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Brazilian Young Parliament Program

Neoliberalism, and State's Transformation

Highlights

Freedom of Expression in the Digital Age

The Fall of the West & the Rise of the East

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Brazilian Young Parliament Program and its Possibilities for Student Protagonism

By Marco Antonio

Abstract- The objective of the research was to know the actions developed by the school management and by the education professionals in the perspective of contributing with the student protagonism in the Programa Jovem Jovem Brasileiro. The methodology was based on the qualitative approach, using the case study as a research technique. Data collection was performed using the Google Forms questionnaire. Twenty members participated in the research, being 15 students and five education professionals from a public school in the state network in the interior of Piauí. As a result, it was possible to perceive that the Brazilian Youth Parliament Program contributes to student leadership, in a way that expands the worldview of those involved, as well as providing the political and social setting for issues related to the dilemmas faced in their daily lives.

Keywords: *PJB. student protagonism. school management.*

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The Brazilian Young Parliament Program and its Possibilities for Student Protagonism

O Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro e as Suas Possibilidades Para o Protagonismo Estudantil

El Programa del Parlamento Joven Brasileño y Sus Posibilidades Para el Protagonismo Estudiantil

Marco Antonio

Resumo- O objetivo da pesquisa foi conhecer as ações desenvolvidas pela gestão escolar e pelos profissionais da educação na perspectiva de contribuir com o protagonismo estudantil no Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro. A metodologia esteve pautada na abordagem qualitativa, tendo, como técnica de pesquisa, o estudo de caso. A coleta de dados foi realizada por meio do questionário Google Forms. Participaram da pesquisa 20 integrantes, sendo 15 estudantes e cinco profissionais da educação de uma escola pública da rede estadual no interior do Piauí. Como resultados, foi possível perceber que o Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro contribui para o protagonismo estudantil, de modo que amplia a visão de mundo dos envolvidos, bem como oportuniza a ambientação política e social das questões referentes aos dilemas enfrentados em seus cotidianos.

Palavras-Chave: PJB. protagonismo estudantil. gestão escolar.

Abstract- The objective of the research was to know the actions developed by the school management and by the education professionals in the perspective of contributing with the student protagonism in the Programa Jovem Jovem Brasileiro. The methodology was based on the qualitative approach, using the case study as a research technique. Data collection was performed using the Google Forms questionnaire. Twenty members participated in the research, being 15 students and five education professionals from a public school in the state network in the interior of Piauí. As a result, it was possible to perceive that the Brazilian Youth Parliament Program contributes to student leadership, in a way that expands the worldview of those involved, as well as providing the political and social setting for issues related to the dilemmas faced in their daily lives.

Keywords: PJB. student protagonism. school management.

Resumen- El objetivo de la investigación fue conocer las acciones desarrolladas por la dirección de la escuela y por los profesionales de la educación en la perspectiva de contribuir con el protagonismo estudiantil en el Programa Jovem Jovem Brasileiro. La metodología se basó en el enfoque cualitativo, utilizando el estudio de caso como técnica de investigación. La recolección de datos se realizó mediante el cuestionario Google Forms. En la investigación participaron veinte miembros, siendo 15 estudiantes y cinco profesionales de la educación de una escuela pública de la red estatal en el interior de Piauí. Como resultado, fue posible percibir que el Programa de Parlamento Juvenil Brasileño contribuye al liderazgo estudiantil, de manera que amplía la cosmovisión de los involucrados, además de brindar el marco político y social para temas relacionados con los dilemas que enfrentan en su vida diaria.

Palabras Clave: PJB. protagonismo estudiantil gestión escolar.

I. Introdução

A educação é um campo em construção (SILVA, 2015), é complexa (APPLE, 2001) e dinâmica, tendo, em suas bases, concepções políticas que são inerentes ao processo político de cada época, repercutindo nas normatizações e nas diretrizes para a área. A escola pública, por sua vez, apresenta, em todo o seu percurso, diferentes histórias, memórias, posturas e nuances que são desencadeados no processo histórico e político, oriundo da política educacional e das concepções de sociedade que são postas no contexto global.

No cenário das mudanças, cabe levantar uma discussão sobre as percepções postas na Constituição Federal de 1988 e na Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional, Lei 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996, as quais apresentam uma concepção de educação democrática e inclusiva, oriunda de um anseio de construção coletiva de uma sociedade para todos, sendo que o projeto da educação é o caminho possível para direcionar as ações e as propostas planejadas pela política educacional (BRASIL, 1988; 1996).

A política educacional tem um espaço singular na organização da escola, sendo o caminho viável para a concretização dos anseios e dos objetivos políticos estabelecidos na concepção de sociedade posta nas configurações macro da política nacional e internacional. As repercussões da política educacional causam impactos na gestão escolar, no currículo e na avaliação da aprendizagem, redimensionando novas posturas e ações aos envolvidos, desvirtuando as

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proposições de construção de uma educação para todos, com características emancipatórias, democráticas e inclusivas, advindas dos preceitos constitucionais.

Diante das conquistas alcançadas na legislação, especificamente, na Constituição Federal de 1988, é possível perceber, na arena política, que movimentos e organizações sociais estiveram presentes na luta pelo avanço da educação em suas múltiplas dimensões, ocasionando um esforço coletivo para viabilizar os anseios de grande parte da população brasileira. Nesse contexto, organizações sindicais, políticas e entidades educacionais tiveram o protagonismo importante na configuração das lutas e das conquistas constitucionais.

Um grupo de profissionais, especialmente integrantes da Associação Nacional pela Formação dos Profissionais da Educação (ANFOPE); da Associação Nacional de Política e Administração da Educação (ANPAE); da Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação (ANPED) e do Centro de Estudos Educação e Sociedade (CEDES), esteve em diálogo constante com a sociedade, profissionais da educação e lideranças políticas com a finalidade de apresentar os anseios da população em relação à concepção de educação, bem como os caminhos da política educacional, tornando, assim, a política como uma ação coletiva com característica complexa, dinâmica e dialógica.

Nessa arena de lutas e de tensões políticas, o espaço da participação na concretização de políticas educacionais tornou-se um aspecto relevante, uma vez que toda a comunidade é motivada para dialogar, refletir, apresentar ideias e mencionar os seus anseios diante das problemáticas apresentadas. A Constituição Federal de 1988 apresentou possibilidades de participação como pano de fundo de uma administração pública e democrática.

A concepção de educação postulada pelos educadores e movimentos em defesa da educação pública desde a década de 1930, com a divulgação do Manifesto dos Pioneiros da Educação Nova, tem, em suas bases, a participação, o envolvimento de todos no processo de planejamento e avaliação das propostas realizadas, a concretização da gestão democrática que congrega com uma educação inclusiva e referenciada socialmente.

Outra dimensão defendida no contexto das pautas dos movimentos de educadores e pesquisadores é a concepção de educação cuja finalidade é contribuir com a emancipação dos estudantes, dando-lhes condições de efetivar um protagonismo estudantil por meio de suas experiências e suas visões de mundo. Assim, o objetivo da pesquisa foi conhecer as ações desenvolvidas pela gestão escolar e pelos profissionais da educação na perspectiva de contribuir com o protagonismo estudantil no Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro (PJB).

A metodologia esteve pautada na abordagem qualitativa, tendo, como técnica de pesquisa, o estudo de caso (Yin, 2010). Desse modo, a pesquisa foi desenvolvida na Unidade Escolar Letícia Macêdo, no município de Anísio de Abreu, no estado do Piauí. Participaram da pesquisa cinco profissionais da educação, sendo três gestores (diretor e coordenadores pedagógicos) e dois professores. Além desses, participarem também 15 estudantes que estiveram envolvidos diretamente no PJB nos anos de 2014 a 2020.

A coleta de dados foi realizada por meio de dois formulários pelo Google Forms, devido ao isolamento social, ocasionado pelo Covid-19, no período de 12 a 17 de agosto de 2020 para os profissionais e de 12 a 18 de agosto de 2020 para os estudantes. Os dados foram analisados a partir da Análise do Conteúdo, na perspectiva de Bardin (2002), tendo, como categorias Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro, Protagonismo Estudantil e Gestão Escolar. O ponto de partida foi perceber a percepção dos gestores, dos professores e dos estudantes, traçando os caminhos percorridos na escola para o sucesso dos estudantes em relação à vivência no Programa, de modo que possibilitasse a reflexão acerca do protagonismo estudantil no âmbito escolar e como essas ações são percebidas, implementadas e vivenciadas.

O texto está estruturado em três partes que se completam, além da introdução e das considerações finais. Na primeira, dialoga-se acerca da gestão escolar, da participação e do protagonismo estudantil como dimensões importantes para a concretização de uma educação emancipatória. Na segunda parte, evidencia-se o Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro, por meio das normatizações que o regulamentam. E, por fim, destacam-se as vozes dos participantes acerca das experiências no Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro.

II. A Gestão Escolar, a Participação e o Protagonismo Estudantil

A gestão escolar é a dimensão da estrutura educacional, a qual viabiliza o processo de organização pedagógica, financeira, administrativa, relacional e social das práticas educativas estabelecidas no chão da escola. Desse modo, os princípios da autonomia, da descentralização e da participação são defendidos pelos dispositivos legais, que regulamentam a educação nos âmbitos nacional, estaduais e municipais (BRASIL, 1988; 1996; 2014).

A organização pedagógica, financeira, administrativa, relacional e social constitui-se como um processo complexo, pois demanda decisões e

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compartilhamento do poder com a finalidade de concretizar os apelos e as diferentes visões que permeiam o espaço escolar. Nessa configuração, a participação dos diferentes segmentos é uma ação que mobiliza profissionais da educação, pais, estudantes e as comunidades local e escolar para a organicidade das práticas desenvolvidas no chão da escola.

A gestão da escola em meio aos seus inúmeros desafios apresenta, em sua base epistemológica, o objetivo de contribuir para a organização do espaço escolar, em uma perspectiva crítica e emancipatória, incluindo, nessa seara, todos os integrantes internos e externos. Na visão de Libâneo (2004, p. 56), a escola tem o compromisso de:

> Reduzir a distância entre a ciência cada vez mais complexa e a formação cultural básica a ser provida pela escolarização. O fortalecimento das lutas sociais e a conquista da cidadania dependem de uma ampliação, cada vez mais, do número de pessoas que possam participar das decisões primordiais que dizem respeito aos seus interesses.

A participação, nesse contexto, é um elo que possibilita a experiência do compartilhamento das decisões, assim como a vivência da gestão democrática, concepção de gestão escolar defendida nos dispositivos legais, promovendo autonomia, mobilização social e estudantil e melhoria das propostas realizadas. A participação, na visão de Bordenave (1983, p. 72-73), pode ser entendida como um processo sócio-humano e suscetível de crescimento:

> Ela pode ser aprendida e aperfeiçoada pela prática e a reflexão. A qualidade da participação se eleva quando as pessoas aprendem a conhecer a sua realidade; a refletir; a superar contradições reais ou aparentes; a identificar premissas subjacentes; a antecipar consequências; a entender novos significados das palavras; a distinguir efeitos de causas, observações de inferências e fatos de julgamentos. A qualidade da participação aumenta também quando as pessoas aprendem a manejar conflitos; clarificar sentimentos e comportamentos; tolerar divergências; respeitar opiniões; adiar gratificações. A participação é incrementada quando as pessoas aprendem a organizar e coordenar encontros, assembleias e mutirões; a formar comissões de trabalho; pesquisar problemas; elaborar relatórios; usar meios e técnicas de comunicação.

Como é possível perceber, a participação qualificada exige ação de todos os envolvidos, caracterizada como uma questão complexa, a qual requer atuação, compromisso, experiências e disposição para atuar em prol do coletivo e das decisões da maioria. A participação qualificada é a ação configurada nos princípios democráticos, os quais estão presentes nos dispositivos legais da educação. Assim, o desenvolvimento da participação na educação, em todos os níveis, deve ser percebido como uma configuração complexa, uma vez que ela tanto pode inibir e limitar aspectos de organização participativa, como pode estar condicionada a dimensões burocráticas (GUTIERREZ, 2004).

Em meio à complexidade da participação, pode-se afirmar que "participar faz referência à possibilidade de um indivíduo incorporar as práticas e as características de um grupo mais amplo, de forma a vir a ser reconhecido e aceito como parte ou membro dele" (GUTIERREZ, 2004, p. 7). Na perspectiva da educação, a participação é um princípio necessário para a conquista de espaço e de efetivação dos anseios dos diferentes segmentos.

No âmbito da atuação estudantil, a participação mobiliza diferentes características aos envolvidos, possibilitando a autonomia e o desenvolvimento na luta por suas ideias e favorecendo uma organização estudantil com os princípios da coletividade e da mobilização social. Desse modo, a gestão escolar, preocupada com o desenvolvimento social e com a formação integral dos estudantes, constrói espaços para a sua constante atuação.

Neste sentido, consoante com Silva e Santos (2019), as diferentes formas de mobilização e de participação dos estudantes nas decisões escolares congregam-se no grêmio estudantil, nas representações de turmas e na participação ativa no planejamento dos projetos e nas experiências de fortalecimento de causas e de lutas no cenário social. Para os pesquisadores (2019, p. 8):

> No direcionamento da ação educativa do grêmio estudantil, o estudante percebe novos valores do ambiente educacional que lhe cabe por direito, em um exercício contínuo do protagonismo juvenil, expondo-se para as tomadas de decisões escolares, contribuindo para sua formação social.

Cabe fazer a ressalva de que a gestão escolar assume um papel importante para a abertura de um espaço político e ativo dos estudantes, mobilizando a sua organização, atuação e apoiando-os em todos os processos propostos. A gestão escolar, neste sentido, cumpre os princípios estabelecidos na Constituição Federal de 1988, quando sinaliza a educação como um direito social, possibilitando uma formação integral nas diferentes dimensões social, política, econômica, cultural e educacional, bem como segue as diretrizes do atual Plano Nacional de Educação, especificamente em sua meta 19, quando trata da criação dos grêmios estudantis.

O protagonismo estudantil é o itinerário formativo que pode contribuir para a conquista dos espaços sociais após a concretização da educação básica, oportunizando a experiência de atuação em diferentes dimensões, direcionando discussões e compreendendo os caminhos sociais e políticos que as decisões macro e micro determinam para a sociedade, uma vez que a leitura de mundo e as suas experiências na escola geram expectativas reflexivas concernentes ao alcance de atuações em diferentes campos sociais.

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Na visão de Freire (2015, p. 45), as relações estabelecidas na sociedade são importantes para a constituição do ser político e social. Assim:

> A partir das relações do homem com a realidade, resultantes de estar com ela e de estar nela, pelos atos de criação, recriação e decisão, vai ele dinamizando o seu mundo. Vai dominando a realidade. Vai humanizando-a. Vai acrescentando a ela algo de que ele mesmo é o fazedor. Vai temporalizando os espaços geográficos. Faz cultura. E é ainda o jogo destas relações do homem com o mundo e do homem com os homens, desafiado e respondendo ao desafio, alterando, criando, que não permite a imobilidade, a não ser em termos de relativa preponderância, nem das sociedades nem das culturas. E, à medida que cria, recria e decide, vão se conformando as épocas históricas. É também criando, recriando e decidindo que o homem deve participar destas épocas.

De um modo geral, a participação dos estudantes no contexto das reflexões e discussões sociais é o itinerário para a construção de pessoas ativas, abertas ao diálogo e às perspectivas contrárias as suas ideias, portanto, contribuir para ações desse porte é o caminho da educação e, consequentemente, da gestão escolar. Os estudantes necessitam de ações escolares que favoreçam a sua autonomia e o seu protagonismo no dinamismo na prática formativa (LÜCK, 2013).

Para Durkheim (2013, p. 78), "a educação vigente em determinada sociedade e considerada em determinado momento de sua evolução é um conjunto de práticas, maneiras de agir e costumes que constituem fatos praticamente definidos e tão reais como os outros fatos sociais". Dessa forma, é possível construir ações que mobilizem os estudantes para a atuação em projetos, grêmios estudantis, nos momentos de decisões e na construção de práticas reflexivas que contribuam para o engajamento nas dimensões política e social.

