza lo político estatal (Akzin, 1968- 35-36). La opresión de una nación sobre otra, la imposición de una cultura sobre las otras, da pie a toda clase de violencias y resistencias. Asimismo, la falta de integración nacional y de asimilación de la diversidad, puede ser causa constante de violencia y tensión en los marcos de los Estados nacionales. La política de la homogeneización puede resultar insuficiente, lo que aviva los momentos de la violencia y el conflicto. Lo consensual es más común, en las comunidades integradas básicamente, en donde queda saldado lo más elemental de la convivencia de los semejantes. A mayor diferencia y diversidad, la integración social puede estar en cuestión. Las autonomías, la tolerancia, el respeto a la diversidad, pueden resolver la complejidad en la convivencia de los diferentes, aunque la amenaza de la violencia, el conflicto y la desintegración estarían latentes.

Hasta en las naciones modernas, en tanto ciudadanas, que proclaman la equidad jurídica y el gobierno indistinto, republicano, se dan los casos en que una mayoría nacional oprime a grupos minoritarios. Los irlandeses ante los ingleses, las minorías regionales en España, la parte francófona en Canadá, los grupos indígenas en naciones latinoamericanas, serían algunos ejemplos de lo anterior. A pesar del Estado nacional republicano, por la fuerza de los hechos, se imponía la mayoría sobre los grupos oprimidos. Otra historia es cuando está ausente el laicismo y el trasfondo religioso marca el límite. En naciones islámicas, la construcción de las repúblicas, está acompañada de la identidad musulmana. En Egipto, por ejemplo, se trata de una república islámica, que debe reconocer la presencia de una minoría copta cristiana para evitar la violencia sectaria. Por el contrario, la división religiosa, condujo a la ruptura de la India y Paquistán en dos naciones diferentes. Aun así, la India sigue enfrentando la presencia de una porción considerable de musulmanes en su propia nación y territorio. Y más precisamente, se trata de dos civilizaciones en un territorio común (Paz, 1995, 87-88). La violencia y la opresión religiosa están latentes. Así que suponer que lo nacional es más consensual que violento, es una evasión de parte del problema. Las naciones esconden su dimensión violenta, coercitiva, opresiva. Se da la convivencia difícil de antagonismos y rivalidades.

El ejemplo más deplorable en cuanto a la exaltación de lo nacional, con pretensiones de dominación internacional se daría con la Alemania nazi. Dolidos y afectados por la derrota de la 1ª. Guerra mundial y del "Tratado de Versalles", el militarismo alemán fomenta el auge de un nacionalismo racista, agresivo y violento que se lanza a la conquista del mundo. El pangermanismo, la unidad del imperio, la raza y la nación serían funestos para la convivencia civilizada del mundo. En su contraparte, el sionismo como un movimiento político que proclama la primacía y el dominio de los judíos sobre la humanidad, expresa otra vertiente malsana en cuanto liga el pueblo elegido, la nación y la dominación internacional. Cualquier comunidad étnica, que posee un asentamiento territorial, un Estado nacional integrado y que tiene además una parte importante de connacionales en el extranjero, tiende a reproducir fenómenos de expansión política y de imperialismo económico y cultural. Alemania se lanza a la 2ª. Guerra mundial asumiendo la defensa de los germanos en otras partes del mundo, en particular en la zona de los Sudetes en Checoslovaquia. El llamado panamericanismo proclamado por los Estados Unidos en América Latina, esconde las pretensiones de hegemonía económica, política y cultural de la potencia norteamericana sobre el resto del subcontinente. Ahí, más que la defensa de los connacionales, se quiere proteger sus intereses corporativos en el extranjero. Panamá se independiza de Colombia, impulsado en gran parte por el interés estadounidense del control del Canal interoceánico.

El panarabismo, es más claro y concluyente, ya que el islam está menos interesado en la existencia de Estados nacionales independientes y esta forma occidentalizada les sigue resultando extraña. Más bien, la religión se divide en naciones (Lewis, 2003, 15-16). El movimiento de unificación de los pueblos árabes, se entrelaza con la adhesión mayoritaria de tales comunidades al islam. El Estado nacional apenas si ha sobrevivido en esas condiciones. China, en otro caso significativo de expansión y dominio, tiene una diáspora importante de connacionales, que son grupos mayoritarios o minorías significativas en otras tantas naciones del mundo, principalmente en Asia. La potenciación de la Gran China recibe estímulos desde la nación continental y se extiende, al irradiar sus comunidades chinas en el extranjero (Huntington, 1997, 200-201). La nación y el imperio, se confunden, cuando un grupo étnico, religioso y nacional, proclaman intereses hegemónicos y van más allá de la defensa de los connacionales, hasta intentar someter y dominar la región y el resto del mundo. Se defienden intereses imperiales en otras naciones, que padecen la agresión y la opresión. Este último elemento, agresivo e imperialista en la estructuración de las naciones, acompaña y se mezcla con el componente consensual y democrático de la cuestión nacional. La integración

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de los nacionales y el rechazo de los extraños no siempre se resuelve de la mejor manera posible.

IV. Imperio, Globalización y Dominio Mundial

El Estado nacional es la forma política que adquiere el desarrollo de la modernidad occidental. Y va más allá del Occidente moderno, porque el mundo se integra más plenamente y los imperios, reinados, monarquías de corte antiguo y tradicional, tienden a quedar en el pasado. El Estado nacional tiende a ser un modelo de orden global. En la Europa occidental e industrializada, sobreviven formas del poder antiguo, tales como la monarquía constitucional y parlamentaria y los reinados de larga trayectoria. Si bien quedan como reminiscencias y están reducidos a funciones simbólicas y protocolarias, aun llegan a ser la fuente del poder último y la base del Estado mismo. En los hechos conviven con las modalidades del régimen republicano, liberal y democrático. En el resto del mundo, la extensión e implantación del Estado nacional, se realiza con toda clase de mediaciones, simulaciones y malformaciones. Con todo, la comunidad mundial tiende a organizarse en Estados nacionales. Y la nación moderna, acompaña el nacimiento, la evolución y la maduración del capitalismo, la mundialización y la globalización. El Estado nacional cumple una doble dimensión en lo económico, en cuanto ayuda e incide en la formación y consolidación de una burguesía nacional y un mercado interior, a la vez que pone un dique, marca la frontera para la libre circulación de los capitales, las mercancías y la fuerza de trabajo. Es una forma de organización económica mediada, que impulsa el capitalismo y obliga a la estructuración económica nacional. Aquí también integra y cohesiona internamente, a la vez que corta y excluye ante el resto del mundo.

Las condiciones de la globalización afectan directamente a los Estados nacionales. La mundialización atada a la expansión del mercado internacional aparece con la modernidad, el descubrimiento de América y la irrupción del sistema-mundo y el mercado mundial. La globalización es más reciente y se restringe su existencia histórica a la caída del muro de Berlín y del "socialismo realmente existente". El capitalismo se haría realmente global y las resistencias y obstáculos se reducen a lo mínimo. En los inicios del capitalismo, las luchas y resistencias de las clases subalternas, principalmente de los trabajadores industriales, obligaron al capital a la contención, la negociación y la concesión. El Siglo XIX, está permeado por la lucha de clases y los Estados nacionales se moldean ante un escenario sociopolítico altamente conflictivo. El triunfo de las revoluciones sociales en el Siglo XX, acentúa la división económica, ideológica y política del mundo. La existencia de dos bloques internacionales durante la Guerra Fría, contiene el capitalismo a una parte del mundo, con el agravante de que podía salir derrotado del conflicto gélido con el comunismo.

Al caerse el otro referente mundial importante, el capitalismo se despliega como nunca, en el marco de un triunfalismo y un ascenso de la ideología empresarial y privatista. Nuevas resistencias, identidades y subjetividades anticapitalistas y antiglobalización irrumpen, pero las condiciones serán más adversas, por la lógica expansiva del capital internacional. La globalización, entendida como la interacción de las comunidades nacionales, apunta a un sistema preponderantemente internacional, en el cual lo mundial y lo global son cada vez más importantes y los Estados nacionales quedan acosados, rebasados y sometidos desde poderes globales, que hacen palidecer las influencias externas de otros tiempos. Ya no existen imperios todopoderosos proclamados como tales, pero el peso, la influencia y el poder de los Estados centrales, las metrópolis del mundo y el capital global resultan decisivos e influyentes en la configuración de las naciones y de la comunidad internacional.

El agente principal de la globalización son las empresas trasnacionales o multinacionales. Es en la esfera de la economía donde se manifiesta un núcleo duro, que reclama disciplina productiva, monetaria, fiscal y financiera. Los organismos internacionales, de financiación y crédito aplican programas drásticos y ortodoxos que afectan a las poblaciones del mundo, en todas las dimensiones, mucho más allá de lo meramente económico. Y las empresas multinacionales, más allá de todo control de los Estados, los gobiernos y las sociedades nacionales, imponen sus intereses y sus agendas, al concentrar un poder económico excesivo, que se extiende a lo político, lo ideológico y lo cultural. Hay casos en que las empresas multinacionales son de por sí más poderosas que naciones específicas (Hertz, 2002, 19-20). La colonización del capital privado, debilita cualquier posibilidad de construcción de una alternativa nacional. Como quiera, no es posible deshacerse tan fácilmente de las naciones, con su larga trayectoria, su historia y su huella. El individuo y el ciudadano abstracto de la modernidad, no pueden instalarse en la soledad en su relación con empresas multinacionales cada vez más omnipotentes e indiferentes. El Estado nacional es un instrumento de mediación, con márgenes de acción estrechos, obligado a responder por sus ciudadanos y colectividades, a la par que está estrechamente conectado con los intereses del capital global. Es imposible que sea una reproducción fidedigna de los intereses del capital y de la élite global, y tampoco puede gobernar para sus ciudadanos, con un mandato surgido de abajo. Como campo de mediación, reproduce desde lo económico el mando

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despótico del capital global, administrando los intereses de los ciudadanos nacionales.

En razón del carácter despótico del mando central del capital global, los márgenes de maniobra de las políticas económicas de los gobiernos nacionales se reducen a lo mínimo. Lo cual tiende a endurecer la política social y la atención de las protestas y reclamos de la población. En el caso de Grecia, con la victoria electoral de Syriza en 2016, de la izquierda radical, refleja las tensiones que se generan. La formación política gobernante en Grecia, llega al poder con un mandato ciudadano, que implica el rechazo a los programas de renegociación del FMI, el BCE y la Comisión Europea (la troika) abriendo la posibilidad de que el país tomara una vía alejada de las políticas de austeridad. A su vez, la "troika" endurece su postura y amaga al gobierno griego con la debacle y la crisis al presionarlo para salirse de la zona del euro y recortarle las fuentes de financiación. El resultado inicial de la negociación aparece como un empate, aunque Alemania y la troika obligan al gobierno griego a impulsar un programa de renegociación que implica ajustes sociales para la población. Queda como un sometimiento, más suavizado. Una formación política radical en el poder cede en la negociación con el capital global, para evitar una crisis mayúscula. ¿Hacia dónde se gobierna?, ¿hacia arriba o hacia abajo?, ¿en complacencia con el gran capital u obedeciendo el mandato del pueblo? Aquí se muestra como la democracia queda dañada ante la proliferación de instancias mundiales de decisión política (Held, 1997, 42-44).

En el ascenso de la izquierda latinoamericana al poder, se pudo observar la misma tendencia contradictoria. En el primer triunfo electoral de Lula en Brasil, los movimientos especulativos mandaban mensajes acerca de la inconveniencia de que el candidato izquierdista del Partido de los Trabajadores ganara la elección en 2002. Al estar quebrado el consenso oligárquico y neoliberal, el electorado estaba empujando hacia la izquierda, por lo que tuvieron que aceptar al gobierno progresista de Lula. Antes le impusieron, condiciones en la negociación internacional y un punto de partida tributario. Lula reforma el sistema de pensiones de Brasil, presentándole como un triunfo de la alternativa izquierdista, cuando no es más que uno de los puntos centrales de la agenda globalizadora de los poderes mundiales. La nación como campo de conflicto, ofrece una solución a través de una izquierda globalizada que juega con las condiciones del mercado mundial y el capital global, que son bastante draconianas, con un margen de acción mínimo. O se hace lo que marca la política de la globalización o las naciones serían castigadas con la desinversión, la fuga de capitales, el corte del flujo financiero, los bloqueos comerciales y otros mecanismos que permiten imponer desde afuera, una política restrictiva a países con una soberanía limitada y menguada. Y no para ahí la cosa, porque las políticas de restricción económica, financiera y monetaria, sacuden la arena política, el escenario cultural y las condiciones sociales de los habitantes de las naciones en cuestión. Impactan y repercuten en todos los sentidos de la existencia del Estado nacional y de la vida de sus habitantes. Se torna inviable e imposible gobernar para el gusto de las mayorías, socavando las bases democráticas del Estado moderno y debilitando la opción de las naciones.

A partir de las multinacionales, el fenómeno globalizador se extiende y amplía. Si el impulso fundamental está en las multinacionales, muy pronto la globalización adquiere proporciones más vastas. Muchos organismos internacionales generados para la diplomacia internacional como la ONU y entidades con algún protagonismo en algún tema de orden global, como podrían ser los derechos humanos y la justicia universal, el medio ambiente y la preservación de los ecosistemas y la atención de la salud, por ejemplificar de alguna manera, impulsan el que esta gama de asuntos, sean abordados bajo miradas regionales y globales, reproduciendo en lo nacional los acuerdos, leyes y tratados emanados de la dinámica internacional. Si los años del Estado nacional estuvieron enfocados al tratamiento y manejo de las políticas internas, ahora lo global adquiere centralidad. Una glocalización, le ha llamado algún autor al momento en que las tendencias mundiales se cruzan con lo local y lo regional. La globalización es asible en lo pequeño y lo concreto (Beck, 1998, 79-80). Y el cruce de los lugares, la geografía y la geopolítica se dan en términos de sometimiento y subordinación de lo más local y regional, que resulta más débil, ante procesos globalizadores que son la materialización de la acumulación de inmensas sumas de dinero y poder global.

Hasta lo más autóctono y provincial siente la repercusión de lo global. Y estar situado sólo en lo local es una desgracia (Bauman, 2001, 9). Uno podría desentenderse de las tendencias mundiales hegemónicas y darle la espalda al mundo. Es una quimera, si nos atenemos a que las tendencias globalizadoras acaban invadiendo y colonizando todo, desde las necesidades más primarias como la alimentación, la salud, la vivienda, el trabajo y la economía en general, hasta lo cultural, simbólico y lo que se informa, transmite y se mueve en los medios de comunicación masiva y virtuales. Lo mediático y comunicativo es lo más globalizado que se pueda concebir. Las empresas multinacionales ligadas a lo mediático, cierran la pinza y cumplen el rol de comandar la integración de la aldea global. En la aldea global, prevalece la proximidad virtual y electrónica, más allá de la física con sus modos distributivos, como MacLuhan había sostenido (1993, 91-93). Lo local se diluye, lo nacional se debilita, en el fortalecimiento de un

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orden de carácter global, que no alcanza a integrarse y estabilizarse.

