Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X

Global Journals

of Human Social Sciences: F

Political Science

Democratic Decentralization

Feminist Discourse Analysis

Highlights

Convergence of Moments

Caso Argentino Durante

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 13 ISSUE 1 VERSION 1.0

© 2001-2013 by Global Journal of Human Social Sciences, USA

Volume 13 Issue 1 was originally issued as F1

Global Journal of Human Social Sciences : F
Political Science

Global Journal of Human Social Sciences : F

Political Science

Volume 13 Issue 1 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2013.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals Inc., Headquarters Corporate Office, Cambridge Office Center, II Canal Park, Floor No. 5th, ***Cambridge (Massachusetts)***, Pin: MA 02141 United States

USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Open Association of Research Society, Marsh Road, Rainham, Essex, London RM13 8EU United Kingdom.

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investers@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:
22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):
200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

Editorial Board Members (HON.)

John A. Hamilton,"Drew" Jr.,
Ph.D., Professor, Management
Computer Science and Software Engineering
Director, Information Assurance Laboratory
Auburn University

Dr. Henry Hexmoor
IEEE senior member since 2004
Ph.D. Computer Science, University at Buffalo
Department of Computer Science
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Dr. Osman Balci, Professor
Department of Computer Science
Virginia Tech, Virginia University
Ph.D.and M.S.Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York
M.S. and B.S. Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey

Yogita Bajpai
M.Sc. (Computer Science), FICCT
U.S.A.Email:
yogita@computerresearch.org

Dr. T. David A. Forbes
Associate Professor and Range Nutritionist
Ph.D. Edinburgh University - Animal Nutrition
M.S. Aberdeen University - Animal Nutrition
B.A. University of Dublin- Zoology

Dr. Wenying Feng
Professor, Department of Computing & Information Systems
Department of Mathematics
Trent University, Peterborough,
ON Canada K9J 7B8

Dr. Thomas Wischgoll
Computer Science and Engineering,
Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio
B.S., M.S., Ph.D.
(University of Kaiserslautern)

Dr. Abdurrahman Arslanyilmaz
Computer Science & Information Systems Department
Youngstown State University
Ph.D., Texas A&M University
University of Missouri, Columbia
Gazi University, Turkey

Dr. Xiaohong He
Professor of International Business
University of Quinnipiac
BS, Jilin Institute of Technology; MA, MS, PhD,. (University of Texas-Dallas)

Burcin Becerik-Gerber
University of Southern California
Ph.D. in Civil Engineering
DDes from Harvard University
M.S. from University of California, Berkeley & Istanbul University

Dr. Bart Lambrecht
Director of Research in Accounting and FinanceProfessor of Finance
Lancaster University Management School
BA (Antwerp); MPhil, MA, PhD (Cambridge)

Dr. Carlos García Pont
Associate Professor of Marketing
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Doctor of Philosophy (Management), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
Master in Business Administration, IESE, University of Navarra
Degree in Industrial Engineering, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Dr. Fotini Labropulu
Mathematics - Luther College
University of ReginaPh.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics
University of Windso

Dr. Lynn Lim
Reader in Business and Marketing
Roehampton University, London
BCom, PGDip, MBA (Distinction), PhD, FHEA

Dr. Mihaly Mezei
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology, Mount Sinai School of Medical Center
Ph.D., Etvs Lornd University
Postdoctoral Training,
New York University

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram
Department of Accounting and FinanceLancaster University Management SchoolPh.D. (WHU Koblenz)
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño
Professor of Decision Sciences
IESE Business School
Barcelona, Spain (Universidad de Navarra)
CEIBS (China Europe International Business School).
Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen
Ph.D. in Mathematics
University of Barcelona
BA in Mathematics (Licenciatura)
University of Barcelona

Philip G. Moscoso
Technology and Operations Management
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Ph.D in Industrial Engineering and Management, ETH Zurich
M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering, ETH Zurich

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.
Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA Medical Center
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac Arrhythmia
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

Dr. Han-Xiang Deng
MD., Ph.D
Associate Professor and Research Department Division of Neuromuscular Medicine
Davee Department of Neurology and Clinical NeuroscienceNorthwestern University Feinberg School of Medicine

Dr. Pina C. Sanelli
Associate Professor of Public Health
Weill Cornell Medical College
Associate Attending Radiologist
NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital
MRI, MRA, CT, and CTA
Neuroradiology and Diagnostic Radiology
M.D., State University of New York at Buffalo,School of Medicine and Biomedical Sciences

Dr. Roberto Sanchez
Associate Professor
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology
Mount Sinai School of Medicine
Ph.D., The Rockefeller University

Dr. Wen-Yih Sun
Professor of Earth and Atmospheric SciencesPurdue University Director
National Center for Typhoon and Flooding Research, Taiwan
University Chair Professor
Department of Atmospheric Sciences, National Central University, Chung-Li, TaiwanUniversity Chair Professor
Institute of Environmental Engineering, National Chiao Tung University, Hsin-chu, Taiwan.Ph.D., MS The University of Chicago, Geophysical Sciences
BS National Taiwan University, Atmospheric Sciences
Associate Professor of Radiology

Dr. Michael R. Rudnick
M.D., FACP
Associate Professor of Medicine
Chief, Renal Electrolyte and Hypertension Division (PMC)
Penn Medicine, University of Pennsylvania
Presbyterian Medical Center, Philadelphia
Nephrology and Internal Medicine
Certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine

Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu
B.Sc. Marketing; MBA Marketing; Ph.D Marketing
Lecturer, Department of Marketing, University of Calabar
Tourism Consultant, Cross River State Tourism Development Department
Co-ordinator , Sustainable Tourism Initiative, Calabar, Nigeria

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.
IEEE Senior Member
Chairperson, Department of Computer Science
AUST - American University of Science & Technology
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

President Editor (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)
Dean and Professor, College of Sciences
Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)
ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization
AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio
Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)
Baylor College of Medicine
Houston, Texas, United States

Chief Author (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit
M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT
Chief Author, India
Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

Dean & Editor-in-Chief (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)
MS (Industrial Engineering),
MS (Mechanical Engineering)
University of Wisconsin, FICCT
Editor-in-Chief, USA
editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit
M.Sc., FICCT
Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)
deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit
(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT
President, Web Administration and
Development , CEO at IOSRD
COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit
(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT
SAP Certified Consultant
CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS
Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)
Website: www.suyogdixit.com
Email:suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya
(MS) Computer Science Department
California State University
BE (Computer Science), FICCT
Technical Dean, USA
Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga
J!Research Project Leader
Saarbrücken, Germany

Contents of the Volume

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Table of Contents
v. From the Chief Editor's Desk
vi. Research and Review Papers

1. "Gobernadores, Matriz Productiva Provincial Y Relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo. Evidencias Del Caso Argentino Durante La Presidencia De Cristina Kirchner". *1-16*
2. The Engagement of Brazil with Africa in the New Century: Convergence of Moments. *17-28*
3. Feminist Discourse Analysis in Islamic Feminism. *29-36*
4. Democratic Decentralization and People's Participation in West Bengal. *37- 42*

vii. Auxiliary Memberships
viii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
ix. Preferred Author Guidelines
x. Index

Global Journal of human social sciences
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

"Gobernadores, Matriz Productiva Provincial Y Relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo. Evidencias Del Caso Argentino Durante La Presidencia De Cristina Kirchner"

By Por Alejandro Coronel & Y Bernardo Zamichiei
Universidad Católica Argentina

Abstract - Palabras clave: gobernadores, relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo, disciplina partidaria, territorialidad, índice Indep- endencia -Territorialidad.

Keywords : governors, executive-legislative relation, party discipline, territoriality, independence-territoriality (it) index.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699p

GOBERNADORES, MATRIZ PRODUCTIVA PROVINCIAL Y RELACIN EJECUTIVO-LEGISLATIVO. EVIDENCIAS DEL CASO ARGENTINO DURANTE LA PRESIDENCIA DE CRISTINA KIRCHNER

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2013. Por Alejandro Coronel & Y Bernardo Zamichiei. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

"Gobernadores, Matriz Productiva Provincial Y Relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo. Evidencias Del Caso Argentino Durante La Presidencia De Cristina Kirchner"

Por Alejandro Coronel [α] & Y Bernardo Zamichiei [σ]

Abstract - Palabras clave: gobernadores, relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo, disciplina partidaria, territorialidad, índice Independencia -Territorialidad.

Keywords : governors, executive-legislative relation, party discipline, territoriality, independence-territoriality (it) index.

I. Introducción

En la ciencia política moderna, son habituales los estudios en torno a la relación entre los poderes ejecutivo y legislativo, más específicamente la relación entre el Ejecutivo y las votaciones de los legisladores, que incluyen en sus análisis a actores tales como los partidos políticos.

Para el caso argentino contemporáneo, la primera presidencia de Cristina Kirchner comenzó (en términos parlamentarios) con una votación de alta relevancia política y de interés investigativo: la del proyecto que procuraba la confirmación de la Resolución 125 del Ministerio de Economía sobre retenciones móviles a las exportaciones agropecuarias (proyecto PE 013-08 de ratificación de la Resolución ME 125/08).

La relevancia de este hecho se halla tanto en la escalada del conflicto y sus consecuencias político-institucionales como en la discusión de fondo que encierra el empleo de retenciones como instrumento de control de precios, redistribución de ganancias y –lo que generó las mayores discusiones legales– como carga tributaria.

En efecto, el debate por las retenciones móviles cobró estado público en marzo de 2008, y la demanda del sector agropecuario unificó a las cuatro entidades que lo representan, que hasta entonces solían ser consideradas como antagónicas. El nivel de conflictividad política y social llevó a que algunos esgrimieran que ciertos sectores habían instalado un "clima de desestabilización" para hacer peligrar la continuidad del Gobierno. En aras de frenar un paro del sector agropecuario sin antecedentes en la Argentina, la presidente de la República envió al Congreso un proyecto ratificador de la medida en disputa, con la expectativa de un resultado favorable, dadas las mayorías con las que contaba su Gobierno en ambas Cámaras. El momento más relevante de todo el conflicto tuvo lugar la madrugada en que el proyecto fue rechazado en el Senado de la Nación, tras un empate que dejó la decisión final en manos del vicepresidente de la Nación.

Este desenlace inesperado llevó a plantear distintos interrogantes: ¿cuál fue el criterio de los legisladores (senadores o diputados) a la hora de votar? ¿Respondieron a cuestiones de ideología partidaria ("cohesión"), disciplina partidaria o a los intereses del territorio en el cual fueron electos?

En este sentido, algunos sostenían que el "factor sojero" habría sido decisivo para el rechazo. Desde este punto de vista, se daba por sentado que la iniciativa iba a ser rechazada puesto que las provincias sojeras (con mayor cantidad de representantes en el Congreso) votarían en contra y las no sojeras a favor (movidas por el interés de mayor recaudación).

Esta explicación, si bien se presenta no solo como lógica sino también como plausible, podría llegar a ser reduccionista en tanto que posiciona a lo económico o, mejor dicho, a la matriz productiva de las provincias como el elemento determinante del voto de sus legisladores en lugar de otras cuestiones de neto corte político como, por ejemplo, el rol (oficialista u opositor) que cumplen dichos legisladores frente a sus electorados, o bien la postura (favorable o desfavorable) de los gobernadores, algo ya trabajado en otros escritos (Coronel y Zamichiei, 2009, 2010 y 2012).

Teniendo en cuenta estas cuestiones de corte político, cabe reformular las preguntas anteriormente planteadas con el fin de poder observar empíricamente si esta presunción económico-productiva es válida o es tan solo un mal juego de intuiciones reduccionistas.

De esta manera, el presente trabajo tiene como objetivo principal el de detectar si el comportamiento legislativo de diputados y senadores ha respondido

Author α : Universidad Católica Argentina. E-mail : alejani@gmail.com
Author σ : Universidad Maimónides, Instituto Universitario de Gendar-Mería Nacional Argentina. E-mail : zamichiei75@hotmail.com

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

bien a intereses productivos de sus respectivas provincias o bien a cuestiones de carácter político. Para ello, se observa el rol político de estos como también la postura de los gobernadores frente a los temas sometidos a votación, incorporando así la cuestión de la disciplina partidaria como otro concepto explicativo alternativo al economicista-productivista.

El presente artículo comienza con una revisión teórica de los distintos enfoques vigentes adoptados para el abordaje de la relación entre los poderes ejecutivo y legislativo y, luego, avanza sobre las estrategias metodológicas empleadas para realizar las mediciones empíricas en aquellas votaciones legislativas del período correspondientes al Gobierno de Cristina Kirchner que cumplen con las condiciones necesarias para poder ser analizadas. Se pretenden conclusiones que provean nuevas perspectivas sobre la teoría y abonen el camino a la generación de nuevas y mejores comprensiones de la dinámica legislativa.

II. El Comportamiento De Los Legisladores: Un Aporte Teórico Para El Estado De La Cuestión

Existen numerosos estudios empíricos en materia de cohesión partidaria en los legislativos nacionales (Bowler *et al.*, 1999; Hazan, 2003) en referencia a diversos factores institucionales. Por mencionar algunos: los beneficios y costos de la disciplina para los miembros del partido (Ashworth y Bueno de Mesquita, 2004), la tensión entre los intereses colectivos de los partidos y los intereses personales de sus candidatos (Fiorina, 1977; Katz, 1980; Cox, 1987; Ames, 1992; McCubbins y Rosenbluth, 1994; Reed, 1994) el vínculo entre el "voto en bloque" y la financiación partidaria (Quinn, 2002), la indisciplina partidaria en sistemas de partido hegemónico (Díaz Rebolledo, 2005) y la ausencia de reelección inmediata de legisladores como causa principal de la disciplina partidaria (Ugalde, 2000; Magar y Weldon, 2001; Nacif, 2002).

Por su parte, se registran diversas tendencias académicas en la relación unidad partidaria y sistema político. Así, algunos estudios sostienen que los partidos se caracterizan generalmente por ser altamente cohesionados en sistemas parlamentarios y presentan poca unidad en sistemas presidencialistas, lo cual genera problemas en el establecimiento de una agenda legislativa por parte del Ejecutivo (Linz, 1994; Diermeier y Feddersen, 1998; Shugart, 1998; Hix, Noury y Roland, 2002; Persson y Tabellini, 2003). Sin embargo, existen investigaciones que contradicen estas afirmaciones en la medida en que destacan en su análisis el papel de los presidentes en la formación de coaliciones legislativas que les sean favorables (Figueiredo y Limongi, 2000; Siavelis, 2002; Amorim Neto, 2002; Weldon, 2002; Cheibub, Przeworski y Saiegh, 2004).

Específicamente en relación a los trabajos académicos sobre disciplina partidaria y dimensión territorial, estos pueden agruparse en diversos enfoques de investigaciones. El primer grupo encara el tema mediante el empleo del Índice de Rice (1925), o una ponderación de este, como herramienta de medición de la disciplina partidaria (Ózbudun, 1970; Ames, 2000), lo cual ubica, para casos como el argentino, resultados del 98 % de cohesión (Morgenstern, 2003).

Un segundo grupo de investigaciones halla resultados muy diversos, al enfocar el tema en base a la dimensión territorial, en particular, la vinculación entre la cohesión partidaria y las dimensiones ideológica y territorial (Moon, 2005; McElroy, 2007), y la relación de la cohesión partidaria con las reglas electorales (Sartori, 1976; Uslaner, 1985; Jacobson, 1990; Mainwaring, 1991; Ames, 1992; Geddes y Ribeiro Neto, 1992; Shugart y Nielson, 1993), especialmente la mayor o menor tendencia a acatar la disciplina partidaria en relación a los sistemas uninominal por circunscripciones, proporcional y mixto (Massicotte y Blais, 1999; Shugart, 2001; Shugart y Wattenberg, 2001; Kunicova y Remington, 2008) o en relación a los sistemas electorales que permiten la competencia en elecciones generales entre varios candidatos por un mismo partido, como es el caso de las listas de "lemas" (Ames, 1995; Chang y Golden, 2001; Hix, 2004).

Damos cuenta de un tercer grupo de estudios, que sostiene que la gran fuente de generación de disciplina está dada, no por las características del sistema electoral, sino por la organización del partido en el Congreso y por la capacidad de este para ofrecer incentivos a cada uno de sus miembros (por ejemplo, nombramientos en presidencias de Comisiones por parte del líder de la bancada), algunos de los cuales asocian los partidos a cárteles (Cheibub, Figueiredo, Limongi, 2000; Jones, 2002; Jones, Hwang y Micozzi, 2009; Calvo, 2007).

Así, Jones y Hwang (2005) adaptan la teoría del cártel, pensada para Estados Unidos, para el caso argentino, la cual sostiene que los legisladores poseen cierta autonomía para controlar sus propias carreras políticas y delegan poder a los líderes nacionales en la medida en que esto promueva sus propios intereses políticos. Esto plantea una ruptura frente a trabajos de otros autores, que se desentienden del rol de los actores subnacionales y que analizan el caso argentino desde diversas perspectivas, ya sea a través de la observación del papel de los intereses económicos del distrito de representación de los legisladores, el análisis de la relación entre los poderes ejecutivo y legislativo como control de agenda (observado a través de los vetos presidenciales) o el estudio de la función legislativa vista desde los intereses detrás de los proyectos presentados junto con los recursos aplicados y la autopercepción de los legisladores sobre su

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

puramente políticos, como ser: Reforma Política, Facultades Delegadas, Adelantamiento de Elecciones y Medios Audiovisuales.

Por otra parte, hay otros casos, que si bien involucran cuestiones netamente económicas, no están referidos a cuestiones productivas que permitan establecer si tal provincia se vería afectada y otra no, como sería el caso de una provincia sojera respecto de otra no sojera. Una situación como esa es la de estatización de Aerolíneas Argentinas, ya que para este caso no podemos determinar que hubiera provincias no afectadas por dicha empresa o provincias en donde Aerolíneas no envía vuelos y otras a las que sí, de forma tal de poder distinguir claramente aquellos distritos que sentirían sus intereses afectados de manera positiva de las que lo sentirían en forma negativa.

Esta situación de "generalidad" (en el sentido de que afectan de la misma manera a todas las provincias) se encuentra no solo en el caso de Aerolíneas Argentinas sino también en el de Estatización de las AFJP, 82 % Móvil de Jubilaciones, Aportes del Tesoro de la Nación y Fondo del Bicentenario.

"Dada la escasez de casos, también hemos incorporado el más reciente (que pertenece al segundo período presidencial de Cristina Kirchner) que es el de nacionalización de YPF (que permite distinguir provincias petroleras de provincias no petroleras)"

Por último, aclaramos que la categorización de una provincia como sojera/no sojera, minera/no minera o petrolera/no petrolera ha surgido exclusivamente de datos de organismos oficiales[4].

Determinados los criterios de selección de casos, resta aclarar las categorizaciones realizadas en torno a la situación político-partidaria del legislador frente al Gobierno nacional o provincial. Para este caso se utilizaron tres categorías con el mismo criterio nacional o provincial: *oficialista, aliado* u *opositor*.

Cuando hablamos de *oficialista*, nos referimos a aquel legislador que hubiera sido parte de la lista oficial que llevaba al presidente/gobernador como candidato. En caso de pertenecer a otra lista no oficial, pero que también postulaba al que luego fuera presidente/gobernador electo, entonces ese legislador es categorizado como *aliado*. Por último, si el legislador hubiera formado parte de una lista cuyo candidato a presidente/gobernador hubiera sido otro respecto al que fuera electo, entonces es categorizado como *opositor*.

Sin embargo, la dinámica política argentina nos lleva a tener en cuenta otro aspecto no menos importante: la ruptura de legisladores respecto de los partidos (bloques parlamentarios) que les dieran la plataforma de elección como también el posicionamiento de los gobernadores respecto al poder ejecutivo nacional. En otras palabras, no es nada extraño que un candidato haya sido electo por el oficialismo y que, luego de asumir, rompa con el partido o el bloque oficialista en la Cámara y se una a otro (opositor o no), o arme un bloque propio (muchas de las veces unipersonal), al tiempo que se declara prescindente de las posturas del partido que le diera cobijo (o de sus autoridades). Algo similar también ocurre con legisladores de la oposición que pasan a ser oficialistas o bien aliados (esta situación es más atendida bajo el término *cooptación*).

Esto motivó una decisión en torno a si la categorización de su postura del legislador respecto al Ejecutivo nacional/provincial debía mantenerse siguiendo el criterio de la lista por la que fue electo (más allá que algunos, aun antes de asumir, ya manifestaran el cambio de postura a favor o en contra del oficialismo) o que fuera actualizándose según los cambios reales de cada legislador.

Para este caso, la decisión adoptada fue la de generar una línea de tiempo para cada legislador (diputado o senador) en donde quedara registrado con fecha exacta cuándo viró de bloque legislativo, hacia dónde fue y qué postura tiene el nuevo bloque conformado/reestructurado. En este sentido, los movimientos fueron, en general, de formación de bloques de exoficialistas que pasaron a la oposición (bloque Peronismo Federal, por ejemplo) o de opositores que pasaron a ser aliados (como el bloque Solidaridad e Igualdad).

Como última aclaración vale destacar que las fechas utilizadas para acreditar el cambio de bloque parlamentario fueron las provistas oficialmente por Secretaría Parlamentaria (de Diputados y de Senadores) en donde figura únicamente la fecha en que los legisladores oficializaron formalmente su cambio.

