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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Mapping International Relations: A Model for Analysis

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Abstract- The main goal of this article is to build up an analytic model that could be used as a tool for mapping contexts of international relations phenomena, thus to help observers obtain a broad and detailed view of their area of interest. For any study of international relations, the context it is of most importance, given that this field of research analyses human phenomena of large scale. The international relations involve the widest level of human relations, because such relations are the result of a large number of interconnected variables. Independent of the way of approach in this research area, either structural, regional, domestic, or even individual, the phenomena observed from international relations perspective are always linked to a context that cannot be ignored. In most cases, the context itself – if well mapped and interpreted - contains most of the answers for questions posed. To accomplish the goal presented, we will present in a theoretical discussion of analysis models from the field of political science, specifically the multiple arenas model from Tsebelis (1990), combined with some concepts of Alisson and Zelikow's Bureaucratic model (1990). Those concepts will be mixed with the two- level game logic from Robert Putnam (1988).

Keywords: *decision process; theory; nested games.*

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Mapping International Relations: A Model for Analysis

Alfredo Juan Guevara Martinez [α] & Karina Stange Calandrin [σ]

Abstract- The main goal of this article is to build up an analytic model that could be used as a tool for mapping contexts of international relations phenomena, thus to help observers obtain a broad and detailed view of their area of interest. For any study of international relations, the context it is of most importance, given that this field of research analyses human phenomena of large scale. The international relations involve the widest level of human relations, because such relations are the result of a large number of interconnected variables. Independent of the way of approach in this research area, either structural, regional, domestic, or even individual, the phenomena observed from international relations perspective are always linked to a context that cannot be ignored. In most cases, the context itself – if well mapped and interpreted - contains most of the answers for questions posed. To accomplish the goal presented, we will present in a theoretical discussion of analysis models from the field of political science, specifically the multiple arenas model from Tsebelis (1990), combined with some concepts of Alisson and Zelikow's Bureaucratic model (1990). Those concepts will be mixed with the two- level game logic from Robert Putnam (1988).

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I. Introduction

For any study of international relations, the context it is of most importance, given that this field of research analyses human phenomena of large scale. The international relations involve the widest level of human relations, because such relations are the result of a large number of interconnected variables. Independent of the way of approach in this research area, either structural, regional, domestic, or even individual, the phenomena observed from international relations perspective are always linked to a context that cannot be ignored. In most cases, the context itself – if well mapped and interpreted - contains most of the answers for question posed.

The main goal of this article is to build up an analytic model that could be used as a tool for mapping contexts of international relations phenomena, thus to help observers obtain a broad and detailed view of their area of interest. To accomplish this goal, a theoretical discussion of analytic models from the field of political science and international relations studies will be done, in order to get their main concepts in a combined way, which will lead to the final model of mapping. But first, some considerations must be taken into account regarding the concepts that will be used here.

Given that international relations involves such a large variety of aspects, in order to understand it, it is necessary to summarize what international relations are characterized by in a general concept that can guide efforts to study it. Here, international relations will be considered as a series of decisions made that generate outcomes that affect the international environment. Taken on global scale, those decisions and their outcomes form a network, which is what constitutes international relations in their broader scope. Taking decisions as a main explanatory aspect of international relations is justified by the human aspect of this area of study. Issues that don't involve humans in international relations could be presented as factors that argues against the focus on decisions, such as environmental and climatic themes, but in international relations objects of study are concentrated on how human society deals with issues, whether they originate within it or not. Therefore, by considering outcomes as consequences of decisions, to understand international relations one must understand several aspects of decisions, such as what are their consequences, how they were taken, and what they affect and are affected by.

Thus, the mapping of international relations proposed here is basically a network of different decisions and their outcomes, but this needs further refinement. First of all, it is necessary to acknowledge that decisions are made by actors. It follows that actors can have many different aspects; they can be individuals, they can be collective, they can take decisions inside an institutionalized environment that regulates their actions, or they can act outside a clear set of rules. All of those aspects depend on the observed phenomenon; therefore one of the necessary steps to mapping international relations is being able to see how actors make their decisions. In other words, the decision making process of an output is an important aspect of mapping international relations. This leads to two major questions on how decisions are made: Which are the rules of that environment, how they were made, and what logic do they follow. The second question takes us to a main debate of classical political science

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that will be considered further on this article, specifically the rationality of actors. The debate around rationality is extensive, but this article does not seek to deepen this discussion. Rather than that, the analytical model proposed to map international relations will suggest a simplification of the rationality attributed to actors, in order to try to surpass the detailed aspects of the different approaches that make them harder to apply on different methodology programs, this will, however, be explained in greater detail bellow.