En las movilizaciones antiglobalizadoras y altermundistas, se erige lo global como la dimensión de la interlocución fundamental. Si lo que nos afecta está cada vez más interconectado con el mundo, las respuestas que se buscan están en el orbe, se salen de los Estados nacionales, que pierden relevancia e interlocución por lo mismo. Si los centros decisorios de lo económico, lo político, lo educativo, lo medioambiental o lo sanitario están en organismos y entidades de poder global, lo nacional queda como una gerencia o una mediación a lo más, al no tener un poder en sí mismo, soberano y nacional que resuelva y defina. La crisis de los Estados nacionales sobreviene por una globalización intensificada y compleja, que desplaza los centros decisivos más allá de las fronteras nacionales. ¿A quién sirven y representan las autoridades formales y constituidas de los Estados nacionales? Se pliegan a la globalización, siendo que lo técnico, lo especializado, se acerca más a los intereses de las corporaciones globales y se gobierna sobre políticas de Estado, sobre orientaciones homogéneas y continuas diseñadas para cualquier realidad nacional. Los gobiernos nacionales aparecen como traductores, gerencias, administradores de macrosistemas y macropoderes que se imponen como una realidad mundial ineludible. Si lo global se impone, los Estados nacionales apenas si alcanzan a ubicar su sitio en la nueva geopolítica internacional. Todo indicaría que los Estados nacionales tienden a desaparecer, a quedar asimilados y absorbidos en procesos globales poderosos. Y como quiera siguen vigentes, en tanto expresan identidades, subjetividades, resistencias y particularidades que proclaman su presencia en la aldea global, nutriéndola y alimentándola, como mediación y condicionamiento.

V. El Auge Del Nacionalismo

Si los poderes globales tienden a minimizar y relativizar la importancia de lo nacional, estaría por verse la capacidad de sobrevivencia del Estado nacional y sobre que límites actuaría. Si en los aspectos más cruciales de la existencia humana, se están tomando las decisiones en centros de poder global, los Estados nacionales y la lógica de lo interno, quedan rebasados por lo externo. Las incidencias de lo internacional serían cada vez más relevantes. La reafirmación de las identidades nacionales aparece como una fuente de resistencia y de singularidad, que pone condiciones, limita y obstruye la presencia completa de lo global. Las naciones con una identidad más fuerte, una mayor tradición e historia y con más viabilidad, sobrevivirían en el marco de unas relaciones internacionales que requieren de actores nacionales y globales de importancia. En ese sentido, lo global, no está desligado de las hegemonías y los pesos específicos de las naciones más fuertes. En realidad, lo global es otra dimensión de la expansión y hegemonía de lo nacional. Unas naciones se imponen y predominan sobre las otras. En los procesos de integración regional, se percibe como la superación de las dinámicas nacionales y la constitución de bloques y grupos supranacionales, reflejan relaciones de predominio e inequidad entre los países. El modelo histórico del que nacen las naciones modernas, el westfaliano se apoyaba en un equilibrio de fuerzas políticas y sociales en Europa, en un reflejo de una realidad posbélica. El modelo más ambicioso de integración regional es el caso europeo y ahí se reproducen relaciones de fuerza y poder entre naciones hegemónicas y predominantes ante otras comunidades más débiles, que están a la saga de los países líderes. La parte más integrada y sistémica de la comunidad europea es Alemania y las áreas más alejadas del centro hegemónico, como Grecia, España o Portugal, se acercan de un modo más conflictivo y periférico al núcleo central. Igual pasa, aún más acentuadamente en las relaciones internacionales, que no se pueden desentender de las naciones mismas. Hay naciones-imperio, que hacen sentir su hegemonía y dominación sobre las otras. Si bien las compañías multinacionales empujan claramente a la superación de las barreras de los países, siguen teniendo aterrizajes nacionales, resultando en consecuencia que haya naciones más ricas, poderosas e influyentes. Lo global, tiende a encubrir la huella del predominio de unas naciones sobre las demás. Es por eso que no se puede desligar lo global de la existencia de lo nacional.

Los organismos supranacionales reproducen la presencia y la fuerza de naciones más poderosas sobre el resto del mundo. No se puede diluir por completo el origen y naturaleza de lo nacional, en una globalidad abstracta, neutra y vacía. Estaría cargada de tradiciones e historias regionales y nacionales. En el reacomodo global y regional de las naciones, el peso abrumador de algunas, le imprime el sello a las relaciones internacionales. La sobrevivencia y la capacidad de incidir sobre el proceso global, dependen del peso específico que se tenga y de la identidad cultural prevaleciente, que resiste e incorpora elementos a la lógica global. Los Estados nacionales que sobreviven mantendrán viva la tensión de lo local, lo regional, lo nacional y su inserción en el proceso de la mundialización y globalización. Lo global se nutre de las inequidades y asimetrías de lo nacional y lo regional. Lo nacional no desaparece, sino que se integra a la lógica globalizadora. Es por eso desconcertante, que en el caso europeo lo supranacional tiene antecedentes en el Imperio austríaco de los Habsburgo, que se sitúa en las antípodas del modelo del Estado republicano francés. El primer caso, podría expresar un sistema de equilibrio y diversidad, en tanto el modelo francés republicano

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impulsa una homogeneidad interior mayor. La relación de lo nacional, lo supranacional y lo global se integra de acuerdo a la evolución de las historias regionales (Minc, 2013, 31-38).

El Estado nacional es una variante de la identidad colectiva. Y de la mano de la globalización afloran la cuestión de la identidad y del multiculturalismo. Al intensificarse los procesos de interconexión mundial, se debilita el Estado nación, lo cual no quiere decir que las identidades nacionales pierdan sentido. El espacio estatal y gubernamental recibe el impacto del fenómeno globalizador, al igual que la economía, la sociedad y la cultura. Sólo que la identidad como fuente de resistencia, reagrupa y rearticula, tanto rechazos como oposiciones a la irrupción de lo global. Uno de los elementos más llamativos de la globalización es la extensión y proliferación del nacionalismo. La aparición de la globalización, con la caída del "Muro de Berlín" y el derrumbe del bloque socialista, se resuelve paradójicamente con una irrupción desmedida de los nacionalismos. La URSS, Yugoeslavia y Checoslovaquia habían resuelto la cuestión nacional a la manera internacional, con la cohesión ideológica del comunismo y la subestimación de las nacionalidades. El marxismo había irresuelto la cuestión de lo nacional y solo la corriente austro marxista tuvo la atención de afrontar la discusión sobre las naciones. La nación como una "comunidad de destino" le llamaría Bauer (1979, 7). El marxismo, había proclamado el internacionalismo de clase dándole poca o nula importancia a lo nacional.

Ya desde antes de la modernidad, imperios políticos y sistemas de control religioso pretendían expandirse por todo el orbe. Las religiones monoteístas del Cercano Oriente, el judaísmo, el islamismo y el cristianismo, atendían los vínculos de la hermandad y comunidad religiosa, apuntando a una autoridad supranacional. La Iglesia católica tuvo que aceptar el desarrollo de la soberanía de los Estados, más allá de lo religioso y las guerras de la Reforma protestante, afianzaron la secularidad del poder político. Los musulmanes, han confundido claramente la dimensión temporal y lo religioso, por lo que tienden a la identidad religiosa y cultural, más que al énfasis en la soberanía de los Estados y aun menos de las naciones. Los judíos, como la nación diáspora por excelencia, se mezclaron con la evolución de la modernidad y el capitalismo, diluyéndose por todo el mundo y ante todo por Occidente. Si bien el establecimiento del Estado de Israel les ayudó al asentamiento nacional y a dotarse de una entidad territorial, su condición dispersa por el mundo, les hace más proclives a la subestimación de las dinámicas nacionales y al reclamo de un gobierno mundial. Un caso aparte, lo es la India, quien posee una cultura singular, en la que se refleja una pluralidad y diversidad de civilizaciones y religiones. La cultura nacional hindú es más tendiente a la exaltación de lo plural y lo diverso, negando al nacionalismo opresivo y homogeneizante que se manifiesta en la cultura occidental. El internacionalismo es común a las religiones y en la India, se expresa lo contrario, se afirma como una cultura singular que promueve la diversidad, el diálogo y el encuentro de culturas en su seno. El marxismo retomó la tradición internacionalista de las religiones previas a la modernidad. El punto de unión ya no era la religión, sino la ideología. El comunismo sería una ideología unificadora que retoma el internacionalismo de las religiones centrales de Occidente. Sobre la base del ateísmo y confundiéndose con una religión civil, aglutinó y movilizó a millones de personas, llevando a segundo plano la reivindicación de lo nacional. Por eso no es extraño que la disgregación del bloque comunista, se resolviera con la salida doble de la expansión del globalismo capitalista y el resurgimiento del nacionalismo antes administrado y contenido.

El auge del nacionalismo más reciente, empieza con la caída de la Unión Soviética y del bloque comunista. Nacionalismos no resueltos, maltrechos y soterrados reaparecen con fiereza, al caerse el referente ideológico. En la era del auge de las identidades, los nacionalismos quedan instituidos como uno de los más destacados elementos de la subjetividad colectiva. Lo paradójico del asunto es que en plena globalización, cuando el Estado nacional queda en entredicho, irrumpe el nacionalismo como resistencia a lo global, ante el desmantelamiento de los Estados multinacionales. La URSS, al igual que Yugoeslavia y Checoslovaquia quedaron disueltas por la irrupción de las reivindicaciones nacionales. La zona balcánica, donde la cuestión nacional quedó irresuelta por siempre, explota con la violencia y conflictividad que le es tan característica. La antigua Yugoslavia llegó a ser la federación multinacional más estable desde la 2ª. Guerra Mundial (Denitch, 1995, 9). Ahí se condensa la crisis de la integración ideológica unificadora del comunismo y la reaparición de identidades conflictivas al margen de los Estados imperiales y multinacionales. Tenemos ahí la balcanización de la vida política, por la imposibilidad de establecer naciones modernas. Y el conflicto político y militar de los Balcanes es el referente negativo de la vía que no quiere recorrer el resto de Europa.

Ahora bien, no todos los Estados multinacionales desaparecen o están a punto de quebrar. Antes al contrario, los acuerdos económicos y comerciales de la Unión Europa llevan bastante lejos la perspectiva de integración regional, de cesión de las soberanías estatales en aras de entidades supranacionales, de una comunidad compartida más allá de lo nacional, en lo postnacional. La debacle de la URSS como imperio ideológico y político multinacional, lleva a la proliferación de entidades independientes y

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autónomas. En la Rusia zarista se había dado una modalidad de nacionalismo oficial, de fusión de lo nacional con lo imperial (Anderson, 1993, 126-129). Eso explica la rusificación que antecede a la Revolución rusa. La caída del comunismo reinicia el choque del europeísmo con la rusificación. La integración europea, consensual y comunitaria, atrae a naciones antes inscritas dentro de la órbita del dominio soviético. El conflicto ucraniano está en el centro de esa evolución compleja del imperialismo ruso y la integración creciente de la comunidad europea. Ucrania fija la nueva frontera entre la Europa atlantista y la zona de influencia de la rusificación del viejo continente, ahora desprovista de ideología y más centrada en los intereses geopolíticos de la región. El desprendimiento de Crimea ante Ucrania, para integrarse a Rusia, nos indica que el proceso de apertura y cierre de fronteras en lo nacional, lo imperial y lo multinacional ofrece un horizonte problemático. Grecia, a su manera, con el ascenso al poder de la izquierda radical, fijó de momento, otra línea fronteriza, con la amenaza de la salida del euro y el acercamiento a una Rusia que pretende detener la expansión del proyecto atlantista a sus zonas históricas de influencia.

Estados Unidos, queda como el vencedor inmediato de la caída del socialismo real. Es un caso atípico de Estado multinacional, de comunidad de inmigrantes, articulados por el peso de la economía, del dólar y del poderío estadounidense. Una nación volcada hacia el futuro y la modernidad, que da la espalda a la tradición y la historia europeas. Una nación que se siente elegida para cumplir un rol de liderazgo internacional, devenida en imperio, arquetipo de la mundialización y la globalización, en cuanto dominio multinacional vía la economía, las empresas, la moneda y las finanzas. El modelo estadounidense, más acorde a los intereses de la globalización, es un ariete de la misma y reproduce la condición conflictiva de ser un Imperio-Estado y una sociedad multinacional. La predominancia de lo económico, disuelve aparentemente la cuestión nacional en el peso de los corporativos multinacionales y globales. Y como quiera, integra y reproduce aspectos de la estructuración nacional, tales como los límites territoriales y lo fronterizo, la historia y cultura compartida, valores y tradiciones hegemónicas. Adquiere una forma nacional y por su carácter predominante en el mundo, asume la modalidad imperial. Mientras que los organismos internacionales tratan de construir un orden jurídico y legal mundial, los Estados Unidos se niegan a acatar disposiciones internacionales que puedan limitar a sus empresas, su ejército, sus intereses imperiales y nacionales. Tratan de imponen un orden global desde el predominio de su nación y su imperio, sin pasar o saltándose las instancias internacionales que contravengan sus intereses específicos y geopolíticos. En dado caso, pretenden que se subordinen a la evolución de la nación estadounidense, su carácter multinacional y su dimensión imperial. Las instancias internacionales tendrían que adecuarse a lo que los Estados Unidos son y representan, no al revés. En su afán por ejercer el dominio global, pierden influencia en el ámbito internacional y se complica la articulación con la política postnacional. Ahí se manifiesta la condición compleja de la relación de lo nacional con lo imperial y lo global.

VI. Identidades, Separatismo, Cruces de Civilización

La reaparición de los nacionalismos, como un dique ante la globalización, es una variante de la irrupción de las identidades. La amenaza a la existencia de los Estados nacionales, proviene del exterior y de lo global, aunque a su vez, se disparan los regionalismos y los localismos, como formas de identidad más restringidas, que se plantean la relación de entidades menores con el proceso de la globalización. Los Estados nacionales, como construcciones homogéneas, o que tienden a serlo, asimilan, disuelven, remueven y eliminan formas de identidades más locales y regionales. En el auge identitario, la identidad nacional es un sentimiento colectivo asentada en la creencia de pertenecer a una misma entidad y compartir atributos (Guibernau, 2009, 26). Aquello que estaba siendo administrado, contenido y regulado, a través del Estado nacional, se sale de cauce y busca una mayor identificación propia, un fortalecimiento identitario y una presencia e interlocución más directa con los poderes globales y las instancias internacionales. Las rivalidades históricas internas, antes soterradas, afloran con más facilidad, cuando la globalización golpea los Estados nacionales.