A educação centrada no protagonismo estudantil está vinculada ao paradigma da educação como caminho para a transformação social, congregando ações que estão presentes no diálogo, na atuação, no movimento, na escuta, na empatia, sinalizando que os itinerários formativos da juventude devem conter princípios de mobilização e experiências de cidadania (KILPATRICK, 1996). De um modo geral, a dinamicidade do processo formativo, envolvendo os estudantes, é a perspectiva para a construção do protagonismo e do desenvolvimento juvenil.

As políticas e os programas no Brasil têm incentivado a participação dos estudantes em diferentes frentes. Além das proposições sinalizadas no atual Plano Nacional de Educação, na meta 19, que trata da gestão democrática, sobre a importância do grêmio estudantil, como mecanismo de ação do estudante na concretização da gestão participativa, há programas, como o Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro, que incentivam os estudantes do ensino médio a desenvolverem projetos para serem discutidos na Câmara Federal, evidenciando o protagonismo do jovem como difusor de ideias para o avanço político e social do país.

Na próxima seção, dialoga-se acerca do PJB, apresentando os seus princípios e as suas normatizações, por meio da resolução número 12, de 18 de novembro de 2003, e do regimento interno aprovado pela Câmara Federal em 25 de outubro de 2004.

III. O Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro: Princípios, Resoluções e Normativas

O PJB foi idealizado no âmbito da Câmara Federal, com o objetivo de "possibilitar aos alunos de escolas públicas e particulares a vivência do processo democrático mediante participação em uma jornada parlamentar na Câmara dos Deputados, com diplomação, posse e exercício do mandato" (Art. 2; Resolução 12, 2003). De acordo com o regimento do Programa, em seu artigo 2, "o Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro reunir-se-á todos os anos, no segundo semestre, em data a ser definida anualmente pela Mesa da Câmara dos Deputados, ouvido o Colégio de Líderes". Assim:

> O programa é coordenado por uma Comissão Organizadora, que é formada por servidores do Centro de Formação, Treinamento e Aperfeiçoamento (CEFOR), responsáveis por sua coordenação pedagógica, com o planejamento e a implementação das atividades da programação, e por servidores da Secretaria de Participação, Interação e Mídias Digitais (SEMID), responsáveis pela divulgação do programa e por todas as operações logísticas (GUIA, 2020, p. 6).

A resolução que regulamentou o PJB apresenta que o papel do Programa é contribuir para o envolvimento dos estudantes em questões que tratem de autonomia, da criatividade e do desenvolvimento intelectual, de modo que favoreça um processo de aprendizagem político, repercutindo em seu estado, seu município e em sua escola. Dessa forma, o PJB pode oportunizar a formação cidadã dos estudantes, na perspectiva de favorecer o protagonismo estudantil em suas múltiplas dimensões. Espera-se que a formação integral de um indivíduo crítico, autônomo, participativo e reflexivo, seja contemplada pela educação formal e, nesse contexto, o PJB incentiva a possibilidade de que diferentes escolas possam contribuir com experiências diferenciadas na vida dos estudantes. Neste sentido:

> O Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro é um programa que busca contribuir para o desenvolvimento de uma das dimensões de nossa cidadania, que é o conhecimento sobre como se organiza a nossa democracia representativa, assim como a importância da participação e do controle social (PJB, 2020).

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O PJB possibilita que os estudantes tenham um olhar para a realidade social que está em seu entorno e possam refletir sobre as possíveis soluções em relação aos entraves vivenciados. Cabe destacar que, com a criação de projetos políticos, os estudantes iniciam um projeto de reflexão sobre o papel dos governos, das organizações e dos cidadãos, enquanto entes participantes da democracia brasileira. A congregação dessas experiências torna-se importante para o itinerário formativo, descobrindo potencialidades em seus diferentes participantes, destacando-se o "domínio da linguagem, compreensão de fenômenos, enfrentamento de situações-problema, construção de argumentação e elaboração de propostas" (PJB, 2020).

O desenvolvimento de práticas educativas que busquem a participação e o protagonismo estudantil favorece a construção da autonomia dos envolvidos (MARTINS, 2002), sinalizando ações futuras e disseminando oportunidades para a compreensão da complexidade política no âmbito das decisões. Além desse aspecto, ficam em evidência "a preocupação com a gestão democrática e equânime do Estado na busca da qualidade e a conquista da gestão democrática como condição necessária para a autonomia e o protagonismo estudantil" (MARTINS, 2002, p. 22).

A concretização do Programa no âmbito da escola dá-se ao longo de três etapas. Na primeira, o estudante deverá elaborar um Projeto de Lei e apresentá-lo no ato de sua inscrição. Na segunda etapa, é feita uma seleção pela Secretaria Estadual de Educação dos projetos que estão nos parâmetros estabelecidos pelo Programa, de acordo com o número de vagas disponibilizadas no estado. Após a pré-seleção, na etapa estadual, os projetos são enviados à Câmara dos Deputados, com a finalidade de serem avaliados de acordo com os critérios estabelecidos no Guia do Programa de cada ano. O regimento do Programa, em seu artigo 3, apresenta que "o Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro será composto de 78 (setenta e oito) deputados, selecionados em cada Estado e no Distrito Federal, com o número de representantes proporcional às bancadas parlamentares de cada unidade da Federação".

A última etapa a ser vivenciada pelos estudantes é a jornada do parlamentar jovem, na qual os autores dos projetos selecionados são empossados como Jovens Deputados, tendo a possibilidade de passar cinco dias na Câmara Federal, vivenciando a rotina de um deputado federal. O quantitativo de estudantes que se insere na última etapa do Programa é significativo e tem uma expressiva representação, a depender do estado. No quadro 1 (um), pode-se perceber esse quantitativo:

Quadro 1: Vagas para deputados jovens por unidade da federação

VAGAS PARA DEPUTADOS JOVENS - PJB		
UNIDADE FEDERATIVA	BANCADA ESTADUAL NA CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS	NÚMERO DE DEPUTADOS JOVENS
ACRE	8	1
ALAGOAS	9	1
AMAPÁ	8	1
AMAZONAS	8	1
BAHIA	39	6
CEARÁ	22	3
DISTRITO FEDERAL	8	1
ESPÍRITO SANTO	10	2
GOIÁS	17	3
MARANHÃO	18	3
MATO GROSSO	8	1
MATO GROSSO DO SUL	8	1
MINAS GERAIS	53	8
PARÁ	17	3
PARAÍBA	12	2
PARANÁ	30	5

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PERNAMBUCO	25	4
PIAUÍ	10	2
RIO DE JANEIRO	46	7
RIO GRANDE DO NORTE	8	1
RONDÔNIA	8	1
RORAIMA	8	1
RIO GRANDE DO SUL	31	5
SANTA CATARINA	16	2
SÃO PAULO	70	11
SERGIPE	8	1
TOCANTINS	8	1
TOTAL	513	78

Fonte: Guia do PJB (2020, p. 13).

De um modo geral, é possível perceber, no PJB, potencialidades para o desenvolvimento dos estudantes, mesmo para os que não são pré-selecionados na etapa estadual e os selecionados na etapa final. Todo o processo é pertinente, permitindo desenvolver habilidades e competências, as quais retratam reflexões para a cidadania, o bem estar coletivo, a consciência acerca de questões problemáticas na sociedade, entre outras. Além disso, o Programa convoca os estudantes a serem participativos na proposição de medidas para sanar problemas que estão a sua volta, possibilitando-lhes serem autores de suas próprias histórias. Dessa forma, o programa favorece o protagonismo estudantil, envolvendo a juventude em questões que demandam reflexões, construções coletivas, defesas de projetos e de ideias.

Nesse cenário de construção de itinerários formativos, cabe destacar o papel dos diferentes segmentos, enfatizando a gestão escolar e os professores. Acerca dessa questão, Campos (2010, p. 111) menciona que:

> Os professores não devem possuir apenas a capacidade de ensinar, mas também a de transformar o conhecimento científico em conhecimento a ser ensinado. Esse fenômeno no ensino denomina-se transposição didática, que significa a transformação do conhecimento científico em conteúdos de ensino. Para que isso ocorra, o professor cria e recria, inventa e reinventa o processo pedagógico. Os professores como profissionais são críticos e reflexivos dos conteúdos do trabalho docente, das situações didáticas, da organização das tarefas e da organização escolar.

A dinâmica escolar é complexa e requer distintas habilidades para o processo de ensino e aprendizagem. Para a existência do protagonismo estudantil, é necessário o desempenho das habilidades de todos os envolvidos na construção do espaço escolar, viabilizando oportunidades criativas nas relações estabelecidas no âmbito das propostas educativas. É importante que a gestão escolar, os professores e os estudantes possam estar em constante diálogo e criem alternativas de envolvimento, de participação e de resolução dos conflitos.

Sobre a participação dos estudantes na escola, Munõz (2004, p. 91-92) afirma que:

> Participar é tomar partido em alguma coisa. É fazer parte de alguma coisa. Participar é organizar-se com outros para ser responsáveis conjuntamente pelo máximo de aspectos que constituem a nossa vida. Participar é sentir-se soberano. Participar é algo político, um jogo democrático. Participar não é uma finalidade, mas um meio que nos ajuda a tomar consciência da realidade. Participar é ser protagonista e solidário ao mesmo tempo, para mudar a partir do compartilhar. Participar é a capacidade de dar e de receber. Participar é a capacidade de assumir dificuldades, incômodos e gozar a vida. Participar supõe enviar uma mensagem e acompanhá-la com alguma ação. Participar não é apenas decidir, mas trabalhar. Participar não é só falar, é também ouvir. Participar é acreditar que o projeto é importante.

O exercício da participação e do envolvimento no dia a dia das questões escolares é uma dimensão importante e necessária para ser vivenciada pelos estudantes, com a finalidade de incentivá-los a serem atuantes na escola e na sociedade. Neste sentido, a compreensão das dimensões política e social que permeiam o espaço escolar e as diferentes instâncias sociais é o caminho para a efetivação do protagonismo estudantil nas relações estabelecidas no âmbito da prática pedagógica.

Demo e Silva (2020) revelam que o protagonismo estudantil é uma dimensão favorável para atuação dos estudantes, porém, nas práticas educacionais da maioria das escolas, isso ainda não é uma realidade. Programas como o Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro, que permitem aos estudantes vivenciarem, no interior da escola, os benefícios de serem protagonistas, são catalisadores do processo de implementação dessa cultura nas escolas brasileiras,

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pois, propiciam aos estudantes a oportunidade de se localizar enquanto membros ativos e participantes de uma sociedade com a qual há uma relação de direitos e deveres. Para além dos currículos, o protagonismo estudantil deve chegar na ponta; facultando aos alunos, a possibilidade de aprenderem como autores (DEMO; SILVA, 2020).

a) As revelações das vozes dos participantes

O público participante da pesquisa foi dividido em duas partes. A primeira, de profissionais da educação, sendo dois professores, dois coordenadores pedagógicos e o gestor escolar, totalizando cinco participantes. A segunda parte foi formada por estudantes, compondo um total de 15, os quais participaram ativamente no PJB na escola no período de 2014 a 2020.

Em relação aos profissionais, todos têm formação superior (Licenciatura Plena em Educação Física; Licenciatura plena em letras/português; Pedagogia; Filosofia; Licenciatura em Letras - Língua Inglesa e Literaturas de Língua Inglesa). Quatro deles são profissionais efetivos e um é contratado pelo estado, por meio do processo seletivo. Todos os participantes trabalham na escola há mais de dois anos. Para efeito de indicação das vozes dos profissionais da educação, foram denominados de profissional 1 (P1), profissional 2 (P2), sucessivamente.

Sobre os perfis dos estudantes, nove participantes são do sexo masculino e seis, do sexo feminino, sendo que nove residem na zona rural e seis, na zona urbana. Do total dos 15 estudantes, seis afirmaram não ter sido selecionado em nenhuma das etapas do projeto, quatro foram selecionados na etapa estadual (pré-seleção); e cinco selecionados na última etapa, indo vivenciar no Congresso Nacional uma experiência importante para a sua formação cidadã. Para efeito de indicação das vozes dos estudantes, foram denominados de estudante 1 (E1), estudante 2 (E2), estudante 3 (E3), [...], estudante 15 (E15).

Como já indicado, foram aplicados dois questionários, os quais buscavam compreender as vivências e as ações desenvolvidas pela escola para o sucesso do protagonismo estudantil nas diferentes experiências dos estudantes, em particular no PJB. Em relação a esse aspecto, foi perguntado aos profissionais da educação as suas concepções sobre o protagonismo estudantil e a sua relevância para a formação dos estudantes.

> Compreendendo que o estudante é o ator principal no processo ensino-aprendizagem, capaz de ir atrás do conhecimento e de participar na tomada de decisões, de dar sua opinião...ser participativo, dessa forma, contribuirá e muito para sua formação integral (P1).
>
> O protagonismo estudantil acontece quando é despertado no estudante o sentimento de pertencimento pela escola ou comunidade, levando-o a buscar meios de fazer a diferença dentro ou fora do ambiente escolar (P2).
>
> É colocar o aluno como centro de todas as etapas do processo de ensino, tendo um papel ativo, contribuindo para a formação de cidadãos autônomos e comprometidos socialmente (P3).
>
> Um conjunto de atitudes que envolvem mobilização na busca de interesses de um coletivo e que nesse processo acontece a auto formação que contribui à formação integral do indivíduo (P4).
>
> Na minha concepção, o protagonismo estudantil é quando o estudante consegue transformar a sua realidade através de ações e conhecimentos construídos na escola. Em outras palavras, seria dar "voz" ao estudante para que ela possa transformar o mundo ao seu redor. O protagonismo estudantil contribui para a formação integral dos estudantes, uma vez que ele não termina a etapa escolar apenas com conhecimentos teóricos e preparados para testes ou mercado de trabalho. O protagonismo permite que o estudante desenvolva o senso crítico e amplie sua visão, na ideia em que ele é o protagonista de sua história (P5).

A presença dos estudantes nos diferentes processos na escola configura-se como uma dimensão necessária para consolidar o protagonismo estudantil. Como sinalizado pelos participantes, por meio da abertura para a atuação dos estudantes no âmbito do planejamento e da vivência de experiências múltiplas, pode-se evidenciar a formação integral, permitindo a alusão de uma consciência crítica, política, social e cultural. Essas práticas escolares são defendidas por Munõz (2004), quando indica que a participação por meio de debates, intervenções e votações expressa o orgulho do protagonismo, mas, sobretudo, a vivência da cidadania.

A consolidação do protagonismo estudantil é uma ação necessária para a indicação da qualidade da educação (MUNÕZ, 2004), uma vez que uma das tarefas da escola/educação é preparar para a atuação na sociedade em suas múltiplas dimensões. Na concepção de Munõz (2004, p. 94), "possibilitar espaços e oportunidades de mútua educação continuada entre crianças, jovens e adultos, enfatizando a participação" e "estimular a criação de órgão de órgãos de representação infanto-juvenil" favorecem a proposta da gestão democrática, defendida nos dispositivos legais (CF/1988; LDB/1996; PNE 2014/2024).

Os profissionais da educação, participantes da pesquisa, sinalizaram que as práticas curriculares que são propostas para a promoção do protagonismo estudantil coadunam com os anseios dos estudantes.

> A escola promove vários eventos ao longo ano letivo, como quermesse, jogos esportivos, feiras de ciências e linguagens... que têm contribuído para o protagonismo juvenil (P1).
>
> A promoção de projetos interdisciplinares, bem como o incentivo à participação em eventos extra escolares (P2).

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> A escola promove uma gestão democrática, assegurando a participação dos alunos nas reuniões, discussões e decisões da escola. Os alunos participam dos conselhos escolares e planejam juntamente com a escola alguns trabalhos e projetos que são desenvolvidos no decorrer do ano (P3).
>
> Criação de identidades como líderes de turma, grêmio estudantil, realização de projetos culturais como feiras, saraus etc. (P4).
>
> A escola desenvolve projetos científicos, artísticos e culturais, tais como Simpósios, Feira de Ciências, projetos interdisciplinares e principalmente o incentivo dos estudantes a participar de concursos de redação (P5).