Adicionalmente, también se construyó una línea de tiempo para los gobernadores, dado que en la dinámica política contemporánea también se pudo apreciar cómo algunos gobernadores aliados se pasaron a la oposición (por ejemplo, algunos de los llamados *gobernadores K*) o cómo algunos opositores se transformaron en aliados (por ejemplo, el Movimiento Popular Neuquino), así como también el caso de oficialistas que pasaron a la oposición (como fue el caso de Das Neves en Chubut). No se descartaron tampoco situaciones en donde los períodos de los gobernadores no coinciden exactamente con el de los legisladores nacionales de su provincia (por ejemplo, Santiago del Estero y Corrientes), en los cuales pudo haber cambios en la provincia (y su postura frente al Gobierno nacional), pero se conservaron a los mismos

[4]En efecto, para el caso del cultivo de la soja y su extensión provincial, yacimientos petrolíferos y mineros y sus pesos específicos en los Productos Brutos Geográficos correspondientes a cada provincia, los datos provinieron de documentos oficiales del Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, Secretaría de Minería de la Nación y Secretaría de Energía de la Nación.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

legisladores como dato insumo, se entenderá por caso (como primera aproximación) a aquella propuesta o tema que fuera llevado a las Cámaras legislativas para que sean sujetas a votación nominal por parte de los legisladores, sin distinción alguna acerca del origen de la misma (es decir, oposición, Ejecutivo, o bloque legislativo oficialista). Es decir que, *a priori,* quedan excluidos todos aquellos casos o iniciativas que no hubieran llegado a la instancia de votación en recinto (por ejemplo las que fueron votadas solamente en las Comisiones parlamentarias).

Ahora bien, como una segunda instancia de filtro o selección, los casos efectivamente analizados son aquellos que, además de cumplir la condición mencionada en el párrafo anterior, hayan generado un nivel de debate nacional que llevase a los gobernadores a exponer sus posturas frente a la cuestión (de forma explícita o implícita).

Aquí se presenta una primera dificultad que es la de determinar cuándo se cumple la segunda condición o no. En este sentido, la decisión tomada fue, en primer lugar, detectar aquellos temas que hicieran que la votación de las iniciativas fueran temas de mención en los distintos diarios nacionales. Es decir, en la medida en que tanto el tema como el hecho de la (futura) votación en el Congreso de la iniciativa presentada fueran mencionados en algún medio periodístico nacional, este ameritaba su selección y seguimiento[2].

Una vez seleccionada la propuesta, la otra cuestión a resolver giró en torno a cómo determinar la postura del gobernador y la fuente del dato. En este sentido, se realizó una búsqueda exhaustiva no solo en los diarios de tirada nacional (que para el caso argentino hay al menos dos de referencia: Clarín y La Nación), sino también en los principales periódicos de cada provincia argentina.

En uno u otro caso, el seguimiento llevó a poder encontrar apoyos o rechazos por parte de los gobernadores. Se considera explícita a toda manifestación en donde el gobernador deja asentada su postura frente al tema, por ejemplo, en un reportaje, en una solicitada con su firma, en la asistencia a una reunión convocada a tal efecto por grupos de gobernadores u otros actores en donde estos se manifestaron abiertamente en contra o a favor, reuniones del partido en donde el órgano partidario se manifiesta abiertamente en contra o a favor, fotos en las mismas condiciones que lo anteriormente relatado, por citar las más frecuentes.

De esta manera, se determinaron los casos a analizar y se completó la variable "postura del gobernador" con los datos para cada gobernador conforme estuviese "a favor"; "en contra"; o "sin dato", categorización que se utilizó cuando, más allá de la búsqueda exhaustiva, no se pudo obtener información alguna como para poder ubicar al gobernador en una postura respecto al tema de estudio.

Esta última categoría llevó al planteo de otra situación: la de decidir qué hacer cuando hay muchos gobernadores que de ninguna manera dejan entrever su postura por las fuentes de datos utilizadas. En este sentido, se adoptó el último criterio para la selección definitiva del caso (o su descarte):

- Si hay hasta 5 gobernadores[3] "sin datos", entonces estas provincias se descartan directamente del análisis, y
- Si hubiera un nivel de "sin datos" de más de 5 gobernadores (25 % o superior) entonces el caso se descarta por completo.

La delimitación, si bien arbitraria, es una decisión que busca que los silencios de los gobernadores influyan lo menos posible en el resultado. De otro modo, la investigación podría quedar sesgada de acuerdo a cómo queramos interpretar tales silencios o por el sesgo eventual de tener un comportamiento diferente entre gobernadores que expresan sus posturas y los que no, lo cual resultaría empíricamente indemostrable.

De esta manera, cumplieron con las condiciones planteadas las siguientes votaciones preseleccionadas del 2008: Resolución 125, Estatización de las AFJP y Estatización de Aerolíneas Argentinas. Para el 2009, cumplieron estas condiciones: Adelantamiento de Elecciones, Facultades Delegadas, Medios Audiovisuales, y Reforma Política. Para 2010, cumplieron las condiciones el proyecto de 82 % Móvil de Jubilaciones, Aportes del Tesoro de la Nación y Ley de Glaciares. Para 2011, Fondo del Bicentenario. Ahora bien, hasta aquí seguimos el criterio utilizado para la confección del IT. Sin embargo, para el presente artículo se incluye una etapa más para la selección de casos.

En efecto, dado que la cuestión a resolver aquí involucra la disyuntiva sobre decisiones en torno a intereses económicos, hay algunos de los casos mencionados en el párrafo anterior que no califican para ser tenidos en cuenta, ya que son de tipo social o

[2]Por ejemplo, para todo el año 2008 los temas que cumplieron ambas condiciones fueron solamente 4, a saber: Resolución 125, Estatización de las AFJP, Emergencia económica e impuesto al cheque, y Estatización de Aerolíneas Argentinas. Para 2009 fueron 5 los casos: Adelantamiento de elecciones, Facultades delegadas, Medios Audiovisuales, Impuesto Tecnológico, y Reforma Política. Para 2010 los casos fueron: Reforma del Consejo de la Magistratura, Ley de Coparticipación, Promoción Industrial, Aportes del Tesoro de la Nación, Reforma de los Súperpoderes, 82 % Móvil para Jubilaciones, Ley de Glaciares, Reforma del INDEC, Papel Prensa/Fibertel. Para 2011: Fondo del Bicentenario.

[3] La Argentina cuenta con 23 gobernadores y un jefe de Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, que para nuestro caso es tratado al mismo nivel que un gobernador.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

puramente políticos, como ser: Reforma Política, Facultades Delegadas, Adelantamiento de Elecciones y Medios Audiovisuales.

Por otra parte, hay otros casos, que si bien involucran cuestiones netamente económicas, no están referidos a cuestiones productivas que permitan establecer si tal provincia se vería afectada y otra no, como sería el caso de una provincia sojera respecto de otra no sojera. Una situación como esa es la de estatización de Aerolíneas Argentinas, ya que para este caso no podemos determinar que hubiera provincias no afectadas por dicha empresa o provincias en donde Aerolíneas no envía vuelos y otras a las que sí, de forma tal de poder distinguir claramente aquellos distritos que sentirían sus intereses afectados de manera positiva de las que lo sentirían en forma negativa.

Esta situación de "generalidad" (en el sentido de que afectan de la misma manera a todas las provincias) se encuentra no solo en el caso de Aerolíneas Argentinas sino también en el de Estatización de las AFJP, 82 % Móvil de Jubilaciones, Aportes del Tesoro de la Nación y Fondo del Bicentenario.

De esta manera, el círculo se cierne a solo dos votaciones dentro del primer período de Cristina Kirchner: Resolución 125 (que permite distinguir provincias sojeras de no sojeras) y Ley de Glaciares (que permite distinguir provincias mineras de provincias no mineras).

Por último, aclaramos que la categorización de una provincia como sojera/no sojera, minera/no minera o petrolera/no petrolera ha surgido exclusivamente de datos de organismos oficiales[4].

Determinados los criterios de selección de casos, resta aclarar las categorizaciones realizadas en torno a la situación político-partidaria del legislador frente al Gobierno nacional o provincial. Para este caso se utilizaron tres categorías con el mismo criterio nacional o provincial: *oficialista, aliado* u *opositor*.

Cuando hablamos de *oficialista*, nos referimos a aquel legislador que hubiera sido parte de la lista oficial que llevaba al presidente/gobernador como candidato. En caso de pertenecer a otra lista no oficial, pero que también postulaba al que luego fuera presidente/gobernador electo, entonces ese legislador es categorizado como *aliado*. Por último, si el legislador hubiera formado parte de una lista cuyo candidato a presidente/gobernador hubiera sido otro respecto al que fuera electo, entonces es categorizado como *opositor*.

Sin embargo, la dinámica política argentina nos lleva a tener en cuenta otro aspecto no menos importante: la ruptura de legisladores respecto de los partidos (bloques parlamentarios) que les dieran la plataforma de elección como también el posicionamiento de los gobernadores respecto al poder ejecutivo nacional. En otras palabras, no es nada extraño que un candidato haya sido electo por el oficialismo y que, luego de asumir, rompa con el partido o el bloque oficialista en la Cámara y se una a otro (opositor o no), o arme un bloque propio (muchas de las veces unipersonal), al tiempo que se declara prescindente de las posturas del partido que le diera cobijo (o de sus autoridades). Algo similar también ocurre con legisladores de la oposición que pasan a ser oficialistas o bien aliados (esta situación es más atendida bajo el término *cooptación*).

Esto motivó una decisión en torno a si la categorización de su postura del legislador respecto al Ejecutivo nacional/provincial debía mantenerse siguiendo el criterio de la lista por la que fue electo (más allá que algunos, aun antes de asumir, ya manifestaran el cambio de postura a favor o en contra del oficialismo) o que fuera actualizándose según los cambios reales de cada legislador.

Para este caso, la decisión adoptada fue la de generar una línea de tiempo para cada legislador (diputado o senador) en donde quedara registrado con fecha exacta cuándo viró de bloque legislativo, hacia dónde fue y qué postura tiene el nuevo bloque conformado/reestructurado. En este sentido, los movimientos fueron, en general, de formación de bloques de exoficialistas que pasaron a la oposición (bloque Peronismo Federal, por ejemplo) o de opositores que pasaron a ser aliados (como el bloque Solidaridad e Igualdad).

Como última aclaración vale destacar que las fechas utilizadas para acreditar el cambio de bloque parlamentario fueron las provistas oficialmente por Secretaría Parlamentaria (de Diputados y de Senadores) en donde figura únicamente la fecha en que los legisladores oficializaron formalmente su cambio.

Adicionalmente, también se construyó una línea de tiempo para los gobernadores, dado que en la dinámica política contemporánea también se pudo apreciar cómo algunos gobernadores aliados se pasaron a la oposición (por ejemplo, algunos de los llamados *gobernadores K*) o cómo algunos opositores se transformaron en aliados (por ejemplo, el Movimiento Popular Neuquino), así como también el caso de oficialistas que pasaron a la oposición (como fue el caso de Das Neves en Chubut). No se descartaron tampoco situaciones en donde los períodos de los gobernadores no coinciden exactamente con el de los legisladores nacionales de su provincia (por ejemplo, Santiago del Estero y Corrientes), en los cuales pudo haber cambios en la provincia (y su postura frente al Gobierno nacional), pero se conservaron a los mismos

[4]En efecto, para el caso del cultivo de la soja y su extensión provincial, yacimientos petrolíferos y mineros y sus pesos específicos en los Productos Brutos Geográficos correspondientes a cada provincia, los datos provinieron de documentos oficiales del Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria, Secretaría de Minería de la Nación y Secretaría de Energía de la Nación.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

legisladores nacionales (por ejemplo, el caso de Corrientes). En síntesis, esta línea de tiempo de gobernadores permitió tener en cuenta los cambios políticos de los gobernadores para todo el período de estudio y para cada votación a analizar.

Como podrá apreciarse, el análisis de los legisladores y gobernadores requiere de un seguimiento permanente. Ya aclaradas todas las cuestiones operativas podemos avanzar sobre el análisis de las votaciones seleccionadas.

IV. Análisis de las Votaciones

En primer lugar debemos destacar que, si bien al momento de redacción los casos que finalmente superaron todos los filtros o criterios de selección totalizan solo tres votaciones, estos han resultado lo suficientemente variados como para posibilitar la contemplación de situaciones diversas.

En efecto, se pueden observar situaciones en donde dentro de cada grupo (oficialistas, aliados u opositores) hay unanimidad de posturas de los gobernadores, pero también donde tales grupos están divididos frente a alguna propuesta, sean estas iniciativas provenientes de su mismo partido o de otro. Así, entre los gobernadores opositores pueden apreciarse tanto diferencias como unidad (Resolución 125), mientras que los grupos de gobernadores aliados y oficialistas pueden manifestar en diversas ocasiones tanto distintas posturas como la misma postura.

Por último, debemos aclarar que, merced a resultados de estudios anteriores (Coronel y Zamichiei, 2009, 2010 y 2012), quedó demostrado que el análisis de los legisladores requiere ser efectuado por separado para ambas Cámaras. Así, a continuación se encontrarán los resultados del estudio de los senadores y, luego, el de los diputados.

a) Resultados del Senado de la Nación

El orden de análisis de resultados comienza con la tabla general de los votos de los senadores según estos provengan de provincias sojeras, mineras, petroleras o no. De esta manera los resultados obtenidos fueron los siguientes:

Table 1 : Votación Resolución 125. Senadores por provincia sojera o no sojera

		Provincia sojera o no		Total
		Sojera	No sojera	
Voto_125	A favor	11 36,70 %	25 **59,50 %**	36 50,00 %
	En contra	19 **63,30 %**	17 40,50 %	36 50,00 %
Total		30 100,00 %	42 100,00 %	72 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Table 2 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Senadores por provincia minera o no minera

		Provincia minera o no		Total
		Minera	No minera	
Voto	A favor	11 42,30 %	24 **57,10 %**	35 51,50 %
	En contra	15 **57,70 %**	18 42,90 %	33 48,50%
Total		26 100,00 %	42 100,00 %	68 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Si la hipótesis económico-productiva fuera válida, los números a observar serían del 100 % (o muy cercanos a esa cifra) en los extremos de las diagonales resaltadas en negrita.

Es cierto que para las votaciones observadas, los valores máximos se registran en dichas celdas. Pero el hecho de ser una mayoría lejana al 100 % nos da lugar a pensar en la existencia de otra/s variable/s que pudieran explicar mejor el comportamiento electoral de los senadores.

En este sentido, hacemos un primer corte teniendo en cuenta solamente a los senadores que son oficialistas respecto a los Gobiernos de sus provincias. Si esta variable fuera de influencia nula, entonces deberíamos observar una estructura de respuestas/votaciones similares a las observadas en los cuadros anteriores.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 3 : Votación Resolución 125. Senadores *oficialistas de sus gobiernos provinciales* por provincia sojera o no sojera

		Provincia sojera o no		Total
		Sojera	No sojera	
Voto_125	A favor	9 47,40 %	16 **66,70 %**	25 58,10 %
	En contra	10 **52,60 %**	8 33,30 %	18 41,90 %
Total		19 100,00 %	24 100,00 %	43 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Table 4 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Senadores *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia minera o no minera

		Provincia minera o no		Total
		Minera	No minera	
Voto	A favor	3 23,10 %	8 34,80 %	11 30,60 %
	En contra	10 **76,90 %**	15 **65,20 %**	25 69,40%
Total		13 100,00 %	23 100,00 %	36 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Lo interesante con este cruce es que se puede observar que, en el caso en que se mantiene la misma estructura de votación (Resolución 125), los valores se diferencian (lo que marcaría misma estructura pero distinta intensidad), mientras que para la Ley de Glaciares no solo varía la intensidad sino también el sentido de la explicación misma; es decir, para los oficialistas de los Gobiernos provinciales, no importa la estructura productiva provincial, ya que, sean o no mineras, el nivel de rechazo a la iniciativa es alto.

En otras palabras, esto nos estaría indicando con mucha mayor contundencia que, sometido a control por otras variables, la estructura productiva no es determinante en absoluto del voto de los senadores. Conscientes de la poca cantidad de casos, la extensión o fuerza de este hallazgo no radica tanto en su potencia explicativa sino en poder refutar hipótesis de tipo totalizantes, lo que a su vez nos permitiría hablar de que la postura económico-productiva es de hecho un reduccionismo a desterrar.

En un intento por dilucidar influencias efectivas, incorporamos al análisis la postura de los gobernadores frente al tema en votación. De esta manera, los resultados revelan lo siguiente:

Table 5 : Votación Resolución 125. Senadores *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia sojera o no sojera, y por postura del gobernador sobre la medida.

		Gobernador a favor		Gobernador en contra	
		Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera
Voto del legislador	A favor	8 **57,10 %**	16 **88,90 %**	1 20,00 %	0 0,00 %
	En contra	6 42,90 %	2 11,10 %	4 **80,00 %**	6 **100,00 %**
Total		14 100,00 %	18 100,00 %	5 100,00 %	6 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 6 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Senadores *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia minera o no minera, y por postura del gobernador sobre la medida

		Gobernador a favor		Gobernador en contra	
		Minera	No minera	Minera	No minera
Voto del legislador	A favor	1 **100,00 %**	3 **60,00 %**	2 16,70 %	2 20,00 %
	En contra	0 0,00 %	2 40,00 %	10 **83,30 %**	8 **80,00 %**
Total		1 100,00 %	5 100,00 %	12 100,00 %	10 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Aquí los datos son contundentes. Si bien no se puede afirmar que la postura del gobernador es la única variable explicativa, sí podemos afirmar que esta postura es un factor mucho más influyente sobre las votaciones de los senadores que las características de la provincia de procedencia.

En efecto, no solo se observa congruencia directa y permanente entre postura del gobernador y mayor porcentaje de votos de los legisladores sino que, al actuar como variable de control, queda en claro que esta influencia o concordancia actúa de forma independiente de la estructura económico-productiva de la provincia.

Table 7 : Votación Resolución 125. Senadores *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia sojera o no sojera, por postura del gobernador sobre la medida y posición política.

		Gobernador oficialista		Gobernador opositor		Gobernador aliado	
		Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera
Voto del legislador	A favor	8 **57,10 %**	16 **94,10 %**	0	0	1 50,00 %	0 0,00 %
	En contra	6 42,90 %	1 5,90 %	3 **100,00 %**	2 **100,00 %**	1 **50,00 %**	5 **100,00 %**
Total		14 100,00 %	17 100,00 %	3 100,00 %	2 100,00 %	2 100,00 %	5 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Table 8 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Senadores oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales por provincia minera o no minera, y por postura del gobernador sobre la medida y posición política

		Gobernador oficialista		Gobernador opositor		Gobernador aliado	
		Minera	No minera	Minera	No minera	Minera	No minera
Voto del legislador	A favor	2 22,20 %	4 26,70 %	1 33,30 %	2 40,00 %	0 0,00 %	2 66,70 %
	En contra	7 **77,80 %**	11 **73,30 %**	2 **66,70 %**	3 **60,00 %**	1 100,00 %	1 33,30 %
Total		9 100,00 %	15 100,00 %	3 100,00 %	5 100,00 %	1 100,00 %	3 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Vale aclarar que en los casos de la Resolución 125 y la Ley de Glaciares se presentó una heterogeneidad tal que se dificulta el análisis cruzado. En particular, los gobernadores manifestaron posiciones tanto a favor como en contra del proyecto sin discriminar sus posturas políticas (*opositor*, *aliado* u *oficialista*) ni las características de sus provincias (*sojeras*, *mineras* o *petroleras*), por lo cual resulta imposible efectuar una mayor cantidad de categorizaciones, puesto que generan muchas celdas sin casos observados (ver Anexo II).

Del mismo modo, si bien se muestran los resultados para los *aliados al Gobierno nacional y oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales*, estos no se analizarán dado que su número es muy pequeño como para poder tomar significativamente los porcentajes.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Ahora bien, los últimos cuadros son confirmatorios respecto de que la variable política tiene un peso mucho mayor que el factor económico-productivo para identificar el comportamiento legislativo de los senadores.

Resta analizar los resultados de los diputados nacionales.

b) Resultados de la Cámara de Diputados de la Nación

Siguiendo la misma estructura de presentación que la realizada para los senadores, estudiamos la votación de todos los diputados, y se observaron los siguientes resultados:

Tabla 9 : Votación Resolución 125. Diputados por provincia sojera o no sojera

		Provincia sojera o no		Total
		Sojera	No sojera	
Voto 125	A favor	70 46,10 %	59 **59,60 %**	129 51,40 %
	En contra	82 **53,90 %**	40 40,40 %	122 48,60 %
Total		152 100,00 %	99 100,00 %	251 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Tabla 10 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Diputados por provincia minera o no minera

		Provincia minera o no		Total
		Minera	No minera	
Voto	A favor	19 37,30 %	110 **67,10 %**	129 60,00 %
	En contra	32 **62,70 %**	54 32,90 %	86 40,00 %
Total		51 100,00 %	164 100,0 %	215 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia

Como ocurrió en el caso del Senado, aquí también las mayores cifras se hallan en los cuadrantes esperables por la tesis económico-determinista (sojera y minera en contra; no sojera y no minera a favor); sin embargo, los datos siguen distando significativamente del 100 % esperado por dicha postura.

Por ello, al igual que con los senadores, realizamos un primer corte teniendo en cuenta solamente a los diputados oficialistas respecto de los Gobiernos de sus provincias.

Table 11: Votación Resolución 125. Diputados *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia sojera o no sojera.