La construcción de la Unión Europea, crea una instancia regional y supranacional que integra Estados nacionales en una dimensión que pretende superarlos en una dirección posnacional, comunitaria, europeísta. Lo posnacional por cierto, es pensado por Habermas como un mundo pospolítico, con centralidad de la empresa multinacional (2001, 182). Un orden económico que busca una forma política más idónea y sacude los Estados nacionales imperantes. En España, el Reino Unido e Italia se intensifican los reclamos y demandas locales y regionales ante el megabloque europeo. Más que alejarse de la globalización, buscan entrar en otras condiciones, con más autonomía local y regional, con más fortaleza propia, debilitando las tendencias centrales de los Estados nacionales establecidos. Al final, por la presión política, por la conveniencia económica, administrativa y gubernamental se opta por seguir ligado al Estado nacional central, aunque en condiciones más negociadas y favorables. Se pondera y se toma en cuenta lo inconveniente de empezar de nuevo o de

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lanzarse a una aventura independentista en tiempos que reclaman más acuerdos regionales y globales. Desunirse para volver a unirse no parece ser una estrategia indicada, aunque si queda el amague de la separación y la ruptura, como instrumentos para una mejor posición de las localidades y las regiones autonomizadas ante lo nacional y lo global. Eso se observa en el caso reciente de Escocia en relación con la Gran Bretaña, que ante el Brexit, de la mayoría del Reino Unido, manifiesta estar en desacuerdo. Y está latente, con el proceso de independencia de Cataluña ante España, no avalado, ni negociado con el resto de la nación ibérica. Estamos ante desafíos independentistas en pleno proceso de expansión de la globalización y de crisis de los Estados nación.

El desafío identitario en Europa, no resulta de mayor complicación, comparado con las líneas de fractura civilizatoria, en que están de por medio algo más que recursos económicos y materiales. En la relación de Occidente con el resto de las culturas y civilizaciones se montó un muro simbólico, que acentúa la identidad y marca la distancia con la otredad. La globalización, como proceso de interacción e interconexión de naciones, culturas y civilizaciones, trasciende muros y fronteras, volviendo hábito y costumbre el encuentro con la otredad. Lo que en el Descubrimiento de América, sería un acontecimiento extraordinario es ya algo habitual en el mundo moderno y posmoderno. Las empresas multinacionales atraviesan y trascienden las fronteras nacionales, impregnando con su lógica global a todas las comunidades del mundo. La relación metrópoli-periferia es cada vez más desigual y a la vez se difumina, se acaba con la localización de lo central y lo marginal, para reproducirse dentro de las metrópolis y las periferias.

Uno de los resultados más evidentes de la globalización, es la intensificación de los fenómenos migratorios, la movilidad del capital y la fuerza de trabajo, el levantamiento de las fronteras nacionales. La Unión Europea se integra y al hacerlo abre sus fronteras entre los suyos para la libertad de movilidad de sus ciudadanos. A su vez, se remarca la frontera con los extranjeros, con los otros, con los distantes. En la Europa integrada no hay lugar para los musulmanes, los africanos, los europeos rusificados o los latinoamericanos. La globalización incluye y excluye, abre y recorta a la vez. Ya no se diga cómo es la conexión de los Estados Unidos con la América Latina, con México en particular, permitiendo la ampliación de la libertad económica, la apertura comercial y el flujo del capital, mientras se contiene y se remarca el muro ante la fuerza de trabajo y los inmigrantes. La migración internacional lleva a primer plano, la irrupción de las identidades, la presencia de la multiculturalidad y el encuentro constante y permanente con la otredad y la diferencia.

Una de las líneas de fractura cultural y civilizatoria más importantes de la modernidad es la vivida entre Occidente y la América Latina. El subcontinente, es una extensión de la cultura europea y occidental, a la par que es una zona problemática, con un punto de encuentro y fractura del mundo moderno con la cultura indígena y prehispánica. El Estado nacional es una creación de la modernidad. Y dentro de sus postulados está la superación de los componentes singulares, específicos de las culturas locales. El nacionalismo es una creación de Occidente y se vuelve contra el mismo (Smith, 1976, 60-61). La presencia de la cultura prehispánica, mesoamericana e incaica, es mucho más que una reminiscencia de lo local o lo regional. Es la cultura de los primeros pobladores, originaria y fundante. Está lejos de ser un artificio o una impostura. Es la supervivencia de lo antiguo y lo ancestral. Al ser develada nuevamente, se niega a ser enterrada, relegada, sometida. Los márgenes de negociación cultural son diferentes. La globalización sacude los cimientos de los Estados nacionales, sus pretensiones de dominación y hegemonía sobre lo local, lo particular y lo regional. La civilización prehispánica renace y reaparece, reclamando y reivindicando su papel en la historia latinoamericana. Le disputa hegemonía y centralidad a lo que nos ha llegado de Europa y de las naciones industrializadas. La línea de fractura civilizatoria alcanza porciones importantes de las naciones latinoamericanas como México, Guatemala, Perú, Ecuador y Bolivia. A las diferencias y disparidades económicas, políticas y culturales, a las rivalidades geográficas, se añade una disputa civilizatoria antigua, sumamente inequitativa y desigual, además de importante. Es en Bolivia, con el movimiento del *evismo*, como reaparece el conflicto civilizatorio que atraviesa y divide la nación. La parte criolla y mestiza, minoritaria y dominante sería desplazada por una mayoría indígena que reclama protagonismo y refunda la nación sobre bases prehispánicas. El Estado nacional, queda sacudido y conmocionado, desde abajo, desde los grupos más excluidos y marginados de la historia latinoamericana, como lo son las culturas indígenas. Ahí, la irrupción de identidades soterradas cimbra lo nacional, desde lo que estuvo relegado y reclama su sitio en la historia. El triste desenlace del "evismo" boliviano, con una salida autoritaria, tanto de la izquierda como la derecha, la renuncia de Evo Morales a la presidencia, no augura buenas perspectivas para las respuestas políticas del indigenismo latinoamericano. Antes al contrario, se daría una recaída en lo occidental y en el rechazo a la otredad latinoamericana. En realidad, las irrupciones indígenas rechazan la globalidad dominante, aunque se verán obligadas a resolver la relación con la misma, a través o al margen de los Estados nacionales, que pierden centralidad en la política contemporánea. Todo

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un desafío para la globalización y el Estado nacional imperante.

VII. En Conclusión

Un punto, en conclusión, es que los Estados nacionales, encontrarían otro acomodo en los procesos de la globalización, incluso poniéndola en discusión. Es difícil, regresar a los momentos en que se abría la disyuntiva entre el Estado nacional y el proceso global universal, en forma simplista. El Estado nacional es un punto de mediación, de realización a medias del proyecto ilustrador y de énfasis de la singularidad histórica ante los procesos de anomia global, de inserción amorfa de las colectividades y los pueblos, en el circuito del mundo de lo global. Se antoja más bien que el Estado nacional, reaparecerá como una forma de mediación e intermediación que ata y anuda la complejidad de los procesos globales y la búsqueda de la universalidad, con la construcción de identidades más definidas, colectivas, que intentan expresar, representar y englobar la diversidad del mundo ante la humanidad misma. Los Estados nacionales no se irán por el momento, y estarán expresando una realidad compleja, problemática, cambiante y difícil en conexión con las tendencias propias de la globalización y sus derivaciones sociales.

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Fiscal Federalism and Challenges of National Development in Nigeria

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Abstract- In emerging and developmental state of Nigeria, the construct of federalism has continued to attract gamut of attentions due to its configuration and cosmetic nature. The Nigerian state since amalgamation of the 1914 and subsequent constitutional development that ushered in federalism, revenue allocations and transfers of resource control had become contending issues and debates that had propelled lingering questions on Nigerian federal practices. The witness is the persistent struggle for redrafting of revenue allocation parameters and quest for restructuring. The most worrisome is the power of government at the centre determining what constitutes revenue allocations and how it would be shared among the federating units. However, it is against this backdrop that the study appreciates the intergovernmental fiscal relations, institutions and measures aimed at controlling excesses and imbalances amongst the tiers of government in Nigeria. Methodologically, the study utilized documentary method and data were generated through the secondary sources and analyzed in content. The framework of analysis for the study was anchored on the power theory.

Keywords: *federalism, fiscal arrangement, national development, nigeria, revenue allocation.*

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Fiscal Federalism and Challenges of National Development in Nigeria

Abada, Ifeanyichukwu Michael [α], Omeh, Paul Hezekiah [σ], Ovaga, Obinna Augustine [ρ] & Ugwuanyi, Ikedi John [ω]

Abstract- In emerging and developmental state of Nigeria, the construct of federalism has continued to attract gamut of attentions due to its configuration and cosmetic nature. The Nigerian state since amalgamation of the 1914 and subsequent constitutional development that ushered in federalism, revenue allocations and transfers of resource control had become contending issues and debates that had propelled lingering questions on Nigerian federal practices. The witness is the persistent struggle for redrafting of revenue allocation parameters and quest for restructuring. The most worrisome is the power of government at the centre determining what constitutes revenue allocations and how it would be shared among the federating units. However, it is against this backdrop that the study appreciates the intergovernmental fiscal relations, institutions and measures aimed at controlling excesses and imbalances amongst the tiers of government in Nigeria. Methodologically, the study utilized documentary method and data were generated through the secondary sources and analyzed in content. The framework of analysis for the study was anchored on the power theory. The findings of the study had adequately revealed that components and federating units are engulfed with myriads of developmental challenges due to the nature and character of the fiscal and federal deficits. Therefore, the paper recommends the need for defined statutory role of each and culture of self reliant among the tiers of government.

Keywords: federalism, fiscal arrangement, national development, nigeria, revenue allocation.

I. Introduction

The history of post colonial Nigerian state is surrounded around state funding, revenue generation and allocation, in other words, fiscal federalism. Fiscal decentralization has become fashionable regardless of levels of development and civilization of societies. Nations are turning to devolution to improve the performance of their public sectors. Thus, ever increasing number of people desiring to get more involved in government, and the inability of the central government to deliver quality services have intensified the clamor for greater decentralization (Aigbokhan, 1999; Oates, 1972; Tanzi, 1995; Chete, 1998).

Fiscal federalism is essentially about the allocation of government resources and spending to the various tiers of government. Decentralized systems of governments give rise to a set of fiscal exigencies referred to as fiscal federalism also known as fiscal decentralization (Ewetan, 2012). It refers to the scope and structure of the tiers of governmental responsibilities and functions, and the allocation of resources among the tiers of government to cope with respective functions. The importance of revenue generation, allocation as well as its distribution towards maintaining both the existing and new socio-politico-economic structure in any economy be it centrally planned, market or mixed economies cannot be overemphasized.

Nigeria after fifty eight years of independence has been battling with the problems of development in spite of huge human material and natural resources at her disposal. Development could be seen as a critical factor and a desirable phenomenon in the substance and growth of any nation (Lawal and Oluwatoyin, 2011). However, development could be learnt from the lesson of the Asian Tigers and some other developing nations, is not a free gift. It is a product of careful design effective resource mobilization and collaborative action with the people and their leadership. Thus, it entails sacrifice and dedication coupled with careful observation and openness to change efforts (Akume, 2012).

Following the truism, Nigeria fiscal federalism has affected Nigeria fiscal development negatively. Indeed, there has been an endless search for a suitable and acceptable formula for fiscal federalism, based on the consent of the people that could facilitate development and growth. The stunted development could be explained on the basis of unhealthy fiscal decentralization that either antagonizes the tiers of government or make room for sustainable national development.

In short, there are complex dialectical processes to national development, however, the functions of government, and management and distribution of resources amongst them could not be underestimated. Thus, appropriate fiscal decentralization, conditions and processes will be observed. This study sets out to further expose and analyze the link between fiscal federalism and sustainable national development in Nigeria.

II. Conceptual Clarifications

a) *Fiscal Federalism*

Understanding federalism as a larger concept will help facilitate the understanding of the concept of

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fiscal federalism. This is because federalism is the operational context within which fiscal federalism is situated. Hence, it is an integral aspect of federalism. Federalism refers to a political system where there are at least two levels of government. In such cases, there is juxtaposition of two levels of power of a central government otherwise called the federal government and other states labeled variously as states, regions, republics, cantons or unions (Ajayi, 1997: 150).

Federalism is a system in which the power to govern is shared between national state governments, creating what is often called a federation (Akindele and Olaopa, 2002). Furthermore, Sagay (2008:11) conceptualized federalism as "an arrangement whereby powers within a multi-national country are shared between a federal government and component units in such a way that each unit, including the central authority exits as a government separately and independently from others, operating directly on persons and prosperities with its territorial area and with a will of its own apparatus for the conduct of affairs and with an authority in some matters exclusive of others".

Fiscal federalism is a general normative framework for the assignment of functions to the different levels of government and appropriate fiscal instruments for carrying out these functions (Arowolo, 2011). It is a set of guiding principles or concept that helps in designing financial relations between the national and sub national levels of government, while fiscal decentralization is the process of applying such principles (Sharma, 2003). Furthermore, to Ozo-Eson (2005), fiscal federalism concerns the division of public sector functions and finances among different tiers of government. In other words, it is the study of how competencies (expenditure) and fiscal instruments (revenue) are allocated among different (vertical) layers of the administration importantly, is the observation of the movement of revenue proceeds or payments from the central government to its lower levels of governments.

Fiscal federalism is characterized by fiscal relations between central and lower levels of government. The fiscal relationship between and among the constituent of the federation is explained in terms of three main theories namely, the theory of fiscal relations which concerns the functions expected to be performed by each level of government in the fiscal allocation; the theory of inter jurisdictional cooperation which refers to areas of shared responsibility by the national, state and local governments' and the theory of multijurisdictional community (Tella, 1999).

Hence, for the purpose of this study we define fiscal federalism as a set of guiding principles or concepts that, involves the transmission and cooperation's among the tiers of government in form of fiscal relations, inter jurisdictional cooperation and multijurisdictional relations.

b) Development

Development can be defined as an encompassing process involving the steady and systematic change in the cultural, economic and political spheres of society in a way that increases production, empower the people and their communities, protects the environment, strengthens institutions, grows quality of life and promotes good governance. This implies that is possible to speak of social, cultural, spiritual, institutions economic and political development. Gran (1983), defines development as a social and practical process which aims at the liberation of human potential so that people acquire the maximum socially feasible and practical control over all the available resources needed for the realization of basic human needs and security. Kortes (1990:57), "development could be defined from a people centered perspective as a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations".

Accordingly, Burkey (1993:35), sees development as "a process by which an individual develops self-respect, and becomes more self-confident, self- reliant, cooperative and tolerant to others through becoming aware of his/her shortcomings as well as his/her potential for positive changes". Furthermore, Todaro and Smith's (2006:17), opines that economic and social perspective, "development is a process meant for equitable social and economic transformation of the society through institutionalized social structures, and people's positive attitudes for an accelerated and increased growth and poverty eradication". Thus, development here is preserved as a multidimensional process involving the totality of man in his political, economic, psychological, social relations, among others.