a) Nested Games in International Relations

The model that drove the creation of this article originally comes from political science, and it was develop to understand why political actors make what sometimes seems like suboptimal decisions. Such a model comes from the main idea of the book *Nested Games* from George Tsebelis (1990). To summarize why this model is useful to build up a mapping in international relations, the idea of nested games is that actors participate in a series of games, or arenas, in which they try to maximize their interests, but those arenas are not always directly connected to one another. Sometimes they are not related at all, but nonetheless they will ultimately affect each another. This happens because besides having multiple interests in multiple issues, actors also have a priority order for those interests that are scattered across multiple arenas, and they would forfeit gaining success in one arena to maximize the results of a more important one, hence the name “nested games”. The author of this model actually uses in a very regulated environment, which is within certain government institutions, therefore the actors are politicians subjects to a clear set of rules on how government decisions are made, such as parliamentary voting. The goal of the book was to explain how, inside a classical rational choice logic those politicians would vote in ways that if directly looked at did not seem rational at all, since the voting would produce a suboptimal result.

Tsebelis himself defines the limits of his model when he states that “I do not claim that rational choice can explain every phenomenon and that there is no room for other explanations, but I do claim that rational choice is a better approach to situations in which the actors’ identity and goals are established and the rules of interaction are precise and known to the interacting agents” (Tsebelis 1990, 32), but, in this article some of the limits of the nested games logic will be pushed further with the purpose of making it suitable for understanding international relations, since the rational choice limitations must be somehow bypassed.

Firstly, in Tsebelis book he uses the nested games logic to trace in which strategic issues politicians are involved. These issues are limited to their political governmental environment, so the different arenas would present different topics subject to voting combined with election/reelection goals mainly. Therefore, all the environments observed for this nested games logic are linked by the same set of rules of their government institutions. In international relations, issues often present outcomes that come from different countries which have different institutions with different sets of rules. There is some consensus among international relations mainstream theories that the international environment is in essence anarchical (Morgenthau 1960; Waltz 1979; Bull 1977; Axelrod and Keohane 1985; Wendt 1992; Milner 1991), therefore the relations between countries are not subject to a clear set of rules. This means that to apply nested games this must be taken into account, hence the necessity of adapting Tsebelis model. Even with an anarchic environment, international relations are still the product of decisions. Those decisions can be made at any level, be it domestic (coming from national governments), or international (coming from international institutions such as the United Nations). Those decisions generate the phenomena that are studied by this field of research, thus the decisions that generate those outcomes can and should be explained.

It is inevitable that selection as well as a data evaluation can be influenced by the psychological nature of the *agent,* considering that whatever the level of analysis chosen the states, institutions, and interest groups are composed by people. Interests, images, perceptions, worldviews and ideological biases help determine which facts the observer will highlight and which ones they will ignore. They also influence the importance to *selected data* and patterns drawn. In fact, the actors in the decision-making process do not respond to objective reality (as seen by the observer), but to their individual subjective perception of reality. (Jervis 1976).

If you do not know what a problem is, consider the interests, the perceptions and the calculations of senior government decision makers. According to Jervis (1976), the functioning of bureaucracies can determine a policy. It is not enough to show the course of action of the State, and may seem inconsistent and responsible for the integration of values. Such shortcomings may be products of the perception of individual decision making. Individuals, as well as organizations, are unable to coordinate their actions and develop the payment structure. The fact that people must take decisions in face of the burden of multiple goals and highly ambiguous information means that policies are often contradictory and inconsistent to the information at hand. There is no understanding; the intriguing behavior of the state will automatically be seen as the product of any internal trading or an autonomous operation of different parts of government.

Coming back to the question on how decisions are made, we believe that rather than focusing on the rationality of the actor, and if he acts driven by rational choice or not, this articles defends the idea that the main rationality must come from the observer - the one that is looking at a phenomenon from outside and trying to make sense of it.

Therefore, the rational approach that is being proposed does not come from the perspective of the involved actors, which means that it is not necessarily expected that the actors will make decisions based solely on the game's logic, using a mathematical methods and reasoning to make optimal decisions with the variables that are known to them. In other words, it is not expected that actors act based on traditional rational choice parameters, rather the rational approach used in this study comes from the perspective of the observer himself; this rationality will orientate the observers view in regard to the object studied. While the approach of the nested games works with actors subjected to incomplete information and an incomplete perception of the whole network of games, the observer from outside it's given a more comprehensive view derived from the mapping of the nested games, therefore having the capacity of understanding not only how the games align with one another, but also why the actors in each game make the decisions they do. The important detail here is that whether actors act rationally or not is not the point, what matters is how the observer can rationally understand the decisions made by actors given their context, perceptions, influences, preferences and all variables that are traceable and somehow affect the decisions made.