		Provincia sojera o no		Total
		Sojera	No sojera	
Voto_125	A favor	55 **67,90 %**	39 **70,90 %**	94 69,10 %
	En contra	26 32,10 %	16 29,10 %	42 30,90 %
Total		81 100,00 %	55 100,00 %	136 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Tabla 12 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Diputados *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia minera o no minera

		Provincia minera o no		Total
		Minera	No minera	
Voto	A favor	5 20,00 %	20 31,30 %	25 28,10 %
	En contra	20 **80,00 %**	44 **68,80 %**	64 71,90 %
Total		25 100,00 %	64 100,00 %	89 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Vale aclarar que los comportamientos a favor y en contra dependen de cada proyecto en particular y no de una condición previa de oficialismo/oposición. En otras palabras, si bien es posible esperar que, *prima facie*, los oficialistas se muestren a favor de proyectos oficiales y los opositores en contra (y viceversa), esto no siempre ocurre (ni con los gobernadores ni con los legisladores). Por ejemplo, en el caso de la 125, dicho patrón se cumplió entre los gobernadores oficialistas y opositores, mientras que la ruptura vino por el lado de los gobernadores aliados (algunos se pusieron a favor y otros en contra). Pero con la Ley de Glaciares, que al ser una medida de origen opositor hacía esperable un comportamiento invertido (*opositores* a favor y *oficialistas* en contra), esto no ocurrió: muchos gobernadores oficialistas se mostraron a favor de la medida (muchos más que en el caso de la 125) a la vez que las posturas en contra se hallaron entre Gobiernos de provincias mineras sin importar postura política.

Ahora bien, con estos primeros cruces ya se observa un cambio en el sentido de la explicación determinista: el comportamiento de los diputados oficialistas respecto de sus provincias no se explicaría tanto por los intereses o *lobbies* sojeros, mineros, etc., sino por otras variables. Así, tales diputados, sean o no de provincias sojeras, se volcaron mayoritariamente y en porcentajes similares a favor de la 125. Del mismo modo, sean sus provincias mineras o no, se volcaron mayoritariamente en contra de la Ley de Glaciares.

Es decir que, nuevamente, queda en claro que las estructuras productivas provinciales no resultan determinantes en las votaciones de los diputados. En otros términos, la economía no es explicación suficiente del comportamiento político.

Como con los senadores, también aquí incorporamos al análisis la postura de los gobernadores frente al tema en votación. De esta manera, los resultados muestran lo siguiente:

Tabla 13 : Votación Resolución 125. Diputados *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia sojera o no sojera, y por postura del gobernador sobre la medida

		Gobernador a favor		Gobernador en contra	
		Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera
Voto del legislador	A favor	52	38	3	1
		81,30 %	**97,40 %**	17,60 %	6,30 %
	En contra	12	1	14	15
		18,80 %	2,60 %	**82,40 %**	**93,80 %**
Total		64	39	17	16
		100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Tabla 14 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Diputados *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia minera o no minera, y por postura del gobernador sobre la medida

		Gobernador a favor		Gobernador en contra	
		Minera	No minera	Minera	No minera
Voto del legislador	A favor	2	13	3	3
		100,00 %	**100,00 %**	13,00 %	7,50 %
	En contra	0	0	20	37
				87,00 %	**92,50 %**
Total		2	13	23	40
		100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Ante todo, aclaramos que la escasez en la cantidad de diputados incluidos en la tabla y la eliminación de los aliados se debe a una doble condición: por un lado, a una cierta cantidad de ausentes en el momento de la votación, y por otro lado, al hecho de que algunos gobernadores presentaron posturas imposibles de rastrear.

Hecha la aclaración, observamos que nuevamente los resultados son concluyentes y no dejan lugar a dudas. La posición a favor o en contra de parte del gobernador presenta una influencia mucho mayor que las características productivas de la provincia de donde proceden los diputados.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Tabla 15 : Votación Resolución 125. Diputados oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales por provincia sojera o no sojera, por postura del gobernador sobre la medida y posición política

		Gobernador oficialista		Gobernador opositor		Gobernador aliado	
		Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera
Voto del legislador	A favor	50 **78,10 %**	38 **97,40 %**	0	0	5 **83,30 %**	1 11,10 %
	En contra	14 21,90 %	1 2,60 %	11 **100,00 %**	7 **100,00 %**	1 16,70 %	8 **88,90 %**
Total		64 100,00 %	39 100,00 %	11 100,00 %	7 100,00 %	6 100,00 %	9 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Tabla 16 : Votación Ley de Protección de Glaciares. Diputados *oficialistas de sus Gobiernos provinciales* por provincia minera o no minera, por postura del gobernador sobre la medida y posición política

		Gobernador oficialista		Gobernador opositor		Gobernador aliado	
		Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera	Sojera	No sojera
Voto del legislador	A favor	0 0,00 %	1 2,60 %	2 **66,70 %**	18 **100,00 %**	3 **75,00 %**	1 12,50 %
	En contra	18 **100,00 %**	37 **97,40 %**	1 33,30 %	0 0,00 %	1 25,00 %	7 **87,50 %**
Total		18 100,00 %	38 100,00 %	3 100,00 %	18 100,00 %	4 100,00 %	8 100,00 %

Fuente: elaboración propia.

Como se explicó anteriormente, la escasez de diputados se debió a factores coyunturales de las votaciones, en este caso agravadas por la división en múltiples categorías de control. Por ese mismo motivo, no podemos analizar en mayor detalle el caso de los aliados (ya que de seguir dividiendo en categorías no habría casos para llenar las casillas). Más allá de esto, se puede observar que en los demás casos se mantienen las tendencias señaladas hasta aquí.

V. Consideraciones Finales

En lo que hace a la relación entre poderes ejecutivo y legislativo, en los últimos años, el mundo académico ha comenzado a incluir a los actores subnacionales como un factor interviniente. En este sentido, hasta tiempos recientes la bibliografía refería al papel "legislativo" de los gobernadores con un carácter más anecdótico o testimonial que científico. En aras de completar este vacío académico, algunos estudios se han orientado hacia la necesidad de medir empíricamente la mencionada influencia de los gobernadores.

Sin embargo, en lo referente a algunas leyes relativas a cuestiones económicas, siguen imperando criterios excluyentes de las posturas de los legisladores, por lo general con explicaciones simplistas basadas en determinismos del tipo económico. Antes que tenerse en cuenta el rol de los gobernadores, se suele hacer mayor referencia a los intereses de las provincias representadas en el Congreso Nacional o al papel de los *lobbies* económicos afectados. Pese a que dicha influencia había sido mensurada en trabajos anteriores, en ámbitos académicos diversos sigue escuchándose la postura economicista.

Ahora bien, más allá de tales posturas reduccionistas, es interesante controlar las investigaciones y los instrumentos desarrollados hasta el momento para medir la influencia de los gobernadores en el comportamiento legislativo de diputados y senadores.

Así, los resultados obtenidos en la presente investigación demostraron, en primer lugar, que el factor productivo provincial no es determinante a la hora de la votación legislativa. Si bien sugiere cierta influencia, esta no es claramente determinante. En términos prácticos, los representantes de una provincia sojera no necesariamente votan a favor de los intereses sojeros, ni los provenientes de distritos mineros legislan necesariamente a favor de los *lobbies* de la minería.

En segundo lugar, al incorporarse variables de control tales como la postura del gobernador y la posición política frente al Ejecutivo nacional, los datos

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

no dan lugar a dudas: frente a estos factores, la estructura productiva de la provincia resulta de mayor irrelevancia para explicar el comportamiento del voto legislativo de senadores y diputados nacionales. En otras palabras, la posición que fije el gobernador es más importante que los intereses productivos.

Si bien estos intereses pudieran influir directamente sobre los gobernadores y, luego, como por carácter transitivo, sobre los legisladores, lo que esto nos estaría mostrando es que, para los legisladores, la política es una variable preponderante por sobre la variable productiva.

Por último, queda confirmado que en el actual sistema político argentino, la territorialidad posee un peso específico propio y que, por ello, requiere de un análisis mayor al que se le dio históricamente. No obstante, lo que hay que tener en cuenta para entender las votaciones de los legisladores no es tanto la matriz productiva de sus terruños de origen, sino las posiciones que coyunturalmente presenten los líderes territoriales. Esto es lo que se buscó demostrar en investigaciones previas y que aparece fortalecido por el presente estudio.

Pese a todo, y conscientes de la escasez de casos que se han podido trabajar, dejamos abierta la posibilidad a distintos factores explicativos que puedan surgir a futuro, como así también resta comprobar si este fenómeno inicialmente observado es propio de la dinámica argentina o característico de los países federales latinoamericanos. Por lo pronto, podemos afirmar que todo parece indicar que para comprender la dinámica del Congreso Nacional argentino, los gobernadores importan.

Bibliografía

1. Abrucio, Fernando Luiz (1998). "Os Baroes da Federação: Os Governadores e a redemocratização brasileira", Hucitec/Departamento de Ciencia Política, Universidad de San Pablo, San Pablo.
2. Ames, Barry (1992). "Disparately seeking politicians: Strategics and outcomes in Brazilian legislative elections", paper presentado en Conference of the Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, October.
3. ---------- (1995). "Electoral strategy under open-list proportional representation", en American Journal of Political Science, MIT Press, vol. 39, number 2, Cambridge, May.
4. ---------- (2000). "Disciplina partidaria en la Legislatura brasileña", en Política y Gobierno, vol. VII, número 1, CIDE, México, primer semestre.
5. Amorim Neto, Octavio (2002), "Presidential cabinets, electoral cycles, and coalition discipline in Brazil", en Morgenstern, Scott y Nacif, Benito (eds.), "Legislative politics in Latin America", Cambridge University Press, New York.
6. Ashworth, Scott y Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan (2004). "Party discipline with electoral and institutional variation", working paper WP2004'7, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkley.
7. Bonvecchi, Alejandro y Schijman, Agustina (2005). "Organización y funcionamiento del Congreso argentino: hacia una agenda de investigación", paper presentado en VII Congreso Nacional de Ciencia Política SAAP, Córdoba, 15-18 de noviembre.
8. Bowler, Shaun; Farrell, David M. y Katz, Richard S. (eds.) (1999). "Party discipline and parliamentary government", Ohio State University Press, Columbus.
9. Calvo, Ernesto (2007), "The responsive Legislature: Public opinion and law making in a highly disciplined Legislature", en British Journal of Political Science, 37, 263-28.
10. ---------- (2001). "Party and coalition unity in legislative voting", Working Paper #376, Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis.
11. ---------- (2002). "Getting their way, or getting in the way? Presidents and party unity in legislative voting", paper presentado en Congreso de American Political Science Association, Boston, agosto.
12. Carey, John M. y Yannitell Reinhardt, Gina (2001). "Coalition Brokers or Breakers? Brazilian Governors and Legislative Voting", Department of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis.
13. Chang, E. C. C. y Golden, M. A. (2001). "Competitive corruption: Factional conflict and political malfeasance in postwar Italian Christian Democracy", en World Politics, vol. 4, number 53.
14. Cheibub, José Antonio; Przeworski, Adam and Saiegh, Sebastián (2004). "Government coalitions and legislative success under presidentialism and parliamentarism", en British Journal of Political Science, vol. 4, number 34, Cambridge University Press.
15. Coronel, Alejandro (2010). "Los gobernadores importan: nuevo enfoque en el estudio de las relaciones Ejecutivo-Legislativo en Argentina", paper presentado en IV Reunión Anual de la Red Europea de Política Latinoamericana –REPLA–, Bogotá, 6'8 de julio 2010.
16. Coronel, Alejandro y Zamichiei, Bernardo (2009). "El rechazo de las retenciones móviles en el Congreso Nacional: ¿fin de la disciplina partidaria en la Argentina?", paper presentado en el 21º Congreso Mundial de Ciencia Política, organizado por la International Political Science Association, Santiago de Chile, 12-16 de julio.
17. Coronel, Alejandro y Zamichiei, Bernardo (2010). "Los gobernadores importan: reinterpretando el

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

análisis de la relación Ejecutivo Legislativo a través de los actores sub-nacionales", paper presentado en el V Congreso ALACIP "Integración, Diversidad y Democracia en tiempos del Bicentenario", Buenos Aires, 28-30 de julio.

18. Coronel, Alejandro y Zamichiei, Bernardo (2011). "El camino de las influencias. Actores sub-nacionales, sistemas electorales y de partidos en la relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo en Latinoamérica", Instituto Universitario de Investigación Ortega y Gasset-Universidad Complutense de Madrid/Escuela Electoral y de Gobernabilidad-Jurado Nacional de Elecciones, Lima.
19. Coronel, Alejandro y Zamichiei, Bernardo (2012). "Los gobernadores, ¿convidados de piedra en la relación Ejecutivo-Legislativo? Construcción de un nuevo instrumento de medición para el abordaje del fenómeno", en POSTdata, Vol. 17, N.°1, Buenos Aires, abril.
20. Cox, Gary (1987). "The efficient secret", Cambridge University Press, New York.
21. Díaz Rebolledo, Jerónimo (2005). "Los determinantes de la indisciplina partidaria. Apuntes sobre la conexión electoral en el Congreso mexicano, 2000-2003", en Política y Gobierno, vol. XII, número 2, CIDE, México, segundo semestre.
22. Diermeier, Daniel y Feddersen, Timothy J. (1998). "Cohesion in Legislatures and the vote of confidence procedure", en American Political Science Review vol. 3, number 92, American Political Science Association.
23. Etchemendy, Sebastián y Palermo, Vicente (1997). "Conflicto y concertación. Gobierno, Congreso y organizaciones de interés en la reforma laboral del primer gobierno de Menem", Universidad Torcuato Di Tella-WP 41, Buenos Aires.
24. Figueiredo, Argelina C. y Limongi, Fernando (2000). "Presidential power, Legislative organization, and party behavior in Brazil", en Comparative Politics, vol. 2, number 32, City University of New York Graduate Center and Hunter College, New York, April.
25. Fiorina, Morris P. (1977). "Congress, keystone of the Washington establishment", Yale University Press, New Haven.
26. Geddes, Barbara y Ribeiro Neto, Arturo (1992). "Institutional sources of corruption in Brazil", en Third World Quarterly, Routledge, vol. 13, number 4.
27. Hazan, Reuven Y. (2003). "Does cohesion equal discipline? Towards a conceptual delineation", en Journal of Legislative Studies, vol. 9, number 4, Winter.
28. Hix, Simon (2004). "Electoral institutions and legislative behavior - Explaining voting defection in the European Parliament", en World Politics, vol. 2, number 56.
29. Hix, Simon, Noury, Abdul y Roland, Gerard (2002). "A 'normal' Parliament? Party cohesion and competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001", paper presentado en Annual Meetings of the Public Choice Society, San Diego, March.
30. Inchauspe, Gonzalo (2012). "Ley electoral, gobernadores y disciplina partidaria. Análisis de la discplina partidaria según el sistema electoral de las provincias", paper presentado en el 22° Congreso Mundial de Ciencia Política, organizado por la International Political Science Association, Madrid, 8-12 de julio.
31. Jacobson, Gary C. (1990). "The electoral origins of divided government: Competition in U.S. House elections, 1946-1988", Westview Press, Boulder.
32. Jones, Mark (2002). "Explaining the high level of party discipline in the Argentine Congress", en Legislative Politics in Latin America, Morgenstern, S. y Naciff, B. (eds.). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
33. Jones, Mark y Hwang, W. (2005). "Provincial party bosses: Keystone of the Argentine Congress", en Levitsky, S y Murillo, M. (eds.). "Argentine Democracy", The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania.
34. Jones, Mark; Hwang, W. y Micozzi, J. (2009). "Government and opposition in the Argentine Congress, 1989-2007: Understanding inter-party dynamics through roll call vote analysis", en Journal of Politics in Latin America, Vol. 1.
35. Katz, Richard S. (1980). "A theory of parties and electoral systems", Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
36. Kunicova, Jana y Remington, Thomas Frederick (2008). "Party cohesion in the Russian State Duma, 1994 2003. Mandates, parties and dissent: Effect of electoral rules on Parliamentary", en Party Politics, vol. 14, number 5.
37. Linz, Juan J. (1994). "Presidentialism or parliamentarism: Does it make a difference?", en Linz, Juan J. y Valenzuela, Arturo (eds.). "The failure of presidential democracy", The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
38. Magar, Erik y Weldon, Jeffrey (2001). "The paradox of the veto in Mexico (1917-1997)", documento preparado para el 23th International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington.
39. Mainwaring, Scott (1991). "Politicians, parties, and electoral systems: Brazil in comparative perspective", en Comparative Politics, October.
40. ---------- (1999). "Rethinking party systems in the third wave of democratization: The case of Brazil", Stanford University Press, Stanford.
41. Martínez Elipe, León (2000). "Fiscalización política del gobierno. Volumen primero. Fiscalización

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

parlamentaria y extraparlamentaria. Inspección parlamentaria", Aranzadi, Elcano.
42. McCubbins, Mathew D. y Rosenbluth, Frances M. (1994). "Party provision for personal politics: Dividing the votes in Japan", en McCubbins, Mathew D. & Cowhey, Peter (eds.). "Structure and policy in Japan and the United States", Cambridge Unviersity Press, New York.
43. McElroy, Gail (2007). "Legislative politics as normal? Voting behaviour and beyond in the European Parliament", en European Union Politics, Sage Publications, vol. 8, number 3.
44. Moon, Woojin (2005). "Decomposition of regional voting in South Korea. Ideological conflicts and regional interests", en Party Politics, vol. 11, number 5.
45. Morgenstern, Scott (2003). "Explicando la unidad de los parlamentarios en el Cono Sur", en Alcántara Sáez, Manuel y Barahona, Elena (eds.), "Política, dinero e institucionalización partidista en América Latina", Universidad Iberoamericana, México.
46. Mustapic, Ana María (2000). "Oficialistas y diputados: las relaciones ejecutivo-legislativo en la Argentina", en Desarrollo Económico, vol. 39, número 156.
47. Nacif, Benito (2002). "Understanding party discipline in the Mexican Chamber: The centralized party model", en Morgenstern, Scott & Nacif, Benito (eds.), "Legislative politics in Latin America", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
48. Ózbudun, Ergun (1970). "Party cohesion in Western democracies: A causal analysis", Sage, Beverly Hills.
49. Persson, T. y Tabellini, G. (2003). "The economic effects of constitutions", MIT Press, Cambridge.
50. Quinn, Thomas (2002). "Block voting in the Labour Party: A political exchange model", en Party Politics, vol. 8, number 2.
51. Reed, Steven R. (1994). "Democracy and the personal vote: A cautionary tale from Japan", en Electoral Studies, vol. 1, number 13, March.
52. Rice, Stuart A. (1925). "The behavior of legislative groups", en Political Science Quarterly, vol. 2, number 40.
53. Sartori, Giovanni (1976). "Partidos y sistemas de partidos", Alianza, Madrid.
54. Shugart, Matthew Soberg (1998). "The inverse relationship between party strength and executive strength: A theory of politicians' constitutional choices", en British Journal of Political Science, number 28.
55. ---------- (2001). "Electoral 'efficiency' and the move to mixed-member systems", en Electoral Studies, number 20, págs. 173-193.
56. Shugart, Matthew Soberg y Nielson, Daniel (1993). "Liberalization through institutional reform: Economic adjustment and constitutional change in Colombia" (paper no publicado).
57. Shugart, Matthew Soberg y Wattenberg, Martin P. (eds.) (2001). "Mixed-member electoral systems: The best of both worlds?", Oxford University Press, New York.
58. Siavelis, Peter (2002). "Exaggerated presidentialism and moderate Presidents: Executive-Legislative relations in Chile", en Morgenstern, Scott y Nacif, Benito (eds.). "Legislative politics in Latin America", Cambridge University Press, New York.
59. Ugalde, Luis Carlos (2000). "The Mexican Congress. Old player, new Power", CSIS Press, Washington.
60. Uslaner, Eric M. (1985). "Casework and institutional design: Redeeming promises in the promised land", en Legislative Studies Quarterly, number 10.
61. Weldon, Jeffrey A. (2002). "Factores institucionales y políticos de la disciplina partidaria en la Cámara de Diputados de México, 1998-2002", Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, México.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Anexo I

Listado de proyectos considerados para el análisis

Año	Proyectos mencionados en diarios de tirada nacional	Origen	Gobernadores sin postura	Situación del proyecto	Resultado del proceso legislativo
2008	Resolución 125	Oficialismo	0	Votación finalizada	Rechazado
	Estatización de las AFJP	Oficialismo	4	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Emergencia económica e impuesto al cheque	Oficialismo	7	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Estatización de Aerolíneas Argentinas	Oficialismo	5	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
2009	Adelantamiento de elecciones	Oficialismo	0	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Facultades delegadas	Oficialismo	19	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Medios audiovisuales	Oficialismo	1	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Impuesto tecnológico	Oficialismo	22	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Reforma política	Oficialismo	3	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
2010	Reforma del Consejo de la Magistratura	Oposición	---	Proyecto en trámite	
	Ley de Coparticipación	Oposición	---	Proyecto en trámite	
	Promoción Industrial	Oposición[5]	---	Proyecto en trámite	
	Aportes del Tesoro de la Nación	Oposición	4	Votación finalizada	Aprobado[6]
	Reforma de Súperpoderes	Oposición	---	Proyecto en trámite	
	82 % Móvil Jubilaciones	Oposición	5	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Ley de Glaciares	Oposición[7]	5	Votación finalizada	Aprobado
	Reforma del INDEC	Oposición	---	Proyecto en trámite	
	Papel Prensa/Fibertel	Oposición	---	Proyecto en trámite	
2011	Fondo del Bicentenario	Oficialismo	1	Votación finalizada	Aprobado

[5]Este proyecto fue presentado a instancias de los propios gobernadores (de diferentes signos políticos). Fue categorizado como opositor no tanto por el origen en sí, sino por la postura en contra del Ejecutivo nacional.
[6]Aprobado solo en una Cámara. Al haber implementado por motu proprio el Ejecutivo la medida aprobada en Diputados, esto generó que su tratamiento quedase sin efecto en el Senado.
[7]Si bien la iniciativa contaba entre sus redactores al senador oficialista Filmus, lo categorizamos como oposición debido al antecedente del poder ejecutivo que vetara dicha iniciativa en período legislativo anterior.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human social sciences
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Engagement of Brazil with Africa in the New Century: Convergence of Moments

By Dr. Julia Vilas-Bôas
Itaigada. Salvador-Bahia Brazil

Abstract - This article treats about the engagement of Brazil with Africa in the new century, which reflects a time in which there was an increase in presence of Brazil in the continent motivated by, not only changes in the conditions of stability in Africa, but also by Brazilian diplomatic investments through African countries and by also favorable internal Brazilian economic conditions, which enabled economic growth and international proactivity. On the Africa side, the new international integration divides in the NEPAD's autonomist mood and a "new scramble for Africa" by the countries interested in investing in the continent. On the Brazil side, Lula government foreign policy pursuit revert the distance settled during the 1990's, by improving not only incentives to the Brazilian companies but also bilateral cooperation, commerce and high level meetings.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code : 940304

THE ENGAGEMENT OF BRAZIL WITH AFRICA IN THE NEW CENTURY CONVERGENCE OF MOMENTS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2013. Dr. Julia Vilas-Bôas.This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Engagement of Brazil with Africa in the New Century: Convergence of Moments

Dr. Julia Vilas-Bôas

Abstract - This article treats about the engagement of Brazil with Africa in the new century, which reflects a time in which there was an increase in presence of Brazil in the continent motivated by, not only changes in the conditions of stability in Africa, but also by Brazilian diplomatic investments through African countries and by also favorable internal Brazilian economic conditions, which enabled economic growth and international proactivity. On the Africa side, the new international integration divides in the NEPAD's autonomist mood and a "new scramble for Africa" by the countries interested in investing in the continent. On the Brazil side, Lula government foreign policy pursuit revert the distance settled during the 1990's, by improving not only incentives to the Brazilian companies but also bilateral cooperation, commerce and high level meetings.