III. Literature Review

It is a tactful and concise review of extant works or study materials that have direct and indirect bearing to the topic of investigation. As a significant and critical activity, the review of literature focuses on identifying contributions already made on the subject of investigation (Abada, Okafor & Omeh, 2018). However, the review of extant literature will be done based on the following themes:

a) Fiscal Arrangement and Federal Practices in Nigeria

Revenue allocations and transfers of resource control had become contending issues and debates that had propelled lingering questions on Nigerian federal practices. The most worrisome to national development is the power of government at the centre determining what constitutes revenue allocations and

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how it would be shared among the federating units. Sequel to this, Eme (2013) argues that the issue of fiscal federalism in Nigeria seems to have derailed national development due to fiscal imbalance, over-dependence on the centre, agitation for resource control, among others. In his view, Babalola (2015), posits that fiscal imbalances occur because constituent units hardly have enough resources to match their expenditure. But, irrespective of how they occur, imbalances must be corrected in order for the federation to continue to exist, and this may take the form of intergovernmental transfers which have the capacity to enable or limit governments in the discharge of their responsibilities.

However, Danjuma (1994), posits that fiscal federalism necessitates revenue sharing arrangement to enable the component units carry out their various functions. The fiscal arrangement within the federation should, therefore, adequately cater for the federating units to enable them discharge their constitutional responsibilities. In Nigeria, it involves the assignment of functional responsibilities and taxing powers among the federal, state and local governments. The functions are classified into three. The first is the exclusive list on which only the federal governments can act. The concurrent list contains responsibilities shared by both federal and state government to act while the third, the residual list is reserved for the state government only. Though revenue sharing in Nigeria, has witnessed a plethora of reviews, as evidenced by various committees and commissions instituted in this regard, yet no reliable formula has been evolved in meeting the country's yearnings and aspirations (Teidi, 2003:39).

However, Elaigwu (2007) noted that in terms of resource distribution, the principle of derivation occupied a significant place in the distribution formula. This followed recommendations of the Louis Chick Commission of 1953 which was set up to 'assess the effect, on the public expenditure of Nigeria as whole, of the reallocation of functions between the centre and the regions'. Derivation principle provides for revenue allocation in proportion to the contribution to the federal purse by each state. It was also strongly felt that the principle of derivation which gave 50% of revenues to the old regional governments controlled by the dominant ethnic groups was abandoned in order to enable these same groups to control the oil wealth produced from the oil minority states. Adoption of this principle of derivation as the basis for revenue allocated to the regions increased financial disparity among the regions. In view of this, Teriba (1966) posits that;

> *"Following Sir Louis Chick's recommendations, the Western Region received the largest share of the proceeds of import, export and excise duties as well as the total allocation from about 39 per cent under the 1952-54 regime to more than 41 per cent between 1954 and 1959. The Eastern region declined from 29 per cent to 24 per cent during the period. Though the North maintained the same share but has suffered a considerable loss of revenue through errors of 'defective derivation percentages. Consequent upon the dissatisfaction with the system was agitation for another fiscal Commission "*

Though, introduction of Distributive Pool Account (DPA) de-emphasized derivation principle. According to Egwaikhide (2016), the application of derivation promoted regional hostility and disunity because it supported uneven development. The current revenue allocation formula poses a lot of problems as it grants minimal fiscal autonomy to the state and local governments in terms of revenue assignments and the major taxes such as company income tax, value added tax, customs and excise duties, tax on petroleum products and education tax are assigned to the federal government.

Table 1: Nigeria's federal, state and Local Tax jurisdiction and Agreement

Tax	Legal Jurisdiction	Collection	Retention
Import duties	Federal	Federal	
Exercise duties	Federal	Federal	
Export Duties	Federal	Federal	
Mining rent and royalty	Federal	Federal	
Petroleum profit tax	Federal	Federal	
Capital gains tax	Federal	State	State
Personal Income tax (other than listed in 8)	Federal	State	State
Personal Income tax; Armed and Police Forces, external affair officers, non-residents, residents of Federal Capital Territory	Federal	Federal	Federal
Value added tax (Sales tax before	Federal	Federal/ State	Federal/ State
Company tax	Federal	Federal	Federal
Stamp duties	Federal	State	State
Gift tax	Federal	State	State
Property tax and ratings	State	State/Local	State/Local

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License and fees	Local	Local	Local
Motor park dues	Local	Local	Local
Motor vehicle	State	Local	Local
Capital transfer tax (CTT)	Federal	State	
Pools betting and other betting taxes	Federal	State	
Engagement tax	Federal	State	
Land registration and security fees	Federal	State	
Market and trading license and fees	Federal	Local	

Source: Anyanwu (1995)

The two components of Revenue Allocation Formula in Nigeria used for the disbursement of the Federation Account Vertical and Horizontal Formulae are Vertical Allocation Formula (VAF) and Horizontal Allocation Formula (HAF).

Vertical Allocation Formula (VAF): This formula shows the percentage allocated to the three tiers of government i.e. federal, states and local governments. This formula is applied vertically to the total volume of disbursable revenue in the Federation Account at a particular point in time. The VAF allows every tier of government to know what is due to it; the Federal Government on one hand and the 36 States and 774 Local Governments on the other (Bashir, 2008:3).

The subject of these sharing schemes is the federally collected revenues. This is because the revenues generated within the jurisdictional areas of the units states and local governments are not subject to the national sharing formula. In the annals of federal countries" revenue sharing arrangements, the sources of the federally collected revenue that form the subject of the sharing formula have remained largely unchanged. These sources which are not amenable to other units include import duties, mining rents, excise units, export duties and royalties (Ovwasa, 1995). The implication of this is that, since these sources of revenue are not amenable to the jurisdiction of the other units of government, the problem of revenue allocation has focused on not who should raise the taxes, but on how to share the proceeds that is, the actual revenue collected by the federal government. The imbalance between functions and resources base, calls for higher level government to transfer revenue to the lower level.

Horizontal Allocation Formula (HAF): The formula is applicable to States and Local governments only. It provides the basis for sharing of the volume of revenue already allocated en bloc to the 36 States and 774 Local Governments. Through the application of the principles of horizontal allocation formula, the allocation due to each State or Local Government is determined. Thus, it can conveniently be concluded that the vertical allocation formula is for inter-tier sharing between the three tiers of government while the horizontal allocation formula is for intra tier sharing amongst the 36 States and the 774 Local Governments in Nigeria (Bashir, 2008:3). It arises out of the variations in revenue generation capacities of the component units. Where the revenue raising capacities are low, heavier tax burden is imposed relative to higher revenue raising capacities area. This transfer is called "equalization transfer". This transfer is necessary because higher taxation will scare away businesses and the economy of the unit will become more depressed. To avoid this, the higher the federal level of government has to transfer to the lower unit(s), the better, to enable it make up for the differences between its internally generated revenue and those required for maintaining the minimum standard of services.

b) Public Finance and Economic Development

According to Olowononi (2016), it is argued that the principles and practice of public finance which concentrates functions and power in the hands of the federal government will accelerate economic development. Of course the rational is that classical federalism favours centralization and integrates fiscal powers. However, a major explanation for Nigeria's poor economic performance in particular may be found in the state's flawed domestic political economy, which encourages over dependency on oil. Nigeria's post-colonial economy inherited an economy that was reliant on agricultural products for its foreign exchange earnings, but the discovery of oil changed that, and by 1973 the Nigerian economy had been transformed into an oil rentier economy, as the state became heavily dependent on oil rents for its sustenance. Nigeria's neglect of the agricultural sector has been well documented and needs no extensive discussion here (Bangura, 1986).

Nigeria's economic record since the oil boom of the 1970s has been characterized by a lack of growth and increasing poverty. The Nigerian state now operates oil centered economy in which all other sectors, and by extension, governments at all levels, consequently depend on the oil sector. Over the last four decades, the sources of public revenue in Nigeria are proceeds from the sale of crude oil, taxes, levies, fines, tolls, penalties and charges. Oil revenues are the main source of public revenue, accounting for about 80% to 85% of the total (AfDB, UNECA, and OECD 2010). In the period 2001-09, oil revenues averaged 27% of GDP while tax revenues averaged 6.4%. Oil revenues have been volatile, ranging from 35.6% in 2001 to 19.6% in 2009 when oil prices dropped as a result of the global recession. This problem is further compounded by the country's federal

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system, which is loaded with a myriad of centrifugal forces, including ethnic diversity and economic disparity among the federating units. Nigeria is one of the oil rich countries in the world, yet the country's oil wealth has not provided the needed stimulus for economic development. It also affects the political balance because, whichever level of government has the major financial resources, finds in its hand the means of political control, and determine which governments or structures are able to use these instruments to control the economy. Therefore the contemporary controversy of restructuring does not merely exist because of the arrangements in themselves but because of the development implication of Nigerian fiscal federalism

IV. Theoretical Framework of Analysis

The systems and practices of intergovernmental arrangements, nature and configuration of relationships among the tier levels of government in Nigeria is a replicate of power wielding. Therefore, situating the relationship that exists between the government at the centre and various component units calls for the appreciation of unequal power equation. Hence, the understanding of this piece of study is guided with the domestication of power theory as propounded by Han Morgenthau in 1967. Accordingly, Morgenthau (1967: 29) sees power as man's control over the minds and actions of other men. Meanwhile, in Nigeria federal practices, the government at the centre controls and at the same appropriates enormous power over resources at the expense of the federated units.

Fundamentally, the interactions and interconnectedness of various tiers of government, the exercise of power for appropriation of values and resources always set in. Therefore, the spillover effect of over centralization of power by central government is the powerlessness of the component units toward promoting development of their jurisdiction. The imbalance in the fiscal arrangement had stood tall to conscripts other tiers of government from performing. Despite the stipends that accrue to the federating units are not enough to offset the administrative and logistical operations.

The entrenchment of the institutions of federal accounts at the centre and state-local government joint account across states in Nigeria proves the nature of undiluted power configuration and excesses exercised. The effects abound as other tiers other than the government at the centre cannot claim to be performing with bare hand and resources. Likewise, the untimely disbursement of federal allocations amount to shivering by federating units that seek alternative of going for loans. The amounts which would have used to provide adequate development will then be offered as a sacrificial servicing of loans. The state government on their part through the instrumentation of joint account with local government councils in their areas of operation had continued unceaselessly appropriating unnecessary power over accruable and other funds made available to third tier government. The implication is the continued general poverty and lack of development of man and the Nigeria nation state. There is no infrastructure and other indicators of both human and physical development made by state government, rather they rely on allocations that may not come at when due.

V. Methodology

The practice of Nigeria's version of federalism and the attendant implications on the development of the polity at large has called for the needs to decentralize power and weigh the operations of intergovernmental relations as it affects other tier levels of government. The study of this kind tolled the procedural steps underlining the strengths and weakness of other levels of government in discharging their fundamental responsibilities to bring forth development in the country. Therefore, worried by the conscripted nature of federal practices, the study gears toward filling the gap in the extant literature. Methodologically, the study adopted documentary method, while data were adequately sourced through the secondary sources of data collection. The analysis of data was done through content frame. The secondary sources appropriated include journal articles, monographs, text books, internet, newspaper etc.

VI. Findings

The quest and entrenchment of modern democracy in many developing economies had heightened the path of participation of the citizens in matters important to the system. The government in the long run, reflecting the mandate given, is charged with providing basic necessities of life at any level of its operation. Such practice is not an exception in Nigeria as it claims to provide dividends and infrastructure for development. However, despite the claims and counter-claims by Nigeria federal practices has attracted gamut of agitations to restructure the structure of federalism peculiar to the system. Also identified as finding is that the components and federating units are totally engulfed with myriads of developmental challenges due largely to the nature of federal and fiscal deficit of the system.

VII. Result

Arising from investigation of the study is the result of the findings. Accordingly, the study exposed that unless the system of federal relations is being amended to reflect true and formidable fiscal and intergovernmental arrangement, other tiers of government other than the government at the center will continue to exist at the mercy of the central government.

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Also, the lump sided nature and accruable to the government at the center conscripts the federating states and local government from performing, thereby making them face difficulties in providing laudable developmental projects and dividend to the people in their respective jurisdiction.

VIII. Conclusion and Recommendations

It is undisputable and very clear that in many emerging African democracies, the system of fixing the state to respond to the demands of the citizenry has become problematique following the nature and character of post colonial African states. The Nigeria state is not totally exonerated as agitations from different quarters ensue to restructure the federal practice. It is on this note that paper appreciated the cosmetic nature and configuration of Nigerian federalism as implicated on the fiscal imbalance between and amongst the three tiers of government; central, component units and local government. The theory utilized centered on the power theory which emphasizes that central government due to its nature as the government at the center lords over other tiers at the expense of the other levels of government. Importantly, the implication of unequal power and fiscal responsibilities has dwindled other levels of government other than the government at the center from providing basic infrastructure for the wellbeing of the people and nation- state at large.

However, arising through the investigation and findings of the study, the paper recommends the following;

- There is the need through enforceable legal frame, statutory role of the three tier system as invoked in Nigerian federal system. It is important noting that the mixing up of the levels of government in terms of unclear demarcation of lines of action had forced the central government to appropriate the advantages. The constitution like every other documents need to review in order to reflect the restructuring question.
- It is high time tiers of government shall have sense of responsibilities. The federating units and the local government should exhibit the culture of self reliant. This is important for making them devise more and reliable sources for its sustenance. The component units together with local government is expected by now not hope for stipend coming from the center, that which may not come forth as when due. Also, unexplored avenues should be appropriated to make yields to government, thereby entrenching the spirit of self- reliant.

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The Evolution of Propaganda: Some Aspects of Political Practice

By Koshmarov, Mikhail Yu. & Trubetskoy, Alexey Yu.

Abstract- This article examines the evolution of propaganda since the ancient times until the present time, as well as the ancient proto-propaganda. The authors analyze the transitioning processes from the ancient times to early Christianity from the perspective of state ideology. The article also studies the emergence of Protestantism and its role in the development of Capitalism and establishment of the 20th century economic system, which the authors call the Keynes-Bernays economic model. The newest propagandistic opportunities and the potential for processing big data is also reviewed. The article explores the phenomenon of the recent decade – social networks as a new instrument of propaganda. In this work, the authors used the systemic approach as well as the psychological method and the method of comparative historical analysis, using modern terminology including the terms newly introduced by the authors, which made it possible to improve the methodological foundation of the study.

Keywords: axial time/age, ancient proto-propaganda, protestantism, the keynes-bernays model, social networks, future placement, behavioral pattern placement, information capsule, singularity of propaganda, social credit score.