On the structural aspect of the original model, since some limits of it are being stretched to transport it to the international relations level, some additional concepts must be added to the general idea of nested games to ease the transition and form a new model that can suit the international level. In order to do that, the two-level game theory from Robert Putnam (1988) general idea can be applied to better illustrate the mapping model intended. The distinction between the domestic and the international level are useful when working with nested games in an international scope, given that arenas can be on either level and yet their results can generate outcomes that affect the other level, and vice versa. So, the combination of nested games with the two-level games logic would be a mapping of multiples arenas throughout both levels and a network of outcomes and influences between those arenas that can originate on either level and yet have effects across both. In the end, both models end up complementing each other. Therefore, although the logic of nested games was design to understand intra-institutional decisions at a domestic level with well-established rules, when you look at the international relations from the perspective of the two-level games from Putnam, it is possible to map events of international scale using nested games dynamics in a less classical rational choice approach, since competition among different interests won't always happen in highly institutionalized arenas.

What matters for mapping international relations is understand how arenas from the same context are linked to each other either domestically, internationally or between both levels. These connections can be via the effects of the outcomes of each arena on their actors on outside actors and therefore on other arenas, and how those actors perceive those effects and make decisions based on the information they have, experience and interests among other possible individual aspects that may be relevant depending on each case.

As an example of this, in 1959 when Fidel Castro's revolution took power in Cuba, the United States government initially (at the Executive level) didn't have a clear idea on what type of regime Castro institute on the island. From within, the most solid thing that could be said about the new and young Cuban leaders was that they were essentially nationalist, with a wide variety of ideological motivations. During first few months of Castro's government, he was invited to the U.S. as a way of easing the possible tensions between the two countries. On one side, the U.S. was living the Cold War under the Truman doctrine, with a high aversion to anything that could seem like communism, on the other side the Cuban revolutionaries had just gone through a bloody campaign to overthrown a dictator and to obtain national liberties, and the Cubans were suspicious of U.S. intentions of granting them autonomy to lead Cuba. Leo Grande and Kornbluh (2015) tell in detail the visit of Fidel Castro to the U.S. and illustrate through official declassified documents the ambiguous position the new Cuban government presented, and the hasty misperceptions of U.S. officials to rapidly qualify Fidel's regime as communist (even with him publicly saying he wasn't on New York). What this event shows, is how the individual perceptions of actors of the nested games are of great importance to understand why they made their decisions. Also it is important to notice how actors' rationality is something relative and subtle. Based on Leogrande and Kornbluh's work it is possible to see multiple mail correspondences of relevant actors in their perception of the situation from different angles, and how their personalities manifest strongly on their decisions and actions, yet is very difficult to attest to what level certain decision was made due to rational choice calculation, or due to emotional haste, for instance. This makes stronger the argument that rationality it's not a required element of the actor, but is required for the observer, since he will be the one trying to make sense of the actors' individual characteristics and their decisions.

At this point, it is useful to establish a conceptual difference between interests and preferences in order to get a more detailed sense of how actors pursue their interests. Helen Milner's, (1997) simple and elegant distinction fulfills these purposes. For her, an interest is a general goal, as two opposing politician may have the same interest in being reelected, but the preferences are the different means they use to follow that interest, such as different policy proposals and government programs (Milner 1997, 35-36). Although Milner uses this distinction to work with a specific set of actors (legislators politicians, executive politicians and interests groups), this logic can be universally applied to understand a large array of interests and different nuances among actors of many kinds. Still, in international relations the triad of actors proposed by Milner will often be encountered, as the author herself uses this concept to analyze international cooperation, and, it is worth to point out that on her analysis also uses the logic of two-level games. In that sense, the two level logic of Putnam helps to separate international and domestic decisions, but also emphasizing that decisions and outcomes from both levels are directly or indirectly connected and influence the preferences of actors, strengthening the use of the nested games model to map a network within an international relations phenomenon.

It is worth mentioning that the model here suggested to accomplish the mapping of international relations does not consider States as unitary monolithic actors, since it takes into account the domestic level and its different arenas to pinpoint outcomes, the decisions behind them, and the influences in the decision process. This not necessarily means that the model cannot be applied in monolithic State actors' logic, but in that case the domestic level would have to be simplified or ignored, which could lead to a loss of explanatory capacity of the nested games logic in the international relations area.

Once it is established that the proposed model for mapping international relations is based on a two-level logic of nested games via multiple arenas, an additional analytic tool can be added in order to facilitate the identification of possible relations between actors, arenas, and preferences, and this would be Model III from Alisson's (1969) conceptual approaches on foreign policy, the bureaucratic politics model. This conceptual model was presented by Graham T. Alisson in an article in 1969, and later further developed by him and Phillip Zelikow (1999) in a book called the *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. All three conceptual models presented by this work speak directly to a nested games approach, since the authors suggest that Model I is a model related exclusively to rational choice parameters of the leaders; Model II seeks to explain decisions attributing them as outputs of organizational relations, and therefore results of institutional processes; and Model III could be roughly considered as a mix of the previous two Models and explains foreign policy as the suboptimal result of a series of bargains between individual actors within pre-established organizations.