I. Introduction

Africa is present in Brazil's international relations even before its organization as a national state, constituting the dynamic trade that operated outside the rules of the Portuguese colonial empire. During this period, the contacts were intense at both commercial and proximity among elites, especially those devoted to the slave trade. After the end of slavery and the slave trade, respectively in 1888 and 1850, Africa went through a long period of neglect on the part of Brazil, so that Alberto da Costa e Silva says the effort to rethink the Brazilian dialogue with the African continent, especially in political and diplomatic fields, date only from the eve of African independences, in the twentieth century.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century the approach was improving progressively, ranging from the speech that found no support in the practical actions, in the 1960s, to a more pragmatic emphasis, in the 1970s, interspersed with some periods of estrangement. Meanwhile, in Africa, the independence processes unfolded, some milder, others with extreme violence.

In the twenty-first century, however, on both sides of the Atlantic the availability of internal conditions joins the political will and relations gain new momentum. Currently, the sophistication and complexity of international relations of states and domestic economies convert this new approach in direct investments, high-level visits, coordination of positions in the context of South-South relations, in addition to increasing trade, with a more sophisticated agenda compared with previous ones. This article aims to analyze the reunion between Brazil and Africa in the twenty-first century and the convergence of moments on both sides of the Atlantic which have created favorable conditions for the growth of bilateral relations.

Author : Nr 153, Apt. 403, Edf. Nicolo Paganini, Alto Do Itaigada. Salvador-Bahia Brazil. E-mails : juliacovre@hotmail.com, julia.covre.vilasboas@gmail.com

II. The New Africa's International Insertion

The international integration of independent Africa, as well as the process of independence of many of its countries, happened in the midst of the Cold War. This insertion occurred either through an attempt at autonomy, with the Non-Aligned Movement and the struggle for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), or with its internal conflicts as being instrumentalized by disputes between the two powers. In this sense, in the period of Détente, conflicts between the United States and Soviet Union were largely transferred to the peripheral countries, particularly those in Africa, attributing strategic character to the region.

The end of the Cold War, therefore, imposed a new condition to international relations in Africa. The loss of strategic importance that these countries had in bipolar disputes meant that, in the 1990s the continent was consigned to oblivion, and, thereafter, to deal with unfinished conflicts remnants of disputes between the old powers, which still were compounded by strategic marginalization, loss of ability to bargain, loss of economic importance, the consequences of the lost decade and the livelihood of colonial paradigms.

If in the Cold War period the existence of conflicts have led to disorganization and impoverishment of the continent, in the 1990s this situation was aggravated, because in these countries, not only the conflicts did not end, but also they lost the financial and strategic support of the great powers, which helped to maintain social cohesion. Conflicts, by the way, have become endemic, were aggravated or, in some cases, new conflicts arising from disputes over the control of the states. This situation abounded the "afropessimism" in analyzes about the continent. In this sense, the World Bank came to estimate that by the rate of the 1990s, it

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

would take forty years for black Africa regained the level of the 1970s. (SARAIVA, 2008)

Given the "Saharan tragedy", it was multiplied the number of peacekeeping operations of the United Nations in Africa and the Great Powers, as well as the UN, engaged in humanitarian aid policies to Africa, which delimited the continent's participation in international relations that decade. Welfare proposals, mostly conditioned to liberal reforms, which channeled resources from rich countries to the region, were ineffective in combating the Africans problems and, face its failure, were being abandoned at the turn of the millennium.

At the beginning of the XXI century, passed the gap of the post-Cold War, Africa, in the words of Vizentini, gives a "new jolt" and takes on a new level of international integration. According to José Flávio Sombra Saraiva, there are three central concepts that fuel this transformation: gradual advance of democratization and containment of armed conflict; economic growth grounded in fiscal responsibility and social concern, and elevation in confidence of elites through new forms of cultural and political renaissance.

While the political aspect highlights the role of South Africa, Libya[1], Nigeria, Algeria and Senegal in the transformation of the AUO into the AU and in the launch of NEPAD, in economic terms, the South African industrial strength and substantial oil resources of Algeria, Nigeria and Libya were added to the strong increase in investment and trade promoted by China in particular, but also India, Brazil and Arab Countries. Moreover, Africa, as a traditional exporter of commodities and agricultural products, has benefited from the appreciation of some commodities and from the demand for strategic resources that Chinese growth imposes, which Africa has in abun dance.

The South Africa post-Apartheid has also acted in world diplomacy aimed at reforming international institutions in order to provide a more multipolar world, where African countries have greater voice. This country also has been actively promoting multilateralism in Africa, for example, by the creation of the Community for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the growing number of multilateral conferences based in African countries.

All this resulted in a sharp acceleration in economic growth and more assertive international affairs of African countries. This is what is called the Rebirth of Africa.

Throughout the first decade of this century, Africa had an average growth of 5% to 6%, their average inflation rates were contained in 6% and exports in 2006 and 2007 were 43% and 45% of GDP, while foreign investments correspond, on average, to 19.4% of GDP - a percentage very close to that of Brazil, although considered low for economic sustainability (SARAIVA, 2008: 88).

From the academic perspective, rebirth corresponds to a tendency of Africans to go over the waywardness of several experiments of imported models. The idea of using unprecedented opportunities permeates the new internal discourse of African intelligence.

Despite the changes, there are still some concerns that hover over the continent, as the issue of poverty, which in many countries is still worrying, the possibility of a new cycle of indebtedness, generated mainly by Chinese policy in Africa, little diversification of the African economy and the persistence of corruption.

Moreover, the international financial crisis has introduced new challenges. The African economy was not as affected as the developed countries, but there was a reduction of Chinese investments, offset by just advancing capital of the Persian Gulf. In short, the continent continues to live a cycle of growth, but it is precisely here that lies the challenge for the future, to the extent that one questions how growth will be maintained in the context of less international capital available for investments.

Even so, Africa has presented figures and both positive and innovative initiatives that lead the continent to be seen as the new frontier of capitalism.

The Rebirth of Africa and its new international role are grounded on two pillars, one internal - NEPAD - responsible for the spirit of self-management of the continent, without outside interference and promoting their own development, and an external one, which is the rediscovery of the continent by foreign investors and the process that has been called the "new scramble for Africa."

a) NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa Development

NEPAD is a program of the African Union, adopted in 2001, with autochthonous proposes and carried out by Africans. This document is related to the "Rebirth of Africa", because it represents an initiative of resumption of confidence and identity reconstruction of the continent. In this sense, African leaders claim to be taking the reins of their own destiny, refusing to accept economic and political disqualified leaders and be conditioned by circumstances.

According to José Flávio Sombra Saraiva (2002), to some extent, the NEPAD is not exactly unheard of in African politics, insofar as it is a strong contribution from previous projects, such as the African Renaissance, from the late 1990s, Omega Plan, of Senegal, and the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), of South Africa. Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa thus become protagonists of NEPAD Plan.

[1]All the references to Libya in this article are related to the situation before the civil war.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Despite having roots in other previous projects, NEPAD is a constructive reaction of African leadership in difficult times and Saraiva considers that there is some originality in the document.

Part of the recovery and reconstruction of the self-esteem of African identity, according to the document, depends on the consciousness of the African people in relation to their contribution to the world and the appreciation of it, is that Africa is the cradle of humanity, either by owning mineral, ecological and cultural resources. The self-confidence that Emerges, however, protects these resources in order to be used to generate wealth and well-being for Africans themselves.

The objective of NEPAD is to eradicate poverty and place African countries, both individually and collectively, on the path of sustainable growth and development and to halt the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process.

The agenda proposed by NEPAD seeks the renewal of the continent, based on national and regional priorities, namely: prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, democracy and human rights, through the development of clear standards of verification, transp-arency and participatory governance; macroeconomic stability; establishment of a transparent legal and regulatory framework in the financial markets and auditing public and private sector; promotion of education, technical training and health, with priority to the problem of AIDS, malaria and other diseases; promoting the role of women; promote infrastructure development, agriculture and diversification between agribusiness and manufactures; and strengthen the State to be able to create and enforce legal rules and maintain order.

Also NEPAD has ambitious goals, such as to achieve and maintain an average GDP of the countries in 7% pa in the fifteen years following the drafting of the document. Among the strategies to achieve these goals is the diversification of productive activities, stimulating competitiveness and increased exports.

All this depends on building a strong and competitive economy, which, in times of globalization, becomes a necessary condition to remove Africa from marginaliza-tion and so it can participate effectively in the global economy and international politics. NEPAD leaders identify that, if the enormous natural and human resources of the continent are used appropriately, it can be achieved equitable and sustainable develop-ment. This is a call for a new relationship of partnership between Africa and the international community, especially developed countries, aiming to overcome the past of unequal relations.

The idea of the project is to fill gaps in strategic sectors, namely: infrastructure, information technology and digital communications, energy, transportation, poverty reduction, education, reduction of brain drain, health, agriculture, environment, culture, science and technology. The state's role is highlighted in growth and economic development.

As for resources to be mobilized for this purpose, capital flows are identified as one of the strategic pillars. African leaders have identified the need to fill a gap of around 12% of their GDP with capital flows, most of which must come from outside the continent, in the form of debt relief, Development Assistance (ODA) and private capital (NEPAD, 2001). Regarding the latter, it is intended to give attention to investors' perception that Africa is a continent of high risk, treating the security of property rights and regulatory frameworks. Interim measures are planned to mitigate the risk, including credit guarantee schemes.

Institutionally, the plan has progressed, creating a secretariat based in South Africa, a Steering Committee, an Implementation Committee, and five task groups to identify and implement projects in the focus areas of the plan.

Interpretations about the importance of NEPAD ranges from the most optimistic, as to Saraiva that compared NEPAD to Marshall Plan, to the extent that they both wanted to sew the "frayed fabric of the economy and politics" of their target countries, to the vision of the pessimists, who consider the NEPAD as a piece of empty rhetoric.

The response from governments and international institutions, especially financial ones, was enthusiastic. But criticism arose on the part of intellectuals, social movements and NGOs within and outside Africa.

In Brazil, one of the most controversial voices in criticism of the document is Wolfgang Döpcke (2002), which states that the NEPAD takes globalization as inevitable and does not question it, accepting the liberal hegemonic discourse and integrating it to its proposal. He characterized NEPAD as an "Africanization of Western liberal proposals." Citing Hearald newspaper, Wolfgang Döpcke also criticizes the NEPAD, characterizing it as a "'vehicle of neocolonial imperialist countries to exploit and subjugate' the African continent." Furthermore, he states that, in relation to the concrete and sectoral priorities, the plan is conventional and development policies are similar to those of past decades. Saraiva, however, suggests a tonic of cautious optimism.

Given these interpretations, a balance that can be made more than ten years since the launch of the partnership is likely that his main legacy is the spirit of self-management that took leaders and African population, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the country. Vizentini, citing the nationalist leader of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, states that "for the first time Africa is achieving some autonomy to reorganize itself based on a regional balance of power" and that is the uniqueness of NEPAD.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

b) The Rediscovery of Africa

The world is watching with the utmost attention the international reintegration of Africa, so says Saraiva. It draws up in the continent a strong competition between new actors, who, rather than weakens it has increased Africa's elbow room in international relations.

According Pio Penna Filho, the responsible for the rediscovery of Africa is undoubtedly China. The rapprochement between China and Africa dates back to the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the massacre of Tiananmen Square (1989) resulted in the isolation of China imposed by the West. Africa was seen by Beijing, then, as an alternative to overcome isolation, as it was one of the few regions of the world that did not come out against the massacre. The political counterpart, in the view of the African countries, was the presence of an ally on the Security Council.

Although the approach has been initiated by the political field, the predominance of the Chinese presence in Africa is in the economic area. According Saraiva, China

landed in Africa in a structural way: Chinese State Owned Enterprises - SOEs were pioneers, but the private sector and subnational actors also have significant importance; major infrastructure projects generate millions of jobs, promote economic development and help in rebuilding after wars; Chinese goods, extremely cheap, allow Africans access to an level of consumption previously unimagined; and the Chinese financial aid, which was announced in 2009 in an amount of $ 10 billion, leaves Africans enables to refrain from request loans from IMF and be more selective with Western help. (VIZENTI, 2010)

Moreover, some characteristics of Chinese investments' approach have proved an advantage of this country in Africa: the Chinese do not hesitate to invest in troubled areas, the Chinese oil companies are prone to employ large amounts of money and work in order to get rights for exploration and development in countries with large energy resources; companies associate indistinctly to national governments, public and private companies, in order to establish long-term local presence, although countries may seem unpromising immediately; and China does not care about the objections that the U.S. or other Western countries may do in relation to choice of partners.

The year 2005 is noteworthy in relation to Chinese investment in Africa. That year, landed on the continent about a thousand of Chinese companies and hundreds of thousands of workers from the same country. Since then, the Chinese presence is growing increasingly and expectations are that, with the global economic crisis that has been designing since 2008, China earns even more space in Africa, taking the space left by countries in difficulties.

The boldness of China comes to "invade" the spaces already consolidated as belonging to Westerners. China has acquired Swiss oil company Addax Petroleum, which controlled wells in Nigeria, Gabon and Cameroon, it presented a project to build an oil pipeline in Kenya, which will extract oil from Sudan and acquired rights over oil in Niger, and it discusses a partnership with Britain's Tullow Oil for exploration of oilfield discovered in Lake Albert in Uganda. (BOSCO, 2010)

One of the great advantages of China in Africa is the volume of demand for raw materials, minerals and oil, to fuel its rapid growth. Currently, from the ten main suppliers of oil to China, four are in Africa, namely Angola, Sudan, Congo-Brazzaville and Libya. According to Vizentini, Angola became the largest supplier of fuel to China, surpassing Saudi Arabia. Moreover, at the current rate of growth, China should further increase its energy deficit, which means a great potential for Africa.

Figures published in the article "China ups the Ante in Africa" and cited by Port Amaury de Oliveira (2008) give us an idea of the magnitude of the Chinese presence in Africa. Investments, both in trade, manufacturing and processing, natural resource exploration, development and communication, are of the order of $ 6.27 billion. The trade grew from $ 11 billion in 2000 to $ 50 billion in 2006. The projects are 720 in 49 African countries, plus another 58 under construction, all funded by preferential loans. In addition, a China-Africa Development Fund will be created for Chinese companies wishing to open new business in Africa (OLIVEIRA, 2008:87).

However, there are many criticisms of the Chinese operations in Africa, both in relation to the fact that most countries' trade balance is in deficit and the quality of products, indebtedness caused by the Chinese loans and indifference and even violations of human rights protection schemes. Nevertheless, the impact of Chinese performance among most African countries is positive, being exalted, especially when compared to Europe.

In what concerns to India, despite the rediscovery of Africa is a typical phenomenon of the 2000s, this country has an outstanding performance on the continent since the 1990s. An example is the economic cooperation, led by the program Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC), which was responsible for a project for small scale industries in Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Ghana and Ethiopia. More recently, the Indian Eximbank launched the Focus Africa to promote and meet Indian entrepreneurs to create business centers. (Vizentini, 2010)

The interest of India, like China's, is underpinned by the need for energy resources, raw materials, agricultural products, markets and investment space. All this resulted from the strong economic growth of India. In this sense, according to Oliveira (2008), which differentiates India from China is the approach of

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

their companies. While the former is more risk averse, the latter adopts a strategy that gives greater integration in domestic markets. This means that China opts for a strategy of greater control of the supply chain, both up and down, which creates the appearance of smaller enclaves and diffusion effects of the benefits of investments (OLIVEIRA, 2008:76)

Another difference between the two Asian emerging countries is that the Indian effort is driven primarily by corporate forces, while Chinese is the joint result of the levels of government, party and business. The result is that China obtains better performance.

South Africa, despite not being a foreign investor on the continent, has acted as an external actor in African countries individually and competes with the powers and emerging countries vying for space in Africa. South Africa is the largest economy in Africa, not only for its size but also because it is a hub for the distribution of imported goods to the rest of the continent. However, despite the South African economy is modern and has a good industrial base, it is still behind countries like China, India, Russia and Brazil. Still, Vizentini qualifies South Africa as leader of Black Africa and compares the performance of that country in its area with the immediate insertion of Brazil in relationship to South America (Vizentini, 2007).

In fact, South Africa post-apartheid, not only emerged as the most developed country in Africa, as happens to have a significant role in international politics, both seeking a seat on the Security Council of the United Nations, as forming alliances with other emerging as in IBSA and, more recently, by integrating BRICS.

At the regional level, SADC - South Africa Development Community is the locus where the prominence of South Africa is exercised. If on one hand the entry of South Africa in regional arrangement is a challenge given that disparities arise from differences in GDP, the huge trade surplus relative to other EU countries and dependent on other members have in relation to infrastructure ports and roads supplied by South Africa, on the other hand, its accession to the bloc added value to the organization, increasing linkages with the global economy.

The external actors presented so far do not represent all of the countries that invest and seek space in the African economy that is reborn. It may also be referred to the European countries, which were not analyzed because they are traditional actors on the continent, present since the colonial period, and for that reason are not exactly protagonists in the rediscovery of Africa.

Moreover, Brazil, which converges to its rise as an emerging country with the Rebirth of Africa, finds in this continent room to expand its investments and it is an actor who excels in the "race" for Africa. A more detailed analysis of the rediscovery of Africa by Brazil will be made in the next section of this article.

III. Brazilian Foreign Policy for Africa

After centuries of intensive contacts between Africa and Brazil, be it the slave trade, or the cultural influence of African slaves on Brazilian culture, relations between the two sides of the Atlantic were silenced for nearly a century. Although there are theoretical divergences[2], the so called Independent Foreign Policy -PEI[3] (1961-1964) is a milestone for the return to contacts between Africa and Brazil. With it, Brazil has defined a specific policy directed to Africa, positioning itself in favor of decolonization and identifying common aspirations between Brazil and Africa in the areas of economic development, protection of commodity prices, industrialization and desire for peace. This position can be considered a milestone because previous governments adopted a position of alignment or, at least, not confrontation with the colonial powers. Moreover, the orientation of Brazilian foreign policy for Africa met the new needs created by industrialization process of the previous decades.

The resumption of an Africanist policy by the Foreign Ministry was consolidated during Responsible and Ecumenical Pragmatism Officer (1974-1979). In this sense, the Brazilian vanguard in recognizing the independence of Angola in 1975, was a milestone. Thus, there has been "consistent practice", in the words of Saraiva, to what had been gestating in the level of speech during PEI. Africa in this period has been identified as an area of economic and strategic interests virtual and this was one time considered "the golden years" of African politics in Brazil (SARAIVA, 1999). This period marks the installation of the first Brazilian company in black Africa.

In the 1980s, however, the difficulties in maintaining the promising relationship of the 1970s were evident. The developmental model, which guided the diversification of partners of Brazilian foreign policy and Brazil's rapprochement towards Africa, showed signs of exhaustion (Saraiva, 2002). Both Africa and Brazil were affected by the debt crisis, and, in the case of Africa, the impact was aggravated by IMF adjustment plans and the conflicts of the Cold War. Still, some specific initiatives have been engendered, as the first Brazilian president's visit to the continent in 1983, when President

[2]As for Amado Cervo, in "History of Brazil's Foreign Policy", the anti-colonialist and self-determination discourse was not consistent with the abstention in the UN on the issues of Angola and Algeria, for Saraiva in "Transatlantic Perspectives: Africa and Brazil in the contemporary world", 1961, the starting year of PEI, is a key year for the reunion between Brazil and Africa.