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The Evolution of Propaganda: Some Aspects of Political Practice

Koshmarov, Mikhail Yu. [α] & Trubetskoy, Alexey Yu. [σ]

Abstract- This article examines the evolution of propaganda since the ancient times until the present time, as well as the ancient proto-propaganda. The authors analyze the transitioning processes from the ancient times to early Christianity from the perspective of state ideology. The article also studies the emergence of Protestantism and its role in the development of Capitalism and establishment of the 20th century economic system, which the authors call the Keynes-Bernays economic model. The newest propagandistic opportunities and the potential for processing big data is also reviewed. The article explores the phenomenon of the recent decade – social networks as a new instrument of propaganda. In this work, the authors used the systemic approach as well as the psychological method and the method of comparative historical analysis, using modern terminology including the terms newly introduced by the authors, which made it possible to improve the methodological foundation of the study. The scientific novelty consists of exploring Hollywood's propagandistic opportunities and the potential of big data processing, as well as of the introduction of new terms such as future consumption, behavioral patterns, and the information capsule, and of the postwar economy as described by the Keynes-Bernays model. A conclusion is made on the singularity of propaganda and the need for further research of this phenomenon.

Keywords: axial time/age, ancient proto-propaganda, protestantism, the keynes-bernays model, social networks, future placement, behavioral pattern placement, information capsule, singularity of propaganda, social credit score.

Аннотация- **В статье рассматривается эволюция пропаганды с античных времен по настоящее время. Рассмотрена античная протопропаганда. Проанализированы процессы перехода от античности к раннехристианству с точки зрения государственной идеологии. Проанализировано возникновение протестантизма и его роль в развитии капитализма и становлении экономической системы XX века, которые авторы называют экономическая модель Кейнса-Бернайса. Рассмотрены новейшие пропагандистские возможности и потенциал использования обработки Больших данных. В статье исследуется феномен последнего десятилетия – социальные сети, как новый инструмент пропаганды. В настоящей работе авторы использовали системный метод, психологический метод, метод сравнительно-исторического анализа, с использованием современной терминологии включая, вводимую авторами терминологию, позволяющую усовершенствовать методологическую базу. Научная новизна настоящей работы состоит в рассмотрении пропагандистских возможностей Голливуда и анализе потенциала использования обработки Больших данных, в новых терминах внедрение будущего потребления, внедрение шаблонов поведения, инфокапсула; описание послевоенной экономики, как модели Кейнса-Бернайса.В заключение делается вывод о сингулярности пропаганды и необходимости дальнейшего исследования данного феномена.**

Ключевые слова: осевое время, античная протопропаганда, протестантство, модель кейнса-бернайса, социальные сети, внедрение образа будущего, внедрение шаблонов поведения, инфокапсула, сингулярность пропаганды, социальные рейтинги.

I. Introduction

В настоящей работе нами было проведено исследование эволюции пропаганды с точки зрения политической практики. Используя термин пропаганда, мы рассматриваем не массмедийную, а исключительно, научную составляющую, как её понимают классики пропаганды Бернайс, Липпманн, Лассуэлл, Маклюэн и экономисты Кейнс и Хайек - то есть без оценки плюс или минус. Использование другого термина усложнило бы понимание и трактовку первоисточников и потребовало бы дополнительных разъяснений, так как все вышеперечисленные авторы используют именно слово пропаганда. В этой связи мы проследим путь от античной протопропаганды, до сегодняшнего феномена, который мы назвали *сингулярностью пропаганды*. Сегодня, под пропагандой мы понимаем скоординированные системные действия в информационном пространстве с целью воздействия на общественное сознание и формирования общественного мнения в целях, преследуемых заказчиком пропаганды.

В древних обществах управление массами в основном строилось на страхе и принуждении. Причем право распоряжаться жизнями своих подданных было закреплено за властителями по причине родственных отношений с богами. Вера людей в то, что их властитель – посланник Бога, проводник его воли и благодати, которая потом распространяется на каждого поданного, сплачивала и мобилизовала древние народы. Эта вера делала процесс управления понятным для всех и несла обществу гармонию и согласие. Поддержанием такого положения вещей,

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занимались шаманы, а затем жрецы. Если вспомнить термин пропаганда в его изначальном значении – как подлежащую распространению веру, то можно сказать, что жрецы были первыми пропагандистами.

В последнее тысячелетие, предшествующее нашей эре, человечество начало меняться. Немецкий философ экзистенциалист Карл Ясперс назвал этот период осевым временем: «сознание осознало сознание, а мышление делало своим объектом мышления». [19]. В Китае, Индии, Греции появилась философия. В поисках ответов на вопросы бытия, человечество («осевые народы») отказывалось от мистического объяснения явлений природы в пользу рационального.

Были сформулированы принципы нового человека, новой государственности, новой нравственно-этической парадигмы, что в конечном итоге привело многие народы Европы и Азии к монотеизму. Согласно новым идеям, человек, всю свою жизнь, следуя путем веры, умеренности, познания и служения стремится к самосовершенствованию, к преображению. Такое преображение делает его проводником сакральной энергии, необходимой для счастья и процветания его и всех окружающих. Не происхождение, но праведничество, как путь. Сравните, «Благородный муж знает только долг, низкий человек знает только выгоду». [9] «Поэтому начальствующий должен обладать нравственной добродетелью во всей полноте…». [1] Конфуций и позже Аристотель, на основании этих идей, сформулировали принципы госуправления, госслужбы, образования, политэкономии и пропаганды.

В Греции впервые возникли демократические (в современном понимании) формы правления. Подробный анализ политического устройства того времени приведен в труде Аристотеля «Политика»: «…стоящие во главе государства, делятся на жрецов и должностных лиц...» [1] «… расходы на отправление религиозного культа являются общими для всего государства.» [1] «Законодатель должен внедрить в души людей убеждение, что высшее благо в общественной и в частной жизни – одно и тоже». [1] Методы пропаганды, предлагаемые Аристотелем для «внедрения в души людей убеждения», вполне невинны – в основном он говорит об образовании и воспитании молодого поколения. «Стремиться к объединению и обобщению массы нужно, как и было сказано ранее, путем ее воспитания.» [1] Несколько иную, но в целом также воспитательную программу предлагалось применять к рабам: «Неправильно говорят те, кто утверждает, что с рабом нечего и разговаривать, что ему нужно только давать приказания, нет, для рабов больше, чем для детей, нужно назидание». [1] «…правильнее всем рабам в виде награды подавать надежду на свободу…» [1] Следует отметить, что вместе с демократией появились демагоги – политические деятели, добивающиеся власти, склоняя на свою сторону толпу с помощью ораторских и полемических приемов, лжи и лести. «То демагоги, желая подольститься к народу, начинают притеснять знатных и тем самым побуждают их восстать, либо требуя раздела их имущества, либо отдавая их на государственные повинности; то они наводят на богатых наветы, чтобы получить возможность конфисковать их имущество.» [1] Таким образом, античная государственная протопропаганда в основном ограничивалась образовательными и воспитательными функциями, а антигосударственная – приемами манипуляции толпой (обман, клевета, запугивание).

Уходя от мистического объяснения мира, оперируя в своей пропаганде понятиями долга, справедливости, нравственности, умеренности и превращаясь в империи, государства стали нуждаться в новой религии. Рим, завоевавший Грецию, стал центром европейской цивилизации и взял от Греции все самое лучшее – в первую очередь научную школу. Богатые римляне отправляли своих детей в Грецию для получения образования или нанимали учителей греков. К расцвету могущества Рима Иисус Христос изменил своими проповедями мир. История разделилась на до и после Рождества, а по сути, Воскресения Христова. Христианство, став в IV веке государственной религией Рима, быстро распространилось по всей Империи. Церковь взяла на себя, важнейшие функции: научную, образовательную, воспитательную, пропагандистскую, психотерапевтическую (согласно К.Юнгу), функцию обратной связи с народом, а также политическую функцию – поддержку существующей власти.

Так продолжалось до итальянского Ренессанса и немецкой Реформации. С XIII по XV век в Европе появилось более 60 университетов – наука начала отделяться от церкви. Изобретение Иоганом Гуттенбергом печатного станка (1440), открытие богатых территорий в разы, превышающих Европу (1492), развитие промышленности – все это изменило дух времени и обусловило запрос на коррекцию религии. В 1517 году немецкий богослов Мартин Лютер начал процесс реформирования церкви, разделивший Европу на протестантскую-капиталистическую и, как следствие, в дальнейшем промышленную и католическую-феодальную, в дальнейшем, в основном, аграрную. Наибольшие изменения в идеологические установки внес кальвинизм: учение о предопределенности, об избранности, приравнивание религиозных обрядов к суевериям,

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недоверие ко всем, кроме Бога, а значит отказ от исповеди.

Следуя догмату о предопределенности, об избранности, главным вопросом пуританина того времени всегда оставался вопрос о том, как удостовериться в своей собственной избранности. Макс Вебер в своем исследовании 1905 года «Протестантская этика и дух капитализма» писал об этом так: «для обретения внутренней уверенности в спасении рассматривается неутомимая деятельность в рамках своей профессии». [5] При этом, протестанты руководствуются следующей смысловой цепочкой: судьба – зов – служение – призвание – профессия – работа. Следует добавить, что согласно Веберу, англосаксонские пуритане чаще использовали для толкования и цитирования Ветхий завет, нежели Евангелие, что позволяет определить «этическую настроенность именно английских пуритан как «Английский Иудаизм» [5]. «Для понимания внутренней настроенности пуритан следует, наряду с указанной выше ролью в их жизни Ветхового завета, прежде всего иметь ввиду, что в пуританизме возродилась во всем ее величии вера в народ, избранный Богом.» [5].

Есть здесь причинно-следственная связь или нет, но последующие реформации столетия стали для Великобритании восхождением на мировой Олимп. После разгрома Наполеоновского "Евросоюза", закрепленного Венским Конгрессом в 1815, Лондон надолго стал «столицей мира», передав позднее эту функцию Нью-Йорку. Очевидно, что такие успехи упрочили веру англоговорящих народов в свою «избранность». Надежда только на собственные силы, индивидуализм, стал чертой, наблюдаемой в «...национальном характере и в институтах народов с пуританским прошлым, столь отличных от того совершенно иного видения мира и человека, которое было характерно для эпохи Просвещения.» [5]

В XIX веке формирование общественного согласия перестало быть монополией церкви и государства. Капитал больше не нуждался в патерналистской опеке, и учредив сотни печатных «независимых изданий», создал новое информационное поле, для тех, кто умел читать. Теологическая парадигма стала постепенно сменяться на гуманистическую.

К началу XX века баланс политического и общественного согласия был нарушен научным прогрессом и бурным экономическим ростом, что привело к мировой войне и распаду четырех империй: Российской, Австро-Венгерской, Германской и Османской. США, будучи крупнейшей из второстепенных стран мира, лишь в апреле 1917 года вступили в войну и уже в январе 1919 на Парижской мирной конференции обсуждались «14 пунктов Вудро Вильсона» – новые границы Европы, прочерченные в Америке. Это стало возможным во многом благодаря беспрецедентной пропагандистской кампании, организованной правительством США.

Двукратный лауреат Пулитцеровской премии УолтерЛиппманн, сопровождавший Президента Вильсона на Парижской мирной конференции, свидетельствует в своей книге 1922 года «Общественное мнение»: «Чтобы понять, как много усилий затрачивается, чтобы конкретная информация дошла до «каждого», приведем пример правительственной пропаганды во время войны. Отметим, что война шла уже более двух с половиной лет, когда в нее вступила Америка.» Там же: «Джордж Крил запустил издательский механизм Отдела новостей, выпустившего, согласно его данным, более 6 000 пресс-релизов. Он нанял 75 000 агитаторов, которые выступили с 755 190 короткими речами перед 300 млн людей. Бойскауты разносили по домам листовки с обращением президента Вильсона, снабженным комментариями. 600 000 учителей бесплатно получали выходившие раз в две недели периодические издания. Было подготовлено 200 000 слайдов для публичных лекций, разработано 1 438 эскизов для плакатов, открыток, газетной рекламы, мультфильмов, брелоков и значков. Агитационная продукция распространялась в торговых палатах, церквях, братствах, школах и других организациях.» [12].

Другой современник тех событий американский политолог Гарольд Лассуэлл, понимающий пропаганду тех лет, как «прямое внушение» и «войну идей против идей» [11], в своей книге «Техника пропаганды в мировой войне» 1927 года приводит интересные наблюдения о Германии: «С точки зрения пропаганды, деятельность Вильсона была ни с чем не сравнимой, так как он изготовлял тот тонкий яд, который искусные люди впрыскивали в вены потрясенного народа, пока сокрушающая сила союзнических армий не принудила его к покорности. Разжигая в других странах раздоры, Вильсон сумел в то же время поддержать у себя дома необходимую сплочённость.» [11] «Его речи были одним длительным подстрекательством к восстанию. Он и Ленин были чемпионами современных революционеров.» [11]

Эти пропагандистские усилия воздались: мировое лидерство после войны перешло от Великобритании к США. Другим важнейшим итогом первой мировой стало осознание возможностей пропаганды учеными, политиками и государственными деятелями. Генерировал идеи в вышеупомянутом Комитете общественной

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информации Дж. Криля, молодой гений по имени Эдвард Бернайс. В 1928 году он опубликовал свой короткий манифест «Пропаганда», где обосновал необходимость использования «важного элемента демократического общества» [3] - манипуляции общественным мнением (в античности – этим занимались демагоги).

Далее, в 1936 Джон МейнрадКейнс опубликовал «Общую теорию занятости, процента и денег». В его экономической модели воздействие на психологию масс является важным инструментом макроэкономической регуляции. «При обычных предпосылках относительно поведения участников экономического процесса увеличение занятости […] может сопровождаться уменьшением потребления […], например, во время войны, в результате пропаганды в пользу ограничения личного потребления.» [8]. Работы Кейнса и Бернайса сделали очевидной для политиков и бизнесменов зависимость макроэкономики от психологии масс.

После второй мировой войны *экономическая модель Кейнса-Бернайса*[10] была реализована в западных странах в виде общества потребления, живущего в кредит. Новым пропагандистским инструментом такого общества стало телевидение, потеснив радио, кино и печатные СМИ. Изображения в отличии от текста действуют непосредственно на подсознание и являются универсальным языком воздействия на аудиторию. Нации стали равны ТВ-аудитории, потребителям, сидящим «…в креслах с пультами дистанционного управления в руках перед мерцающим постмодернистским костром…» [2].