Although Alisson and Zelikow's (1999) proposal treats international events as the result of decisions that come from intra-national games, therefore the domestic environment, their case study on the Cuban missile crisis can be interpreted in Putnam's (1988) logic of two-level games, since it can be seen in their book that outcomes that originated from outside of the domestic context (the international) had an effect on the decisions taken in the national level, both form the United States and Soviet Union perspective's. The book itself recognizes the value of the two level logic, but opts to dismiss it due to its own goal of narrowing down the analysis (Alisson and Zelikow, 1999, 260-261). Since the effort in this article goes in the direction of helping observers to build a broad map of international relations contexts and events, the narrowing of analysis would be a further step for researches on "sub-subjects" of the final mapping, hence the possibility of combining the two level logic with Alisson's and Zelikow Model III adaptation. Overviewing the international phenomena as double ends events helps to increase understanding of the influences flow and origins of the actors' perspective and decision making, especially in a nested games scheme within the scope of international relations.

With that in mind, the suggestion of adding the conceptual model of bureaucratic politics to the model that's being built so far relies on the fact that many of Model III concepts are useful in explaining at some level of detail the possible interconnections between arenas spread to the two-level logic. First, it is necessary to emphasize a conceptual choice that was made in this model, anticipating this discussion. From the beginning of this study, it has been stated that decisions generate outcomes instead of outputs, being outcomes the result of several suboptimal decisions combined, this differentiation was done on purpose, since Alisson (1969) indicates from his very first work on the conceptual Model III, that outputs can be considered as a calculated result of a decision, and an outcomes would be the result of many conflicting interests and decisions which will hardly generate an ideal expected result for any of the parts involved in the process. This logic can be simplified by the suboptimal decisions explanation of Tsebelis (1990), in that sense, the outputs of suboptimal decisions would be a suboptimal result, and therefore, they are actually outcomes of arenas bargain processes and clashes of preferences.

With that distinction clarified, the general organizing concepts that Alisson (1969, 708 – 710) suggests and later develops in the book with Zelikow, could be of help to understand the type of connections between arenas in the model this study proposes. It is worth mentioning that the basic unit of analysis for Model III considers Policy as a Political Outcome, which in no sense goes against with the parameters pre-established at the beginning of the study, where it is stated that International Relations phenomena are a series of outcomes derived from decisions. Further on, some of the mentioned organizing concepts from Model III that could help in showing the connections in the model of two-level nested games will be discussed, and adapted if needed.

In the decision-making process individuals do not decide alone, but rather in the company of others, where the group dynamics can have an impact on the process and the outcomes of decision-making. The behavior and the dynamics of the group are more than mere aggregation of individuals that make up and analysis goes beyond the rationalist view of the systemic theories in International Relations.

Many decision-making models in political science examine the choices of an individual from the perspective of rational choice. These models typically deal with individual strategic interaction using formal models that characterize what happens when conflicts arise. However, these models can be adjusted to examine the interaction between individuals within groups. The group dynamic of a more psychological perspective investigates a slightly different phenomenon, the strategic interaction between individuals or groups usually focuses on inherently conflictual situations, and this is not necessarily the case with the dynamic analysis in a group (McDermott, 2004). Within a group, individuals often want to work together toward a mutually desirable goal and, while members of the group may end up at odds with another group, they need not conflict with each other, although obviously it may occur.

It is difficult to determine exactly who is in a decision-making group, especially when the same actors are involved to varying degrees in different but related issues. In addition, some actors are likely to have more power, some will remain much more committed to certain issues than others, and may be demanding to map these complexities and integrate them into an understanding of the general group.

Further, in a methodological perspective, it can be difficult to know what constitutes a representative sample of experimental groups to study fairly generalized form; after all, groups vary in size, racial and gender composition, leadership style and problem area. However, group dynamics continues to be a critical aspect of the decision-making process in any organization, as a government. Several important templates provide information about certain processes and procedures in different types of groups and organizations. Three of the most influential in the literature are: Graham Alisson's Models II and III and Irving L. Janis Groupthink model.

The model of the organizational process argues that decision-making is not the result of deliberate choices by a single decision maker, but rather appears as a product of large organizations that operate in accordance with standard operating proceedings. These, in turn, are designed so that certain events can be treated by routine patterns of behavior or decision. Because decisions seemingly result from organizational results in this model, the basic unit of analysis remains a policy that emerges because of this process. In this perspective, an analyst should look for occurrences of these patterns (Alisson and Zelikow, 1999). Once found, the observer should determine the ways in which existing routines and strategies form the basis of the options considered, especially in a time of crisis when time is short. In addition, the results emerging from these organizational routines serve to frame various situational constraints on the future choice. The main actors of this model are organizations relevant to an issue, often working under the leadership of political appointees or elected. These questions are allocated between the groups so that they can be worked on simultaneously. As a result, problems divide, power is fragmented, and overall goals can be lost. The agenda of these groups implies that they compete for limited resources of an organization. These interests and perceptions of finem which issues are important, which is a threat to the organization and how to deal with these concerns. The selective use of information reinforces the pre-existing beliefs and contradictory evidences. Each person considers their own question as the most important. In addition, the selection, recruitment, promotion and retention of people like perpetuate a cycle in decision making.