[3]To know more about Brazilian foreign policy periods see CERVO, Amado Luiz; BUENO, Clodoaldo. *História da Política Exterior do Brasil*. Brasília: UNB, 2002.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

João Batista Figueiredo travelled to Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Cape Verde.

a) The selective choices of the 1990s and preparation to the present time

In the 1990s, Brazil's relations with Africa, which had gone through moments of great prosperity in the previous decades, enter in decline, which was called by

Saraiva "look sleepy." (SARAIVA, 1999) The trade volume backed to levels of the years 1950/1960. (SARAIVA, 2010)

This decline is given by unfavorable contexts on both sides of the Atlantic. In Africa, the deep crisis, caused by foreign debt, the crisis of social epidemics, and the tumultuous political transitions to democracy, which in many cases resulted in violent civil wars, meant that the continent was increasingly sidelined from the international system.

Brazil in its turn has undergone a reorientation of its foreign policy, which ruled him out of their tradition to favor developmental characteristics of the Normal State[4] and relations with developed countries. The emphasis is now on North-South vertical relations, instead of horizontal South-South relations, in that the orientation of Brazilian foreign policy of this period was to join the total insertion in neoliberalism and globalization. Moreover, it contributed to the declinein trade that followed the withdrawal of the State of export financing and the need to import oil from Argentina, in order to balance the economic weights inside the Mercosur. (Vizentini, 2010)

José Vicente de Sá Pimentel (2000) divides the vision of the framers of Brazilian foreign policy for Africa of that moment between nostalgic and doomsayers. The first emphasized the historical responsibilities and compared the 1990s with the 1970s, extolling the past at the expense of the former. The others gave emphasis to the catastrophic situation of crisis on the continent, having this as a factor that hindered the dialogue with the African continent. This last group was called by Saraiva as African pessimists, which, to this author, have dominated the Brazilian decision-making process over the decade.

Despite the extreme views, Brazilian foreign policy towards Africa in the 1990s made selective choices, namely, South Africa, Angola, ZPCSA and CPLC. According to Pimentel selectivity was justified on the grounds that a sole African policy would not be the most appropriate in the face of such a great diversity among their countries.

South Africa is recognized by the strategic value of its geographical position and because it is the most traditional and main partner of Brazil in the continent. Angola, which in the 1990s had not yet resolved their conflicts remnants of independence, stands out by the Brazilian presence in UN Peace Mission in that country, by the presence of Brazilian investments, even in times of war, beyond the privileged relationship legacy from the fact that Brazil was the first country to recognize the independence of Angola.

Regarding ZPCSA, there was a gradual resumption of operation. The Zone, although it was formalized in 1986, was relatively forgotten in subsequent years, but with the revival meetings were held in 1990, 1994 and 1998. Finally, the CPLC, which despite its somewhat lax, in the words of Saraiva, has been consolidated as part of promoting cooperation between countries.

Despite the selectivity that characterized the period, each of the three governments of the 1990s had its peculiarities in relation to Africa and they deserve to be analyzed.Starting with Fernando Collor, who despite having initiated the fled from Africa and the reduction of the Brazilian diplomatic corps on the continent, he visited Africa in 1991, and the Brazilian government help in structuring the Navy's war of Namibia in the context of the process of independence. Regarding Collor's visit to the continent, Saraiva said it is surrender to the forces of nationalism and a Brazilian diplomatic tradition of diversification of partners[5].

With Itamar Franco, African politics have a sigh of engagement. It is in Itamar that ZPCSA is reactivated and the CPLP organized the Meeting of Portuguese Language Chancellors. Vizentini points out that the highlights of this government was the bilateral and multilateral support, via the UN, to the peace process and reconstruction in some countries, such as Angola. It should be noted also that most of selective choices that will characterize the year 1990 were drawn in the government of Mr. Franco.

President Fernando Henrique Cardos- FHC had different approaches towards Africa along his two governments: in the first instance, Africa occupied a modest place, and in the second, during the second term, a certain inflection, which would be qualitatively deepened by Lula government's foreign policy. The actions that stand out are the more active participation of Brazil in UN peacekeeping missions, which most

[4]According to Amado Cervo, in "History of Brazil's Foreign Policy", the Normal State would becharacterized by subser-vience to the center of capitalism, the alienation of "robust nucleus of the national economy," the transfer of income abroad and regression of the nation to "functions of social childhood" (CERVO, 2002). This type of rule carácterized the Latin American governments in the 1990s, mainly in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and Mexico. The Normal State is one of three paradigms that, according to this author, characterized the Brazilian State in the last 80 years: Developmental State (1930-1989)- State entrepreneur who drags society on the path of national development by overcoming structural economic dependency-, Normal State (1990-2002) and Logistic State (2002 - to present), which will be seen bellow.

[5]President Collor inaugurated the Normal State in Brazil, that is why initiatives through Africa are considered surrender to a Brazilian tradition of diversification of partners.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

were in Africa; presidential visits, while maintaining selectivity; and the signing of the South Africa and Mercosur Framework Agreement.

Vizentini highlights that with the crisis of real (Brazilian currency) in 1999 and the change of posture of FHC in relation to globalization, which, in his speech, goes from "inevitable" to "asymmetric", Brazil and African states start to have greater convergence in world diplomacy and in multilateral fora, particularly economic ones. This shift in discourse and attitudes seems to be the point closest to the foreign policy of the next government. However, it should not overestimate the importance of this turnaround, considering that the great revival of Brazilian Africanist policy occurs under Lula, as will be seen in the next subsection.

b) The Lula Government's Foreign Policy for Africa

Lula's rise to power in 2003 represents in Brazil's relations with Africa a lifting in the Brazilian Africanist policy to the "state of art" (SARAIVA, 2010). This approach in Brazil-Africa relations is part of a context of major changes in Brazilian foreign policy as a whole, especially compared to the previous government. In this subsection, we will present the changes that the new government brought to the foreign relations of Brazil and then its implications for an Africanist policy and what it has to novelty compared to other periods.

According to Amado Luiz Cervo (2008), the Lula government's foreign policy fits the Logistics Paradigm. In this paradigm the state transfers the responsibilities of the state entrepreneur to society, which characterized the developmental paradigm. The State focuses on providing logistical support to enterprises, preferably, but not exclusively, to the private sector, for the purpose of strengthened it in international comparative terms. Interdependence with the globalized world, in this case, operates by aggregating national enterprises and international supply chains through direct investments abroad.

Besides the logistical approach of the Brazilian state, another feature of the foreign policy of the Lula government is the option for South-South relations. Accordingly, Tullo Vigevani and Gabriel Cepaluni claim that one of the main changes from Cardoso to Lula is the difference of perception and ideology of these leaders and their teams about the constraints and opportunities of the current international order. The thesis postulated by them is that

> FHC's foreign policy advocated the idea of "autonomy through participation" in the international system, as opposed to the pursuit of "autonomy by distance", which prevailed until the end of Sarney's tenure (VIGEVANI; OLIVEIRA, 2004; FONSECA JR., 1998), while Lula da Silva sought to place Brazil on the world stage accentuating autonomous forms, diversifying partners and Brazilian strategic options... emphasis on South-South cooperation to seek greater balance with countries of the North, making adjustments, increasing the country's international role and consolidating program changes in foreign policy. (VIGEVANI; CEPALUNI, 2007) (Free translation)

This strategy of the Lula government was named by the authors as "autonomy through diversification."

The Brazilian Africanist policy of Lula's government falls in both South-South approach and the Logistic State. To Saraiva (2010), foreign policy for Africa under Lula gained more permanent bases, near a state policy. The same author characterizes it as a very well balanced mix of idealism with realism. In the external environment, a new vision of globalization by both Brazil and Africa, farther from the neoliberal vision and closer to the real interdependence, which, according to Cervo (2008), gives the tone of the approach. Internally, on the other hand, there is a convergence of moments that favor the approach. In Africa, as it has been seen, the first decade of this century was characterized by relatively high rates of growth, restructuring of states and societies and end conflict. In Brazil, the economic growth of the decade was also significant and became more sophisticated than in other periods by the association of social programs, which improved the income distribution in the country, with the character of the Logistic State, which created conditions for expansion of national economy and that finds in Africa a field for this state more economically mature.

Vizentini (2010) provides some views about the African policy of the Lula administration:

a) Solidarity Dimension - On this view, the engagement with Africa would be an international extension of government social programs.
b) Diplomacy of prestige - On this view, the policy would have no substance and therefore would be a waste of time and money.
c) Business Diplomacy - According to this view, the African policy of the Lula government would be a kind of soft imperialism, which differentiate from the Chinese presence only in form and intensity.

Many were the critics to the engagement of Brazil with Africa as it had a poetic or lyrical connotation, but both former President Lula, as former foreign minister Celso Amorim expressed in their speeches and state actions itself that relations with Brazil and the continent were based on specific interests and that Africa is a priority for Brazil. The connotation was neither patronizing, reproducing the speech to expiate the guilt of past colonial exploitation, nor exploiting, aiming at the exploitation of large reserves of natural resources. It was building a true partnership. (SILVA, 2009)

The concrete interests referred to in the official discourse can be seen in the growth of trade from $ 5 billion in 2002 to $ 26 billion in 2008 (Amorim, 2009).

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Besides the commercial field, relations have outstanding performance in the area of investment, mainly in oil, mining, infrastructure and services, cooperation in health, technology, diplomacy, security and defense. Vizentini, however, says that the most important pillars of this recent approach are the strategic and economic ones, in the sense that they are very important for the Brazilian world projection.

Within the economic pillar, trade relations have produced results that demonstrate the importance of the approximation of the African continent. By 2008, Brazil was the 11th partner in Africa and among the developing countries, only behind China and India. Regarding the previous government, the results of the change in the importance of Africa are patents: between 1995 and 2002 exports to Africa grew 76%, while between 2003 and 2009 it grew by almost 400%, whereas the performance of imports was somewhat more modest, with a growth of 260% in the first period, against 326% in the second. (MFA, 2010)

It is worth mentioning that most of Brazil's exports are manufactured goods (MDIC, 2009) and it is one of the strategic points of the engagement with the continent, since, historically, Amado Cervo (2008) points out that the power of attraction of Africa on Brazilian leaders is precisely in being a market for Brazilian manufactures, while they are rejected by the first world. Another strategic aspect can be demonstrated in the role of Africa during the international crisis, when, despite the flow of trade have reduced the decline in exports to the continent it was much smaller than the fall of Brazil's total exports, which resulted in a increased participation of African countries in absorption of Brazilian products. (MFA, 2010)

Concerning Brazilian Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), in 2006, for the first time in history, the volume of investments made was larger than received investments, reaching a record $ 32.3 billion (KPMG, 2008:4). This placed Brazil in the 12th position among the largest investors in the world, even ahead of China (KPMG, 2008:6). In Lula's government, installing Brazilian companies in Africa played an important role in bilateral relations, as it was seen as an instrument to strengthen ties with the countries of the continent, being favored by presidential diplomatic policy. In this sense, Brazilian FDI through Africa grew 16,39% (FDC, 2010).

These results are not only fruit of the convergence of favorable moments on both sides of the Atlantic, Brazil has made major diplomatic investments, where, incidentally, lies much of the criticism of skeptics regarding the approach to Africa. There were conducted 28 visits of President Lula throughout his tenure and 67 visits by Foreign Minister Celso Amorim (MFA 2010), and much of the president's visits were accompanied by groups of businessmen, representatives from various ministries and intellectuals. The number of posts opened on the continent has grown and several stations that had been closed were reopened. The Brazilian government canceled the debts of some African countries in meeting the Millennium Development Goals, as in the case of Mozambique, which the pardon reached 95% debt (Vizentini, 2010). Moreover, the very structure of the Foreign Ministry has been changed: the former Department of Africa and the Middle East was divided, giving rise to a department exclusively for the African continent.

On the other hand, there were 48 visits by heads of state and government and 66 visits of African ministers of foreign affairs (MFA, 2010), almost identical to the number of visits of Celso Amorim, which shows great reciprocity of African states. In relation to the open of positions of African countries in Brasilia, only between 2003 and 2006, the number jumped from 16 to 25 (Vizentini, 2010). In the political area, Brazil has the support of the CPLC countries in various Brazilian candidates for positions in international bodies such as the Security Council of the United Nations and the Director-General of FAO (MFA, 2010).

With regard to international cooperation, a diplomatic investment relatively cheap in monetary terms, we should highlight the fact that Brazil has passed from the category of receptor to donor of cooperation. In large part, this change is linked to the initiatives towards Africa. Brazilian institutions like Embrapa, SENAI and Fiocruz are prominent actors in this process. The focus of the cooperation is the Portuguese Speaking African Countries (PALOP, in Portuguese), which receive 74% of Brazilian cooperation destined for Africa (Vizentini, 2010), especially in Mozambique, which is the second recipient of Brazilian cooperation in the world, only behind Haiti.

A prime example of how Brazil projects its global influence through diplomatic investment in Africa is the case of biofuels. In 2008, Brazil argued the importance of biofuels as a development opportunity for African nations and, in fact, Brazil has developed cooperation projects in African countries in this area, particularly through trilateral cooperation with developed countries. This, however, falls within the context of the Brazilian project to turn biofuels into an international commodity, which would be very advantageous for the Brazilian economy.

Despite being motivated by fairly pragmatic interests, that does not invalidate the mutual benefits of the rapprochement between Brazil and Africa, thus recipient countries also benefits from the allocation of infrastructure resulting from cooperation, the formation of national expertise and opening new possibilities for areas where economic development can earn. In the current international environment, it is important for Brazil to have strong partners who collaborate in building a multipolar international order (Vizentini, 2010).

In the security field, Brazil has acted through the CPLC and his work in the UN Commission for the

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Peacebuilding, presiding the configuration for Guinea-Bissau. The revitalization of ZPCSA, in a context of reactivation of the American 4th Fleet in the South Atlantic, with the Luanda Action Plan making efforts to strengthen cooperation in the region, seems of great importance, but has not yet reached its full potential in the view of Vizentini (2010).

South American-Africa Summit is a cooperation mechanism between two priority regions for Lula's foreign policy, bringing together representatives of the AU and UNASUR, and it finds its origins in the relationship between Nigeria and Brazil. Not coincidentally, these two countries co-chair the executive body of the mechanism, ASACOF. Also in South America, SACU and Mercosur signed preferential trade agreement in 2008. Moreover, Egypt has signed Free Trade Agreement with Mercosur and Morocco signed a framework agreement.

But what's new in this policy? How does it differ from the intense closeness between Brazil and Africa in the 1970s? In fact, the similarities are many. Brazil, as well as in the first decade of this century, was undergoing a period of great economic growth, the approach was driven by pragmatism (Responsible and Ecumenical Pragmatism Officer), and this turned into concrete actions, such as the recognition of Angola and the increased flow of trade.

However, Saraiva (2010) identifies six characteristics to show that this is not a repetition of the past. The first one is the fact that there is a coordinated strategy based on national interest and their protagonists, among them businessmen responsible for the expansion of Brazilian capitalism. The second one involves a conceptual shift, but also a practical one, in which east vicinity of Brazil are reactivated as one of the preferred regions for contact, cooperation and trade. The other feature is the revision of culturalist discourse in favor of a more structural approach and pragmatic. The fourth characteristic concerns the public, so that the current policy has more publicity and it is legitimized by political and social consensus, through institutions such as Parliament, universities, businesses and the general public. The fifth characteristic is the fact that Brazil is working on a South-South setting in order to enable the construction of a common interest between Brazil and Africa. Finally, the sixth feature is the rejection relationships merely instrumental, as occurred before.

This latter feature, together with the first, is perhaps the most relevant one, since in the 1970s relations were strongly motivated by the energy scarcity of Brazil, so that, as the country would adapt its energy to other sources and that oil prices were decreasing, relations with Africa were becoming less strategic and more neglected. With regard to coordination between government and private economic actors, it is the foundation of the Logistical State and it materializes itself in the growth of Brazilian direct investments on the continent.

IV. Conclusion

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Brazil's relations with Africa have intensified and deepened greatly. It was noted, however, that more than a big project, this increase was largely favored by the convergence of global economic growth, internal growth with stability of the Brazilian economy and the Rebirth of Africa, which produced significant growth rates of their GDP.

Despite this convergence of favorable moments, there was significant diplomatic investment of Lula's government, in a way to excel in relation to foreign policy for Africa by other governments. From the side of Africa, receptivity to these investments was also observed, including initiatives under NEPAD to promote such investments and make African countries more attractive from an institutional standpoint.

For both Africa and Brazil, the approach falls in broader international insertion and economic development strategies. NEPAD aims Africa to act more autonomously, reducing dependence on traditional powers, and boosting the economy of the continent, where the presence of Brazil fits the expectations. As an emerging country that seeks to expand its international investments, Brazil is presented as part of a new class of actors interested in investing in Africa, emerging countries, and as the country is interested in direct investments (FDI) and sectors that stand out are those of infrastructure and exploitation of minerals, Brazil also meets the profile of economic development envisaged by NEPAD.

Africa to Brazil is part of the strategy for South-South relations, in which Brazil seeks horizontal relations with developing countries, as opposed to vertical ones with developed countries. This profile of relationship gives more leeway to Brazil to give way to economic growth and the increasing internationalization of the economy. But Brazil has not only economical interests in Africa, it also has political ones, by seeking support and votes needed for reforms of global governance that Lula chose as priority.

Thus, the approach of Brazil and Africa in the first decade of this century is the result of favorable international and bilateral convergence of objectives and strategies on both sides of the Atlantic, which were captained favorably to the growth of bilateral relations. NEPAD and the foreign policy of Lula's government were to meet one another and reinforced each other in order to refine the relations between Brazil and Africa.

Bibliography

1. AMORIM, Celso. *Lecture given by Foreign Minister Celso Amorim at a Seminar organized by the Valor*

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Econômico and Wall Street Journal newspapers, New York, 16th March 2009. In Brazilian Foreign Policy Handbook 2008-2009. Brasília: FUNAG, 2010.

2. BAUMANN. Renato. *Brazilian External Sector do far in the 21th century*. Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional special edition, 2010.
3. CERVO, Amado Luiz. *Inserção Internacional: formação dos conceitosbrasileiros*. São Paulo: Saraiva, 2008.
4. CERVO, Amado Luiz; BUENO, Clodoaldo. *História da Política Exterior do Brasil.* Brasília: UNB, 2002.
5. CERVO, Amado Luiz; LESSA, Antônio Carlos. *An Assessment of the Lula Era.* Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional special edition, 2010.
6. CPLP. *Como Surgiu.* Available in: http:// www.cplp.org/id-45.aspx Access in: 06/02/2010.
7. DÖPCKE, Wolfgang. *O Encontro Estratégico: a União Africana, o Plano NEPAD e o novo discurso internacional.* In: COELHO, Pedro Mota Filho e MENDONÇA, Hélio Magalhães de (org.). Relações Brasil-África: um colóquio. Brasília: Instituto de Pesquisa de Relações Internacionais - IPRI/FUNAG, 2002, p.143-182.
8. FOLHA.COM. *Lula inicia visita à África sem chance de "levar Copa para casa".* Available in: http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/bbc/761225-lula-inicia-visita-a-africa- sem-chance-de-levar- copa-para-casa. shtml. Access in: 06/07/2010
9. FRANÇA, Edson. *O Renascimento do Contin- ente Africano.* Available in: http://www.abpn. org.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=articl e&id= 306%3 Ao- renascimento- do- continente-africanoe-tarefaantiimperialista&catid=25% Aartigos &Itemid=25&lang=pt Access in: 02/11/2010.
10. FUNDAÇÃO DOM CABRAL. *Ranking Transnac- ionais Brasileiras 2010: repensando as estratégi- as globais.* Available in: www.fdc.org.br Access in:17/08/2010.
11. GUSSE, Celso. *Os Desafios da SADC face ao Poderio Econômico da África do Sul.* Available in:http://www.cemomozambique.org/ index.ph?opti- on=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=52&limit=5 &limitstart=0&order=hits&dir=DESC&Itemid=41 Access in: 30/01/2011.
12. KPMG. *Multinacionais Brasileiras: A Rota dos Investimentos Brasileiros no Exterior.* Available in:http://www.kpmg.com.br/publicacoes_tax.as-p Access in: 27/03/2011.
13. MDIC.*China se torna principal parceiro comercial do Brasil.* Availablein :http://www.mdic.gov.br/sitio/ interna/noticia.php?area=5&noticia=9041 Access in: 13/02/2011
14. MONTE. João Bosco. *China e África: a política de Pequim para o continente africano.* Available in: http:// mundorama. net/ 2010/ 03/03/china-e-africa-a-politica-de-pequim-para-o-continente-africano-por - joao- bosco- monte/ Access in: 17/11/2010.
15. MRE. *Balanço da Política Externa 2003-2010.* Available in: http:// www. tamaraty. gov.br/temas/balanco-de-politica-externa-2003-2010Access in: 07/02/2011.
16. NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA DEVELOP- MENT (NEPAD). Available in: http:// www. nepad.org/images/framework.pdf Access in: 18/06/2010.
17. OLIVEIRA, Amaury Porto de. *A África no mapa econômico Mundial: o papel da China.* Revista Política Externa. Vol. 16, n 3, dez-fev., 2008, p.75-90.
18. PENNA FILHO, Pio. *A África nas Relações Internacionais – Novas Possibilidades ou Nova Partilha?* Disponível em: http://mundorama. net/2008/12/31/a-africa-nas-relacoes-internacio- nais-%e 2% 80% 93-novas-possibilidades-ou-nova - partilha-por-pio-penna-filho/Acesso em: 17/11/2010.
19. PIMENTEL, José Vicente de Sá. *Relações entre o Brasil e a África Sub-Saariana.* Revista Brasileira de Política internacional. Vol. 43, n 1, jan-jun 2000. Disponível em: http://www.scielo. br/scielo.php? script=sci_arttext&pid=S0034-73292000000100001 Acesso em: 09/01/2011.
20. SALOMÃO, Luiz Alfredo. *Angola: desafíos e oportunidades.* Revista Política Externa. Vol. 17, n 1, jun-jul-ago 2008.
21. SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra. *A África na Ordem Internacional do Século XXI: mudanças epidérmicas ou ensaios de autonomia decisória?* Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional. Vol. 1, n 51, 2008, p. 87-104. Disponível em: http:// www. scielo. br/pdf/rbpi/ v51n1/ a05v51n1.pdf Acesso em: 02/11/2010
22. SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra. *A Nova Parceria para o Desenvolvimento Africano (NEPAD) no Contexto Internacional.* In: COELHO, Pedro Mota Filho e MENDONÇA, Hélio Magalhães de (org.). Relações Brasil-África: um colóquio. Brasília: Instituto de Pesquisa de Relações Internacionais- IPRI/FUNAG, 2002, p.125-142.
23. SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra. *Détente, diversidade, intranquilidade e ilusões igualitárias (1969-1979).* In SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra (Org). História das Relações Internacionais Contemporâneas: da sociedade internacional do século XIX à era da globalização. 2ª Edição. São Paulo: Editora Saraiva, 2007.
24. SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra. *Olhares Transatlânticos: África e Brasil no Mundo Contemporâneo.* Humanidades nº 47, Novembro 1999.
25. SARAIVA, José Flávio Sombra. *The New Africa and Brazil in the Lula Era: the rebirth of Brazilian*