К началу восьмидесятых, для удержания мирового лидерства, политика США и стран Британского содружества была синхронизирована. К власти пришли политики, сменившие модель Кейнса – Бернайса на неолиберальную, основанную на идеях Милтона Фридмана и частично Фридриха фон Хайека. Для этого потребовались изменения в законодательствах США, Великобритании, Канады, Австралии и Новой Зеландии. Критик неолиберализма и коммунизма американский философ НоамХомски в 1999 году описал произошедшие изменения в своей статье «Прибыль на людях. Неолиберализм и новый мировой порядок»: «…впечатляет сдвиг в составе потоков капитала. В 1971 году 90% международных финансовых сделок относились к реальной экономике, к торговле или долгосрочным инвестициям, а 10% были спекулятивными. К 1990 году процентное соотношение изменилось на противоположное, […] около 80% сумм возвращались назад за неделю и менее того». [18]

Корпорации и банки законодательно ослабив контроль государства, получили возможность не только устраивать ипотечные кризисы, но и во многом пытаться контролировать, эти самые государства. И естественно воспользовались такой возможностью, начав строительство нового мира (условно назовём его сверхкорпорацией), который можно охарактеризовать слоганом «одна планета, один народ». Деятельность неолибералов, заслуживает отдельной статьи, предметом же нашего исследования является пропаганда и ее новые возможности в последнее десятилетие.

Помимо формирования общественного согласия, во власти и бизнесе сформировался заказ на создания образа будущего потребления и внедрение поведенческих паттернов. Кино и ТВ, используемые как инструмент пропаганды, формируют мотивацию поведения людей уже с ранних лет и предлагают на выбор несколько вариантов шаблонов поведения, распределяя таким образом будущих потребителей по группам. Такие пропагандистские блоки-вставки особенно хорошо видны в голливудской продукции. Назовем их для простоты *внедрение будущего потребления (фьюче-плейсмент) и внедрение шаблонов (паттерн-плейсмент),* по аналогии с продакт-плейсментом - скрытой рекламой в кино/тв. Фьюче-плейсмент стал ответвлением продакт-плейсмента, когда корпорации поняли, что психика потребителя не способна поспевать за предложениями научно-технического прогресса.

Простой пример – айфон, появившийся в 2007 году. После этого, кнопочные телефоны еще пять лет прочно держали свои позиции. Люди психологически оказались не готовы к устройству без кнопок, хотя за пять лет до этого, в 2002 году, началась кампания по продвижению новой технологии - вышел фантастический триллер Стивена Спилберга «MinorityReport». В этом фильме главный герой в своих расследованиях использует огромные экраны с активной поверхностью. И фильм, и чудо-устройства заслуженно получили внимание прессы. Сенсорные экраны и планшеты были в самых высокобюджетных и кассовых фильмах нулевых: «Я робот» 2004, «Остров» 2005 года, «Дитя человеческое» 2006. Высокий эстетический уровень этих фильмов, знаменитые режиссеры, актерский состав, массированная реклама, позволяет с уверенностью сказать: эти фильмы посмотрели и обсудили *все* потенциальные покупатели внедряемых продуктов. Отметим важный для понимания новейшей потребительской идеологии тезис, прозвучавший в фильме про нелегальное выращивание клонов «Остров». Герой Стива Бушеми там произносит фразу: *«Сейчас все хотят жить вечно, это новая американская мечта».*

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Внедрение поведенческих шаблонов с помощью кино началось значительно раньше. Достаточно вспомнить фразу «важнейшим из искусств для нас является кино». Паттерн-плейсмент - это внедрение в сознание зрителей конкретного ситуационного решения или отношения к чему-либо. Например, черно-белые фильмы 20-30 годов: в каждом фильме присутствует одна или несколько ситуаций конфликта деревенской и городской ментальности. В то время миллионы иммигрантов приплывали из неразвитых частей Европы в современный Нью-Йорк, и требовался инструктаж Чарли Чаплина, как в таком городе жить. Так же и в СССР лишение крестьянства земли, а часто и жилья, и средств к существованию создало огромный миграционный поток из деревни в города. Этим толпам новоиспеченных горожан, требовалось привить городские шаблоны поведения и кинематограф эффективно с этим справлялся, в том числе, высмеивая «деревенщину».

Другой пример, вышеупомянутый слоган «oneplanetonepeople» прозвучал из уст 13-летней девочки-подростка на 101-ой минуте фантастического фильма «Геошторм» 2017 в котором, состоящая из тысячи геоспутников, система климатического контроля, попав в руки злоумышленников, чуть не уничтожила всех врагов Америки «словно по воле Божьей». Другой фантастический фильм «Робокоп» 2014, начинается с репортажа из оккупированного Тегерана, где патрулирование и проверку документов осуществляют боевые роботы армии США. Целевой группой этих весьма дорогих фильмов являются дети от 6 до 12. В этих фильмах недвусмысленно подразумевается, что очень скоро, для спасения мира его необходимо будет контролировать. Это для внутренней аудитории, а для зрителей в странах-оппонентах это рассказ о том, какое оружие, возможно, уже создано. Следует добавить, что это повторяет пропагандистский прием восьмидесятых, когда мультфильм про «звездные войны» спровоцировал очередной виток гонки вооружений.

Десятилетия тв- и кино- "массажа мозга" дало результат: молодёжь, воспитанная с применением кино и ТВ технологий, поступает на рынок труда с предустановленными программами самоцензуры и самодисциплины. Французский философ Мишель Фуко в 1978 году ввел в обращение термин «governmentality» [16] (образовано словами править+ментальность, переведено на русский как «правительственность»). Последователь Фуко профессор Митчелл Дин в своем объемном исследовании 1999 года «Правительственность. Власть и правление в современных обществах» подробно исследовал эволюцию власти от античной модели «город - гражданин» и «пастырских техник управления в христианстве»» [7] до неолиберального «управления поведением», когда выбор «…становится фундаментальной человеческой способностью, которая может быть посчитана и которой можно манипулировать, воздействуя на среду и пространство, в которых она используется.» [7].

Шведские медиаисследователи Бард и Зондерквист, вдохновленные, в том числе и работами Фуко, в своей работе NETократия 2000 года подтверждают этот вывод – пропаганда дает результаты: «Прямое применение команд и угроз со стороны государства все больше заменялось педагогическими приемами, целью которых было научить граждан быть своей собственной полицией нравов. Общество дисциплины сменилось обществом самоконтроля, пропаганда заменила наказание, и надзор был делегирован самим поднадзорным. Так намного дешевле.» [2].

Появившийся в самом конце XX века интернет изменил мир так же, как за 2000 лет до этого, его изменил Иисус Христос. Симбиоз человека и сети произошел так плавно и естественно, что осознание произошедшего еще очень отстает от реальности. Мы только начинаем понимать пришедшие с ним фундаментальные изменения в науке, экономике, образовании, культуре - во всех значимых для цивилизации областях. На наш взгляд, сегодня самым интересным феноменом интернета являются социальные сети. «Они вращаются в кругу близких знакомых, согласно закону и убеждениям их социальной сети (socialset). У мужчин этот круг расширяется за счет разговоров на работе, в клубе и в вагоне для курящих. У женщин социальный круг и круг общения очень часто совпадают. Именно в рамках социальной сети идеи, усваиваемые при чтении, услышанные на лекциях и в разговорах, унифицируются, классифицируются, принимаются, отвергаются, оцениваются и санкционируются. Именно здесь формируется окончательное решение (на каждой стадии обсуждения), какие авторитеты и какие источники информации допустимы, а какие — нет. Наши социальные сети состоят из тех, кто стоит за выражением «люди говорят...»; это те, чье одобрение для нас исключительно важно.» [12]. Эти строки написаны УолтеромЛиппманом в 1922 году, но удивительным образом отражают суть того, что сегодня называется Socialnetwork. Люди сегодня все реже посещают общественные места, но все больше времени проводят, именно, в соцсетях, которые могут нести пропагандистский функционал, также как ТВ и кино, влияя на общественное согласие.

Сегодня сеть становится еще одним инструментом пропаганды, постепенно перетягивая

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и умножая пропагандистские возможности СМИ и кино. Формируется новый тип человека - космополитичный, толерантный, самосовершенствующийся потребитель, верующий в скорую победу технологий продления жизни. Пропаганда, используя образ современных жрецов – ученых, прозрачно намекает, что вечная жизнь уже сейчас практически возможна, но очень дорога, а значит будет доступна лишь избранным. И, как и 500 лет назад ответ на вопрос «избран ли я?» предлагается искать на своем банковском счете.

Еще одна деталь, требующая внимания - это разоблачительные материалы Эдварда Сноудена, опубликованные в 2013. Созданная, как антитеррористическая, система тотального информационного мониторинга, девиз которой «Collectitall». [20] «Собрать все» [6], включает в себя многочисленные программы сбора данных, в которых участвуют все компании и корпорации, производящие контент, софт и оборудование, а также объединённую разведку США, Канады, Великобритании, Австралии, Новой Зеландии, названную «Пять глаз» [6], и дата-центры хранения информации, где собран весь электронный трафик всего мира за все время. Высказывались мнения, что эта история фальшивка в духе теории заговора или дезинформация, как звездные войны 80-х, хотя материалы, изложенные в публикациях журналиста ГленаГринвальда на основе тысяч документов, предоставленных специалистом в области электронной разведки Эдвардом Сноуденом, выглядят непротиворечиво и логично. Но даже если предположить, что это частично дезинформация (по причине, например, отсутствия мощностей для хранения «всего трафика»), реализация такой системы в самом ближайшем будущем – объективная реальность. А значит, со временем может появиться и возможность тотального мониторинга, цензуры и управления информационными потоками.

Последнее десятилетие показало, что телевидение, радио и кино больше не контролируют формирование общественного мнения всего социума. У людей, со школьного возраста пользующихся интернетом, картина мира им и формируется, но сегодня уже очевидно, что сети - идеальное место не только для получения информации, но и для манипуляций сознанием, дающее гораздо большие возможности чем телевидение. И не потому, что социальная сеть – та же лебоновская толпа, снижающая критическое восприятие информации объектом манипуляции, хотя это так и есть на самом деле. «Эффект толпы» дает и радио, и ТВ, но технологии, применяемые, например, религиозными фанатиками, позволяющие компьютерным программам находить сотни потенциальных самоубийц для дальнейшей их обработки психологами удаленно и совершать их руками теракты с десятками жертв, беспрецедентны и всего 10 лет назад это казалось фантастикой.

Еще в 1999 году, писатель Виктор Пелевин в своем романе «Generation P» иронизирует по поводу теории заговора, описывая происходящие в России тех лет изменения: «Антирусский заговор, безусловно существует – проблема в том, что в нем участвует все взрослое население России» [14]. Смута, почти всегда результат, искусственно сформированного пропагандой кому-то нужного общественного мнения. Например, антивоенная пропаганда, начавшаяся в России в январе-феврале 1917, способствовала глобальному предательству интересов российского государства и в итоге к жесточайшей гражданской войне, распаду Империи.

Нелепо игнорировать очевидное: некоторые принципы в политике остаются неизменными. В 1513 году Флорентийский философ и политический деятель Николло Макиавелли написал трактат «Государь», где сформулировал эти принципы, вот один из них: «…поэтому, если кто-нибудь располагает даже самыми могучими войсками, то все же для вступления в какую-нибудь страну ему всегда необходимо сочувствие ее жителей…» [13]. Нельзя завоевать народ без его согласия быть завоёванным.

Важно отдельно сказать о потенциале использования метаданных, как называет их профессионал Сноуден, для организации пропаганды. Метаданные - это не содержание разговоров, писем, сообщений, требующих расшифровки и толкования, а данные о том, кем, когда, с какого устройства и IP-адреса, кому, на какой IP-адрес, на какое устройство, это сообщение было отправлено. Круг общения, посещаемые сайты, запрашиваемая информация, журнал загрузок, скачанные книги, просмотренные фильмы, данные платежных систем: штрафы, развлечения, покупки, медобслуживание и пр. Метаданные точны и понятны, следовательно, легко обрабатываются.

Технология обработки Больших данных (bigdata), то есть всей доступной о человеке информации из соцсетей, метаданных и перемещений в пространстве за несколько лет дает точные показатели уровня его развития, психотипа, стереотипов и моделей поведения. Основанный на этих данных поведенческий анализ с такой же точностью предскажет реакции человека на контекстную рекламу или контекстные новости. Эти данные позволяют подобрать ключ к любой социальной и субкультурной группе. Проще говоря, сторонников стабильности и сторонников перемен

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можно одинаково эффективно привести к избирательным урнам одного и того же кандидата, обращаясь к ним на их языке и используя понятийный и образный инструмент каждой группы. Или если нужно задействовать пользователя с невысоким коэффициентом развития и подходящим психотипом, как часть протестной толпы, вывести его на улицу легко сможет даже бот, программа. В качестве примера, уместно вспомнить волну протестов и восстаний 2011 в арабском мире. Технологии Джина Шарпа, помноженные на социальные сети, оказались необычайно эффективны, значительно упростив "приход арабской весны».

Как сообщает радио Свобода: «Британская компания CambridgeAnalytica помогла Дональду Трампу выиграть президентские выборы в США с помощью технологий Больших данных и персонально таргетированнойрекламы в интернете. До этого та же фирма работала со сторонниками Brexit в Британии. Автор теоретической разработки, используемой CambridgeAnalytica «МихалКосински, исследователь польского происхождения, в прошлом – заместитель директора Центра психометрии Кембриджского университета, а в настоящее время – доцент Стэнфордского университета США. На протяжении нескольких лет Косински с коллегами по Кембриджу разрабатывали систему, которая на основе активности пользователя в социальной сети составляет подробный психологический профиль человека. Система способна не только описывать особенности характера, но и предсказывать, среди прочего, пол, сексуальную ориентацию, цвет кожи и даже политические предпочтения пользователя.» [21] В интервью на Радио Свобода он, в частности, сказал: «Действительно, чтобы повлиять на миллионы людей, раньше нужно было быть авторитарным диктатором, а теперь вы можете быть инженером, работающим в какой-нибудь интернет-компании. Но страшно не это. Все эти алгоритмы – поиск в "Гугле", системы рекомендаций и так далее – основаны на самой простой математике, но она применяется к огромным массивам данных. И в конечном итоге никто не понимает, как все это в сущности работает, даже сами разработчики. [...] Смотрите, есть голуби и муравьи, думаете, они знают, что миром правит человек? […] Стоит помнить об этом, потому, что когда миром станет править искусственный интеллект, мы вполне можем этого точно так же не заметить. Мы ведь уже не можем осмыслить и проанализировать те объемы данных, которые сами же и производим, – и нам приходится доверяться компьютеру. Вы можете спросить у машины: можешь что-то предсказать на основе этих данных? Она ответит: да, конечно. Вы спросите: а как ты это делаешь? Она скажет: прости, но ты не поймешь. Вы знаете, что американские суды используют компьютерные системы, принимая решения об условно-досрочном освобождении заключенных? Компьютеры решают, дать вам кредит или нет. Компьютер сажает на землю самолет, и это здорово, потому что люди легко могут наделать бед. Жизнь 800 пассажиров "Боинга-787" находится в руках компьютера, а не человека, и это сегодняшняя реальность.» [21]

Сравнивая американскую пропаганду в двух мировых войнах, Бернайс писал в 1947 году: «Но по сравнению с размахом вербальных методов военных действий, который, спустя несколько десятилетий, наблюдался во время Второй мировой войны, Комитет общественной информации, выполняя столь важную работу, пользовался довольно примитивными средствами. Не исключено, что одно только Управление военной информации передавало с помощью коротковолновых передатчиков больше сообщений, чем их было написано всеми служащими Крила» [4].