Allison argues that researchers who seek to analyze a decision from the perspective of organizational policies should begin by trying to discover the routines and organizational repertoires that guide and restrict action.

The bureaucratic politics refers to negotiation between organizations or groups using regularized communication channels. The bureaucratic model sees outcomes as a result of overlapping negotiations between various parts of an organization or government. Rational responses remain outside the analysis and calculation of the actors.

The organizing concepts of this model differ from organizational processes in several important ways. The first consideration in this analysis is the relative position of the actors, because these jobs help determine the prospects of employees in certain problems. Model III attempts to capture behavior and motivation in a single calculation. As in the organizational process model, there are priorities, perceptions and problems, although the origin of such approaches works on different bases. In model II, the basis for reduced reach derives from competition for scarce resources within the organization. The bargaining games are around interests, stakes and power of the actor. Obviously, those with more will or power may exert more influence over a result. Again, as in the organizational process, general problems are often divided into a series of small problems for consideration by different groups within a given bureaucracy or between bureaucracies. In this model, the policy results from the flow of results that emerge from the various trading games around a given problem. The policy itself produces these results. The results are determined by things like the pace, the rules, the structure and the rewards of various and often simultaneous bargain games. Individuals who can set the agenda or determine the rules of the game may exert undue influence from this perspective. In many ways, the bargaining environment itself shapes results to reflect the interests of powerful actors in decision-making and policy-making.

A bureaucratic analysis requires an examination of the decisions and actions resulting from the negotiation between individuals and groups within the government. In general, this model focuses on the actions and intentions of the main actors in the policy process. Moreover, this model depends on the existence of hierarchy within the bureaucracies. Leaders expect subordinate options.

All actors require commitment from their peers. And followers expect the confidence of superiors to function effectively. Without this hierarchy, the channels of action are confused.

All players must know who can play the game and what are the actions involved before they can effectively operate within their limits.

The organizational process considers the decision-making problems resulting from the impact of standard operating procedures on organizations. In other words, attention is focused on the prescribed form in which demands within the organization restrict creative responses to crises. Bureaucratic politics occurs between organizations, such as the State Department and the Department of Defense. The analysis could even examine a policy as it traverses an organization using Model II and then using Model III to explore how these products are used in trading games to produce policy results through interagency negotiations.

Allison described different models for analyzing decisions to emphasize how different conceptual orientations force attention on different aspects of a problem. Different models ask different questions, look for different types of evidence and produce different answers. For example, in the Cuban missile crisis, the organizational process model focuses on the standard operational procedures of the navy in quarantine implementation. Bureaucratic policy places greater emphasis on the role of Robert Kennedy as Attorney generates le as the president's brother in developing a return channel for negotiation with the Soviet Foreign Affairs Minister, Gromyko. In the end, alternative perspectives shed light on different aspects of a situation or crisis that can be ignored using only a single conceptual analysis, just as prospect theory and rational choice models illuminate different aspects of certain problems. It may be that some models are better designed to analyze certain types of problems. For example, the organizational process can provide information on gun procurement issues, while bureaucratic policy can provide better enlightenment in trade policy. These alternative models may therefore help to provide a fuller and richer understanding of the dynamics of an event or crisis.

The first one would be *Players in Positions*, which in this model can be understood as the characterization of the type of actors (politicians, interests groups, organizations, coalitions, press, think tanks, electoral public, among many others, since it depends on the context observed), and their placement in the arenas in which they participate. Identifying arenas and players would be the first step to build a map of the scenario one wishes to observe. To this end, it must be added that the placement of the arenas could be either on the international or domestic level, and actors can be participants in either one whether they originated in it or not.

As an example one can think of foreign interests groups engaging in direct lobby activities in the United States Congress, or private individuals seeking international spaces to enforce their interests, like members of the Venezuelan opposition to the Chavista governments participating in sessions of the Organization of American States to enforce their own agenda against the national government (Guevara and Pedroso, 2016). Alisson's Model III emphasizes the constraints on actors according to their position, especially in terms of what they can or cannot do. This detail is particularly useful for this model of mapping, because it helps to pinpoint the limitations of actors in their arenas, and also to see arenas in which actors are not participating but somehow are constricted by outcomes from those arenas. A good example for this could be the new policy changes promoted by Obama, when he recently started a process or normalizing relations with Cuba, and suggested that the Cuban embargo should be revised as part of this new policy towards the Island. However, the Cuban embargo can only be revised extensively by the United States Congress, since it is regulated by a Public Law. Although Obama has changed substantially the relations with Cuba towards normalization with all the tools available to the Executive Power, total normalization did not rely solely on Presidential initiatives. And, since Congress did not successfully take the initiative to pursue President's Obama new strategy toward Cuba, what is seen is that U.S. foreign policy toward the Island is a combination of the outcomes of the Executive and Legislative branches of government,

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which do not produce a cohesive Cuba. Translating these facts to the model, we see that President Obama, an actor participating directly in the arena at the international level of bilateral relations with Cuba, is being affected by the outcomes of a domestic arena in which he is not able to effectively participate and make decisions, since it is the Congressional arena that could revise and/or end the Cuban embargo.