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Atlantic Policy. Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional special edition, 2010.
26. SCHÜTZER, Hebert. *África subsaariana: a última fronteira do capitalismo.* Disponível em: http://mundorama.net/2009/07/07/africa-subsa-ariana -a-ultima-fronteira-do-capitalismo-por-her-bert-schutzer/ Acesso em: 17/11/2010.
27. SILVA, Luiz Inácio Lula. *Speech by Presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva at the openning cerimony of the 13th African Unio Assembly, Sirte, 1st July 2009.* In Brazilian Foreign Policy Handbook 2008-2009. Brasília: FUNAG, 2010.
28. UNAIDS. *East and Southern Africa.* Disponível em:http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/regions/easternandsouthernafrica/ Acesso em: 20/03/2011.
29. VIGEVANI, Tullo e CEPALUNI, Gabriel. *A política externa de Lula da Silva: a autonomia pela diversificação.* Contexto Internacional, 29 (2), 2007.
30. VIZENTINI, Paulo Fagundes. *A África na Política Internacional.* Curitiba: Editora Jurua, 2010. 272p.
31. VIZENTINI, Paulo Fagundes. *As Relações Internacionais da Ásia e da África.* Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 2007 ments.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human social sciences
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Feminist Discourse Analysis in Islamic Feminism

By Muhammad Salman, Dr. Arab Naz, Waseem Khan, Umar Daraz, Qaiser Khan & Muhammad Hussain

University of Malakand, Pakistan

Abstract - The discussion in the current debate primarily explores the major areas in Islamic discourses that are criticized by scholars and critics. The current debate aims to investigate and illuminate the true and transparent Islamic picture of the areas (criticized) by the western school of feminism. An attempt has been made to link the debate in the prevailing scholarships to find out the relevant answer to the questions put forward by the mentioned feminists and to develop a paradigm more harmonious and acceptable in the old discourses. Besides, the debate encompasses valuable inputs and provides an argument that leads to mediation between the two poles of controversies.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699, 220403

FEMINIST DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN ISLAMIC FEMINISM

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2013. Muhammad Salman, Dr. Arab Naz, Waseem Khan, Umar Daraz, Qaiser Khan & Muhammad Hussain. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Feminist Discourse Analysis in Islamic Feminism

Muhammad Salman[α], Dr. Arab Naz[σ], Waseem Khan[ρ], Umar Daraz[w], Qaiser Khan[¥] & Muhammad Hussain[§]

I. Justification of the Discourse

The discussion in the current debate primarily explores the major areas in Islamic discourses that are criticized by scholars and critics. The current debate aims to investigate and illuminate the true and transparent Islamic picture of the areas (criticized) by the western school of feminism. An attempt has been made to link the debate in the prevailing scholarships to find out the relevant answer to the questions put forward by the mentioned feminists and to develop a paradigm more harmonious and acceptable in the old discourses. Besides, the debate encompasses valuable inputs and provides an argument that leads to mediation between the two poles of controversies.

II. The Argument of the Current Study

The present study is a qualitative approach based on secondary sources towards the study of feminism and Islamic feminism. The information is collected from books, journals, religious scripts and other related sources within the given framework. The world feminism (women studies) is a very wide subject, which requires a great depth and breadth of scholarship which is surely not possible in the current debate to be studied and discussed. When the term feminism is used internationally it has different type of trajectory but when the term is Islamized and the word Islamic is add to feminism, it takes a different course which is more difficult to define and more strange to assess as compare to White feminism. Because there is a horrible division in the Islamic world and a sizable number of interpretations of the Qur'anic text and the prophetic traditions (the primary sources of Islamic law) which makes the issue more complicated. Further, the exploitation of the meaning of Qur'anic verses for political goals in the Islamic world is another dimension of the phenomenon. In this regard, the current debate is moving to link the issue in the ongoing debate and to clarify the ambiguity in this regard. The discussion is divided in the following main dimensions:

III. Islamic Feminism: An Introduction

This part of the discussion provides some detail about the issue of feminism in Islamic perspective and opens the discussion in a wide range of debate.

IV. Islamic Law Of Evidence

This part of the paper gives details about the laws of evidence which is called as is discriminatory against women and rationale is given from Ayah Number 282 of Surah number, 2 of Quran.

V. The Concept Of Veil Is An Issue For Muslims And Non-Muslims

This part is based on three primary argument; the veil is not exclusively original with Islam as often argued, there is greater need to understand the real essence of the Qur'anic text with regard to veil and the west has made it a more aggravated issue then ever before.

VI. Islamic Feminism And Politics

This section deals with the matter that the women rights or feminist movements are used as an effective instrument in politics.

VII. Islamic Feminism: An Introduction

Whenever we enter in to a feminist debate the first question that we have to answer is that, who are feminist? Those who dare to break the conspiracy of silence about the oppressive, unequal relationship between men and women, and who want to change it (Turtle 1987: 107- 8). The concept of feminism varies from place to place and time to time under the changing circumstances it has different meaning (Moghadam 2002b: 12). The concept came to Muslim world first in Egypt in 1880s and the term 'feminism' first appeared in 1909 when Malak Hifni Nasif published a collection of articles and speeches in a book entitled Al Nisaiyat (meaning something by or about women). Politically, in 1923, Egyptian women first used the term 'feminist' to define themselves and their organization "'Al-Ittihadal Nisa'i al-Misri' (the Egyptian Feminist Union). (Haq and Aslam, 2005) the women in Muslim world hesitantly adopted the term feminism in 1970s but their main stress was to break the myths against the position of women in Islam.

Author α : Lecture, Department of Political Scicnes University of Malakand, Pakistan.
Author σ : Associate Professor and Chairman Department of Sociology and Social Work University of Malakand, Pakistan.
Author ρ ω : Lecturer and PHD Scholar, Department of Sociology and Social Work University of Malakand, Pakistan.
Author ¥ : Assistant Professor Department of English University of Malakand, Pakistan.
Author § : Lecturer and M.Phil Scholar, Department of Sociology and Social Work University of Malakand, Pakistan.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

"The term Islamic feminism was used for the first time in Turkey by Nilufer Gole in her edited book The Forbidden Modern (published in Turkish in 1991 and in English in 1996), and in articles by Yesim Arat and Feride Ajar. The South African activist, Shamim Shaikh, applied feminism to Islam, again providing in her writings and speeches evidence of the term being clinched by Muslims "(ibid) as lam is presented as generally oppressive against women, if we examine the history of Islam we will find the strong position of women in social life for example Khadija (the first wife of the holy Profit PBUH) was a business women. His wife Ayesha was well known and respected as an expert in Hadeeth (in the top ranking interpreters of Hadeeth) and participated in wars also (Saadawi, 1980). This suggests that Islam is not oppressive in the sense it is projected rather Islam presented a very liberal view and provide a new direction. The oppression of women in Islam is conspiracy and the oppression of women is a one sided view based upon false notions. Even, some of the critics of Islam with their westerners' counterparts regard Islam as a hurdle in feminist efforts. There may be two reasons for criticizing Islam. The first is they do not know the real Islamic essence, ideology and teaching of Islam, about women rights and duties while secondly they are criticizing Islam in order to cover their deficiencies and inner enmity. This is not the case with the white feminists only as most of the ignorant Muslims believed that Islam and feminism are mutually exclusive.

Some of the journalists and politicians recklessly write about the oppression of women in an Islamic society without talking to the woman under the veil. They are unable to appraise the respect and protection that a woman enjoys in that very system that was established 14 centuries ago "yet, by writing about cultural issues like child brides, female circumcision, honor killings and forced marriages (and attaching these cultural practices to Islam) they wrongly believe that they are coming from a point of knowledge"(Alisha, 2010). This is true that in most of the Islamic states where the majority of the Muslims have these issues but then there is again the need to enquire (a) weather the problem is caused by religion or the culture of that state?. (b) And the problems of the feminism in any Islamic state in which they arise should be carefully examined and responded keeping in view the context weather that state is really Islamic or it just claims to be?

If feminism is the name of struggle for the equal rights of woman and for a moment we suppose that (all the feminists have agreed on the form of equality that they seek for women in the society) then the Islamic teaching provides the best ground for feminism as Quran says: in relation to God. "For men who submit [to God] and for women who submit [to God], for believing men and believing women, for devout men and devout women, for truthful men and truthful women, for steadfast men and steadfast women, for humble men and humble women, for charitable men and charitable women, for men who fast and women who fast, for men who guard their chastity and women who guard, for men who remember God much and for women who remember - for them God has prepared forgiveness and a mighty reward" (33:35). "Whoever performs good deeds, whether male or female and is a believer, we shall surely make him live a good life and we will certainly reward them for the best of what they did" (16:97).

It is only in relation to each other and society that a difference is made - a difference of role or function. The rights and responsibilities of a woman are equal to those of a man, but they are not necessarily identical with them. Equality and identity are two different things, Islamic traditions maintain - the former desirable, the latter not. Men and women should therefore be complementary to each other in a multi-function organization rather than competitive with each other in a uni-function society.

VIII. Islamic Law Of Evidence Is Discriminatory Against Women

Some critics of Islam are of the view that Islamic law of evidence is discriminatory against women. They base their criticism on one ayah of holy Quran "And call to witness, from among your men, two witnesses. And if two men be not (at hand) then a man and two women, of such as ye approve as witnesses, so that if the one erreth (through forgetfulness) the other will remember. And the witnesses must not refuse when they are summoned. "(282) they (the critics) also put forward a Hadeeth of the holy profit that is, "women are deficient both in prayer (due to menstruation) and in intellect (due to their witness counting for less than a man's)" (Haq and Aslam, 2005: p351). Their argument is sacrificial they do not enter in to the realm of theological debate; they do not feel the need to take in to account that the law can be modified. However the intention here is to make an argument on intellectual ground that no mullah or so called Alim takes the pain to do so. If one ever ask them i.e. *Mullas* and so called *Alims* how we can defend Quran (ayah's number 282) against the claim that Islamic law of evidence (with reference to Ayah 282) is discriminatory against women? All of them will have the same answer" this is the order of God and no argument is required in its favor". This is true for the order of the Devine force, but the need is to take an insight in the mentioned verses and discover the deep rooted wisdomin these ayahs and in the contextual analysis of the verses in which it is revealed.

However, in the debate of the current paper, this is important not to divert the flow of the subject in the ongoing argument which is still the same that those who criticize these laws, how we can argue to defend Islam in this regard? It is to be noted that not only this

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Ayah and *Hadeeth* is the soul base of their argument, they (critics) further develop their theory of objection to Islam in the law of inheritance where a male gets double the share of women and thus the status of women in Islam is half to that of a man. The objection certainly they raise with bias and due to lack of knowledge of Islam and Islamic law of evidence. As per Quran, there are two types of people living in this world, one are believers and the other nonbelievers. For those who believe in Allah no argument is necessary and for those who do not believe in Allah no argument is possible. To see the inheritance law in the verses of Quran, one can see that Islam first define the right of a female and then of the male, while the economic activities are certainly the responsibility of male where female if forgiven in this regard. In this context one could see and analyze the verses of the Holy Quran. One angel that is more important is that the Muslims shall make themselves duty bound to present the true picture of Islam to the world fulfilling their duty and obligations so that the maximum people are saved from the chastisement of hell. Being followers of the rational religion, Muslims shall be rational and convincing. They are to be patient and knowledgeable so that they can put across their view point in a rational and convincing manner and with the force of knowledge to make the nonbelievers believe their view point.

The *Ayah* on which they (critics of Islam) have based their criticism pertains to business matter i.e. *Nikah* sail and purchase contract, in other words this ayah deal with those cases which pertains to financial matter or future obligations if reduce to writing, the instrument shall be attested by two men, or one man or two women, so that one may remind the other, if necessary, an evidence shall be led accordingly. In all other matters, the court may accept, or act on, the testimony of one man or one woman, or such other evidence as circumstances of the case may warrant (even in some cases the holy Prophet Muhammad PBUH had accepted the testimony of one (truthful man as sited in the commentaries on Qanunay- Shahadat, Vol,2: p222).

In *Zinah* case four male witnesses are required to prove the case is meant to say that there are different types of cases and for these cases different number of witnesses is required. In the cases specific to women, evidence of only one woman is sufficient to prove the case. To negate their criticism, firstly the *Ayah* requires two male to give evidence. When the male is available then there is no need to produce woman as a witness, but if two men are not available then only one man and two women are required to prove a case pertaining to business matters. It does not mean that the status of woman is reducing to half to that of a man. The wisdom behind this matter is that Islam does not want its women followers to be dragged in to courts to confront all sort of questions put to them. Moreover testimony of one woman along with a man will suffice if she does not forget. Furthermore, it is a concession given to woman to be accompanied by another woman while attending court so that she would feel comfortable where as the concession is not available to man. Imagine how much respectful and caring is Islam towords women in all matters. In *Zinah* case she has not been burdened with giving evidence, only male are require to produce evidence. In the case specific to women, the testimony of one woman is sufficient. For example, in the birth of a child whether a child was born by particular woman, the child was alive or dead at the time of birth etc, *Shahadat* (evidence) of a single woman is sufficient. These critics intentionally hide the true picture of Islam by not bringing in to fourth the wisdom behind the matter in order to mislead the people. Even those so called enlightened moderate would not want their ladies to be available in courts to face the pricking questions put to them by the opposite counsel in the jam-packed court room with the maximum number of males (Qanunay-shahadat, 1984).

While to see the context of Ayah, 282 this is to be noted that another objection is raised by the liberal forces against the Hadood ordinance in Pakistan and again there is a conspiracy of misuse against them. We can count hundreds of cases in which the women are being discriminated under these laws but that problem is separate from this matter that is (one male and two female witnesses as mentioned by Quran reduces the status of women to half as compare to that of a man). The advise to all those feminists (western as well as Islamic) who criticize Islam on the basis of Ayah Number, 282 of Surah Number Two of Quran that they should not stress on one ayah as mentioned above, rather they should first, read the Ayah in revelation context and second, they should read the whole Quran to understand the message in its universality and application and if it is not possible then at least they should study all those ayahs revealed to describe the relations of women in society. Again it is necessary for *Mullas* or the so called *Alims* to broaden their sphere of knowledge and prepare them to face the challenges of modernity and further, they should not look towards west or any other side for the solutions of their problems. This change in the attitude of *Mullas* is also necessary to save the common man from the embarrassment of the criticism that his or her religion has no rational grounds to defend it teaching.

IX. The Controversy Veil (Hijab/Purdah)

Another major criticism on Islam is that it restricts the independence of women by imposing veil as an obligation on her. Many of the critics go too far in their bias towards Islam when they carelessly attach the origin of veil exclusively to Islam. This is just because of their stubborn attitude to words Islam that they try to manipulate this phenomenon in a negative direction for

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the defamation of Islam. This to realize in first instance that the veil is not originated with Islam (as commonly perceived). The earliest text regarding veiling is an Assyrian legal text of the thirteenth century B.C. It restricts veiling to respectable, women specifically prohibiting it from prostitutes and even the women of lower casts (Keddie, 1990). If someone argues that the complete veiling is imposed by Islam, the argument is wrong because it is not acceptable in a sense that the first visual depiction of top-to-toe veiling comes from bas-reliefs in Palmyra, Syria, in the first century CJE. (The people identified were northern Arabs, but they had no -direct connection with the first' Muslims (Keddie, 1990). Further, not only veiling but the avoidance of male contact is also a pre-Islamic phenomenon that dates back to first century AD and the study of history makes it clear that the early Muslims adopted these practices from the peoples who lived near them and whom they conquered. It is also an important point that in the pre-Islamic Arab the veil was used to differentiate between the free women (who whore the veil) from the slaves (Keddie1990).

The veil and its misconception by the many feminists have been misconceived as such people have no deeper understanding of the holy Quran and Hadeeth. The text of the Quran is either not understood rightly or it is more often misinterpreted while this is to say that the (ayahs) that according to jurists are specific to the wives of the profit in the matter of veil. In this regard to quote one of the four ayahs (regarding veil in Quran) that is sufficient to support the argument. "And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands fathers, or their sons or their husbands' sons, or their brothers or their brothers' sons or sisters sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male attendants who lack vigor, or children who know naught of women's nakedness. And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment. And turn unto Allah together, O believers, in order that ye may succeed (Surat-un-Nur 24:30-31).

The ayah contains many other things as stated below:

1. A Muslim woman is ordered not to display her beauty and adornment (*Zeenah*) except for 'that which must ordinarily appear of it': (Ma *Dhahara Minha*), or 'that which is apparent.' The word *Zeenah* has two related meanings in this context. As Mawdudi writes that (a) natural or bodily beauty, and; b) acquired adornment such as a ring, bracelets, and clothes. The part of *Zeenah*, exempted from the above injunction, was interpreted in two ways: a. the face and the hands. This is the interpretation of the majority of the jurists, past and Present.

This interpretation is confirmed by *Ijma* (consensus) that a Muslim woman is allowed by Islam to uncover her face and hands during pilgrimage and even during the prayers, while the rest of her body is regarded as 'awrah (that which should be covered)". Some (Islamic scholars) criticize this interpretation despite the fact that this interpretation is based on the authority of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), especially the well-known tradition narrated by Ayesha (one of the most accurate transmitters of the traditions of the profit) in which the profit Muhammad says: "If a woman reaches the age of puberty, no part of her body should be seen but this' – and he pointed to his face and hands."

The second argument put forward by Mawdudi in this context (what appears out of necessity) "Whatever appears of the woman's body owing to uncontrollable factors such as blowing of the wind, or out of necessity such as the bracelet's or even the outer clothes themselves" (Mawdudi). However, in the current scenario and for the purpose of the current study the concern in this section is precisely the veil (hijab) and the debates related to it, because if we draw on the lines of Mawdudi which (under this subject) along with the veil cover the subject of *libas* (dress) the argument will become very complicated. The veil has been made a problem in the feminist debates in the Muslim world, as it is an established notion that the veil was stressed for the identity of Muslim women (which is a major problem for the west nowadays) a hot debate has been underway that the unveiling of Muslim women is a struggle against their beliefs as Muslim? Or it is the subversion of their identity? The tide of imposing ban on veil in the west (France, Belgium, Italy and Germany) has generated a hot debate whether one cannot practice his or (her) religions according to her beliefs? Or is it not something ridiculous that a Christian, Jew or an atheist would teach a Muslim how to practice his or her religion? Or the most important question that, the western believes of democratic pluralism is under threat after making such prejudicial legislations that target specific religion.

Even in the west there are some voices that stress on the confinement of women to the boundaries of the house for example, "when the Italian nominee to the European Commission in October 2004, Rocco Buttiglione, declared that he thought woman's place was in the home under the protection of her husband, he spoke like many conservative Muslims" (Olivier Roy, 2007). If such voices are present in the west then why Islam is targeted only.

However this is not the real subject here and it is important to find out the essential objectives of the veil as pointed out by Mawdudi in the light of the tradition of the holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that the veil does not mean full-face, veil means modesty in dress and to hide everything except what appears out of necessity

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

(hands and the face) according to the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). If we notice the Taliban' ideology and examine it in the light of the interpretation of Mawdudi, we will find that, their concept of veil is more strict than that which is taught by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as they along with the full face veil stress on stockings and gloves to be use by women for veil (Purdah) these two concepts of veil one traditional (having its roots in the verse of Quran and the tradition of the holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the second one (as stated in Qutb and use it for my own interpretation) that is stressing on Quran but is not based on it but upon *jahiliyah* (ignorance).