As ações apontadas pelos profissionais trazem à tona as diferentes estratégias desenhadas para a concretização da efetivação do protagonismo estudantil, por meio da atuação ativa nos diferentes espaços e momentos. Para Gutierrez (2004, p. 15), "a participação pode ser vista de duas formas distintas: enquanto prática pedagógica, ou como conteúdo de uma disciplina/atividade". O incentivo à participação, como princípio da prática pedagógica, é o caminho para a construção da autonomia dos estudantes e o desenvolvimento de ações pertinentes ao processo de ensino e de aprendizagem.

No contexto da gestão escolar, os participantes destacaram que o PJB:

> A meu ver, é um programa de fundamental importância para o engajamento dos jovens, pois, através dele, o estudante amplia sua visão sobre a cidadania e o processo legislativo. Ademais, o programa permite que o estudante explore e desenvolva suas habilidades de escrita (P1).
>
> O programa é muito importante, pois valoriza as ideias e habilidades dos alunos, incentivando uma participação ativa na política e no processo democrático (P3).
>
> Toda a escola atua na conscientização da importância de uma democracia participativa. Professores e gestores estimulam a participação no programa, sendo de suma importância. São atividades extra e voluntária dentro do espaço escolar. Uma verdadeira aula prática de democracia (P4).

O incentivo à participação dos estudantes em programas, como o PJB, é papel da escola e de seus diferentes profissionais, uma vez que contribui para a construção do protagonismo juvenil, bem como favorece o envolvimento da juventude em questões políticas e sociais que fazem parte do dia a dia da população, e, muitas vezes, são despercebidas pela falta de conhecimento, como é o caso das legislações. Na visão de Gutierrez (2004, p. 14), práticas curriculares com esses desenhos, possibilitam "a construção da consciência de forma autônoma para o exercício pleno da cidadania".

As vozes dos profissionais, especialmente dos professores, que lidam diariamente com os estudantes e os processos de ensino e de aprendizagem, apontam que há algumas dificuldades de desenvolvimento de ações enfrentadas no processo de orientação para a vivência do PJB:

> São inúmeras as dificuldades, principalmente o fato de muitos alunos não se disporem a estudar no contraturno, além disso, há também o fato de a maioria dos professores não ter disponibilidade de tempo e a gestão não colaborar na flexibilização de horários. Muitas vezes, para superar tal dificuldade, os alunos são levados para estudar na casa do próprio professor. Exigências de mais tempo de estudo e trabalho fora de carga horária, encontros... (P2)
>
> As principais dificuldades estão relacionadas à falta de interesse de alguns estudantes sobre temáticas referentes à política brasileira e até mesmo sobre democracia. Eu tento superar essas dificuldades através das aulas iniciais, as quais eu busco discutir e demostrar a relevância dessa temática para uma sociedade democrática (P5).

Conforme assinalado pelos professores, diferentes aspectos prejudicam a efetivação de uma construção consubstancial de práticas pedagógicas. Pelos depoimentos dos envolvidos, a questão do tempo, do espaço e o papel da gestão escolar são expressões que soam como artefatos que desfavorecem a atuação mais efetiva no processo de construção dos projetos dos estudantes. Desse modo, reflete-se sobre a importância da existência de escolas de tempo integral, as quais apresentam estrutura, tempo e espaço físico para a consolidação de ações próprias que deem suporte às diferentes práticas pedagógicas.

O despertar para a consciência da relevância da participação e da presença dos diferentes segmentos na política e na compreensão de seu processo organizativo é o caminho para cativar os jovens ao engajamento e à perspicácia de criação de projetos para resolução dos conflitos/problemas sociais, uma vez que "a participação é uma habilidade que se aprende e se aperfeiçoa" (BORDENAVE, 1983, p. 46), com a construção de alternativas que deem condições de sua existência, pois a participação é um ato político (FREIRE, 2015), que repercute na vida cotidiana de todas as pessoas.

As vozes dos estudantes revelam que as ações desenvolvidas na escola possibilitam a participação em diferentes atividades que compreendem múltiplos aspectos, importantes ao engajamento e ao desenvolvimento do estudante.

> Sim, sempre participei de concursos de redação, da organização dos eventos escolares, reuniões, dentre outros (E1).
>
> Sim. Apresentações em atividades lançadas pela escola como: palestras, dinâmicas, apresentações com temas, feira de ciências etc. (E2).
>
> Sim. Além das atividades referentes ao desenvolvimento de projetos para o PJB, participei de feiras de ciências e gincanas de matemática (E9).
>
> Sim. Do PJB, da Olimpíada de Língua Portuguesa Escrevendo o Futuro, Jovem Senador (E10).

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> Sim. Desde quando entrei no Ensino Médio procurei me dedicar ao máximo a todas as atividades propostas pela escola. Além das atividades cotidianas, que são comum [sic] a todas as escolas, eu tive a oportunidade de participar de diversas atividades. Dentre elas, as que mais me destaquei foram nos concursos de produção textual, tais como Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro, Jovem Senador, Olimpíada de Língua Portuguesa etc. Além disso, no período que cursei o Ensino Médio, a escola contava com o apoio do Programa de Ensino Médio Inovador – ProEMI, o qual permitiu que a instituição realizar [sic] diversos eventos artísticos, científicos e culturais. E durante esse período pude atuar como monitor através do programa Jovem de Futuro (E14).

> Sim. Jovem Senador, Olimpíada Piauiense de Português, olimpíada de língua portuguesa. Câmara mirim (E15).

Conforme já apontado, a participação e o envolvimento dos estudantes são relevantes para a formação de indivíduos socialmente ativos e participativos, preparados para usufruir a plena cidadania (GUTIERREZ, 2004). Ademais, cabe ao grupo gestor, bem como aos professores, o incentivo à participação dos estudantes. Os aspectos sinalizados pelos estudantes evidenciam a forma dinâmica de organicidade da política escolar, a qual contribui para que os estudantes se envolvessem nos processos escolares, favorecendo a aprendizagem e as múltiplas possibilidades de engajamento juvenil.

Em relação ao processo de engajamento juvenil, tendo a escola como campo de ação, os depoimentos dos estudantes evidenciaram as suas percepções sobre os esforços institucionais para garantir oportunidade de atuação e o sucesso nas atividades.

> Com certeza, a escola além de ter me proporcionado ótimas oportunidades, ainda ajudou a me abrir para conhecer coisas novas, a saber me posicionar perante a sociedade (pensar fora da caixinha). (E1).

> Sim, pois a mesma sempre nos atualizava sobre as oportunidades destinadas a jovens protagonistas em programas para as escolas, além de atividades, até mesmo em sala de aula, que nos estimulavam a ser um protagonista (E2).

> Sim, porquanto foi na escola que eu fui estimulado a participar de programas estudantis que me proporcionaram uma grande evolução intelectual e como cidadão. Ao me apresentar possibilidades que iam muito além da sala de aula, a escola abriu todo um leque de possibilidades para a minha vida acadêmica e mesmo profissional, pois participar de programas como o PJB acabou agregando ao meu conhecimento coisas que raramente são aprendidas em sala de aula (E9).

> Sim, através do incentivo por parte dos professores e da oferta de oportunidades que auxiliam o desenvolvimento pleno de habilidades de escrita, oratória e sociais, tabu para a grande maioria do corpo discente (E13).

> Sem dúvidas a referida escola contribuiu muito para meu protagonismo. Quando eu ingressei nessa instituição eu não tinha muitas perspectivas, queria apenas terminar "os estudos" assim como pensam grande parte dos jovens da minha região. No entanto, conheci professores que me mostraram o quanto é prazeroso e importante o processo de aprendizagem. A partir de então eu comecei a me dedicar cada vez mais e aproveitar todas as oportunidades que surgiam. É importante destacar que todos os professores e agentes dessa escola contribuíram muito para meu protagonismo, entretanto, a professora de Língua Portuguesa da 1ª série foi a que mais me motivou através de suas práticas pedagógicas. A maneira que ela ensinava e se preocupava era diferente. Ela conseguia explorar nossas habilidades, sem que percebêssemos. Na verdade, foi ela que me orientou e esteve ao meu lado durante toda a minha jornada no Ensino Médio (E14).

Os depoimentos dos estudantes mostram que a participação é o elemento gerador para a concretização do protagonismo. As experiências expostas pelos estudantes vão ao encontro da perspectiva defendida por Munõz (2004, p. 91), quando este salienta que "participar é ser protagonista e solidário ao mesmo tempo, para mudar a partir do compartilhar". Os destaques dos estudantes relevam a importância da atuação dos diferentes profissionais para assegurar uma educação que faça sentindo e construa itinerários formativos propícios ao engajamento e ao protagonismo estudantil.

De acordo com os discentes, a promoção do protagonismo estudantil está interligada ao incentivo de práticas que extrapolem a sala de aula, está vinculada ao participar, ao ouvir e ser ouvido, ao fazer, enfim, a ser autor de suas próprias histórias. A construção de propostas pedagógicas que tenham como centro a escuta aos estudantes é uma dimensão propícia para a efetivação da concepção de gestão democrática, bem como à consolidação de ações que tenham como centro os anseios dos estudantes. Na visão deles, para a concretização do protagonismo são necessárias distintas propostas, destacando-se:

> Além do conteúdo didático já aplicado, acredito que as aulas práticas ajudam muito, bem como a apresentação de seminários, onde o aluno é posto como protagonista mesmo. A responsabilidade por organizar eventos escolares, que, de certa forma, é uma capacitação. A participação da escola em concursos estaduais e nacionais, que estimulam os alunos a se destacarem, dentre muitas outras atividades (E1).

> Redações e atividades como o PJB, onde os jovens podem expressar a sua visão do mundo e elaborar soluções para os problemas que os cercam (E7).

> Eventos de cunho social, ambiental, econômico etc. Incentivando, assim, sempre perspectivas diferentes e bem promissoras provindas do público jovem (E8).

> Programas de estímulo à leitura; ao pensamento crítico; à produção científica; à participação político-social, tanto no ambiente escolar quanto fora dele; e atividades que deem destaque àqueles alunos mais aplicados (E9).

> Atividades que coloquem os alunos como líderes, atividades que façam com que os alunos se coloquem a frente, dando, talvez, sua própria opinião (E10)

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> A meu ver, para que o protagonismo estudantil seja alcançado, é necessário que a escola mostre aos discentes que a educação vai além da sala de aula. É fundamental que a escola desenvolva projetos que mostrem ao discente que o conhecimento que ele constrói na sala de aula é aplicável não somente para exames e vestibulares, mas na sua vida como todo. Alguns exemplos de atividades que podem favorecer para o protagonismo estudantil são os programas e concursos extracurriculares, a realização de eventos artísticos culturais, o desenvolvimento de projetos interdisciplinares com aplicação prática, entre outras ações (E14).

A participação não é um fenômeno natural, é algo cultural que pode ser aprendido, incentivado e melhorado (BORDENAVE, 1983). Dessa forma, o sucesso da participação dos estudantes é fruto de uma ampla articulação entre todos os envolvidos no contexto de ensino e de aprendizagem. O processo de participação, de escuta e de envolvimento é complexo (BORDENAVE, 1983) e repercute diretamente no modo de visão de um projeto de sociedade, sendo necessário que os construtores de políticas, de planejamento escolar e educacional, de avaliação de políticas e de aprendizagem congreguem em suas bases epistemológicas a participação como princípio norteador e dinâmico para o sucesso do paradigma em construção.

A vivência do PJB na escola repercute nas experiências dos envolvidos, tendo diferentes sujeitos que se engajam para o sucesso das propostas. Esse aspecto pode ser observado nos depoimentos dos estudantes, quanto ao papel dos educadores na orientação para o PJB. Desse modo, foi destacado que:

> Mesmo não tendo sido selecionada, o auxílio deles foi de suma importância para que eu concluísse o meu projeto. Tanto em pesquisas, como em revisões, dúvidas, estavam sempre dispostos a ajudar (E1).
>
> Sempre nos estimularam a tentar, a fazer as atividades, nos ensinando e direcionando (E2).
>
> Acredito que o fator mais importante tenha sido uma orientação próxima e individualizada (E3).
>
> Sempre me dando dicas, me ajudando nas correções, indicando material e me motivando (E7)
>
> Oferecendo apoio teórico, sugerindo melhorias para o projeto e proporcionando oportunidades para que eu pudesse expor minhas ideias e debatê-las com os professores e com outros participante do PJB (E9).
>
> Oferecendo a oportunidade de debates, instigando o pensamento crítico, auxiliando desde a diagramação do PL a correções ortográficas, através de incentivos via WhatsApp, acreditando que éramos capazes, enfim de todas as formas cabíveis (E13).
>
> A todo momento, eles estiveram auxiliando na produção do projeto, além de nos incentivarem durante a produção (E15).

A participação e o protagonismo são como uma via de mão dupla, isto é, na medida que depende do envolvimento do estudante, também é fruto da dedicação dos professores e gestores para garantir espaço, tempo e sucesso nas proposições dos estudantes. Nesse cenário, a atuação de todos é um arranjo político e social, no qual repercutem as ações vivenciadas, isso porque "a gestão democrática é condição necessária para a autonomia e o protagonismo estudantil" (MARTINS, 2002, p. 22). Na visão de Campos (2010, p. 111), "o professor cria e recria, inventa e reinventa o processo pedagógico", com a finalidade de desenvolver uma costura pedagógica, a qual torne possível o sucesso dos estudantes em suas empreitadas.

Cabe destacar que a articulação de todos os entes é o que vai proporcionar uma aprendizagem significativa, fazendo valer os princípios evidenciados nos dispositivos legais. No processo de desenvolvimento dos projetos, todos são importantes e todas as experiências vivenciadas anteriormente contribuem para o favorecimento de novas estratégias que despertam para a visão política e social dos anseios dos envolvidos. De acordo com Lück (2013), o protagonismo é um princípio que ancora a gestão escolar, os profissionais da educação, os estudantes e a comunidade local, logo é pela participação que se entende o desenvolvimento crítico, político e social para a construção da formação integral dos estudantes.

Em meio a essa dinamicidade, os estudantes que conseguiram alcançar a última etapa do PJB revelaram que:

> Foi de total importância não somente para ganho de conhecimento, mas também pessoal. Aprender mais sobre a política, e também lutar pelos nossos direitos como cidadão (E2).
>
> Uma relevância imensurável. Conhecer e atuar como um agente transformador do país é exercer, de fato, sua cidadania (E8).
>
> A me tornar mais comunicativa, socialmente uma cidadã que se preocupa com a sociedade (E11).
>
> Essa experiência contribuiu de forma bastante significativa para minha formação cidadã, política e social, uma vez que pude entender na prática a rotina de um Deputado Federal, sua importância para sociedade e compreender como funciona todo o processo legislativo. Além disso, o PJB permitiu a convivência com jovens de todos os estados brasileiros de diferentes culturas e regiões. E o mais interessante é que cada um deles tinha uma proposta de melhoria para o Brasil. Sem dúvidas, esse programa é essencial para o processo democrático brasileiro, já que aproxima e amplia a visão do estudante sobre a política brasileira (E14).
>
> Eu tive uma experiência incrível, evolui as minhas ideias sobre o que é política. Firmei novos conceitos e destruí preconceitos. Conheci o Brasil inteiro em único lugar e me apaixonei por ele. Percebi que a educação precisava de mudanças e com o incentivo dos meus professores eu tive a coragem de seguir carreira em um curso de licenciatura (E15).

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Por meio do exposto pelos estudantes, pode-se notar a relevância da participação na última etapa do PJB, uma vez que, nessa realização, há uma congregação de saberes, de culturas e de experiências que enriquece os olhares e as sistematizações da compreensão de mundo e de política. A atuação como um deputado jovem favorece a percepção dos problemas político, social, econômico, assim como salienta a responsabilidade coletiva dos anseios para a construção de um país melhor.