The second organizing concept from Model III that can be used and adapted is *Parochial Priorities, Perceptions, and Issues*. This concept is used on Model III to identify some of the organizational pressures and movements in order to enforce certain interests among their participants and show how actors perceive the games, issues and their own capacities and limitations in face of others. This concept marries well with the concepts already presented: interest and preferences. The notion of how priorities are organized and pursued by different kind of actors can be seen through the hierarchy of preferences that individuals establish for themselves in face of the arenas where they participate and the limited perception they have of the whole network of nested games. Information, limitations and capacities are central to understand the actor's perspectives, and therefore the path for their decisions.

The others organizing concepts from model III that are worth mentioning due to their interchangeability with a nested games logic would be "*Interests, Stakes and Power", "The Problem and the Problems", "Action Channels", "Action as Politics" and System of Outcomes"* (Alisson, 1969, 710-711). In summary those concepts are basically types of connections between actors and the arenas in which they are inserted. Although useful, these concepts are already diluted in the nested games approach, and basically go into detail on how the dynamic may unfold under certain specific circumstances.

At this point, it suffices to say that most of the conceptual model III, helps to solidify the proposed model for mapping in this article. As demonstrated, when using the two-level in nested games logic, some specific concepts of Alisson's and Zelikow bureaucratic model can be used to better pinpoint and describe in detail the correlations and positions of actors and arenas throughout the mapping of international relations.

Recapitulating the theoretical discussion that was presented, and summarizing it's argument: employing the combination of the theories and models discussed, with the proposed adaptations, it is expected that researchers in international relations can be able to build a map of their phenomenon using a two-level nested game theory with some of the conceptual contributions from Alisson's model III . To simplify the name, the present proposal for a mapping model of international relations, can be called *Mapping Multiple Arenas in a Two-level logic*. To accomplish this mapping the observer will consider its main event of interest as the general outcome of the main arena, and from it he will trace back the preferences, decisions, outcomes and their influence to the network of arenas that ultimately led to the main outcome. In this process the observer will be trailing the actors and their perception and actions of the nested games, thus understanding all the decision processes that culminated in the analyzed event, hence achieving the map of the context.

On the other hand, Irving Janis presented an alternative model of group decision making in his book Groupthink (1982). He invented this word to explain the processes he believed often occurred in group decision making. Janis was a psychologist who applied his notion of collective thinking to the decision-making effects of groups in various international crises, including Bay of Pigs, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Watergate and Vietnam. In some cases, such as the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam, Janis examined what he considered to be decision failures resulting, at least in part, from the group's mechanism. In other cases, such as the Cuban missile crisis, he explored cases where leaders implemented strategies that helped overcome the group's impact on effective decision-making. In each case, Janis tried to separate the ability of the decision from the success of the result. We don't want to emphasize this kind of analysis, but it's important to understand that the State is not a bloc, groups and interests are relevant to the analysis of foreign policy and State's behavior.

Continuing with this argument, Janis argued that the groups develop strong group pressures for compliance and cohesion. Any member who threatens this cohesion can be punished with social reprimands or isolation. As each member wants to belong and feel liked and appreciated by the group, each person makes every effort to follow the consensus of the group in order to protect their membership value. Group pressures can be especially strong among members who have been in the same group or who have known each other for a long time. People who know each other well are also likely to know what others think about certain problems and problems and can infer the opinions of leaders without explicit direction.

Groups are an important and common forum for decision-making (McDermott 2004). Graham Allison's work on the organizational process and bureaucratic politics illuminates how organizations fall victim to established routines and power politics to reach their political choices and conclusions. Janis's work on collective thinking shows the myriad ways in which internal social psychological pressures can undermine creative decision-making by restricting members who become reluctant to challenge established wisdom and group consensus. The polarization of the group contributes to the understanding of how the group can change the individual.

According to our main argument, the State foreign policy is more than a simple process of maximizing interests. What we tried to explore is the different approaches to the decision-making process in international relations, and trying to explain that the rationality of the State's behavior is not inherent of the State, but the observers' analysis. Taking Hobbes' most famous work *The Leviathan* (1983), what distinguishes man from all other animals, besides being rational, is the will to know the causes of phenomena. When other animals come across something new their only interest is whether the object is likely to help or harm the environment at that time. Already when men see something new, they try to discover their cause. Other animals live almost entirely in the present, because little or no prediction of the future is possible. For men, on the other hand, fear is not only located in the present, but in the future as well. Because men are able to recognize the dependence of one event on the other, fear necessarily extends as much as their thoughts and causes (Blits 1989).