We as Muslims ever tried to find out the detail about the order of veil in Quran and Sunna'h? The answer of 99% would be a big no when they will ask the question from their selves. If this is the case then how we expect that we will know the true concept of veil (in the light of the teachings of Quran and Sunna'h) and its origin (as a mark of identity or as a tool of confinement of women in the Muslim society). How we can claim that we can satisfy the questions of those Western visitors to the Muslim world who are usually been struck by the phenomenon of the veil, with which so many Muslim women in towns cover their faces and bodies. As it is pointed out that the veil is not exclusively original with Islam and Arab women of the Prophet's time did not veil their faces and while the Quran stressed the desirability of sex-modesty and discouraged Promiscuity, the veil is not mentioned. It is said therein that when women appear in public, they should bring their scarves down to their bosoms and that they should not make a display of their charms (Rahman, 1980). On one occasion, when women were teased in the evening by the "Hypocrites" at Medina, Muslim women were asked to "draw their outer cloaks close to them so that they will be known and not hurt" and the "Hypocrites" were told that if they persisted in teasing women, they would be expelled from Medina. It is certain, however, that as used in Muslim society the veil had the dual and allied function of status symbol and an exaggerated expression of modesty. The veil was not worn by the lower classes in towns; it was also absent from the countryside. (Rahman, 1980).

Now for a moment leaves it to the sisterhood of Islam whether they want to choose to wear the veil or they want to go unveil in the streets. Why we are obsessed with the thing that is exclusively a personal issue or this is the narrow mindedness of the westerners who cannot see the Muslim values that pushes their values in to the realm of insignificance. Why, as Muslim we are unable to see there are many daring issues to be addressed than *hijab* which is not that much a big problem. Similarly, the leaders of the west are interfering in the personal life's of the Muslim women then how they claim that they are respecting the universal charter of human rights as they have declare hijab as a crises point on the basis of false arguments. Even to quote hear Yvonne Ridlly who very elegantly defend *hijab* in Britain and ridicule the criticism on hijab when she says" And yet in Britain we have had the former Foreign Secretary Jack Straw describing the *niqab* the face veil revealing only the eyes - as an unwelcome barrier. When, oh when, will men learn to keep their mouths shut over a woman's wardrobe?" We also had Government Ministers Gordon Brown and John Reid express disparaging remarks about the *nikab* - both these men come from over the Scottish Borders where men wear skirts!!

In this context, a series of other parliamentarians enter the fray describing the *nikab* as a barrier for communication. If this was the case, can anyone explain why cell phones, landlines, email; text messaging and fax machines are in daily use? Who listens to the radio? No one switches off the wireless because they cannot see the face of the presenter."(Ridley, 2006) "There may be 1,001 Muslim feminist critiques on the European *burqa* ban and its attendant jokes and jibes, insults, and ridiculousness, but what should remain clear is that we Muslim feminists are not just about the *hijab*" (Alisha, 2010). There are many daring issues as pointed out earlier which are more significant and demand prior attention not only of the Muslim feminists but also of the *olimas.* "At the moment, the Muslim feminist agenda (even if there was a hazy idea of one) is limited both by the media's obsessive preoccupation with the hijab and small scope of issues we can tackle from a Muslim feminist perspective" (Alisha, 2010).

The main construct throughout this discussion on veil from different (traditional, radical, modernist Muslim and western) perspectives is that (a) the *hijab* is not a big issue of concern as there are many other issues of serious nature i.e. economic crises etc (b) the question of *hijab* should be left solely to sisterhood of Islam so that it can be dealt in a smooth manner and (c) that whenever the issue is suppressed it became more eminent and it is used as an issue for misleading the masses as it is evident that Raza Shah used all the government potential to unveil women but the trend surfaced in the university with increasing numbers of veils. In Afghanistan, in sixties the unveiling of women was attempted by the government and initially it gained some support from almost all the strata's of women but gradually the trend began to reverse and finally the Taliban government introduced even a more restricted phenomenon of veil. This is the tragedy of *Ummah* that it does not attempt to question the traditions set by the myth making *mullas* and who ever try to do so he or she is labeled as Kafir or Murtad (apostate).

X. Islamic Feminism and Politics

Unlike other subjects of the social sciences "orthodox political science has been slow to incorporate

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

a gendered perspective into its approach "(Silverberg 1990: sited in waylen1996). This is difficult for the discipline of politics and "The traditional subject matter of the discipline - 'high politics — treaties, wars, power politics as it is played out in the top echelons of the public sphere, not to mention the institutional politics of parties, executives and legislatures, is typically-male dominated"(Waylen, 1996). The purpose of borrowing this argument for the discussion on Islamic feminism (which is used in the context of the third-world in general) is to make it clear that the politics is clearly male dominated and the feminism or its related movements are politicized one way or the other. Here we will randomly present some glimpses of the politics of feminism in different Islamic states to support the argument that feminism in the Islamic world is politicized and the women rights (their provision or denial) or (their support or opposition) is subject to a specific political interest of the most Islamic political parties.

Let us first start from Pakistan, in this very country there are a number of religious political parties with countless ridiculous twists with regard to the rights of women according to their changing interests. These orthodox have ever resented against the participation of women in the political life. In Pakistan, the story has started since 1949 with the protest over the presence of two women parliamentarians in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which was a move for even minimal rights for women and has encountered opposition from these forces. In 1965 presidential elections, it was a shock for the people that fundamentalist J-I (Jamat-Islami, which had a clear-cut stance in 1951to53 that women cannot become the head of the state) supported the candidacy of women (Fatima Jinnah) against Ayub Khan. After the dissolution of the assemblies in August 1990, it sat with Syeda Abida Hussain, an independent woman politician and a federal minister, as part of the combined opposition, in the same year in general elections; it again sought to acquire the support of PPP on some seats. The shocking twist in the story is that, in the same year its representative walked out of the TV program because it was hosted by a lady. There are countless stories about their (Islamic political parties) on-and-off swings in their stances on the question of different aspects of women's rights for political gains, like Fazlur Rahman is reported to have stance that" women cannot participate in the election" but when he was made the chairman of the committee for women affairs he said that" the participation of women is not that much a big issue"(Khan, 2009).

In the case of Iran the use of feminist slogans for political uses is more eminent domestically as well as internationally. If we recall the story of the efforts of the Shah with the full use of government authority for unveiling campaign, and those who had supported the veil supported the revolutionaries. Again after the revolution and government enforced veil and also removed the top judges from their post, the feminists struggled against the new government, but these movements were soon politicized (began to be used for political purposes).

We should not ignore the propaganda campaign of the western media against Iran and it's continues stimulation of the sentiments of women against their government. It is true on the other hand that the women had or denied of their rights in some respects in Iran but we should ask the question that, the western media is doing this solely for rights of women of Iran? And the answer will be certainly no. This makes the argument clear that women rights or the feminism or its related movements are misused for political purposes in the Muslim as well as against the Muslim world.

XI. Conclusion

The paper thus concludes to summarize an extensive debate which was surely a stupendous task for us because of lacking the authority on the interpretation of Quran and Hadeeth. Certainly, it is not easy to conclude the debate with accuracy as what is concluded is

(a) All the Muslim feminists should try to read the ayahs of Quran in their complete context.
(b) The common man should also have at least some knowledge of the Quran or if not then he or she should not try to inter in to these complicated debates.
(c) We should not completely rely on Westerners for the concepts of the rights because, we have a guide or a code to these rights and the only need is to modify or inline it with the modern day usage.
(d) And lastly it is true (as some of Muslim feminists criticize that the interpretations of the text and the traditions is from the male perspective) they should remember that men cannot be feminists they can only be the supporters of feminism, or women rights. At the end of the day they (women should struggle for their rights not only in the field but also in academics.

References Références Referencias

1. Alicia, (2010). Is Muslim feminism More Than Just a Hijab Defense?. Muslim Media Watch (MMW) October 28th.
2. Kathy G, G. (1996). Women's Movement, Feminism and the National Struggle in Palestine. Rutledge: London, 1996.
3. Commentary on Qanunay Shahadat 1984: Volume One.
4. Haq. R and Aslam R. (2005). Feminism and Islam. Rawalpindi: Alpha Sky Printers.
5. Rahman. F (1980). A Survey of Modernization of Muslim Family Law. International Journal of Middle

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

East study, Vol. 11, (4), July. Cambridge University Press.
6. Waylen G (1996). Analyzing Women in the Polities of the Third World.PP 7-21. 1996.
7. Khan H (2009). Political and Institutional Development in Pakistan. Pakistan: Oxford Press.
8. Keddie. R.N (1990). Mark of Honour, Modesty and Respectability for a Woman to Veil. Journal of World History: PP77-108.
9. Moghadam, V.M. (2002). Islamic Feminism 'and its discontents: Towards a Resolution of the Debate. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 27(4), 1135. Retrieved January 6, 2003. http://web2.infotrac.glegrlup.com
10. Roy O. (2007). Secularism confronts Islam. Translated by George Holoch. Columbia University Press.
11. Saadawi. N. (1980). The Hidden Face of Eve. London: Zed Books.
12. Tuttle, L. (1987). Encyclopedia of Feminism. London: Arrow Books.
13. Ridley, Y (2006). How I Came To Love The Veil. Tuesday, 31 October.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of Human Social Sciences
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Democratic Decentralization and People's Participation in West Bengal

By Rajiv Sen
Union Christian Training College, Berhampore, Murshidabad, West Bengal, India

Abstract - After forty years of experiments in democratic decentralization, the constitutional directive was taken seriously and by 73rd (Amendment) Constitution Act of the Indian Constitution, the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) were accorded constitutional sanction. In order to ensure effective participation of the people in line with the requirements of local democracy as well as to revitalize and reorient the civil society, new institutions in the form of Gram Sabha were brought into being. The state of West Bengal pushed the idea of local democracy a step further by devising another institution below the Gram Sabha, namely, Gram Sansad to ensure more effective and more functional grassroots democracy.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 390103, 160699

DEMOCRATIC DECENTRALIZATION AND PEOPLES PARTICIPATION IN WEST BENGAL

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2013. Rajiv Sen. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Democratic Decentralization and People's Participation in West Bengal

Rajiv Sen

Abstract - After forty years of experiments in democratic decentralization, the constitutional directive was taken seriously and by 73rd (Amendment) Constitution Act of the Indian Constitution, the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) were accorded constitutional sanction. In order to ensure effective participation of the people in line with the requirements of local democracy as well as to revitalize and reorient the civil society, new institutions in the form of Gram Sabha were brought into being. The state of West Bengal pushed the idea of local democracy a step further by devising another institution below the Gram Sabha, namely, Gram Sansad to ensure more effective and more functional grassroots democracy. Consequently, people's participation in democratic processes as well as developmental activities assumed new and challenging dimensions. The present study seeks to identify and measure the level of people's participation in the grassroots democratic institutions particularly in the newly devised institution of Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads of West Bengal.

I. Introduction

Despite Gandhi's felling for 'Village Swaraj' a compromise was made, that was one of the serious draw backs of the national leaders who drafted the constitution, in which Panchayati Raj Institutions(PRI) were placed in the non-justiceable part of the constitution, the directive principle of the State policy as Article 40 . The article read "the state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as unit of self-government" (The Constitution of India). However, no worthwhile legislation was immediately enacted either at the national or state level to implement it. In fact, the panchayats was never taken seriously by the state governments. More often they were considered unnecessary irritants both by the elected representatives of parliaments and state assemblies and the bureaucracy. They lacked resources to meet their responsibilities and were suspended on the simplest pretext and election to re-constitute their bodies rarely took place.

II. 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. -1993

The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of Indian Constitution has had a checkered history. It struggled for near about three years to see the light of the day as an Act. The Rajiv Gandhi Government introduced a Panchayati Raj Bill in 1989, which was passed by the Lok Sabha, but it failed to gain the requisite majority in the Rajya Sabha. The V. P. Singh Government also tried to pass a Bill in 1990 on the Panchayait Raj, but it lapsed with the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. In 1991 the present Congress Government again introduced the Bill on the Panchayati Raj with some modified provision. The bill was referred to a Select Committee by the Parliament. The bill was first discussed by a Parliamentary Committee and then by Parliament. It was passed by the Lok Sabha on December 22, 1992 and by the Rajya Sabha on the following day. After ratification by 17 State Assemblies, including West Bengal and Bihar, both opposition ruled states, the President gave his assent to the Bill on April 20, 1993 and it became an act through a Gazette notification. The act was brought into force with effect from April 24, 1993.

The main characteristics of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment act are that the act proposed to established Gram Sabha consisting of all the voters in the Panchayat area, it established a three tier system on Panchayati Raj in an ascending order (except the states whose population is less than 20,00,000) the Panchayat at the Village level, intermediate level, and District level at the top. The member of all these Panchayats will be directly elected by the people. Members of the Lok Sabha/Rajya Sabha (MPs) and Legislative Assembly (MLAs) from the area would continue to be members of these bodies with the right to vote in the meetings of the panchayats but they have no right to vote in the election of Chairpersons of the intermediate and district level panchayat and they are also debarred from being Chairperson of these pachayats. The term of each panchayat would be five years and election would be held every five years under the supervision, direction and control of the State Election Commission/ Commissioner and if superseded in a mid-term would election within the six months. The reconstituted panchayat serve for the remaining period of the five year term only.

The act also provided for reservation of seats, for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their percentage to the total population of a panchayat. It has further reserved the seats of the Chairpersons for the SC & ST candidates in all the three

Author : Assistant Professor in Political Science Union Christian Training College, Berhampore, Murshidabad, West Bengal, India.
E-mail : rajivsen_2007@yahoo.co.in

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

tiers of the New Panchayati Raj System in direct proportion to their percentages to the total population of the state; out of these reservation seats one third will be reserved for SC & ST women. The 1993 Act also provides that one third of the seats in the Panchayats at all levels will be reserved to women including the SC & ST women. The Act directed the states that reservation is carried out by rotation in each and every panchayat at each level. Another feature of the Act is that it has left to the States to decide the question of reserving seats for backward classes.

The financial paucity has been one of the main causes of PRI's failure in the past. To remove this hurdle, the panchayats has been empowered to levy and collect appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees and they would be entitled grants-in-aid from the consolidated Fund of the State. Every five years, the State Government would appoint a Finance Commission to review and advise the State Government on the principles governing distribution of funds to the panchayats. The manner of the audit of the panchayat accounts would be decided by the State Government. The State Government would also devote power to the panchayats to prepare plans for economy development and social justice. Significantly, a whole now schedule called the Eleventh Schedule has been drawn up to ensure a better utilization of Center and State funds. The schedule contains entire agriculture and allied activities, minor irrigation schemes, land reforms and improvement small industries including food processing, cottage industries, rural housing, drinking water, rural electrification, poverty alleviation programmes, primary and secondary education, vocational education, health and family welfare schemes, public distribution system, welfare schemes for weaker and handicapped sections etc.

III. People's Participation in Decentralized Governance in West Bengal

Reorganization of the system of local government was one of the most important of the institutional changes brought about by the Left Front Government in West Bengal from late 1977 onward. In the process, West Bengal has created a history of participation of the common people through the process of decentralization, which is unique in India. A system of democratic elections to local bodies at anchal, block and district level was instituted, and elections to these local bodies were held in 1978. They have subsequently been held every five years, making West Bengal the only state in India to have had regular elections to local bodies every five years for the past 35 years. The aim has been to provide a share of fiscal resources of the state to the local bodies, and the panchayats (at various levels) have also been assigned a large and substantial range of responsibilities, that wear earlier seen as under the purview of the district level bureaucracy. In addition, the composition of the panchayats has reflected the caste, class, occupation and gender composition of local society, (even if not completely) more faithfully than panchayats anywhere else in the country. There has been substantial representation of the rural poor and the socially deprived groups, as well as women, in the elected bodies. All this has helped to change the power equations in the rural society as well as encouraged the social and political empowerment of women and social groups that were earlier marginalized. (West Bengal Human Development Report, 2004)

IV. The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act., 1994 : Gram Sabha and Gram Sansad

The necessary to give a particular shape to grassroots democracy became a reality with the introduction of 73rd Constitution Amendment. It sought to integrate the democratic processes at all level by formalizing a mechanism where in people in all levels would have an opportunity to participate openly in matters which concern their welfare and development. The amendment thus ushered in an era of decentralized governance to harness local wisdom in a democratic way.

The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1994, a Gram Sabha has been define as 'a body consisting of person registered in the electoral rolls pertaining to a Gram' where a Gram is 'any Mouza or part of a mouza or a group of contiguous Mouza or parts thereof as on how the State Government may notify. A Gram Panchayat will have a jurisdiction over the territorial limits of such a Gram as notified by State Government'. (The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1994)

Gram Sabha meeting shall be held once every year during the month of December. One-twentieth of the total members of the Gram Sabha shall form the quorum. The resolution of Gram Sansad and views of Gram Panchayts shall be placed before Gram Sabha for deliberation and recommendations. The questions and recommendations coming before Gram Sabha shall be recorded and referred to Gram Panchayat for its consideration. The annual Budget before being finally formulated by Gram Panchayat must be approved by Gram Sabha. Other important issues like annual plan of Gram Panchayat and annual report of the activities of the Gram Panchayat shall also be discussed in the Gram Sabha. The Gram Sabha is the voice of the people and it arise their grievances and watches over the functioning of the panchayt. The Gram Sabha can be an effective forum for mobilizing the masses in relating to community activities, by gathering the people under the umbrella and interacting the issues of mutual

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

interest. In West Bengal, holding an annual meeting of Gram Sabha in the month of December is compulsory. The Gram Sabhas were conducted meetings regularly but the attendance of the people's are not satisfactory which clearly show in the table-1.

Table 1 : Year-wise data on meeting of Gram Sabha as up to 31.03.2008

Year	No. of Gram Sabha	Ave. no. of electors per Gram Sabha	Total no. of meeting held with quorum	Ave. no. of attendance in each meeting	No. of Gram Sabha meeting adjourned	No. of Gram Sabha which have not held any meeting
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1996, Dec.	3329	9988	2094(63)	2986(30)	-	1054
1997, Dec.	3329	10013	689(21)	2987(30)	-	644
1998, Dec.	3329	9706	2761(83)	2952(29)	115	568
1999,Dec.	3330	9985	2952(89)	526(5.5)	133	378(11)
2000,Dec.	3360	10015	3102(92)	522(5)	584	258(8)
2001,Dec.	3360	10093	2513(75)	-	962	847(25)
2002,Dec.	3358	8370	1932(58)	472(5)	629	1426(42)
2003,Dec.	3354	9664	3015(90)	637(7)	12	339(10)
2008,Dec.	3239	10,535	1694(52)	948(9)	-	1545(48)

Source : Annual Administrative report, DPRD, West Bengal 1997-98, 2003-04, 2008-09.
**Figures in bracket indicate %.*

V. Gram Sansad

The concept of Gram Sansad incorporated by the West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1992, has been widely acclaimed by political observers as an epitome of participatory democracy. It consists of all registered electors of a constituency (single member or double member) within the area of a Gram Panchayat. Thus the meeting of a Gram Sansad implies a meeting of all the electors of a constituency. In a sense, it is the large entry at the grassroots level below the Gram Panchayat.

Under the law, the Gram Panchayat is required to convene at least two meetings of every Gram Sansad in a year, annual meeting in the month of May and half-yearly meeting in the month of November. In addition to these two statutory meetings, a Gram Panchayat may hold extra-ordinary meeting of a Gram Sansad at any time if the situation so warrants or if the situation, so directs.

The main function of Gram Sansad is to guide and advice the Gram Panchayat in regard to the schemes for economic development and social justice, identification of beneficiaries for various poverty alleviation and food security programmes, constitution of one or more beneficiary committees for ensuring active participation of people in implementation, maintenance and equitable distribution of benefits of one or more schemes in its area. A Gram Sansad may raise objection of any action of Pradhan or any other member of Gram Panchayat for failure to implement any development work properly. Further, it's mandatory for the Gram Panchayat to place in the meetings of Gram Sansad the budget and audit report of the accounts of the Gram Panchayat for deliberation, recommendation and suggestion of Gram Sansad.

The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 2003 has made it obligatory for a Gram Panchayat to act upon any recommendation of a Gram Sansad relating to prioritization of any list of beneficiaries to scheme or programme so far as it relates to the area of Gram Sansad. However, the Gram Panchayat decides in a meeting that such recommendations are not acceptable or implementable under the existing provisions of the Act, Rules or Orders, such decision of the Gram Panchayat shall be placed in the next meeting of the Gram Sansad. The quorum of the Gram Sansad meeting is ten percent (10%) and the meeting should be adjourned in the absence of quorum. The adjourned meeting of Gram Sansad shall be held after seven days at the same venue and at the same time and attendance of at least five percent (5%) members will make quorum.

The goal of the meeting is for villagers to:

1) Discussed local needs, suggest new programmes and allocate existing funds among competing needs;
2) Discusses selection of beneficiaries of anti-poverty programmes and logistical issues concerning sanctioned screams; and
3) Monitor and review the performance of elected representatives regarding the implementations of public projects and used of public funds;
4) The members of Gram Sansad also have access to the accounts of expenditure and are able to question elected officials for the use of public funds and implementation of public projects. (Ghatak and Ghatak 2002)

Till the early nineties, the gram panchayat or village councils had little formal accountability to the people whom they represented. The only effective

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

control the electorate could exercise was through their votes in the next election. The situation was substantially changed with the introductions of the Gram Sabha (village council level annual meeting of the voters) and the Gram Sansad (constituency level six month meeting of the entire electorate of a constituency) in the early nineties, subsequent to the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of the country in 1993. The Gram Sabha or village council, comprising 10,000-15,000 voters, would have to meet once a year to review the proposed budget for the next year and the previous year's performance. The village council meetings cover a large numbers of voters and as a result often them limited opportunities to exercise effective control over their elected representatives as well as to provide inputs to the planning process. The village constituency meetings are held twice a year about 700 voters in which the elected officials and villagers meet in a public place to discuss local needs, new programmes, and choose beneficiaries of existing programmes, and inspect the accounts of expenditure and budgets.