С учетом современного уровня развития СМИ, кино и интернета, а главное, технологий обработки Больших данных, нетрудно экстраполировать возможности пропаганды сегодняшней: каждый смартфон, планшет или лэптоп - пуповина, подсоединенная к инфосфере, через которую, подавляющему большинству пользователей можно создать индивидуальную*инфокапсулу* – непрерывно снабжая его контекстной информацией, с учётом автоматического анализа его Больших данных. Это наглядно подтвердили выборы 2016 в США и последующие им непрекращающиеся по сей день скандалы, следственные действия и суды.

При всем этом, в мегаполисах уже сегодня наступил численный паритет ТВ-зрителей и интернет-пользователей. Причем, наиболее активная возрастная группа - до 35 лет, 100% информации получает из интернета. Легко подсчитать, что через десять лет таких людей будет большинство. Сегодня, трюизм «крепить связь с массами» в странах, не входящих в новый дивный Рим, обретает новые смыслы.

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«Либерал относится к обществу, как садовник, которому надо знать, как можно больше о жизни растения, за которым он ухаживает.» [17] - написал в 1944 году в книге «Дорога к рабству» Фридрих фон Хайек, говоря о либерализме, как о единственно возможном пути развития общества. Неолиберализм, взяв все самое эффективное и от либерализма, и от экстремумов XX века, коммунизма и нацизма, сегодня является

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теоретически и технологически самой мощной в пропагандистском отношении идеологией.

Следует отметить, что пропаганда стала доминировать над постиндустриальной неоэкономикой, так как создает и прибавочную стоимость, и спрос, регулируя котировки и цены, а «все формы богатства создаются движением информации». [14] (Более подробно в статье "Экономические теории и эволюция пропагады").[10] Синергия пропаганды и экономики, быстро превращается в руках специалистов в самодостаточный, самовоспроизводящийся, малоконтролируемый, постоянно усложняющийся феномен. Не будет большим преувеличением назвать это *сингулярностью пропаганды*, имея ввиду экспоненциальное развитие, наблюдаемое последние 10 лет и очень короткий горизонт рационального планирования. Это сравнимо с изобретением ядерной энергетики и может принести как непоправимый вред, так и величайшую пользу, направляя энергию сознания миллиардов людей.

Так, например, к 2020 году в Китае планируется запустить систему «социальных рейтингов» (SocialCreditScore или SCS), работающей на основе обработки Больших данных. [22] В настоящий момент проходит пилотное тестирование. Пресса уже назвала этот проект «цифровой диктатурой». Эта система будет постоянно обновлять рейтинг гражданина в зависимости от его поведения, стимулируя «хороших» (высоко рейтинговых) лиц дешевыми кредитами, качественным медицинским обслуживанием, хорошим образованием и т.д., в автоматическом режиме воспитывая человека будущего с встроенным чувством рейтинга, постпотребителя живущего не во имя кредита. Цифры рейтингов, через несколько лет станут важнее денег для 20% населения Земли. Хорошо это или плохо покажет будущее.

Таким образом, пропаганда сегодня, эволюционировала в нечто большее, чем она была в досетевое время, усложнившись по форме, содержанию, методам воздействия и технологиям. Пропаганда влияет практически на все аспекты жизни отдельного человека, социальных групп, стран и всего человечества. Феномен *сингулярности пропаганды* - тема более подробного и объемного исследования. Нам видится, что дальнейшее изучение этого феномена потребует совместных усилий философов, социологов, политологов, психологов, экономистов.

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Globalization and Nigeria International Image: Its Adaptability, Challenges, and Prospect

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Keywords: globalization, international image, system, adaptability, institutional structures.

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Globalization and Nigeria International Image: Its Adaptability, Challenges, and Prospect

Ugonma Joy Ugbor Kalu [α], Dr. Nwoke Hyacinth Ude [σ] & Dr. Ugbor. I. Kalu [ρ]

Abstract- The globalization process had increased interaction between nations and inflow of goods and services as well as aspirations and interest within the global community. It also helps to increase a nation's gross domestic products and encourage development at a broader scale. However, a state with an image crisis cannot correctly join the globalization process because it had to battles with its integrity and credibility. Thus, this research work analyzes the nexus between globalization and Nigeria international image, its adaptability, challenges, and prospect. The central question for this study is how Nigeria international image crisis impacts, on its ability to adapt to the ongoing globalization process. The structural functionalism theory was employed as our theoretical framework of analysis to argue that the nature of Nigeria political structures and corruption has produced a pattern of predictable behavior in the international system hence the image crisis. Also, the study adopts qualitative research and documentary methods of data collection and recommends that institutional structures in Nigeria should be arranged in such a way that there will be promotion of the rule of law in the system.

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I. Introduction

Since the mercantile period globalization had boosted the interaction between states, especially in the area of exchange of goods and services and an increase in economic development. International image is one of the perquisites for the level of influence and relevance of a nation's degree of interaction in the international system. Image crisis denies a nation its integrity and credibility by other states and makes it difficult for a state to marketing or advertising its goods in the international system because states will like to question the authenticity of such goods. In the words of Ajayi (2005) Nigeria's image crisis is historical as it is a recent phenomenon in Nigeria from independence till date Nigeria had preoccupied in maintaining Afro-centric foreign policy and careless of its interaction beyond the African continent. Even within the African nation, Nigeria still battles with its image crisis. Little attention had been taken to re-orient Nigerians towards universal values and norms, a sense of discipline, honesty, and good manners outside one own states.

Immediately after the civil war, Nigeria faces image problem which has to do with reconstruction and rehabilitation, which was later resolved with its foreign policy as Africa the center peace of Nigeria (Egweni, 2010). However, in the 1980s and later 1990s, even in the 20th century Nigeria image crisis continue to increase at a higher height. An image which a country has depicts its influence and prestige which it exhibited beyond its boundaries. The image in this context means perception and international reputation on which a country habits its mode of interaction with other countries. The image a country attempt to create through its foreign policy must have a meaningful impact and influence on the world around and guided by its national interest (Boma, Ta and Tbegyu 2015). The process of trying to create an image in the international system is an essential aspect of globalization which a country should not overlook. Image though depends on how people perceived a nation in international relations, is a product of the function of the political leaders and their character. Nigeria for years had been recorded with corruption, nepotism, leadership deficit, and authoritarian democracy (Tayomi, Chidozie and Ajayi 2015). They further argued that Nigeria had been denied most of its foreign direct investment, which could have helped to boost the much needed economic growth and development as a result of an image crisis in the international scene. Oluwatoyin and Folasade (2013) noted that the level of poverty in Nigeria is too high, and it had created some social vices in the society and outflow of deviant behavior on the part of the youths.

Moreover, this is detrimental to the country as a whole. Globalization, on the other hand, enhanced and deepens linkages of national economies into a worldwide market for goods and service. It seeks to remove all national barriers to free trade. There have been several instances of Nigerians in several countries languishing in prisons on death row, deported, tortured, marginalized detained yet the Nigerian leaders do nothing about it, and several Nigerians are maltreated abroad wherever they found themselves. The problem associated with this scenario had worsened citizen diplomacy of Nigeria with various countries of the world. Given such a situation, what is the basis of our interaction with the outside world when Nigeria has dent image that continually calls for one issue or the other? Most writers had argued that charity begins at home and the behavior of Nigerians outside the nation had been attributed to the ineffective government who

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careless of its citizens and thus exposing them to severe global problems.

On the other hand, Nigeria had been faced with the issue of crops farmer/ herders conflict, which creates a lot of insecurity in the country, such as human insecurity and food insecurity in the country. Also, the terrorist attack of various kinds, Boko harm insurgency, constant threat among the federating unit with each unit trying to secede, coupled with corrupt leaders. These are good examples of internal image crisis which Nigerian experience and which the interacting states in the global world is afraid of battling with. With this situation, Nigeria will have a problem meeting up with the globalization process and will not meet up with boosting its socio-economic development. Based on this backdrop, this study interrogates the interface between globalization and Nigeria international image in the fourth republic with emphasis on Nigeria adaptability to the process, challenges, and prospect.

II. Statement of Problem

The most important aspect of the globalization process is the establishment of multi-interaction with many nations of the world. So some of the aspects of the globalization depend mainly on how nation-states manage their foreign policies. The main objective of foreign policy is the establishment of cordial relationship and understanding among states and this geared towards achieving national interest as well as a private interest. Also, globalization makes it possible that local industries had chances to sell their products beyond their boundaries. To accelerate and encourage local industries into the national market needs much careful management of the nation's external relations. A country saddled with an image crisis is bound to have a problem with its interaction with other countries. According to work done by Bankole (2018) Nigeria had been bedeviled with insurgency attack, extrajudicial executions, torture, death and ill-treatment of Nigerians in Nigeria and abroad, military detention camps, communal violence, occurring across the country, austerity measures, natural disasters that push many into poverty and insecurity, millions are forced to flee their homes across international boarder.

Duke, Agbaji, and Charles (2018) noted that Nigeria's image tarnishes while she simultaneously loses substantial foreign direct investment and her energetic young human resource that migrates because they believe the country is not conducive for them. They further argued that a country is performing well in trade and entrepreneurship development attributed to image beyond the nation's boundaries in order to reap the benefits of globalization. On the other hand, the benefits could be undermined by the behavior of individuals without roared to international norms and values. Anheler and Isar (2007) argued that individual behavior, which is spontaneous is an integral part of their social life. The new constructing societal values hurt individual and building social cohesion diminishes as individual behave in ways that create problem in society. Furthermore, the consequences of the Nigeria international image crisis will have an adverse effect on Nigeria socio-economic development. The debate on the nature of the behavior of Nigerians is taking place virtually in Africa and most states in the world today, and this had worsened by the corrupt Nigeria leadership style, the use of information technology among others.

Though in the literature, attention was given on the Nigeria international image and foreign policies little attention had been given on the nexus between globalization and Nigeria international image adaptability and challenges. This study will adequately and holistically analyze and ascertain globalization and Nigeria international image concerning its adaptability, challenges, and prospect. The following research questions will guide the study:

a) Does the existence of corruption in Nigeria undermine its adaptability to globalization process and Nigeria international image?
b) Does the governance structure in Nigeria accounts for Nigeria poor adaptability to globalization and Nigeria right international image?

III. Literature Review

From, the available literature, most writers argued on the effect of corruption on Nigeria economy. Work done by Nwogu and Ijirsha (2016) analyze that the long reign of corruption in the country has impacted negatively on Nigeria economic development growth and as well as deteriorated our cultural values. He further asserts that different argument had been put forward for corruption which includes, poverty, personalization of public office, political culture, the inability of leaders to overcome their colonial mentality in respect of their perception of public office among others. Also, this is exhibited by the deteriorating rate of cultural values in Nigeria. Furthermore, corruption had eaten deep into Nigeria institution structures and corruption stem from the selfish, self-motivated and self-seeking attitudes of our leaders who are interested in serving their pockets. It has deteriorated the cherished and acceptable standards and cultural values in Nigeria. Thus it affects the level of development in Nigeria, and most importantly increases the poverty level. The institution structures in Nigeria had helped to institutionalized corruption in Nigeria and on that hand, they continue to show the tendency to stop corruption in Nigeria while they are helping to increase it.

Egwueni (2010) noted that Nigeria had a right image between the periods 1960-1967, 1970-1983, 1999-2007 and negative image grew between the periods 1960 – 1967, 1970 – 1983, 1999 -2007 and

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continue to increase from the periods, 2007 – 2014 till date. Uchem (2009) attributed it to the growing level of corrupt practices in Nigeria using the internet advance fee fraud. He further analyzed that the inability to address the allegations that the State supported and condoned the advance fee fraud and other related practices among other things despite the promulgated laws, undermine Nigeria image and its effort to join correctly in the globalization process. Okuntola (2013) argued that since the adoption of the international monetary fund/World Bank structural adjustment program in 1986, which focus on attracting foreign investors to Nigeria. The rate was not encouraging due to the high prevalence of crimes, fraudulent commercial practice, and drug trafficking as well as policy inconsistency which anchored on Nigeria image problem. Nigerians engage in criminality, the incessant frauds perpetrated against potential foreign investors, inefficient infrastructure, human right abuses, increase in money laundering, drug trafficking and the entire Northern Nigerian image in the international scene. He further analyzed that:

> *Advance fee fraud is a phrase used to describe a variety of offences, which involved fraudulent activities relating to the financing of huge projects investment or currency transactions under false pretence. In Nigeria, the offence is punishable under Section 419 of the Nigerian Penal Code, hence the Nigerian pseudonym "419". The most common advance fee fraud scheme from Nigeria consisted of deluge of letters* sent *through the mail and/or by fax, proposing fictitious business opportunities most of which were intended to appeal the recipient greed (Okuntola, 2*014: 64).

Apart from corruption, Fayomi, Chidozie and Ajayi (2015) look at the National question which had not been resolved for decades and that the origin of Nigeria's image crisis is the violence electoral politics in the first republic that culminated in the first military coup of January 15, 1996, which led to Nigeria civil war. Moreover, thousand of Nigerians are behind bars across the world for drug peddling, and currency trafficking, the kidnapping and hostages of expatriates which make the nation a risky destination for investors. Campell (2017) argued that Nigeria administrators have come to expect that bribery and nepotism will triumph over meritocracy, and so they participate in it to preserve their selfish-interest. He further noted that it is Nigerians that are corrupt, not Nigeria. Odo (2015) also argued that despite the agencies establish to take care of corruption in Nigeria such as EFCC (the Economic and Financial Crime Commission) and the ICPC (Independent Corrupt Practices and Others Related Offences Commission) and its targeted programs. Yet corruption rains every aspect of the country's national life with severe damages to her image before the international community. It is a way of life that is detriment to the Nigeria society. Also Egweni (2010) noted that despite the effort of Dora Akunyili program on rebranding of Nigeria under late Yar Adua administration which was an attempt to take and re-examine our value and character, rededicating our self to nation hood, still Nigeria image crisis persisted. This is important because it is our major index in judging our stand visa- vies other nation.

Egobueze (2017) opines that the long periods of military rule in Nigeria had dismantled democratic institutions in Nigeria and thus made Nigeria a Pariah State of corruption and such it had become part and parcel of every Nigeria. It had significantly affected Nigeria interaction with other nations. Boma, terfa, and Tsegqu (2015) stated that internationally, the pervasive corruption in Nigeria had tarnished the image of the country and has resulted in foreign nationals exercising extreme caution in entering into business transactions with Nigerians thereby weakening the economic sector and other political institution.