Com os depoimentos apresentados, foi possível notar que o PJB cumpre com as expectativas dos estudantes, permitindo-lhes uma experiência enriquecedora e favorecendo-lhes a formação de múltiplos aspectos da cidadania. Nesse constructo, "participar é algo político, um jogo democrático" (MUNÕZ, 2004, p. 92), o qual confere espaço de protagonismo aos jovens, sinalizando o despertar para a vivência da política e da construção de uma sociedade justa e igualitária. O PJB, desse modo, contribui com a efetivação da democracia brasileira, com a participação na escola, comungando com a necessidade de ações como essas nas distintas experiências no chão da escola.

IV. Considerações Finais

O Programa Parlamento Jovem Brasileiro tem a finalidade de contribuir e incentivar politicamente os jovens à participação nos debates e nos processos democráticos. O Programa favorece a participação dos jovens na política, dando voz e vez com a finalidade de que possam refletir e discutir sobre os dilemas políticos e sociais. Com base no exposto, a participação e o protagonismo são ferramentas para o desenvolvimento da plena cidadania e o PJB contribui em diversos aspectos para o alcance desse mérito, sendo destaque a conscientização quanto ao seu lugar no espaço social.

As vozes dos profissionais da escola e dos estudantes revelaram a importância de projetos como o PJB, mostrando que o Programa agregou valores e habilidades aos envolvidos. Ele, juntamente com todas as ações desenvolvidas no chão da escola, possibilitou aos estudantes a oportunidade de serem protagonistas de suas próprias histórias e ideias, bem como vivenciar aspectos inerentes ao processo de cidadania. As ações realizadas na escola para a implementação do PJB favoreceram o protagonismo dos estudantes, apesar da complexidade do processo, como foi possível observar nos depoimentos.

Os depoimentos dos envolvidos revelaram que as ações e os esforços da escola vão ao encontro aos anseios dos estudantes. A conjuntura pedagógica e profissional da instituição faz valer a necessidade de participação dos estudantes, proporcionando condições para o sucesso da participação e do engajamento juvenil. Nas leis que regulam o ato educativo, no âmbito da educação formal, o protagonismo estudantil ganhou um significativo espaço, no entanto, na prática, o fôlego dos estudantes e dos profissionais é tomado pelas inúmeras burocracias, especialmente as cobranças governamentais. Contudo, programas como o PJB são saídas que permitem vislumbrar a possibilidade de práticas pedagógicas que propiciam a vivência plena do processo escolar e juvenil, na condição de protagonista.

Com base nos resultados apresentados, fica evidenciada a necessidade de engajamento das diferentes esferas sociais para a promoção de um aprendizado significativo. As práticas pedagógicas no chão da escola devem possibilitar o protagonismo dos estudantes e, por sua vez, devem ser apoiadas e incentivadas por entidades políticas e sociais. A articulação entre essas esferas pode contribuir para a construção de um projeto de sociedade igualitário e participativo.

Por fim, salienta-se a necessidade de incentivo a programas e projetos que favoreçam a articulação com os saberes das escolas e dos diferentes segmentos que a compõem, possibilitando que os estudantes tornem-se protagonistas de ações sociais, articulando os saberes, as práticas e as ideias escolares com a política, com a finalidade de incentivá-los a envolverem-se com os dilemas sociais e políticos, como papel da escola e dos princípios educacionais. As políticas educacionais são possíveis caminhos para a construção de novas estratégias que congreguem os anseios sinalizados, basta perceber a importância das práticas que acontecem no chão da escola para dinamizar as políticas, orientando-as como itinerários formativos. Eis, portanto, o desafio!

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When Man Played God the Dangers of Artificial Intelligence

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Abstract- Through this essay, the dangers that the development and use of Artificial Intelligence can bring to Humanity are analyzed, trying to synthesize its background and starting from the analyzes that various theorists and researchers have made in this regard. In addition to proposing solutions that could mitigate or eliminate the dangers that are already beginning to be glimpsed.

Keywords: *artificial intelligence, algorithms, social networks, ICTS, regulation.*

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When Man Played God the Dangers of Artificial Intelligence

Cuando el Hombre Jugó a Ser Dios Los Peligros de la Inteligencia Artificial

Salvador Alan Fernández De Lara García

Resúmen- **A través del presente ensayo, se analizan los peligros que puede traer a la Humanidad el desarrollo y uso de la Inteligencia Artificial, tratando de sintetizar los antecedentes de la misma y partiendo de los análisis que diversos teóricos e investigadores han hecho al respecto. Además de que se proponen soluciones que podrían atenuar o eliminar los peligros que ya comienzan a vislumbrarse.**

Palabras Clave: inteligencia artificial, algoritmos, redes sociales, TIC'S, regulación.

Abstract- **Through this essay, the dangers that the development and use of Artificial Intelligence can bring to Humanity are analyzed, trying to synthesize its background and starting from the analyzes that various theorists and researchers have made in this regard. In addition to proposing solutions that could mitigate or eliminate the dangers that are already beginning to be glimpsed.**

Keywords: artificial intelligence, algorithms, social networks, ICTS, regulation.

I. Introducción

Hace poco más de diez años, asistí a una ponencia impartida por el Dr. Michio Kaku en la que este científico exponía que la tecnología avanzaría, a pasos agigantados, en algunos años próximos. Llegó a hablar de tapizar las paredes de las casas con imágenes que iban a salir del lente de un proyector, de que los chips costarían baratísimos y de otras cosas que no recuerdo bien. Pero entre todas las cosas que el Dr. Kaku dijo, él hizo énfasis en aspectos que ahora conocemos cono Inteligencia Artificial.

Y, aunque muchas de las cosas que señaló el Dr. Kaku no se han cumplido aún, varias de esos presagios han cobrado sentido y se han hecho realidad. En específico, lo referente a la Inteligencia Artificial.

Y a pesar de que esto es así, yo nunca creí que en el mundo se podría llegar a ver, en tan poco tiempo, avances significativos en el campo tecnológico del que estamos hablando. Simplemente se me hacía casi utópico o fantasioso el hecho de que en un pequeño aparatito se pudiesen hacer más cosas que una llamada telefónica o mandar mensajes de textos. Nunca creí que un celular pudiera servir como una computadora. Tampoco llegué a imaginar que, un día, los automóviles podrían andar por las calles sin tener adentro a un ser humano conduciendo. No se me hacía imaginable que, en un establecimiento comercial, las labores habituales se hicieran por máquinas o algoritmos y que sólo estuvieran trabajando en esos sitios, a lo mucho, un par de personas. Tampoco creí posible que unos algoritmos pudiesen llegar a escribir una nota periodística o que pudiesen adivinar, con una precisión de susto, los gustos y preferencias de la gente.

Al parecer estamos enfrentando una era que, hasta hace unos cuantos años, podríamos haber imaginado que sólo era posible en las películas o novelas de ciencia ficción.

Pero las cosas no son tan sencillas como parecen ser. En todo el mundo, científicos trabajan para crear androides que piensen por ellos mismos (tal como lo hacen los seres humanos) y, de hecho, ya se han logrado prototipos que logran hacer cosas como éstas. Lo peor del asunto es que ya no sólo se están elaborando máquinas que piensan como lo hace un humano, sino que los científicos están trabajando para crear robots que tengan sentimientos. Y las preguntas obligadas serían: ¿qué sucedería si las máquinas llegasen a ser más inteligentes que la raza humana?, ¿qué peligros habría, de hacerse realidad el supuesto planteado en la anterior pregunta?

Y es por ello que en el presente ensayo se realiza un análisis de la Inteligencia Artificial, desde una perspectiva jurídica y social. Se analizarán los pros y los contras de esta revolución cibernética que ya nos está rebasando y se definirán soluciones que puedan lograr que la Inteligencia Artificial sólo sea una herramienta que siga ayudando al progreso de la raza humana y no a su destrucción.

El claro objetivo de este trabajo es concientizar a todos los seres humanos sobre el peligro latente que, para el mundo, significa el que no haya una regulación al respecto y, a su vez, que el desarrollo de la Inteligencia Artificial sea antiético.

II. El Día Que Prometeo le Robó el Fuego a Zeus

Desde que Alan Turing desarrolló, durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, una máquina que descifraría

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el *Código Enigma*[1], la computación comenzó a tener un auge que, hasta la fecha, no se ha detenido ni ha tenido límites.

A partir de ese entonces, las computadoras se comenzaron a hacer más compactas y empezaron a procesar miles de datos en pocos minutos o segundos. Fue un proceso gradual que resultó prometedor para facilitarles el trabajo a los humanos. Así surgieron personajes como Steve Jobs o Bill Gates.

Porque, cabe destacar, actualmente vivimos la cuarta revolución industrial. Un momento determinante en la Historia de la Humanidad, en la que la ciencia y la tecnología avanzan a pasos agigantados.

En unas pocas décadas, las computadoras llegaron a tener el mismo tamaño que los antiguos televisores. La diferencia entra ambos aparatos radicaba en las funciones que cada uno realizaba: la televisión sólo emitía imágenes. Y, en ese momento, parecía difícil imaginar que uno de esos aparatos pudiera igualar o superar a un ser humano. Sólo eran herramientas al servicio de las personas.

Pero el desarrollo de la tecnología continuó con su acelerado ascenso y evolución, hasta que llegó la telefonía móvil. Primero surgieron unos grandes y pesados celulares con los cuales un individuo se podía comunicar a muchas partes del mundo, sin la necesidad de estar en un lugar fijo (como sí sucedía con la telefonía fija). Eso facilitaba mucho el estar comunicado. Pero ese servicio no era nada económico. Era un privilegio al que solamente pocos tenían acceso.

Sin embargo, el uso de la computación y la telefonía móvil se fue democratizando. Se volvió más y más y más accesible. Y las computadoras se fueron haciendo más compactas y los celulares también. Y el tiempo pasó y, a su vez, se terminó uniendo a la telefonía móvil con una computadora. O, mejor dicho, los científicos lograron hacer que un teléfono móvil fuera una mini computadora.

Y, aparte de todo, se lograron optimizar las funciones que se podían llevar a cabo a través de una computadora: escribir textos, hacer presentaciones, hacer cuentas matemáticas y gráficas y, la que ha resultado más importante, tener acceso a internet. Porque, cabe destacar, que la Inteligencia Artificial se basa en eso: internet.

Pero antes de entrar en este tema, es preciso especificar de dónde surge el internet. Pues bien, lo primero que se creó fue la señal de *wifi* y esto fue inventado por Hady Lamarr. Posteriormente, muchos años después de dicho invento, Berners Lee creo la *World Wide Web*, mejor conocido como internet.

El internet fue creado con fines militares. Era una manera de lograr vigilancia, así como mantener comunicación con las bases militares de los Estados Unidos en diversas partes del mundo. Pero, con el paso del tiempo, el internet se abrió paso para que lo pudieran usar todas las personas, primero, a través de una computadora y, luego, por medio de un teléfono celular.

Y cuando el internet comenzó a ser usado por mucha gente alrededor del mundo, diversas personas comenzaron a desarrollar páginas de internet por medio de las cuales los seres humanos podían mantener cierta interacción social con otros: las llamadas redes sociales. En dichos sitios digitales, las personas podían compartir fotos con sus amistades, hacer comentarios y demás. Pero cuando Mark Zuckerberg (un estudiante de la Universidad de Harvard) creó un sitio llamado *Facebook*, las redes sociales comenzaron a tener un impacto global que determinó el rumbo de las interacciones sociales de la gran mayoría de los seres humanos. A partir de ahí, mucha gente le ha dado más importancia a su actividad digital, que a su interacción física con otras personas.

Y, a su vez, dicha red social se ha ido perfeccionando y se ha unido a otras redes sociales como *Instagram* o *Whatsapp*. Eso evidencia que en Facebook, y sus demás sitios hermanos, millones de personas interactúan a diario: se mandan mensajes, publican fotos o videos, hacen comentarios, etcétera. Y tanto es así, que la gran mayoría de los actores públicos (políticos, actores, cantantes, deportistas y otros) cuentan con alguna de estas redes sociales y, a través de ellas, se comunican con su respectivo público. Y lo mismo sucede con las empresas y los organismos gubernamentales.

A su vez, de unos quince años a la fecha, *YouTube* se ha convertido en uno de los sitios con mayor contenido audiovisual del mundo. Siendo que, a través de dicha página, muchos individuos han saltado a la fama nacional o mundial a través de videos que esas mismas personas graban, editan y suben a la red. Y, al mismo tiempo, eso se ha vuelto una actividad económica productiva como la que realiza cualquier persona en su trabajo diario; ya que muchos de esos *youtubers o influéncer*[2] generan dinero a través de esos videos. Es decir, la gente que quiere sobresalir en el medio de la farándula ya no necesita de una televisora para lograr su objetivo. Sólo necesita de una cámara y algo de creatividad.

Y, al mismo tiempo, una persona ya no tiene que esperar a ver una película en el cine o a que transmitan una serie en la televisión, porque ella misma puede tener acceso a plataformas digitales como *Netflix, Amazon Prime* y otras. Y lo mismo sucede con la

[1] Código encriptado con el que las autoridades de la Alemania Nazi se comunicaban para informarse sobre los ataques ofensivos o defensivos de sus tropas, movimientos estratégicos de los países oponentes durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

[2] Denominación con el que se ha denominado a aquellas personas que suben contenido a YouTube y/o a otras redes sociales.

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música. Porque hay plataformas digitales (como *Spotify*) que cuentan con contenido musical. Así que ya no es necesario ir a una tienda de música para adquirir discos de los cantantes o músicos preferidos.

Pero hay algo que aún no hemos dicho. Cuando el internet comenzó a tener relevancia en la vida diaria de millones de seres humanos, algunas personas comenzaron a crear buscadores de información. De esa manera, cualquier persona podría encontrar mucha de la información que existiera sobre algún tema de su interés, con tan sólo escribirlo en un espacio de la página web y, luego, dar *click* en la palabra *buscar*. Así surgieron sitios como *Yahoo* o *Google*. Pero este último fue el que mayor éxito y arraigo tuvo entre la población mundial.

A su vez, desde hace algunos años, se comenzaron a crear aplicaciones que se instalaban en el celular o computadora y, por medio de las cuales, una persona podía hacer o tener acceso a cosas que nunca nos hubiéramos imaginado (hacer transferencias bancarias, inversiones bursátiles, adquisición de productos, contratación de servicios, aprendizaje de cualquier habilidad, etcétera).

Y es aquí en el que tenemos que hacer una pausa; porque precisamente Facebook, YouTube y las demás redes sociales utilizan algoritmos para ordenar y seleccionar la información que le aparecerá a algún usuario de las mismas, basado en sus preferencias y gustos. Preferencias y gustos que se conocen por el pequeño cuestionario que se llega a contestar al crear alguna cuenta en dichos portales digitales o a través de la actividad que se tiene a diario en esos sitios web: los videos que se ven, las páginas que se buscan, las personas a las que se le comentan sus publicaciones, entre otras. De esta manera, los algoritmos son los que deciden qué información mostrarte en ciertos momentos.

Y lo mismo sucede con los buscadores como Google. A través de algoritmos, la página web le muestra a una persona la información que tiene relación con el tema que ésta está buscando. Y eso facilita que la gente tenga acceso a diverso tipo de información (mucha de ella, especializada y gratuita), sin necesidad de ir a una biblioteca o librería. Y eso se realiza a través de algoritmos. Y algo similar sucede con las aplicaciones y plataformas digitales.

Cabe destacar que, precisamente, la Inteligencia Artificial funciona a través de algoritmos. Así que todas las redes sociales, y los buscadores como Google, utilizan Inteligencia Artificial.

III. La Paradoja de la Inteligencia Artificial

El hecho de que los algoritmos y, a su vez, la inteligencia artificial nos esté inundando, hace que la vida cotidiana vaya cambiando a pasos agigantados: la inteligencia artificial, poco a poco, va sustituyendo millones de empleos en el mundo, va cambiando las condiciones laborales, va eliminando oficios y profesiones.