Man can understand only what he does, only the events of which he is the cause or whose construction or generation is totally within his domain. He may know that every natural phenomenon is caused by some kind of movement, yet nature is, in principle, unknown. No one can fight or escape what he cannot identify or know to be solved, fear has to correspond to something; it must have an object. So when an object is missing men will find an imaginary, they will invent an identifiable object that they may fear. And therefore, when there is nothing to be seen, there is nothing to accuse, but some invisible power or agent (Hobbes 1983).

Moreover, man, according to Hobbes (1983), always tries to find patterns to phenomena, and the international relations are not different, observers try to analyze the States' behavior based on a rational source. The State's action isn't necessarily rational in the traditional sense, but the observer's analysis tries to be in order to make sense of the phenomena seem from an outside perspective.

This model hopes that it can be used as a way to bring several important contributions of the Social Sciences together in a dynamic that might help researchers in the difficult task of understanding human and political events of large scale and complexity as is the case with the International Relations area.

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Public Policies in Favelas and the Production of Urban Inequalities in Rio de Janeiro

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Introduction- In the past three decades, we have witnessed the worldwide development of new economic dynamics that have intensified the most perverse and harmful effects of globalization processes. The global economy has increasingly produced intense social vulnerability and has driven a large number of people out of the center of the economic and social order (Sassen, 2016). This economic model responds to a logic of financialization of all domains of social life, imposed by different political choices and decisions that result in the degradation of working conditions and the increase of precariousness and insecurity throughout the world (Harvey, 1985). These consequences are not new and have already been described and analyzed by authors such as Serge Paugam (1991), Robert Castel (1995), and Didier Fassin (1996), among others. However, as Saskia Sassen (2016) points out, in a broader sense, this logic of financialization and production of new inequalities underway in the contemporary world can be seen as a more profound *systemic underlying tendency* that articulates realities that unite us. They often seem disconnected, and their modes of action, which can be characterized by their complexity, may include different dynamics and even coexist with economic growth.

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PUBLICPOLICIESINFAVELASANDTHEPRODUCTIONOFURBANINEQUALITIESINRIODEJANEIRO

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Public Policies in Favelas and the Production of Urban Inequalities in Rio de Janeiro

Neiva Vieira Da Cunha

I. Introduction

In the past three decades, we have witnessed the worldwide development of new economic dynamics that have intensified the most perverse and harmful effects of globalization processes. The global economy has increasingly produced intense social vulnerability and has driven a large number of people out of the center of the economic and social order (Sassen, 2016). This economic model responds to a logic of financialization of all domains of social life, imposed by different political choices and decisions that result in the degradation of working conditions and the increase of precariousness and insecurity throughout the world (Harvey, 1985). These consequences are not new and have already been described and analyzed by authors such as Serge Paugam (1991), Robert Castel (1995), and Didier Fassin (1996), among others. However, as Saskia Sassen (2016) points out, in a broader sense, this logic of financialization and production of new inequalities underway in the contemporary world can be seen as a more profound *systemic underlying tendency* that articulates realities that unite us. They often seem disconnected, and their modes of action, which can be characterized by their complexity, may include different dynamics and even coexist with economic growth. These dynamics may, for example, be produced by new technologies or technical devices, as well as by specialized knowledge, the impacts of which have caused a new order of accelerations and disruptions in the process of economic globalization (Sassen, 2016).

National states are directly involved in these processes and, in most cases, are even at the origin of these new dynamics of inequality production. It is in this context that we can address a new way of governing populations. In recent decades, governments could have used the development of the global economy and its capacity for capital creation to integrate the most vulnerable social groups and increase the welfare of societies. Yet, as the imperatives of the financial system have guided public policies, State action has served, above all, to tear the social fabric by producing extreme inequality and increasingly complicated ways to govern populations. One of the areas that most highlights the variety of these new dynamics in several nations is the area of public policies for urban renewal and mass housing. From this point of view, analyzing the *production of space* (Lefebvre, 1974) of contemporary cities makes it possible to highlight the connections between this financialization process and the spread of neoliberal urban planning, owing to the entry of international capital into the real estate market, the privatization of public services, and the growing number of public-private partnerships in the implementation of urban policies. Authors such as David Harvey (1985, 2003, 2005), Neil Brenner & Nick Theodore (2002), Raquel Rolnik (2015), Saskia Sassen (2016), among others, have already delved into the participation of finance capital in the production of contemporary cities. Especially since the late 1970s, this financialization process, understood here as "the growing influence of financial markets over the unfolding of economy, polity and society" (French et al., 2011, p.798), has had an increasingly active participation in transforming the production of space and in creating new urban inequalities, seeing that urban land appreciation and real estate speculation put into practice one of thetenetsof the financialization process, the production of wealth through the valuation of financial assets (Halbert, 2013, p.1).