Most states see Nigerians as corrupt nations and will not like to do business with them. On the other hand, some writers look at the governance structure in Nigeria as a factor that undermines Nigeria international image and inability to catch up with the globalization process. Political governance had created Boko Haram, with its problem of internally displaced persons, Biafra agitation for a separate state, devaluation of naira, declining foreign reserves, Nigerian behavior and activities go a long way in defining our national image. Our public image has, in recent, exhibited a negative posture. Governance is not all about winning the election but is all about image credibility which the government can champion beyond its boundaries. A state that wants to undertake economic development must set rules and the parameter of the behavior of individuals in the society and build the structure of the institution (Fasan 2018) and Folami (n.d). Ujara (2014) argued that the lack of confidence of Nigerians in Diaspora for their country to rescue them caused by the response and behavior of Nigerian foreign mission abroad.

Also, according to Onwubio (2011), most Nigerians are interested in running away from poverty that gets Nigerians, and unemployment and a high level of insecurity existing in the nation. So the governance structure does not champion the interest of every Nigerian abroad, primarily through the foreign policy arrangement. This situation warrants taking care of citizens beyond its territories. However, looking at Nigeria's economic potential, which has earned her consideration for inclusion on the periphery countries, which have the ability for engaging, in global competitiveness, based on their economic foundation, for reforms already laid down. The economic factors including trade, investment working population could influence the behavior of states in the international system although other factors like weak state capacity,

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mismanagement of economy and absence of national consensus have limited the option for Nigeria in the conduct of foreign affairs. Adebayo, Egbedina and Lawal (2015) analyzed that the manifestation of globalization and Nigeria adaptation has a lot to do with the governance in the consolidation of democracy which has a direct link in bringing out a right image for Nigeria. The enlightenment, of the citizen, the habituation of democratic ethos, adherence to constitutionalism, and the rule of law, as well as proper management of economic liberalization also has a role to play in Nigeria right image.

Okorofor and Dike (2010) opine that our international image has a lot to do with globalization challenges and integration because our international relationship can bread patriotism and have a significant role in our adaptability to international best practices and then greater participation to the globalization process. He further advocates that the government should have a lot to do with the transformation of the negative behavior of Nigerians beyond its boundaries.

However, the effort of these authors and their writing top have been wholly spurious; unfortunately, the interface between globalization and Nigeria international image was not fully explored. The need to fill this observed gap in the literature aptly motivated this research work.

IV. Materials, Sources, and Methods

The data for this study were collected through documentary sources in order to get vital information documented in textbooks, internet sources, journals, and newspapers. The study also adopts the use of descriptive statistics such as the use of the table, percentage and bar charts to illustrate information which forms a robust view of Nigeria adaptability on the globalization process and the future challenges. The content analysis method helps illuminate the discussion recommendation and conclusion of the paper.

The study perspective of this work includes Nigerians that travel abroad for greener pastures and document from the ministry of foreign Affairs was scan through to look through diplomatic missions abroad and logistics involved.

a) Theoretical Perspective

The image a nation exhibits in the international system shows, to a greater extent, the nature of the interaction between states. The Nigeria image had shown a significant challenge to the globalization process. It is shown in the behavior of Nigerian both inside and outside Nigeria. Nigerians had been involves in kidnapping, banditry, drug trafficking, among other related offenses that destroy Nigeria international image. However, there is a need for Nigeria to adapt to the globalization process by ensuring the right image in the international system.

This study adopts the structural functionalism theory as our theoretical framework of analysis. Herbert Spencer popularized structural-functionalism; other proponents are August Comte, Emile Durkheim. Structural Functionalism sees society as a complex system whose part work together to promote solidarity and stability. It sees social structures' that shape society as a whole. It also looks at social structures and social function and addresses the society in terms of its constituting element, namely norms, customs, tradition, and institutions. Stemming from our analytical perspective, Nigerians abroad have their duty to respect the international norms, rules, and regulations guiding the conduct of states they reside on and also obey their principles in the conduct of states. Therefore if the structures, especially the government institutions, are structured in such a way that they perform their functions very well there will be complete solidarity in the system. The political institutions in Nigeria are fragile and contribute little or no effort in ensuring the enforcement of the rule of law in the country.

Moreover, this is the reason why the corruption level in Nigeria, over the years, remains constant, with minimum improvement. The governance structure contributes little or no effort in ensuring the welfare of the citizen, and also it has ended up in ensuring institutionalized corruption. The constitution has ensured that leadership selection comes from one segment of the governance structures; for instance, leadership continually plays in the hands of Northerners who always like to maintain their hegemonic interest in the country. It has exhibited the system of autocratic rule in the country, and it has no keen interest in ensuring foreign direct investment, infrastructural development, provision of security to citizen both, safety, food security to prevent poverty, human resources development, employment among others.

b) Statement of Hypothesis

a. The existence of corruption in Nigeria affects Nigeria adaptability to globalization process and international image crisis.
b. The structure of governance in Nigeria accounts for Nigeria low adaptability to globalization process and international image perception.

V. Results and Discussions

In our empirical verification using hypothesis one, we examine the Nigeria corruption index over the years. From 2008 to 2017 as shown by table one below and its percentage change over the years in the world

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Corruption perception index table in Nigeria 2009-2018

Year	Value/scores	Change in % over the years
2018	27.00	0.00%
2017	27.00	-3.57%
2016	28.00	-7669%
2015	26.00	-3.70%
2014	27.00	8.00%
2013	25.00	-7.41%
2012	27.00	10.23%
2011	24.49	2.06%
2010	24.00	-4.00%
2009	25.00	-7.41%
2008	27.00	22.73%

Adopted from kneoma. com

Nigeria corruption perception index fluctuated substantially in recent years, and is shown in the table above. The value shows that the level of corruption remains the way it is and depicts less efforts of the Nigeria government in combating corruption. Despite, anti-corruption, crusade in Nigeria. Nigeria is still corrupt. From the index, Nigeria scores 27 out of 100 points in 2018, maintaining the same score as compared to other years. Also, all efforts and anti-corruption crusade carried out by President Muhammadu Buhari regime, and there is still a high level of corruption in Nigeria. Although Nigeria level of corruption has not grown to the level of corruption in Somalia, a country in Sub-Sahara Africa but a country with such corruption tendency image over the years called for its integrity and credibility in the international system.

Nigeria state had been characterized by institutionalized corruption, and this correlated with the undemocratic regimes in Nigeria. Over the years, as stated in the table, there is a remarkable increase with little reduction where applicable. The democratic regimes had not made any impact in reducing corruption drastically in Nigeria. Also, this had affected our image crisis beyond the nation's boundaries. Most nations in the world today sees Nigeria as a corrupt nation and assuming such position in a globalized world called for an immediate change of attitude and orientation so that Nigeria can be competitively favorable with the globalization process and as well adapt to the ever-challenging changing process.

Corruption has also become a buzz word, and a social value in Nigeria, and this had affected Nigerians in Diaspora. It is because they cannot pleasant stay outside Nigeria with their immune culture because back home, the environment was unfavorable. The government cares less about its citizen. Most Nigerian politicians are fraudulent, and they are always involved in money laundering. Despite the efforts made to stop corruption yet, it lingers in Nigeria politics. In the words of Edusanya (2019), corruption is one of the major problems facing Nigeria and that politicians are known for their corrupt deeds, and 70% of corruption practices come from Nigeria politicians. Government officials put fund that belongs to the public to a foreign bank account and also private citizens are known for their money laundering. They hide billions of naira under different names.

Furthermore, the corrupt nature in selecting diplomats, the undemocratic nature in conducting the election, and discrepancies in the ethnically oriented selection, especially where those in the elective post comes from one segment of the country, affairs affect the country's international image. In order to encourage socio-economic development in Nigeria, there is the need to combat corruption at the root level otherwise it will continue to hurt our international image and as well prevent Nigeria in adapting to the globalization process. Therefore for socio-economic development in Nigeria and to join and gain from the forces of globalization, there is the need to combat corruption if not Nigeria will find it challenging to adapt to international rules and norms.

Table 1: Below shows the Impact of corruption on the Nigeria international image.

Problems	Indicators
Reduction in foreign investment	Infrastructure deficit/ insecurity
Loss of trust in the government and individual in a business relationship	Non implementation of reliable business laws in the country
Strengthening of the crime beyond the nation's boundaries and ill-treatment of Nigerians	The killing of Nigerians outside Nigeria for drug trafficking and high incident or unemployment.
Reduction in investment attractiveness and outflow of investment	Insecurity and inability do business abroad

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Slow socio-economic development/impede international competitiveness and a threat to Nigeria quest for adaptability to the globalization process	No development in the critical sectors of the economy/no business dynamics, no innovation capacity. Lack of innovation
Inducement of corruption image perception for Nigerians abroad	Corruption index and negative international image
Reduction in the moral foundation of Nigeria/the threat to the state ability to champion its foreign policy	Nonexistence of ethical value, principle and rules/ discrepancies in the selection of diplomats

a) Hypothesis (2)

The structure of governance in Nigeria accounts for low adaptability of Nigeria to the globalization process.

Reflecting on our international image crisis, the researcher found out that governance structure should be blame for image crisis in the international system. It is because the government had not provided safety for individuals in Nigeria talk more about those outside the country. It prevented foreign investors in Nigeria from investing. Most Nigeria citizens living abroad had been engaging in different offenses, such as entering into cults, kidnapping, and drug peddlers, among others. Even citizen diplomacy that was develop in order to enhance citizens welfare and national image building and the number one stakeholder and first beneficiaries of external engagement yet it was found out that Nigerians case continue to be intimidated and oppressed within and abroad, cases abound where Nigerians are deported for allegedly presiding fake yellow fever card by south Africa and Nigerians had experience Xenophobia attack in South Africa for many years even in Saudi Arabia and China and Nigerians had been killed over drug-related offenses.

Table 2: Below shows some of the offenses committed by Nigerians in selected years and country

Month/year	Offenses	Country
Dec 21, 2017	Two Nigerians students sentenced to death for drug trafficking	Malaysia
August 6, 2018	116 Nigerians trapped in Libya	Libya
April 8, 2019	Two Nigerians stabbed to death in Turf Road	
April 2, 2019	53 Nigerians killed in Saudi Arabia for Drug Trafficking. Also, 5 Nigerians were killed for robbing by bureau de change in Shariah	Saudi Arabia United emirate
April 21, 2019	British worker shot dead by the kidnapper and abducted three	
June 21, 2019	5 Nigerians killed by angry Ghanaian youth for stealing	Ghana
April 18, 2019	8 Nigerians ATM robber sentenced to death for a string robbery at the money exchange and cash machines left in Dubai	United Arah Emirate
April 23, 2019	Nigeria arrested in Cyprus for the murder of Nigerian student accused of stealing his roommate money	Cyprus
April 22, 2019	Two Nigerians arrested with N125m worth of drugs in the Philippines	Philippines
May 3, 2019	The Nigerian rudders killed and seven arrested	Indonesia
June 7, 2019 August, 23 2019	Indonesia executed Nigerians for drug-related offenses 80 Nigerians involved in internet scam for $46m	USA

Adapted from information guide, naira laud, premium Times daily port, punch news, gistaria.

These, as shown above, do not give the right image for Nigerians abroad. It observed that the government does nothing about Nigerian that killed abroad neither does the governance encourage economic development to prevent Nigerian traveling abroad for greener pastures. However, enhanced global linkages mean that economic interconnection will help to develop Nigeria at a higher height, but the governance structures do not encourage foreign direct investment to encourage socio-economic priorities.

Table 3: FDI Inflow ($ bm) in Nigeria

Year	Value in US dollars
2010	0.73
2011	1.74
2012	2.6
2013	1.53
2014	2.7
2015	0.75
2016	1.04
2017	0.58

Adopted from pro share, April 2018

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The table above shows Nigeria foreign direct investment 2018-2017. The Nigeria foreign direct investment fluctuates over the periods, and currently, it is low. Is attributed to the level of insecurity, which creates Fulani herder attack on farmers and Boko haram in Nigeria, which prevent foreign investors from investing in Nigeria and coupled with its image crisis outside its territory. Also, the table below shows the foreign investment, net outflows, and percentage of GDP.

Table 4: Nigeria net outflow

Year	Value in dollars	Percentage
2010	911,716,700	0.25
2011	816,764,600	0.20
2012	1,530129,000	0.33
2013	1,227,438,000	0.24
2014	1,60,233,000	0.28
2015	1,465,378,000	0.30
2016	1,300,900,000	0.32

Retrieved from Mundi live index.com

The net outflow of investment fluctuated over the year, among other reasons being the over-reliance on oil products with little or no diversification, especially in the non-oil sector. Other reasons include the nature of governance structure that does not support infrastructural development in other to encourage industrialization in Nigeria.

VI. Conclusion and Recommendation

This study examines the relationship between globalization and Nigeria international image through an investigation of corruption and governance in Nigeria. Poor attention has been given on the interface between globalization and Nigeria international image, and how it affects its adaptability to ongoing globalization process and the fundamental challenges it posses to Nigeria policy. It argued that corruption had affected Nigeria image problems over the year, especially in the fourth republic and also hindered the country participated in the globalization process. To examine this, we collected data on Nigeria corruption index 2009-2018, and the result shows that Nigeria is among most corrupt nation in the world and this had contributed in tarnishing its image in the international system.

Furthermore, data were collected to show Nigerians in different countries engage in drug trafficking, sentenced to death for committing one offense or the other which have an impact on Nigeria image crisis. So this hurt Nigeria adapting to the globalization process. The researcher also investigated the governance structures as instrument that contributed to Nigeria international image crisis and found out that the governance structure does not encourage development in the country either does it secure security for its citizens even Nigerians abroad suffer a lot of human right abuse and also data were collected on Nigeria foreign direct investment and it shows that over the years Nigeria foreign direct investment had been on the decline as a result of insecurity, infrastructural deficit among others. Also, the governance structure create an institutionalized culture of corruption and cannot enforce the rule of law in the country, and this had affected the behavior of Africans in diasporas visa vies the image crisis

Hence, the Nigeria international image crisis affects Nigeria adaptability to the globalization process. However, the study recommends the enforcement of the rule of law in the country, and this will go a long way in ensuring the safety of foreign investor to Nigeria and ensuring accountability. The government should provide jobs for youths, and make the country conducive for the citizens to stay, Nigerians in Diaspora should be given diplomatic attention and orientation should be given them on international norms, value, and principles.

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Memberships

Fellows/Associates of Social Science Research Council

FSSRC/ASSRC Memberships



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FSSRC

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The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

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Acknowledgments

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- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
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The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

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c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
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k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

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The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

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A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

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Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

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Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

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Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

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16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

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19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

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22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

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Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

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- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

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Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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