Y eso no es algo nuevo: así sucedió durante la primera, segunda y tercera revolución industrial. Es algo que va implícito al avance tecnológico.

Sin embargo, muchas de esas situaciones no han sido reguladas por el Derecho. Ya sabemos que las leyes evolucionan conforme va evolucionando la sociedad; pero, generalmente, primero avanza la sociedad y, después, el Derecho regula ese avance. Siempre ha sido así.

Por ejemplo, México fue el primer país en el mundo en regular a las *criptomonedas* y a las empresas que las producían. Pero dicha regulación se logró unos cuantos años después de que las criptomonedas habían comenzado a ser usadas. Y lo mismo ha sucedido con todo aquello que tiene que ver con algoritmos e inteligencia artificial. Es más, gran parte de las situaciones que abarca la inteligencia artificial no ha sido regulada por ningún país del mundo. Es como si se negaran a ver el grave problema que, de no regularse, dicha situación se está alzando frente a nuestros ojos.

Porque, aunque la inteligencia artificial implica un gran avance de la Humanidad y una herramienta grandiosa para los seres humanos, la misma ya ha comenzado a generar una fuente de problemas menores que, en poco tiempo, alcanzarán escalas peligrosas.

Como se ha dicho en la introducción del presente trabajo, ya se han desarrollado máquinas que piensan como si fueran seres humanos y que pueden mantener una conversación con cualquier persona. Y también se comentó que ya se trabaja en la creación de máquinas que no sólo piensen como humanos, sino que tengan sentimientos. Como vemos, y bajo el argumento central señalado por Yuval Noah Harari en su libro *De animales a dioses*, el ser humano ha experimentado una evolución tal que comienza a actuar como dios, pero eso se le puede salir de las manos…[3]

Y un claro ejemplo de esto, lo podemos encontrar en Siri, Alexa y demás asistentes virtuales que pueden auxiliar a un individuo, con el sólo hecho de que éste lo pida de propia voz, en la búsqueda de ciertas cosas en el internet. Sin embargo, ya ha habido casos en los que las máquinas que utilizan a esos asistentes virtuales se encienden de la nada y comienzan a transmitir información, reproducir música o videos como si tuvieran vida propia. Y no es que la tengan, sino que, precisamente, los algoritmos están diseñados para que

[3] Se afirma esto, porque el ser humano tiene la capacidad de decidir el destino (para bien y para mal) no sólo de su propia especia, sino de todo el mundo. Y eso es algo que ya se venía tratando desde hace varias décadas por pensadores como Hannah Arendth.

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se encuentren en constante aprendizaje y eso genera que la inteligencia artificial vaya evolucionando por ella misma y, de alguna manera, se vaya automatizando. Porque, en un principio, una máquina es alimentada humanamente, por cierta información que será utilizada por los algoritmos para su desempeño inicial diario. Y luego esa información se completa con otra y con otra. Es decir, la inteligencia artificial se basa en el aprendizaje diario: va desarrollándose y perfeccionándose.

Y aquí es dónde debemos preguntarnos: ¿qué sucederá si una máquina funciona de manera totalmente automatizada y se vuelve autónoma? Eso, a todas luces, podría resultar peligroso. Aunque suene a guión cliché de película de ciencia ficción… Porque no estamos en el mundo de *Terminator*, estamos en la vida real. Y esto ya está sucediendo.

Por otro lado, en el mundo ya han existido experimentos sociales en los cuales se ha buscado que un androide sea candidato a algún cargo de elección popular. Andrés Oppenheimer, en su libro *¡Sálvese quien puede!,* señala la curios historia de Michihito Matsuda, quién es un robot que fue postulado para ocupar la alcaldía de la localidad japonesa de Tama y que obtuvo cuatro mil votos, quedando en tercer lugar. Es decir, sí hubo gente que emitió su sufragio por una máquina.

De hecho, algunos expertos en algoritmos e inteligencia artificial creen que un robot podría gobernar mejor que un ser humano, debido a que esa máquina tomaría miles o millones de datos para llegar a una conclusión y, así, llevar a cabo alguna decisión de gobierno. Sin embargo, es evidente que para que un androide haga esa tarea, primero un humano tendría que alimentar a la máquina con los datos necesarios para que los algoritmos hagan su trabajo. De esta manera, tendríamos que elegir al humano que efectúe dicho trabajo. Y, entonces, ¿qué sucedería si la persona encargada de llenar esa información no hace su labor de manera ética? Así que el resultado sería similar o igual al que sucede con muchos de los políticos actualmente. Finalmente, existiría la posibilidad de que programe al robot que gobierne de alguna manera que no sea benéfica para la sociedad en general. Por su parte, si la inteligencia artificial llega a un punto en el que supere a la inteligencia humana, el gobierno quedaría en manos de una máquina y, por ende, la toma de decisiones de gobierno y administración pública. Y no creo que un robot pueda llegar a ser empático con los seres humanos. Ahora, si se llega a dar el hecho de que las máquinas tengan sentimientos, las cosas se podrían poner peor, pues así como hay sentimientos positivos, también los hay negativos. Y, entonces, se podría dar el caso de que un androide pueda sentir envidia, ambición u otras.

Como vemos, estamos a un paso de caer en una distopía como las que se ven en novelas como *Yo, Robot*, *1984* o *Un Mundo Feliz*.

También está pasando que se están desarrollando armas que funcionan a través de la inteligencia artificial. Y sus desarrolladores aseguran que son más seguras y exactas que aquellas manejadas por los seres humanos. Pero imaginemos que cierta arma que funciona con inteligencia artificial sufre alguna falla, ¿qué pasaría si termina matando o atentando contra inocentes? ¿En quién recaería la responsabilidad de ese error?

Al mismo tiempo, ya se comienza a ver algo peligroso para la democracia: los algoritmos de las redes sociales comienzan a mostrarles a sus usuarios noticias, artículos de opinión y demás información que está relacionada con sus aficiones o gustos en particular. Y aquella que no es del agrado de una persona, simplemente no se muestra (salvo que ese usuario la busque por sí mismo). Eso genera que una persona sólo se entere de aquella información que, en apariencia, quiere recibir y no de de aquella que no le agrada. Con ello, se genera que las personas no puedan ser objetivas ante temas de trascendencia política, social o económica y que, a su vez, se de paso a fanatismos ideológicos; es decir, que los seres humanos crean que únicamente lo que a ellos les agrada es lo correcto, mientras que lo demás está mal. Eso provocará que se polarice aún más a la sociedad y que no puedan existir consensos para llegar a acuerdos que beneficien a todos. Recordemos que uno de los principios de la democracia es la pluralidad de ideas y eso está en grave riesgo.

> La individualización de las noticias puede llevar a manipularnos políticamente, porque los algoritmos de las plataformas como Google y Facebook están diseñados para satisfacer al consumidor, más que para cumplir una función cívica (Oppenheimer, 2018, p.84).

En otras palabras, gracias a los algoritmos y la inteligencia artificial, pueden fortalecerse tendencias totalitarias, ultranacionalistas, populistas o ultraconservadoras que pongan en riesgo a la democracia, la libertad de las personas y, por consecuencia, al Estado de Derecho. Y eso lo podemos ver en acontecimientos como la violenta toma del Capitolio a unas cuantas horas de calificar a Joe Biden como Presidente de los Estados Unidos, las manifestaciones de personas que no creen que el coronavirus exista o que la mascarilla facial sirva para no infectarse, entre otras.

Finalmente, es menester indicar que el uso de la inteligencia artificial generará grandes rezagos laborales: muchas personas serán sustituidas por máquinas inteligentes que harán su trabajo de una manera más rápida y precisa. Eso podría provocar más pobreza y hambruna de la que ya existe. Por su parte, el hecho de que las máquinas comiencen a hacer trabajos

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que antes eran realizados por humanos, generará que muchos oficios y profesiones terminen siendo obsoletas o casi inservibles. Eso dará pie a que esos trabajos desaparezcan y, al mismo tiempo, que surjan otras en las que la tecnología sea el tronco común.

IV. Soluciones Prontas Para un Problema Naciente

Como pudimos ver en el apartado anterior, los beneficios de la inteligencia artificial son muchos, pero también lo son los perjuicios que con ésta se pueden provocar. Finalmente, el ser humano no es perfecto y, aunque la inteligencia artificial lo parezca, es probable que tenga errores que puedan costar caro; pues, al fin y al cabo, la inteligencia artificial es una creación humana.

Y aunque muchos expertos en el tema se muestran optimistas con los avances de la inteligencia artificial, la Historia de la Humanidad nos muestra que los optimismos no sirven para prevenir catástrofes y que, de hecho, muchos acontecimientos tristes de la Historia se pudieron evitar si no se hubiese sido tan optimista.[4]

Es evidente que estamos en un momento en el que la supervivencia y futuro de la raza humana están pendiendo de un hilo: estamos en pleno auge de un avance científico y tecnológico que nos podría generar más caos del que ya existe.

Alguna vez Mahatma Gandhi señaló que uno de los factores que destruyen al ser humano es la ciencia sin ética. Y, al parecer, eso es lo que está sucediendo con el desarrollo de la inteligencia artificial.

Es por ello que la UNESCO llamó, durante el año 2020, a una consulta en la que sus países miembros, así como expertos en la materia, pudieran aportar ideas para que se creara una *Declaración Universal de la inteligencia artificia,* vislumbrando a la ética como el eje central de éste documento. Y, de hecho, dicha consulta ya ha concluido y la UNESCO está llevando a cabo la elaboración de ese documento internacional. Sin embargo, es claro que esa declaración sería un instrumento internacional que, en teoría, surtiría efectos hasta que fuese aprobada por la mayoría de sus integrantes. Pero, lamentablemente, el Derecho Internacional Público es de buena fe y aunque se aprobase dicha declaración, los países podrían hacer caso omiso a ese instrumento internacional; porque, al ser de buena fe, no hay manera de coaccionar a los Estados para que cumplan con sus obligaciones internacionales. Recordemos que existe el principio de soberanía nacional y de no intervención.

Así, los países deberían de reformar su legislación interna y, al mismo tiempo, crear normas jurídicas que regulen todo lo referente a la inteligencia artificial. Tal como se hizo en su momento con el tema de la clonación. A su vez, se deberían de establecer sanciones penales, administrativas y civiles para aquellas empresas o personas físicas que violen la legislación que regule a la inteligencia artificial.

Finalmente, la labor del Derecho es normar la actividad humana y, al mismo tiempo, lograr que exista orden en una sociedad. En otras palabras, poner límites.

La inteligencia artificial no puede no tener límites. La investigación y desarrollo de la misma deben de regirse por parámetros éticos, recordando que

> la ética tiene como objeto de estudio la moral, y ésta tiene que ver con las acciones humanas en la vida social, por tanto, la ética se relaciona con todos los quehaceres humanos que ahora se expresan como productos científicos y tecnológicos […] (Torres, 2014, p. 10).

Además de que se debe de tomar, en todo momento, al ser humano y su dignidad como persona como centro de la inteligencia artificial. Además de analizar el impacto futuro que cierto invento que haga uso de la inteligencia artificial pueda provocar en la Humanidad. Porque el hecho de no poner límites a la inteligencia artificial, puede poner en riesgo, como ya se ha mencionado en apartados anteriores, principios fundamentales como la democracia, los derechos humanos, la libertad de las personas, la dignidad humana y otros más.

Así, también los países deberían comenzar a plantearse el serio cuestionamiento de qué medidas adoptarán al momento de que el desempleo, la pobreza y la marginación a causa de la inteligencia artificial comience a ser un común denominador en la sociedad. Porque es claro que eso sucederá. Y cuando eso pase, los Estados deberán llevar a cabo políticas públicas que generen que esa brecha de desigualdad sea lo menos marcada posible. Y una solución podría ser el Ingreso Universal. Es decir, que el Gobierno le proporcione a toda la población (sin importar edad, condición económica o nivel educativo) una apoyo económico para tratar de equilibrar las condiciones de vida de la población. Pero es seguro que ésta no es la única solución viable. Habrá otras alternativas que puedan ser planteadas por la ciencia política o la economía.

Ante este panorama, hace unos meses se presentó ante el Congreso del Estado de Puebla (México) un Proyecto de Iniciativa (mismo que, de ser aprobado, se turnaría al Congreso de la Unión) que pretende reformar la Ley de Ciencia y Tecnología para regular a la inteligencia Artificial, tal como ya se ha hecho en países como Arabia Saudita, China o Alemania. Dicho Proyecto fue ideado y elaborado por mí y, a su vez, fue presentado ante el Pleno de dicho

[4] La guerra de Troya, la caída del Imperio Romano de Occidente y de Oriente, la primera guerra mundial, el ascenso de Hitler al poder y la segunda guerra mundial, por mencionar sólo algunos acontecimientos que sí se pudieron haber prevenido si muchas personas no hubieran sido tan optimistas.

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Congreso Estatal por una Diputada Local integrante del mismo.

Ahora bien, si existen personas que, como se mencionó en apartados anteriores, son capaces de votar por un androide, podríamos pensar que la misma Humanidad está perdiendo la confianza en la Humanidad o que una elección no es tomada con la seriedad que es debida. Pero sea como pueda ser, eso da pie a entender que el avance de la inteligencia artificial debe de ser regulado para evitar caer en excesos como la emisión del sufragio hacia un robot o en escenarios aún más peligrosos como los que se han descrito en párrafos superiores.

Porque, además, deberíamos prever que

> [o]tros tipos de problemas surgen cuando tratamos de situarnosen un contexto futuro donde las máquinas están desarrolladas de tal manera que nos tengamos que plantear otorgarles un estatus moral (Pascual, 2017, p. 23).

Y por *estatus moral* nos referimos a que un androide sea sujeto de derechos y obligaciones, como lo son los seres humanos. Al igual que está sucediendo actualmente con los animales, a los cuales se les están reconociendo derechos que antes no tenían. Y, evidentemente, eso sucedería si las máquinas llegan a tener una inteligencia y sensibilidad tales que permitan su funcionamiento autónomo, sin necesidad de la intervención humana.

V. Conclusiones

Como hemos venido viendo en los diferentes apartados que conforman este texto, la Inteligencia Artificial es una gran herramienta que ha traído muchos beneficios para los seres humanos. Sin embargo, dichos beneficios podrían opacarse ante los peligros y daños que ya comienzan a verse en la sociedad mundial.

Precisamente gracias a la Inteligencia Artificial, problemas actuales como el desempleo, la marginación, la pobreza, la hambruna y otros, podrían hacerse aún más hondos y, por ende, resultarían todavía más difíciles de resolver.

Aparte, el desarrollo y utilización de la Inteligencia Artificial está poniendo en jaque la ética de los científicos que están innovando en dicho campo tecnológico. De hecho, en este ensayo se han planteado escenarios hipotéticos y futuristas que podrían acontecer si no se ponen límites y se regula el desarrollo de la Inteligencia Artificial.

Es por ello que se han planteado posibles soluciones que podrían solucionar los problemas que ya comienzan a acontecer en el mundo por eso desarrollo y aplicación de la Inteligencia Artificial; así como de aquellos peligros que apenas se están vislumbrando, pero que es muy posible que acontezcan en un mediano o largo plazo. Entre dichas soluciones, la principal es la regulación nacional de este campo tecnológico. Y hablamos de regulación desde el punto de vista de reformar las leyes actuales que tengan cierta relación con la Inteligencia Artificial, como de crear nuevas normas jurídicas que contemplen reglas claras que se deben de observar para crear, desarrollar y usar prototipos que trabajen con Inteligencia Artificial. Así como sanciones de carácter penal, civil y administrativo para quien no cumpla con las disposiciones legales antes señaladas.

Además de la creación de políticas públicas que hagan contrapeso con el desempleo y la marginación que comenzará a dejar el uso de la Inteligencia Artificial en buena parte de las actividades económicas.