The village constituency meeting might at first glance appear to be a purely consultative and monitoring forum vis-à-vis the elected panchayat representatives. However, they do enjoy a large status. The village council has to consider every resolution adopted at the village constituency meeting and decision and action taken on them will have to be reported at the next such meeting. If a village council fails to consider the constituency level meeting resolution of fails to place the draft budget, statement of account and audit reports in such meeting, that would be consider a serious lapse and the auditors would declare all expenditures of the village council as illegal in their report. As a result of this clause people participating in these meeting in effect do participate in actual decision-making and are not just advisors and monitors to the actual decision-makings. The village constituency meetings are being held in West Bengal only for the last couple of years. Since, 1998 meetings have been regularly held in practically the entire around forty-five thousand constituencies over the state. (Ghatak and Ghatak 2002, p 49)

The people's are directly participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the various schemes or projects through the Gram Sansad in West Bengal. The Left Front Government has made various acts for this purpose in the state legislature. The Gram Sansad meeting has conducted regularly but the participation of the people's has not satisfactory. The average attendance of the people has within the 10-13 per cent which is clearly showed in the table-2.

Table 2 : Year - wise data on meeting of Gram Sansads as up to 31.03.2008

Year	Total no. of GP	Total no. of GS	Ave. no. of electors per GS	Total no. of GS meetings held in May	Ave. no.of attendance in each meeting in May	Total no. of GS which did not held meeting	Total no. of GS meetings held in Nov./Dec.	Ave. no.of attendance in each meeting in Nov.	Total no. of GS meetings adjourned in Nov.	Total no. of GS which did not held meeting in Nov.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1996	3313	36125	808	-	-	-	32101(89)	145(18)	-	4024
1997	3313	36179	804	28412	121(15)	-	30816(88)	142(18)	-	5363
1998	3329	44506	741	10435(29)	-	-	44104(99)	122(16)	1175	403(1)
1999	3330	44634	746	43346(97)	90(12)	-	43872(98)	94(13)	2496	762(15)
2000	3360	45167	748	42910(95)	88(12)	2257	43246(96)	96(13)	4929	1921(4)
2001	3360	45167	750	43770(97)	86(12)	1397	42829(95)	79(11)	11056	2338(5)
2002	3358	45095	798	42340(94)	86(12)	2780	41625(92)	94(12)	9231	3470(8)
2003	3354	45154	752	4705(10.4)	89(12)	40392	41120(91.07)	88(11.7)	5335	4034(9)
2004	3354	45245	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2006	3354	45168	752	40590(90)	84(11)	4564	43735(97)	64(8.5)	6645	1433(3)
2007	3354	44122	771	43619(98)	84(11)	1513	41553(94)	64(8)	-	2569(6)
2008	3351	37067	938	-	-	-	22310(60)	142(15)	4305(12)	10452(28)

Source : Annual Administrative report, DPRD, West Bengal 1997-98, 2003-04, 2008-09.

**Figures in bracket indicate %*

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Average attendance at Gram Sansads and Gram Sabhas meeting has been relatively low and declining in recent years. Official data indicate that average attendance at Gram Sansad meetings decline from around 16 per cent in 1997 to around 12 per cent in 2001, which from Gram Sabha meetings, where attendance was 30 per cent in 1997, and the decline has been even sharper. There is also evidence of cases when the attendance at meetings falls below the quorum and these therefore have to be adjourned. In addition to the factors mentioned above, it is possible that low attendance reflects other tendencies which need to be addressed. One importance reason is the lack of effective functional and administrative power of the panchayats is the tendency for the local political forces controlling the panchayats to try and get their decision adopted at higher levels rather than mobilize local people.

Decentralized governance is a very labour-intensive process, both for the elected representatives and for the people themselves, who are thereby called upon to spend a lot of time and engage simply participating in decision-making. The framework for decentralization in the state called for meeting of the Gram Sansads and the Gram Sabhas at list twice a year. But for most rural people, especially the rural poor, the ability to participate in such meeting is not only a function of the inclination to do so, but also the ability, given the pressures of time involved in wage labour or cultivation, as well as other necessary activities, including the large amount of unpaid labour that is still regularly performed in rural areas. Therefore, it would not be surprising to find that attendance of Gram Sabhas and Gram Sansads is sporadic and haphazard, even the local community is otherwise with the functioning and accountability of the panchayats.

The state government is clearly considering in some new initiatives to strengthen further the system of decentralization, make it more flexible and responsive to the people's needs. The concern for some change stems from the perception that elected representatives at each level tend to believe that the decision-making authority should stop at their own level. But of course, the main aim of the decentralization process is that the ability to influence decisions should permeate down to the people who are affected by these decisions. This is turn means that people's participation has to be understood in a new way– it cannot be that the Panchayat Samiti or the Zilla Parishad decides what to do and then tells the people what they have to participate in. Rather, the representatives have to participate in the efforts of the people and the communities themselves.

There has recently been a decision of the West Bengal Government to create Gram Unnayan Samitis, to be created by the Gram Sansads. These would be representative committees to carry out decisions and monitor the activities of panchayats. These would include not just the winners of panchayat elections but also the looser as well as other relevant constituents, such as those involved in developmental activity and other citizens. These Gram Unnayan Samitis are to be watchdog bodies, who also work in collaboration with the panchayats, and the attempt is clearly not make the entire process more transparent and non-partisan, and also to involve as many people from the local community as possible. While the law regarding this has been passed as The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act 2003, the rules are still being framed and the nature of participation has not yet been formalized. In addition to this, the new Amendment Act creates a Block Sansad and a Zilla Sansad where representation of lower tiers is adequately provided, and stipulates the constitution of functional sub-committees at the gram panchayat level. This is designed to improve the possibility of village level planning. However, the full implementation of this and the effects on the power and functioning of the elected panchayats are yet to be seen. It is important to ensure that such changes do not in any way affect the constitutional powers of panchayats as elected representative bodies.

Those who were attending the meetings a striking fact is that these meeting were overwhelmingly male dominate event in spite of official politics targeted towards empowering women, such as reserving one-third of the seats in the village councils. Not that woman did not come at all, but their participation level was extremely low. A distinct feature of the village constituency meetings is that those who participate were largely members of supporters of the same political party or the other those who do belong to any political party kept away from the meetings. Majority of the voters who were present belonged to the party of the elected member and there were no voices of opposition in these meetings. (Ghatak and Ghatak, 2002)

VI. Conclusion

However, the fact to be realized is that if Panchayati Raj Institutions are to become a vibrant vehicle for the empowerment of rural people, a lot more need to be done. In sum and substance following recommendations may be suggested for future policy implementation. First, Decentralized Governance cannot run successfully without proper knowledge and skills towards grassroots democracy. Awareness development is the most crucial task for injecting an attitude within the people in general and women in particular towards participation in the decision making process in grassroots institutions. Second, Local training programmes and workshops are to be created to empower women which tread gender issues and build their confidence, as well as analyze the particulars of panchayat operation. Women's organizations are to be created and strengthened so that women can exchange

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

information and discuss ways to address their common problem. Third, lack of information is one of the major causes for low attendance in Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads meetings. Gram Panchayat should announce properly the date, time and venue of the Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads meetings at least seven days before, so that, the villagers may be well aware about related information on Gram Sansads. Most of the rural people are engaged in agriculture activities, some of them are casual labour. Women mainly spend all their energy to maintain the household. So, Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads meetings should be organized at the afternoon, when rural people can be free for their day time jobs. Forth, the political parties should understand and play a positive role for making the Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads effective. It depends on the political will of the ruling political party whether they can use the Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads as a direct democratic institution or a rubber stamp. Fifth, the poor rural villagers may attend the Gram Sansad meetings if they get some sort of benefit from the Gram Sansad. The beneficiaries of different government Schemes are selected in the meeting of Gram Sansads and the final list will prepared by the Gram Panchayats out of the beneficiaries selected by Gram Sansads on priority basis. The rural underprivileged people attend the Gram Sandas meetings to enroll their name in the beneficiaries list. But, at the present time the Gram Sansads do not prepare the beneficiaries list. The Gram Sansad should work actively if they have got sufficient fund and responsibility and provide the benefit for the poorer section of the rural society. Sixth, at present, the Gram Sabha is only a recommendatory body. Its decisions are not binding. It is recommended that the Gram Sabha should have the authority to take decision on all matters coming within its purview. Regular, mandatory Gram Sabha will bring direct democracy to the forefront. Last but not least, the mail dominated rural social structure is still not reconciled to the women's participation in politics. Media creates a supportive environment for women members by letting society know about their accomplishments, and by influencing public opinion in support of women's reservation and rights. "Women's organizations are to be created and strengthened so that women can exchange information and discuss ways to address their common problem."

It is true that the Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads are not working according to expectations. But, it cannot be said that it has achieved nothing. The journey of Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads as a grassroots institution is not very long. Within this time period Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads are making themselves as an institution where rural people can think about their betterment. We have reasons to be optimistic about the scenario. In near future, the Gram Sabha and Gram Sansads can be sculpted as an important institution for democratic accountability and people's participation.

References Références Referencias

1. Annual Administrative Report, Department of Panchayat and Rural Development, West Bengal 1997-98, 2003-04, 2008-09.
2. Ibid, 2003-04
3. Ibid, 2008-09
4. The Constitution of India, Ministry of Low and Justice, New Delhi, Government of India.
5. Ghatak, M and M Ghatak, 2002. Recent Reforms in the Panchayat System in West Bengal: Towards Grater Participatory Governance? Economic and Political Weekly, 37(1), pp. 45-58.
6. Panchayati Raj Samachar, 2008 (August-September). West Bengal: Department of Panchayat and Rural Development.
7. The West Bengal Panchayat (Amendment) Act, 1994. The Ministry of Low, Government of West Bengal, Kolkata.
8. Ibid, 1992
9. Ibid, 2003
10. West Bengal Human Development Report, 2004. Government of West Bengal, Development and Planning Department.

© 2013 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journals Inc. (US) Guidelines Handbook 2013

www.GlobalJournals.org

FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

- FARSHS' title will be awarded to the person after approval of Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Board. The title 'FARSHS" can be added to name in the following manner. eg. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSHS or William Walldroff Ph. D., M.S., FARSHS
- Being FARSHS is a respectful honor. It authenticates your research activities. After becoming FARSHS, you can use 'FARSHS' title as you use your degree in suffix of your name. This will definitely will enhance and add up your name. You can use it on your Career Counseling Materials/CV/Resume/Visiting Card/Name Plate etc.
- 60% Discount will be provided to FARSHS members for publishing research papers in Global Journals Inc., if our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers accept the paper. For the life time, if you are author/co-author of any paper bill sent to you will automatically be discounted one by 60%
- FARSHS will be given a renowned, secure, free professional email address with 100 GB of space eg.johnhall@globaljournals.org. You will be facilitated with Webmail, SpamAssassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.
- FARSHS member is eligible to become paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Inc. to earn up to 15% of realized author charges taken from author of respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account or to your PayPal account.
- Eg. If we had taken 420 USD from author, we can send 63 USD to your account.
- FARSHS member can apply for free approval, grading and certification of some of their Educational and Institutional Degrees from Global Journals Inc. (US) and Open Association of Research,Society U.S.A.
- After you are FARSHS. You can send us scanned copy of all of your documents. We will verify, grade and certify them within a month. It will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and 50 more criteria. This is beneficial for your job interviews as recruiting organization need not just rely on you for authenticity and your unknown qualities, you would have authentic ranks of all of your documents. Our scale is unique worldwide.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

- FARSHS member can proceed to get benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents, slides and online movies.
- After your publication anywhere in the world, you can upload you research paper with your recorded voice or you can use our professional RJs to record your paper their voice. We can also stream your conference videos and display your slides online.
- FARSHS will be eligible for free application of Standardization of their Researches by Open Scientific Standards. Standardization is next step and level after publishing in a journal. A team of research and professional will work with you to take your research to its next level, which is worldwide open standardization.
- FARSHS is eligible to earn from their researches: While publishing his paper with Global Journals Inc. (US), FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in closed manner. When readers will buy that individual research paper for reading, 80% of its earning by Global Journals Inc. (US) will be transferred to FARSHS member's bank account after certain threshold balance. There is no time limit for collection. FARSHS member can decide its price and we can help in decision.

MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)

- MARSHS title will be awarded to the person/institution after approval of Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Board. The title 'MARSHS' can be added to name in the following manner: eg. Dr. Thomas Knoll, Ph.D., MARSHS
- MARSHS can submit one paper every year for publication without any charges. The paper will be sent to two peer reviewers. The paper will be published after the acceptance of peer reviewers and Editorial Board.
- Free 2GB Web-space will be allotted to 'MARSHS' along with sub Domain to contribute and participate in our activities.
- A professional email address will be allotted with free 1GB email space.
- MARSHS will be authorized to receive e-Journal GJHSS for lifetime.

Auxiliary Memberships

ANNUAL MEMBER

- Annual Member will be authorized to receive e-Journal GJHSS for one year (subscription for one year).
- The member will be allotted free 1 GB Web-space along with subDomain to contribute and participate in our activities.
- A professional email address will be allotted free 500 MB email space.

PAPER PUBLICATION

- The members can publish paper once. The paper will be sent to two-peer reviewer. The paper will be published after the acceptance of peer reviewers and Editorial Board.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Process of submission of Research Paper

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (*.DOC,*.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission.Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.

(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.

(C) If these two are not convenient, and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.

Preferred Author Guidelines

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11'"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.
Author Guidelines:

1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global

Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.

2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.

3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.

Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.

To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

5.STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also.Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

Papers: These are reports of significant research (typically less than 7000 words equivalent, including tables, figures, references), and comprise:

(a)Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.

(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

(d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.

(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, unless non-standard.

(f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;

(g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.

(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

(i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

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

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

Format

Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than 1.4 × 10-3 m3, or 4 mm somewhat than 4 × 10-3 m. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

Structure

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals Inc. (US), ought to include:

Title: The title page must carry an instructive title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) wherever the work was carried out. The full postal address in addition with the e-mail address of related author must be given. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining and indexing.

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or similar. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. This in turn will make it more likely to be viewed and/or cited in a further work. Global Journals Inc. (US) have compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

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

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art.A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:

- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin 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 research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

Numerical Methods: Numerical methods used should be clear and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend that, citation of online-published papers and other material should be done via a DOI (digital object identifier). If an author cites anything, which does not have a DOI, they run the risk of the cited material not being noticeable.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend the use of a tool such as Reference Manager for reference management and formatting.

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be few in number, 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. Vertical lines should not be used.

Figures: Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always take in a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g. Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in electronic form by e-mailing them.

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

Even though low quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (or e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Do not use pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings) in relation to the imitation size. 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).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution (at final image size) ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs) : >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Figure Legends: Self-explanatory legends of all figures should be incorporated separately under the heading 'Legends to Figures'. In the full-text online edition of the journal, figure legends may possibly be truncated in abbreviated links to the full screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should notify the reader, about the key aspects of the figure.

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

Upon approval of a paper for publication, the manuscript will be forwarded to the dean, who is responsible for the publication of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

6.1 Proof Corrections

The corresponding author will receive an e-mail alert containing a link to a website or will be attached. A working e-mail address must therefore be provided for the related author.

Acrobat Reader will be required in order to read this file. This software can be downloaded

(Free of charge) from the following website:

www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html. This will facilitate the file to be opened, read on screen, and printed out in order for any corrections to be added. Further instructions will be sent with the proof.

Proofs must be returned to the dean at dean@globaljournals.org within three days of receipt.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

6.3 Author Services

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: editor@globaljournals.org .

You must strictly follow above Author Guidelines before submitting your paper or else we will not at all be responsible for any corrections in future in any of the way.

Before start writing a good quality Computer Science Research Paper, let us first understand what is Computer Science Research Paper? So, Computer Science Research Paper is the paper which is written by professionals or scientists who are associated to Computer Science and Information Technology, or doing research study in these areas. If you are novel to this field then you can consult about this field from your supervisor or guide.

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is searched by the interest of author but it can be also suggested by the guides. You can have several topics and then you can judge that in which topic or subject you are finding yourself most comfortable. This can be done by asking several questions to yourself, like Will I be able to carry our search in this area? Will I find all necessary recourses to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area? If the answer of these types of questions will be "Yes" then you can choose that topic. In most of the cases, you may have to conduct the surveys and have to visit several places because this field is related to Computer Science and Information Technology. Also, you may have to do a lot of work to find all rise and falls regarding the various data of that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information.

2. Evaluators are human: First thing to remember that evaluators are also human being. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So, present your Best.

3. Think Like Evaluators: If you are in a confusion or getting demotivated that your paper will be accepted by evaluators or not, then think and try to evaluate your paper like an Evaluator. Try to understand that what an evaluator wants in your research paper and automatically you will have your answer.

4. 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.

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

6. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of Computer Science, then this point is quite obvious.

7. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable to judge good software then you can lose quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various software programs available to help you, which you can get through Internet.

8. Use the Internet for help: An excellent start for your paper can be by using the Google. It is an excellent search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question how to write my research paper or find model research paper. From the internet library you can download books. If you have all required books make important reading selecting and analyzing the specified information. Then put together research paper sketch out.

9. Use and get big pictures: Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

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

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

12. Make all efforts: Make all efforts to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in introduction, that what is the need of a particular research paper. Polish your work by good skill of writing and always give an evaluator, what he wants.

13. Have backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either in your computer or in paper. This will help you to not to lose any of your important.

14. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several and unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating "hotchpotch." So always, try to make and include those diagrams, which are made by your own to improve readability and understandability of your paper.

15. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history or current affairs then use of quotes become essential but if study is relevant to science then use of quotes is not preferable.

16. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid the sentences that are incomplete.

17. Never use online paper: If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

18. **Pick a good study spot:** To do your research studies always try to pick a spot, which is quiet. Every spot is not for studies. Spot that suits you choose it and proceed further.

19. Know what you know: Always try to know, what you know by making objectives. Else, you will be confused and cannot achieve your target.

20. Use good quality grammar: Always use a good quality grammar and use words that will throw positive impact on evaluator. Use of good quality grammar does not mean to use tough words, that for each word the evaluator has to go through dictionary. Do not start sentence with a conjunction. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Ignore passive voice. Do not ever use a big word when a diminutive one would suffice. Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. Prepositions are not expressions to finish sentences with. It is incorrect to ever divide an infinitive. Avoid clichés like the disease. Also, always shun irritating alliteration. Use language that is simple and straight forward. put together a neat summary.

21. 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 to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

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

24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. **Think technically:** Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

31. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

32. Never oversimplify everything: To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

33. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

34. After 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 to 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 in your research.

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 criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of 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 the progression.

General style:

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

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

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

Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript--must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing 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 approach 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. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than 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 maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - 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 quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness 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 to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled 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 with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.

- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose 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 sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement 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 for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare 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 object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text 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:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not 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 - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in 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.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a 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. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise 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 in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to 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 part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a 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 implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly 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 with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, 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 the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One 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 available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

Administration Rules Listed Before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US)

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

Segment Draft and Final Research Paper: You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptive of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.

- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.

- Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals Inc. (US)

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals Inc. (US).

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

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc. (US) | Guidelines Handbook

INDEX

A

Abilities · 38, 41, 42, 44, 51, 53
Acquire · 3, 4, 6, 7
Acquiring · 3, 11, 13, 41
Acquisition · 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 56
Appropriate · 1, 4, 5, 6, 56, 59
Appropriately · 5, 13
Appropriateness · 11
Aptitude · 40, 48
Architectural · 19
Autonomously · 4
Awovarsity · 24, 25
Awqaf · 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35

C

Circumstances · 1, 11, 14
Coefficient · 45, 46
Cognitive · 7, 8, 42
Committee · 26, 28, 29
Communicative · 1, 15, 16
Comprehensible · 3, 4, 6
Congos · 38, 44, 51
Contextual · 1, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14
Conversational · 5
Correlated · 46, 51
Curriculum · 11, 52, 53
Curriculum · 11, 15, 16

D

Declarative · 15
Deduction · 22, 23, 24, 34
Despondency · 20
Determined · 5, 9, 58
Diasporas · 30
Dimensions · 8, 38, 42, 50, 53
Distinguishes · 38

E

Efficient · 52
Endowment · 19
Existentialist · 40

F

Federation · 17, 22

G

Grammatical · 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14

H

Herald · 60

I

Inadequate · 9, 20
Intellectual · 21, 38

L

Lexical · 9

M

Measurable · 38, 42
Memorization · 41
Monolingual · 9
Morpheme · 6
Mosque · 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35

O

Obafemi · 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36
Obligations · 34
Opportunities · 52, 57, 58
Orientation · 40
Ownership · 32

P

Percentile · 45, 51
Permanence · 3
Persuading · 22
Procurements · 35
Promptly · 26

Q

Quantifiable · 58

R

Reasoning · 40
Recognition · 56
Religious · 18, 25, 29, 34
Revenue · 22, 26, 32, 57, 59

S

Satchet · 29
Specifications · 8
Substantial · 1, 5, 30, 38
Substantiality · 1

T

Techniques · 41, 42, 45, 52, 59
Temporary · 18, 20, 30, 35
Thousand · 22, 25, 29, 35
Treasurer · 23, 30

U

Undoubtedly · 15

V

Variables · 42, 45, 47, 50, 51
Various · 6, 9, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 30, 34, 38, 42, 53
Volunteered · 26

save our planet

Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org

ISSN 975587

© Global Journals