Porque algo que es totalmente claro: no bastan las buenas intenciones y los presagios favorables y optimistas para pensar, ilusoriamente, que la Inteligencia Artificial no conlleva ningún peligro y que, por eso, no es necesario regularlo. Como dijimos en párrafos superiores, precisamente el Derecho se encarga de poner reglas a la actividad humana para que no se perjudiquen las libertades y los derechos de los otros. Y, evidentemente, la Inteligencia Artificial es una creación humana que debe ser normada por normas jurídicas.

Es decir, la Inteligencia Artificial debe ser desarrollada y usada, pero con reglas claras que tengan en su centro la ética y, por ende, al ser humano y a su dignidad. Si eso no se cumple, los presagios más funestos que se mencionan en diversas películas y libros de ciencia ficción podrían quedarse cortos con el daño que previsiblemente se podría causar a la especie humana y, con ello, al mundo.

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Globalization, Neoliberalism, and State's Transformation: Origins of the Fall of the West and the Rise of the East

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Abstract- In this article, we analyzed the political and economic transformations through the years that implied a profound transformation of the state around the world. This was approached from a historical analysis that was key to understanding the changes produced by the crisis of the international system by the end of the Cold War. The spread of economic globalization (because of the expansion and Foreign Direct Investment) as well as the consequent transformation of the state in its roles and functioning are relevant for the analysis. For instance, the oil crisis of the seventies, the consequent economic transformations of the eighties, the crisis in the states and their transformations, as well as the global impact that Foreign Direct Investment had after the end of the Cold War, were the main aspects that we addressed to explain the roots of the fall of the West and the rise of the East.

Keywords: globalization, state, neoliberalism, TNCS, west, east, FDI, international relations, international system, cold war, transformation.

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Abstract- In this article, we analyzed the political and economic transformations through the years that implied a profound transformation of the state around the world. This was approached from a historical analysis that was key to understanding the changes produced by the crisis of the international system by the end of the Cold War. The spread of economic globalization (because of the expansion and Foreign Direct Investment) as well as the consequent transformation of the state in its roles and functioning are relevant for the analysis. For instance, the oil crisis of the seventies, the consequent economic transformations of the eighties, the crisis in the states and their transformations, as well as the global impact that Foreign Direct Investment had after the end of the Cold War, were the main aspects that we addressed to explain the roots of the fall of the West and the rise of the East.

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Introduction

According to Fareed Zakaria, the rise of powers such as China, Russia, and India questioned the fact that republican liberal democracy is the political system that will prevail in the future. This type of power may challenge the Western model, producing the marginalization of other states, and also affecting other non-Western countries that seek their place in an international system dominated by Western institutions (Zakaria, 2008).

The rise of these and other countries forces the West to rethink its role on the international stage by sharing its power with the new poles. Zakaria (2012) in his article "Is it possible to repair the United States?" Strongly criticizes the US political class, giving them a high degree of responsibility in the fall of US socioeconomic indicators, as well as the political bottleneck in solving the crisis economically.

On the other hand, according to Richard Hass (2008), the states have lost the monopoly of international relations against new international actors such as terrorist groups, NGOs, multinational companies, international credit agencies, and others that have had more and more weight and influence on the international scene strengthening the capacities of non-state actors.

In this sense, those who have played an increasingly preponderant role in the dispute over the power of the state monopoly have been the Transnational Companies (TNCs). During the last thirty years, the TNCs have reached a power greater than that of the states in the international concert. As expressed by Jose Antonio Sanahuja:

> this process should not be interpreted in state-centric terms since what is relevant is that power moves to markets, TNCs, and non-state actors whose scope is regional and global ... and goes on to say that… what matters in terms of power, would not be so much where the production is located but who decides on it. (Sanahuja, 2007, p.280)

The weakness of the state is present in the West due to the lack of clear answers to the new challenges that arise in the 21st century. The advance of parastatal actors has meant a reversal of the capacity of the state when designing public policies that mean an advance or improvement for the whole. This lack of response to the advance of economic globalization, manifested by state actors such as TNCs, paradoxically is, to a large extent, a product of the actions of the state.

From the nineties, the states were the ones who deepened their opening policies, leading to the advance of economic globalization. According to Manuel Castells (2005), the current globalization is not the same as the previous globalization, because it is based on communication and information technologies that make it possible to eliminate the distances between countries. Inclusive of everything that has value and excludes everything that does not. Thus economic globalization itself is selective. That's why the states, the governments, and the companies of each country try to situate themselves in that global network; because outside of it there is no growth, there is no development, and there is no wealth. If there is no possibility of investing financial capital or technology in a country, that country or that region, or that sector of the population is marginalized by globalization. Therefore, from this point of view:

> Globalization has an inclusive and exclusive logic, and we are not facing a North-South opposition, but the opposition of who is in the network and who is not. Of course, in the so-

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called north, there is more proportion of the population in the network. (Castells, 2005, p.59)

So it was not only TNCs but what has occurred is that the states to be able to handle globalization have intervened in globalization are those that have driven, Castell (2005) says that from the empirical perspective, the globalizers have been the nation-states, which have liberalized and deregulated, at the same time that the technological infrastructure was available to develop this globalization. In other words, the globalization of capital or international trade does not only depend on whether there is technology to globalize or the business strategy to do it: it depends on the states liberalizing, deregulating, privatizing, and eliminating borders, and that is what they have fact.

But it cannot be affirmed that this reality also applies to all states. As we are going to analyze, this globalization and loss of power on their part of them are representative of Western countries, whether the United States, Europe, or Latin America, but the same cannot be said for the East Asian states.

Our hypothesis argues that East Asian states have managed to consolidate their capacity to act against other parastatal actors during the last thirty years. The state policies for development have been before and after the end of the Cold War and in some cases have gone from being a weak state to a strong one with a capacity for action. Asian countries have achieved this thanks to the consolidation of state power and the economic growth that has characterized them. The most emblematic case of transformation has undoubtedly been that of the Chinese state which has been able to overcome the crisis of the end of communism in the world and become an increasingly efficient one within the framework of a capitalist world.

The advantages that the Chinese economy gives to have a strong state and the capacity to design and implement long-term policies are more than evident. While the other states in the West gave way to globalization, China has managed to control the globalization phenomenon and take advantage of it. The economic and commercial expansion of China and the transnationalization of its companies have been possible thanks to the success that the Chinese scheme has meant in the framework of globalization.

I. The End of the Cold War and the Emergence of a New Paradigm

The end of the eighties was a historical period marked by an important change in the world. Like other historical periods, the result was the end of an old system and the beginning of a new one. The year 1789 was the end of the ancient regime in France and had a deep influence on Europe, and two hundred years later, the year 1989 had its meaning and represents the end of the Cold War (and two years later) the end of the Soviet Union. These events had a strong impact not only in eastern Europe but also on the rest of the world.

Between 1989 and 1991 many things happened and the result was the begging of new international order led by the propagation of economic globalization, and nobody in the world could avoid its influence. But to understand the event during those years (and after) is necessary to identify what happened in the years before in the world and precisely in the communist world, more specifically in the Soviet Union. Because this country could not resist the advance of economic globalization and its policy resulted in obsolete facing a new global tendency. This symbolizes somehow the triumph of global capitalism over the other economic systems.

The Soviet Union represents one side of the situation in the eighties. And no one reason explains the crisis in the country and thus in Eastern Europe. Even the politics of Mikhail Gorbachev had responsibility for the success of the disintegration of the Soviet Union but was not the only one. The *perestroika*, as well as *glasnost*, only accelerates the process which has started time before.

The origin of the crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is not different from the crisis of the Latin American countries or even the crisis of the Welfare state in developed countries. The oil crisis of 1973 and the consequent surplus of money in the international financial system was the beginning of the problem. During the end of the seventies, the Soviet Union on one side with an excess of oil exportation started an excessive expense by the government that leads to bankruptcy years later. Meanwhile, eastern European countries incurred huge debts to finance their development and maintain the standard of life of the population (Hobsbawm, 1999).

By the middle of the eighties, the situation was unsustainable for many countries around the world industrial production and quality of life declined in communist countries like the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But the Soviet economic decline is not the only reason; many complex situations happened in the rest of the world with the economic crisis and explain part of the economic decadence.

One of the most important by the beginning of the eighties was the upswing in the number of interfirm alliances in the capitalist world, another reason was the increase of geographical dispersion of production, and finally, the isolation of the Soviet Union and East Europe avoid the foreign investor (Brooks and Walfort, 2001). While the capitalist world underwent a process of transformation in its economic structure the communist world remains static.

In this context, the situation was at a critical point, and was imminent a change in economic policy. As soon as assumed as leader of the Soviet Union Gorbachev promote a new economic and political orientation for the country. The influence of Gorbachev's policy had an impact on the rest of the European

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communist countries. But this influence was not positive having a different result than expected.

One of the unexpected results of the *glasnost* was the rebirth of nationalism in the Republics of the Soviet Union and East Europe. Thus behind the desire for freedom by the end of the eighties stood the desire for national sovereignty. It was not a revolt against communism as a repressive political and social system; it was a series of national revolts against Soviet domination (Bessinger, 2009).

Gorbachev's answer and the new thinkers in the government were not violent. Despite their intention to avoid any national movement or protest against the communist government, the political situation had not returned. Once started the *glasnost* was impossible to contain the protest and turn back (Forsbery, 1999).

The first major event was the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. After that, the situation had an accelerated impulse in the communist bloc. In December Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush declared the end of the Cold War in Malta. On September 11, 1990, George Bush in the United States Congress talks about New Global Order (Nye, 1991). And finally, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the European Countries sign a non-aggression pact between the Pact of Warsaw and NATO in Paris in November 1991.

All these events had a strong repercussion on the Soviet Union and other communist countries in Europe. The evidence of the obsolescence of European communism and the failure of Gorbachev's policy was felt in every step given between 1989 and 1991. The political crisis in the Soviet Union in 1991 and the economic crisis finally finished with the Soviet empire and communism in Europe.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union was a traumatic event for the international system. Despite the triumphalism of the United States and western countries and the belief in a new order based on peace and mutual understanding, the reality was going to be quite different than predicted by intellectuals and politicians.

A thesis like *The end of the history and the last man* by Francis Fukuyama (1992) predicted the triumph of liberal democracy and free market over the rest of the political and economic system. The advance of capitalism under the new international order seemed unquestionable.

This capitalist expansion of the post-Cold War era helped to propagate the so-called economic neoliberalism. Almost all states, from new capitalist countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union to old-style social democracies and welfare states such as New Zealand and Sweden, have embraced some version of neoliberal theory and adjusted at least some policies and practices (Harvey, 2006).

By the beginning of the nineties, neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It had pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many interpret, live in, and understand the world. The neoliberal idea occupied positions of considerable influence in education (universities and think tanks), in the media, in corporate boardrooms, financial institutions, international institutions, and states (Harvey, 2005). Indeed, neoliberalism came to be featured in so many different contexts and theoretical containers that it shoulders a descriptive and analytical burden in the social sciences (Venugopal, 2015).

Even though many countries adopted economic policy markets, the character of implementation changes between countries. The economy market is an economic policy in developed countries and they can carry out easily the neoliberal policies which exist in the function of their companies' benefits. Instead in developing countries, there is no margin to carry out these policies and they have they need to follow the postulates of the market to achieve these reforms.

Since 1991 many new countries were incorporated into the economic market. That represents a change for the capitalist world because it makes possible the increase in world trade and the redirection of capital flux to new capitalist economies. The economic reforms were adopted as economic doctrine in many countries, former communists or not.

The doctrine was not new. As said before the economic reform and the implementation of so-called neoliberalism as economic policy already starts after the end of the Breton Wood system. During the seventies, the western countries start a program reform, and throughout the eighties and nineties, many western and non-western countries join them.

What makes the difference since the end of the Cold War was the incorporation of new countries into a capitalist system with their market and their workforce, the advance in technology, and the availability of capital flux to invest in the new (cheaper) markets. In this way, the transformation of the world and its new global capitalist impulse was given by the propagation of the economic doctrine that was begin implemented in the seventies.

This new doctrine promotes less state control in the economy, more free trade, economic deregulation, privatization, and the free movement of capital. The implementation and impact were not the same everywhere. In Latin America, the conditions after the economic crisis (because of the high debt) were different at the time of implementing economic reform than in developed countries or Asian countries.

The reforms were seen as fundamental to reaching economic growth and macroeconomic stability. The paradigm after the cold war with the propagation of the capitalist world was, you are in or you are out. Many countries that failed in their process of development or even many countries that started a

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process of pro-market policies before 1989 understand the relevance and the implications of these reforms.

The shock of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the crisis in the developing countries, and the crisis of the role of the state as a promoter of economic growth demonstrate to the world the importance of implementing another policy according to the western countries that were promoted since the seventies.

Undoubtedly the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War represented the beginning of a new era. A new world more interconnected and led by the hegemony of the United States and global capitalism started. But definitely, defining this new era is not easy.

It is true the hegemony of the United States during this period but many interpretations can misunderstand how deep, real, or ambiguous the propagation of new phenomena that we call globalization, neoliberalism, and the leadership of the United States. The process is at the same time simultaneous and we cannot refer to only one process. There is often much overlap between them and the reality of the situation is likely to exist in all of them at the same time, like liberalization, polarization, Americanization, McDonaldization, creolization, trans-nationalization, and balkanization (O'Byrne and Hensby, 2011).

The result of globalization is a more unified and interactive planet, a globalized world. As Mark Juergensmeyer (2005) said, the attitude that people adopt is a more intensely interactive word that can be said to be one of globalism or global consciousness, or global imaginary. These are all ways of thinking about the new start of global awareness in a world where transnational activity is the norm and everyone is affected by everyone else everywhere on the planet.

This interpretation does not mean that the citizen loses their identity as a member of a country. Even the flexibility of the barriers to economic transactions, one of the most important characteristics of these phenomena, identity, and nationalism remains intact. The origin of many conflicts, wars, massacres, and revolts after the fall of the Soviet Union was originated by nationalism.

However, on the other side, the state as a unique actor with a monopoly of power and foreign relations loses power against the terrorist group and TNCs for example. The case of international transactions is paradigmatic. One of the pillars of globalization is the relative weight of transactions and organizational links that cross national boundaries. Access to capital and technology depends on strategic alliances with those who control global production networks and not any territory (Evans, 2007). That is why the role and control of the state started to become obsolete.

But at the same time, the integration had a strong and decisive impulse. In the way of the trasnationalization of the production and the capital movement in Europe, the European Economic Community became in European Union, North America creates NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement) and South America is the beginning of MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South).

All these changes after the Cold War represent a new paradigm, that why a new interpretation of the reality in the world was necessary. Following Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye (2009) the definition of "globalization" could refer to "globalism" a condition that can increase or decrease. According to them, "globalism is a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multicontinental distances. The linkages occur through flows and influences of capital and goods, information, ideas, and forces, as well as environmental and biologically relevant substances. Globalization and deglobalization refer to an increase or decrease of globalism".

During the first period of propagation, globalization was profitable for the United States and European countries because helped to propagate their companies and conquer more markets for their exports. This situation and the propagation of the new culture of consumption led by North American companies and the weakness of developing countries provoke a reaction and rejection in these countries against globalization.

Globalization was understood as neoliberalism and neoliberalism represents in many countries the abdication against the United States and the western world. It seemed that it was the triumph of one over others, Western over Eastern, North over South. And in this context, undoubtedly most of the emerging economies in the west were the most affected region by this dichotomy.

Globalization in that time indeed meant the beginning of the United States' unipolar rule and the hegemony of global capitalism, but to say that globalization is the same as neoliberalism as we saw is not correct. The globalization process helped the propagation of economic neoliberalism and was useful for it. But definitely, globalization is not only neoliberalism or global capitalist propagation. Globalization is still an inconclusive phenomenon. Started many times in history, the last time after the end of the Cold War takes more impulse and was responsible for the change in many aspects in every corner of the world.

What is certain is that after the fall of the Soviet Union, capitalism could expand thanks to globalization. As a result of this, we have economic globalization, and in many aspects, it was what prompted the change of paradigm in the economic policy of many countries.

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II. The Investments and their Role in Shaping International Relations

To analyze the role and effect of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in emerging markets is important to contextualize this process in the framework of economic globalization which is considered in the present work as fundamental to understanding all the processes. As we said before, every factor is related to this process which began in the seventies and was under a period of transformation until the fall of the Soviet bloc in 1991. But definitely, this process of capitalist expansion did not finish but it took impulse and gained strength.

From 1991 to nowadays economic globalization has transformed and changed the world. For this process, William Robinson (2008) examines how capitalism, in this case, corporate capitalism advances from the seventies to today. For him, the features of 20th-century national corporate capitalism are two: one is the state intervenes within each economy, in this circuit or accumulation in the development of capitalism. In this case, the state interviewed by redistributing wealth, and so forth. So the state had a major role to play in world capitalism in the 20th century. And second major feature there is a redistributive component to national corporate capital.

Continuing with this analysis Robinson divides the world during the 20th century into three regions of the world:

- In the first world the development of new deals, the Welfare States, and the social-democratic system, have these two features: state intervention in the economic process and redistribution.
- For the so-called second world, some might have called this socialist, others an alternative distribution model; but in any case, we see the same two features: state mechanism and redistribution mechanisms.
- And in the so-called third world, we have the developmental state of the 20th century, what some have called Keynesianism or Fordism. Played a major role in guiding and regulating the accumulation and other mechanisms were in place for distribution.

Robinson argues that:

> What happens though is that all three of these models of national corporate capitalism enter into a very severe crisis starting in the seventies world economic crisis. There are many ways that we can analyze that crisis but characterizes it as a crisis of nation-state capitalism. It's that at this point, capital outgrows the nation-state and the interstate system as the institution through which capitalism had previously developed. (Robinson, 2008, p.23).

For Robinson this becomes a restructuring crisis what we mean by that is the crisis is so severe that the whole system is once again reconstituted on a new footing. And we have the seventies and the breakdown of the end the dismantling of the redistributive projects of the first world, the social welfare state, and so forth, the collapse of the so-called second world, and the socialist projects with the complete demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. And in the third world, we have the collapse of the developmentalism projects, particularly after the debt of the eighties. So according to the author, it became clear that by the time we get the nineties neither, socialism nor Keynesianism is a viable model for the 21st century (Robinson, 2008). What is happening is that we are entering into a new transnational phase of capitalism, which is coming to supersede the Nation-State phase of capitalism.

It is important here to cite the paragraph of Robinson in his work "Understanding Global Capitalism" (2008) to have a more concrete idea of the notion that we want to transmit to be able to develop the concepts of changes and transformation and the impact of investments that have taken place throughout the 20th century and that have a profound impact in the present. In this sense he argues that what happens is that through the construction of the new model of accumulation which is now a global and transnational model, capital and particularly the transitional fractional of capital that become dominant, restores the prospect for accumulation that has begun to break down in the seventies through four mechanisms: 1) one of those four that it was emphasized by forging if a new capital-labor, one based on a cheeping of labor o deregulated labor, becomes now the general worldwide model. 2) It is a dramatic round of extensive and intensive expansion of capitalism itself. Extensive in the sense those regions of the world or within countries that have previously been outside are now incorporated into the system. 3) The creation of a global legal and regulatory structure to now facilitate the emerging global growth of accumulation. World Trade Organization is an example and conversion of the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank. 4) Facilitate the emergence of a new model of global capitalism, is the neo-liberal structure adjustment programs that seek to create the conditions emerging transnational across borders and within each country.

In this sense for the author the flow of capital that allowed economic globalization made possible the arrival of these to the emerging countries in considerable quantities during the nineties. The inflow of capital occurred in several ways and the one that had the most impact was the FDI.

Since the beginning of the nineties, a big amount of capital inflows start to go to emerging economies. This process reflected the progress in proceeding with the economic reforms in the increasingly adopted market-oriented and stability-oriented policies associated with the concept of the Washington Consensus. For Robinson, the lowering of international barriers to trade and investments, together with improved macroeconomic policies, heightened the attractiveness of emerging economies as capital

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importers either in the form of FDI or as portfolio investment. These factors also spurred the development of emerging economies' financial sectors, including stock markets, thus enabling them to improve the outlook for satisfactory economic growth by enhancing financial intermediation. Moreover, the implementation of the Brady Plan for the resolution of the debt crisis of the nineties which implied a securitization of the bank's rescued claims, generally stimulated bond issues by emerging markets borrowers as the new vehicle of capital inflows after the bank has remained hesitant.

In the year of the Asian crisis (1997), net private capital flows to emerging economies declined to 1% of GDP in 2002, after having stood at 3% of GDP in 1995. While in 1996 the capital flows were evenly spread around 4% of GDP, by 2002 the Asian countries' share had fallen to 1% of GDP and Latin America to only 0.5% of GDP, while European accession countries enjoyed an increase in their share to 7% of GDP (Deustche Bundesbank, 2003).

In all this sequence we must highlight the key role of large companies or better known multinational companies. The analysis of the effect of TNCs is very important because undoubtedly they have become the main carriers of economic globalization. Because of their size, organization, and capacity for lobbying and influence, they are globally organized. They can produce and allocate resources according to the principle of profit maximization and their global expansions have reshaped the macroeconomic mechanism of the operation of the world economies, especially after 1991 (Stallings, 2007).

What makes them more powerful and with more maneuverability at a global level is the fact that they have easy access to foreign capital, both through investments and the international capital markets. Medium and small and micro firms, by contrast, have much greater difficulty in obtaining capital to finance their operations. They cannot resort to the international market, depending on how individual countries' markets are structured what kind of norms regulate the allocation of capital, and the existing resource available to mobilize the investments.

According to the research *"Foreign Direct Investment in Emerging Economies"* made by Klaus Mayer (2005), most of these interactions are bilateral. On the one hand, foreign investors adapt to the local institutional, social and natural environment in designing their strategies. On the other hand, they would influence the environment through for instance political lobbying, setting good examples of labor standards, or polluting the environment. The investment project, in turn, is designed by multinational companies located outside the country, and the structure and strategy thus shape the project and its interactions with the local environment.

According to Mayer (2005), this analysis found four effects of investments in host countries:

- Investments import capital, but at later stage capital is repatriated through profit remittance or project discontinuation, and in this way, the host country pays for the costs of capital. However, investment capital is appreciated by hosts because it tends to be less volatile than other forms of capital flow.
- Investments create employment, especially if it is invested in Greenfield operations. Moreover, additional jobs may be created in local suppliers. Yet investments may also crowd out local firms that use more labor-intensive methods of production and thus more employment.
- Investment increases gross domestic investment, yet part of it may be domestically funded or the capital inflow may increase the exchange rate and thus costs of international borrowing; both effects can lead to crowding out local investment.
- Investment generates exports. Yet investment also generates imports, especially in the case of market-seeking investment in the case of outsourcing operations that process imported components. Multinational companies are typically more internationally oriented, but this affects both sales and procurement. Thus, the net effect of the trade balance may be much smaller than data on exports by investments may suggest.

As we can see in this part, the role of investments in the emerging market is directly related to the transformations that the state has had since the seventies and deepens with the major reforms of the nineties. It is true that the transformation was global and affected developed countries in the way of development, but as we are going to see in the following section, the weakening of the state, as a result of these changes, was greater in the developing countries of the West.

In this context of global transformation, transnational capital and large companies took advantage of the changes produced mainly after the collapse of the Soviet Union and investments became the main propagator of globalization. Capitals of all kinds were invested in developing countries, and while economic growth and benefits were predicted, reality shows that the lack of regulations and state policies was costly in the medium term and that investments alone did not guarantee prosperity.

III. The Transformation of the State

The rise of China and other emerging countries added to the economic crisis that began in 2008 and has only accelerated the displacement of financial and economic power from the United States and the West to China mainly, followed by Russia, India, and Brazil to a lesser extent (Wilson, 2003). And while this group of countries has managed to establish itself as a forum to outline common policies, it has not yet been consolidated as an alternative to other power blocs such as the G8, the G20 or as a counterweight to international institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF. But

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rather they have been within the international framework imposed by the Western powers.

While the current status quo of the international system remains ruled by Western institutions, the rise of China and other emerging nations is perceived as a threat by sectors of the United States and the West. The American reaction to this situation is evident after the arrival of Donald Trump to the presidency of the United States. The election of Trump could be mainly explained by the commercial effects that affect the American economy as a result of the trade deficit with China. But beyond this argument, Trump's main excuse was the loss of jobs in the American industrial sector (Plumer, 2018).

The anti-globalization manifested by Trump is directly aimed at rejecting free trade agreements, imposing tariffs, and reformulating United States foreign policy. The slogan America First was a clear sign of what the United States president's intentions were. Given that Trump has done enough of what he has said in his election campaign, this has meant a true turning point in the relationship of the United States with the rest of the world (Seligman, 2018).

Faced with this panorama and even though the international system led by the West and its institutions is still far from breaking down and losing influence, what has increasingly put into question is the unipolar rule exercised by the United States. This status quo that seemed indisputable is today strongly questioned (both internationally and theoretically) by several factors beyond the economic crisis and the rise of China. The failed war against terrorism, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the torture in the prisons of Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib added to the international economic crisis, have strongly damaged the image of the United States at the international level.

The crisis of American supremacy, in turn, is closely related to the loss of state power resulting from the globalization process. For more than twenty years economic globalization was promoted by the United States and the West to gain ground in the world economy, especially after the collapse of the communist bloc.

As explained above, the end of the Cold War was followed by a series of economic reforms pro markets called neoliberal. These reforms allowed United States companies to start an expansive cycle in new markets that were previously closed. With this process, the process of productive relocation that began in the eighties that allowed the transfer of certain productions to more profitable areas for American companies was accelerated. Of course, American companies led the process in which European and Japanese companies were also part of even greater success (Masaki and Kyoshi, 1990).

One of the most important destinations of this economic relocation driven by globalization was East Asia and mainly China. This same process was encouraged by the government of the United States itself to obtain competitiveness in a favorable global context. The strategies of the North American companies, supported by the government, were based on productive relocation to increase their profitability at the lowest cost. To determine this competitiveness, different socio-political factors of each region were taken into account and the advantages offered by these places (Lopez, 2018).

Thus, the relocation of multinationals meant investments in other regions considered more competitive than the United States or Europe. The common driving forces were the speed and cost of technological change, which in turn accelerated the internationalization of production and the dispersion of the manufacturing industry towards the newly industrialized countries; generating an increase in the mobility of capital, which made this dispersion of the industry easier and faster while it was favored by the fact that transnational communication is cheap and fast (Strange, 1992).

This process was a contributing factor to the economic resurgence of East Asia and was accompanied by a series of factors that gave it a fundamental boost. Following Giovanni Arrighi in his work "State, markets and Capitalism" (2012) we can attribute this to three scenarios that were happening since the seventies. First, the expansion process promoted by the United States government to ensure the success of the capitalist economies in the face of the advance of communism, which implied greater trade and the relocation of companies in the region; second, the Japanese economic expansion and its investment and subcontracting in Southeast Asia; and third the approach of the Chinese government with the Chinese diaspora, which in the process of opening began to make their investments in mainland China is one of the main investors during this process.

In this way, East Asia but mainly China became the creditor of the advantages that this productive relocation meant, and thanks to the state strategies to receive and re-direct investments, within twenty years, it became one of the most dynamic and developed economies in the planet. The role of the Chinese state was decisive in this process, with the opposite case to the West. While the state in the West was retreating, in China it was strengthened thanks to a reorientation and an improvement in its functions according to the interests that the center of the government considered key.

Therefore, the loss of power of the United States and the West can be attributed to the effects of the global expansion that had no limits to incorporating markets as new centers of production that, would ultimately find more benefits than losses. Given that, as Castell (2005) argued well, globalization is inclusive, but

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it is of all that has value, and Asian countries especially China, had the value of abundant labor and state policies that guaranteed so much benefit for the country as for the multinational.

The competitiveness offered by these countries increased over the years and they gained more markets to place their products while this motorized more investments in their territories. The final inclusion of China in the World Trade Organization was a key step that allowed it to expand in world trade. In this sense, the drivers of the process of economic globalization found more advantages in the East than in the West, generating an imbalance in favor of Asian countries. In this sense, much responsibility falls on the other globalizing agent which is the state. The Chinese state in this case has been able to adapt to the rules imposed by Western institutions.

So we can say that the process of globalization is not apolitical nor neutral or symmetrical. The same policies and actions carried out by the different agents do not always have the same effects and consequences. For example, the increase in the power of big business in the West leads to the crisis of state power and its consequent change, while in China this process causes an improvement in the role and effectiveness of the role of the State, which allowed it to increase its advantages over the West.

For instance, to say that in today's globalized world companies are the only ones leading this process is not entirely true. TNCs and financial capital have gained ground and power in the Western world partly because of the weakening of the state. The state today is indeed openly vulnerable to corporate power, but in East Asian countries and China, was mainly the TNCs that had to accede to the demands of the state, accepting in part their rules of the game.

The multinational business power acquired strength in the nineties to be the one who controls the process of global expansion in the West. As was said in the measurement of power between multinational companies and the state there is a break in the West in favor of TNCs.

> Regarding this in his 1991 book Big Business and State Susan Strange said: "the relations between the states are not more than an aspect of the international political economy, and that in that political economy, the producers of the wealth - the transnational corporation - play a key role ... The state has the authority to act under its role as guardian of the territory" (Strange, 1991, p. 248).

The legitimacy of its power to give or retain access to its international market, its natural resources, its work, and its capital is recognized by other states. The only problem is that, through legitimation, all these negative powers. The door can be locked, but when it is open it depends on the TNCs, not on the state to decide if they should enter. There is a problem. If there is too much restoration, and too rigid regulation once they are inside the door, then the foreign-owned companies stay away, or leave, or enter only in a way that minimizes the risk.

This loss of balance after the increase in power that TNCs has created a rift between the territorial power of nation-states and a weak and partial intergovernmental cooperation in which markets had carte blanche and this could be constructive or destructive. The analysis of Susan Strange proved to be quite accurate in the case of the West.

One of the characteristics of this loss of power in the West is that there has been a profound break in the logic of the functioning of the state system. To understand this breakdown of the state system Wallerstein must analyze the three relevant past and fully affect the functioning of the state that eventually ended up weakening. First, the past of the hegemonic era of the United States, 1945-1990; second, the past of liberalism as the dominant ideology of the capitalist world system from 1789 to 1989; and third, the past of capitalism as a historical system, which began in 1450 and may last until 2050 (Wallerstein, 2013).

To Wallerstein:

> The French revolution changed mentalities by imposing the belief that political change was normal and legitimized by popular sovereignty. The attempt to deal with this reality took the form of the creation of three ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, and socialism. The apparent difference was in his attitude toward such a normal change: the dubious conservatives who wanted to slow him down to the maximum; the liberals who wished to handle it rationally; and the socialists who wanted to accelerate it to the maximum (2013, p. 24).

In theory, all three dialogues looked disapproving of the state. But, in practice, the three dialogues found that they had to strengthen the state vis-à-vis society to achieve their objectives. In the end, Wallerstein argues:

> The three ideologies united around the liberal program of orderly reform promulgated and administered by "experts". The conservative became a liberal-conservative and the socialist became a liberal socialist. The two main changes in the geopolitics of the world system occurred the first in the '70s and the second in the 1980s. These changes mark the collapse of the Wilsonian liberal temptation logic to the working classes of the periphery. The collapse of "statism" in both the third world and the ex-socialist bloc is the collapse of liberal reformism and, therefore, the undermining of a crucial pillar in the stability of the capitalist world economy (2013, p. 27).

According to Wallerstein, the breakdown of the state in the West had many implications for the political, economic, and social order. The state that since the nineteenth century and especially after the post-World War II had increased its power and its functions as never in history, collapsed towards the seventies, dismantling all networks between politics, economy, and society. The changes in the state occurred over the years along,

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with the changes produced both, within the state system and by the changes produced in the international context (Wallerstein, 1993).

The global market, as already mentioned, had gained power concerning the states since the seventies. That is to say, it is in this period when the breaking point occurs after the crisis of the states, and the loss of power before the multinational companies is a sign of its internal weakening and its lack of capacity to function.

The transformation of capital and the capitalist system and its expansion was a factor that disrupted the state system and its relationship with economic, political, and social sectors. According to Giovanni Arrighi:

> The effects of these changes occurred due to the emergence of a particular block of government and business agencies capable of leading the system toward a broader or deeper division of labor that created conditions of increasing returns on the capital invested in trade and production. Under these conditions, profits returned to the wider expression of trade and promotion more or less routinely; and the main centers of the system cooperate to support each other (Arrighi, 2005, p.13).

Over time, however, the investment of a growing mass of profits in further expansion of the production of commercial aid inevitably leads to the accumulation of capital on a scale beyond normal investment channels, and above that can be reinvested in the purchase and scale of products without drastically reducing the profit margins. The decreasing returns established in competitive pressures on government systems and commercial agencies are intensifying and the scenario is ready for the phase change from material to financial expansions.

In this progression of increasing returns to decreasing, from cooperation to competition Arrighi (2012) says the relevant organizational structures are not those of the system unit but the systems themselves. Thus, with specific reference to the last cycle of the United States, the relevant organizational structures are not merely those of the vertically integrated and bureaucratically managed corporations, which were only one component of the block of government and business agencies that led to world capitalism through the material expansion of the fifties and sixties. Rather, they are the organizational structure of the order of the Cold War in which expansion was embedded.

Arrighi and Moore (2009) argue that as the expansion developed, it generated three closely related trends that progressively undermine the capacity of these structures to sustain expansion: 1) the tendency of competitive pressures on United States corporations to intensify; 2) the tendency of the subordinated groups to demand a greater share of the pie, and 3) the tendency of the United States corporations to accumulate the benefits of the material expansion in the offshore markets.

The state was losing competitiveness in the West and by the mid-seventies, the lack of response from the state as well as the huge deficit to sustain its policies generated a series of questions against it. The crisis of the state and the lack of competitiveness reached a point of no return towards the end of the seventies. This affected all areas of the state, from economic policy to social security. The crisis of the state was fed back to the exhaustion of the different interventionist models both economically and socially to the point of questioning all their actions, which gave rise to anti-state theories that ultimately lead to the West at its height in the nineties (Arrighi and Moore, 2009).

The fall of the developmental state in Latin America, the interventionist state in the communist bloc as well as the welfare state in Europe, is also highlighted by its structural problems. None of these states could deal with the new trend that was imposed on the international system. The lack of response to these models of states had a great impact on and out of them. That is why the political class who was in charge of this state was considered, in part, responsible for the inability of the state to respond.

IV. Conclusion

As Claus Offe (1984) argues it would be possible to test the thesis that those actors (in ministries, parliaments, and political parties) responsible for social policy institutions and innovations within the state apparatus were constantly confronted with the dilemma that many legal and politically sanctioned demanded and the guarantees were not reconciled with the demands and capacities of the budgetary, financial and labor market policies of the capitalist economy. These actors were inevitably brought into conflict with this policy by uncontrollable environmental factors, and such state policy did not respond to the needs or demands of any particular social group or class but rather reacted to the internal structural problems of the welfare state apparatus.

But these internal crises turned out to structurally affected both, the welfare state in Europe, the developmental state in Latin America, and the interventionist state the communist bloc. The concept of a state that had lasted practically without variations or abrupt changes for more than thirty years was in crisis. In the case of the developmental state in Latin America, it was perceived as ineffective and obsolete, with the industrialization of import substitution being the new villain and guilty of not responding to the crisis and beginning to be perceived as protectionism as part of state corruption.

The transformation of the state meant in the West the breaking of the state system and the power of

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the state in the international system before the new elements of power such as the TNCs, that is to say, meant its weakening. While in the East, the transformation of the state meant the re-adaptation of state functions to the challenges and needs that arose in the face of the globalizing economic impulse promoted from the West, that is to say, that meant its strengthening.

In the East, the state that prevailed until the eighties was either the socialist states or the developmental states. The transformation initiated in those years and deepened in the nineties was possible thanks to the resilience of the state apparatus. The models prevailing in the East imported from the West were combined with political models tending to the almost total control of the state apparatus, a model that allowed them to overcome the crisis of the end of the Cold War and the other crises of the post-1991.

Faced with the situation of change, the states in East Asia and mainly in China tried new development strategies in globalization. To face the globalization process, these strategies focused on the re-adaptation of the state, generating new restructuring within it, as occurred in China.

Since the fifties, the developmental strategies in Asian countries had been industrialization towards the outside favoring the productive process by promoting industrial development oriented towards exports. This allowed them to occupy a considerable space in international trade, which in turn prepared them for the process of productive relocation that would occur from the seventies and with greater force in the nineties, with the investments promoted from the West that was the key to their economic success.

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Land Reforms in India: New Perspectives

By Pavittarbir Singh Saggu

Abstract- In democracies, public policymaking entails balancing the interests of various self-interest groups. This is even more true when it comes to land reforms. The Indian land reform initiative had justified social and economic goals, but over time these measures appear to have generated some real economic challenges. While the elimination of land middlemen, as well as all forms of tenancy, benefited the actual tillers, placing limits on the size of landholdings did not help enhance production in Indian agriculture. The country's landholdings are unprofitable due to government policies including land limitations and inheritance rules. Private investment in agro-processing has been hindered by restrictions on corporate occupancy. As a result, existing land ceiling and tenancy laws must be relaxed to allow Indian agriculture to profit from globalization.

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Land Reforms in India: New Perspectives

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Abstract- In democracies, public policymaking entails balancing the interests of various self-interest groups. This is even more true when it comes to land reforms. The Indian land reform initiative had justified social and economic goals, but over time these measures appear to have generated some real economic challenges. While the elimination of land middlemen, as well as all forms of tenancy, benefited the actual tillers, placing limits on the size of landholdings did not help enhance production in Indian agriculture. The country's landholdings are unprofitable due to government policies including land limitations and inheritance rules. Private investment in agro-processing has been hindered by restrictions on corporate occupancy. As a result, existing land ceiling and tenancy laws must be relaxed to allow Indian agriculture to profit from globalization.

I. Introduction

Developing and enacting public policy is a vital part of any government. With the participation of the people in the generation of ideas, the influence of public opinion, and participation by people's representatives in policy-making through political institutions, this function takes on greater relevance in democracies. Furthermore, citizens form self-interest groups to achieve their objectives by establishing a sense of collective identity within its members. They join associations to achieve their goals, which their members can't achieve on their own, by lowering transaction costs and expanding the resources at their disposal, including voting strength. As a result, all public policy formulation in democracy becomes a complicated process. Furthermore, any policy change has various costs and benefits for different segments of society. As a result, changing a well-established policy is extremely difficult for any government. Economists have employed theoretical frameworks to analyze and explain the process of public policy development, as well as to assess the impact of these policies on various groups of people. Three analytical approaches have been widely utilized to examine the process of formulating agricultural development policies and also to evaluate the impact of various policies on farmers and other parts of society. These are 1) Neoclassical welfare economics (also known as the market failure method); 2) Marxian approach and 3) political economy approach. It's important to note that each of these approaches has a variety of models that each attempt to explain a different aspect of the process of formulating public policy. The goal is to use them as a general analytical framework rather than look at specific models under each approach.

The first approach begins with the premise that free-market forces enable the economic agents to efficiently allocate a country's resource allocation. In the presence of public goods, externalities, and industries with decreasing costs — not to mention a highly skewed income distribution — the free market is unable to function properly. Consequently, government intervention and policy formulation to reduce possible societal losses are expected under the market failure approach. This is deemed necessary to maximize the general well-being of society. Farmers are harmed by market failure due to unforeseen risk (pest attack in the absence of insurance) and uncertainty (rainfall, which cannot be covered), which results in a loss of revenue for the affected farmers, lowering the welfare of society as a whole through the multiplier effect. The government is anticipated to intervene and compensate farmers through transfer payments, driven by the goal of promoting the welfare of all sections of society.

When it comes to formulating government policies, the Marxian approach is based on the Marxian dichotomy between capitalists and the working class and assumes that capitalists use democracy to manipulate social groups to have a government that benefits themselves at the expense of those who work in it. When used to agricultural policy design, this paradigm describes the division of the agrarian economy between landowners and landless people. When it comes to government, the landowning elite manipulates both its members and those who are sympathetic to their cause. Once this is accomplished, the landowners dictate policies to the government to safeguard their interests while also exploiting workers to siphon up the land's excess yields. However, this policy does not well explain the various public policies created in democracies concerning agriculture, such as land reforms and protection vs free trade in agricultural commodities.

The third and most important technique is the political economy approach, often known as the public choice approach, which uses economic theory to comprehend and forecast political and bureaucratic behavior. It is founded on the concept that all agents, including voters, citizens, self-interest groups, political leaders, political parties, and a wide range of occupation groups, are directed by rational behavior to maximize their self-interest, either individually or collectively. Finally, the political economy approach

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emphasizes policymaking's political and bureaucratic procedures, as well as pressure group inputs, which impact the specific design and implementation of public policy.

These analytical approaches will aid us in comprehending the socio-political forces at work and how they shaped the formation of various agriculture development programs over time. It's worth noting that all three techniques are useful for examining the impact of agricultural policies on Indian farmers because the underlying logic of one or the other approach was employed by various self-interest groups in India to formulate and implement specific agricultural policies. The following section of the chapter provided an overview of important agricultural policies that have impacted farmers over the last fifty years.

II. Land Reforms: An Old Policy

The most important ingredient in agricultural output is land. As a result, to promote agricultural productivity, who owns the land and who cultivates it is just as crucial as how it is cultivated. For the vast majority of India's rural population, agriculture has been a way of life. However, successive governments only recognized its economic relevance during times of food scarcity. This was true both during colonial control and following independence. As a result, the primary goal of agricultural development has remained to achieve food grain self-sufficiency and meeting local demand for agricultural raw resources. Attempts to modify the agrarian institutional system were undoubtedly made. However, they were primarily motivated by the desire to dismantle the feudal land connections that had become entrenched in rural society, and they were also intended to boost agricultural efficiency.

Economic, social, and political factors all play a role in land reform policy. The economic aspect of land reforms entailed the ownership of property by a small group of people who did not really cultivate the land but instead exploited the actual tillers, who were tenants and agricultural laborers. In terms of the sociological dimension, historically, the upper castes were landowners, while the lower castes were tenants or agricultural laborers. Even today, we don't see the lower castes possess the land and the upper castes work as tenants or agricultural laborers in India. The social inequalities were exacerbated by this social dimension. In terms of politics, it should be highlighted that landowners have historically been supporters of governments in power. During British dominance in India, this was considerably more obvious. The erstwhile zamindars and later landlords relied on the government for protection due to their numerical minority status and economic control over the tenants (thus promoting their self-interest). At the same time, the government was reliant on them for its survival as long as tenants, despite their huge numbers, did not band together to oppose exploitative political and social structures. Almost every country that has confronted agrarian challenges has had this experience. The British instituted a permanent land revenue system in India, which became known as the zamindari system over time. Those who agreed to pay a specified amount of land income to the British government regularly became the owners of designated lands under this system of land settlement. They, in turn, collected whatever land revenue they desired from their actual tenants, the tillers. The zamindari system engendered one of India's most exploitative land relations and bolstered the feudal socioeconomic system. Zamindars in India became ardent advocates of British rule. The Congress party, which was mobilizing the Indian masses against British rule, was enraged by this. In one of its annual sessions, the Congress party declared that following independence, it would support the dismantling of the zamindari system. The zamindari system was abolished after independence by the Congress government, led by Jawaharlal Nehru. However, because Article 19 of the Constitution safeguarded the right to property, the zamindars petitioned the Supreme Court, which determined that the policy of abolishing the zamindari system infringed the right to property and was thus unconstitutional. The Constitution was amended by the Congress government to limit the scope of the right to property. By removing the zamindari system of land relations, a huge institutional/structural achievement was made. This strategy benefited farmers in general, as well as zamindars' tenants in particular.

The eradication of tenancy, which had existed under the older zamindar landowners as well as the ryotwari and inamdari systems of land relations, was the next land reform step considered. To begin, efforts were made to give tenants security of tenure and to set a fair rent that the tenants would pay to the landowners. During the 1950s and 1960s, these policies dominated land reform efforts. These tenancy reform initiatives were driven by the desire to protect the interests of a significant number of tenants who made up the Congress party's vote bank. The institution of tenancy, however, was eliminated in the 1970s.

Following the abolition of tenancy, there was another policy inspired by the philosophy of achieving a socialist pattern of society, namely the policy of capping landholdings, which was no doubt consistent with the policy of capping private investment in industrial activity under the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. The Planning Commission proposed a nationwide program of land reforms in the 1960s and early 1970s, with a key component being the imposition of size limits on landholdings. The national govt granted funding to states to help them maintain adequate land records to make the policies of land ceilings and surplus land

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distribution easier to implement. Even though land and agriculture-related policy issues are state subjects under the Constitution, the central government, in consultation with the Planning Commission, proposed a ceiling of 4.05–7.28 hectares for irrigated land with two crops, 10.93 hectares for irrigated land with one crop, and 21.85 hectares per family for drylands. (There is no record of the central government's rationale for setting the ceiling limitations.)

III. New Approaches to Land Reform

The major goal of the government agricultural development strategy under the liberalization program should be to restate the importance of agricultural growth, both in terms of driving the agricultural sector toward higher growth and in terms of boosting the income levels of individuals who rely on agriculture. It may appear odd to emphasize the need of encouraging agricultural development with such a solitary goal of generating faster growth to raise the income levels of those who rely on it, especially while its relative contribution to GDP is rapidly dropping. However, there is still a socioeconomic basis for prioritizing agricultural growth because agriculture and related activities employ roughly 60% of India's workers. Given that economic liberalization and new industrial policies, including foreign trade liberalization, may not provide enough job opportunities to absorb the growing workforce, it would be prudent to allow agriculture to develop into a commercial enterprise that encourages the flow of private investment and cutting-edge technology, resulting in increased job opportunities. There has been some resistance to encouraging and promoting the commercialization of Indian agriculture in the aftermath of economic liberalization. This opposition stems mostly from concerns that the commercialization of agriculture will result in a major shift in cropping patterns away from cereals and toward commercial crops, potentially resulting in a food grain scarcity. Furthermore, it is suggested that agricultural commercialization will result in the influx of corporate investment into the sector, resulting in the eviction of traditional agricultural classes, notably small and marginal farmers, from their land. These anxieties are undoubtedly justified, and any attempt to promote the commercialization of Indian agriculture must take care to avoid a decrease in food grain output and the loss of land ownership by the cultivating classes, whether small, marginal or even big farmers. Private corporate investment in agricultural processing and exporting businesses are currently unrestricted. However, because of the lack of a reliable supply of high-quality raw materials and primary agricultural products, these activities have not attracted much private investment. Some multinational corporations have begun agro-processing operations in certain regions by supporting contract farming of the necessary primary crops. Even so, without sufficient revisions in state land reform legislation, contract farming is seen as a risky proposition. To facilitate the flow of corporate investment into agro-processing and export activities, some amendments to land reform legislation would be required. To legalize the hiring in and hiring out of small pieces of land for agriculture, relevant provisions of state land reform legislation would need to be amended. Allowing corporations to lease (but not own) property is also important to provide a steady supply of raw materials for agro-processing industries by having their horticulture, floriculture, and aquaculture farms. All of these concessions are in line with the exemption rules established by the Planning Commission in 1956. As a result, tenancy regulations must be changed to encourage the leasing of land for productive use. The current land ceiling constraints should be increased (if not removed) to allow for the cultivation of horticulture and floriculture products. Indian agriculture will be unable to take advantage of the opportunities that will be created under the WTO framework without such reforms in tenancy and land ceiling legislation.

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Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

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)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
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.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



Format Structure

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Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

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.

Keywords

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.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

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.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

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.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

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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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

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.

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



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- 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.

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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.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

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.

What to stay away from:

- 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:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

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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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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