From this perspective, Rio de Janeiro can be considered a symbolic case to think about the relations that may exist between public policies and the production of space and social inequalities. Rio's long-term urban development may thus reveal some peculiarities about the ways of governing impoverished populations and socio-spatial segregation in Brazil and Latin America, since the production of its space has always reaffirmed the idea of a market-oriented city, to the detriment of citizens' rights (Cunha, Carmam & Segura, 2013). Throughout Rio de Janeiro's urban history, many experiences in terms of public housing policies and urban renewal projects have contributed to expelling the poor from the most valued areas of the city. These populations were somewhat expelled from the civitas, that is, the political city (Cunha & Mello, 2011, 2012). Among the public policies implemented in the city's favelas, those that have become known as *favela removal policies*, or *favela policies*, have had dramatic consequences on the lives of its inhabitants and, in the long run, on the very definition of the urban

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morphology of Rio de Janeiro and its metropolitan area. Its multiple effects have left deep marks on the collective memory and the trajectory of the various social groups subjected to this forced removal (Brum, 2012; Cunha & Mello, 2012).

This article aims to analyze, through a retrospective ethnography (Burke, 1987; Cunha, 2005; Bezerra, 2015), the processes of implementation of these public policies in favelas, in their various forms and contexts, as well as their consequences, in terms of urban inequality production and socio-spatial segregation methods in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The analysis presented here was based on ethnographic research carried out in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, particularly the Santa Marta and the Chapéu Mangueira-Babilônia favelas, where I was conducting fieldwork when the government implemented the *favela pacification policy* in 2008, in preparation for hosting international sport mega-events, such as the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. However, to understand what was happening in these territories, from the narratives of the dwellers and the categories they used at that time, and to talk about their lived experiences in terms of public policies, it was necessary to refer to past scenarios, events, and characters. Understanding ethnography as a work of complex textual construction, this perspective seeks to restore the dialogue between anthropology and history, inscribing diachrony and synchrony as complementary dimensions of the socio-anthropological enterprise (Bezerra, 2015). At first, I will present the socio-historical reconstruction of this public policy implementation process in Rio's favelas. This reconstitution was put together by listening carefully to the lived experience accounts and the collective memory of favela dwellers. Next, I will present the context for the recent implementation of favela pacification policies. The direct observation of the effects of these policies on the dwellers' daily lives informed this section. Finally, I will highlight the relation between (1) the process of producing favela representations and social classifications and (2) the broader process of production of space in Rio de Janeiro through the implementation of public policies for urban renewal and mass housing. My objective is to analyze the long-term effects of these public policies in terms of the restructuring of the urban space and the production of social inequalities owing to the expulsion of the most impoverished populations from the most valued areas of the city.

II. Public Policies for Urban Renewal in the Early Twentieth Century

Even before the emergence of the favelas in late 19th century Rio de Janeiro, there were *tenements*, which were the main form of housing for the masses. These tenements were in fact old downtown buildings that were transformed by their owners into several dwellings and rented to poor people (Rocha & Carvalho, 1995; Gonçalves, 2010). The development of this type of mass housing in downtown Rio de Janeiro dates to the second half of the 19th century. The government have always deemed tenements unhealthy places, sources of disease and addiction, hideouts for criminals, and a constant threat to the social order (Chalhoub, 1996). This situation was reinforced in the late 19th century with the emergence of the favela (a slum, or a shantytown), where impoverished workers and freed slaves settled[1], particularly after the destruction of the tenements. For the powers that be, this population belonged to the *dangerous classes* (Chevalier, 1958) and, as such, should be far removed from the central and most affluent areas of the city (Cunha & Mello, 2011). From the public authorities' perspective, this classification concerned not only health threats but, above all, the dangers this population posed to public order. Like the tenements, the favelas began to represent not only the risk of contagion and spread of diseases and epidemics, owing to their precarious and unhealthy housing conditions, but also a risk of moral contamination. Thus, the State measures to combat the tenements and the first favelas during this period were based on a social hygiene ideology and aimed to control the central space of the city, expelling the poor and working classes and freeing up land for the real estate market (Benchimol, 1990; Chalhoub, 1996; Cunha, 2005).

In this early 20th century context, Rio saw the implementation of its first major urban renewal project. Many countries implemented the so-called urban renewal policies characterized by the *demolition and reconstruction* of housing units in working-class neighborhoods at different times in history (Déboulet & Lelévrier, 2014). In the city of Rio, this initiative was the work of Mayor Pereira Passos, an engineer with a degree from the Ecole de Mines of Paris who, in 1902, implemented a vast urban renewal and sanitation program in the then capital city of the Republic of Brazil[2]. Pereira Passos, nicknamed the tropical Haussmann[3], vigorously focused his actions on the destruction of tenements, starting a campaign called *the tear-down* with the aim to "sanitize" and "civilize" the city, eradicating this type of housing and everything it

[1] The end of slavery in 1888 brought about the proliferation of not only slums but also tenements. According to official figures, the population living in tenements in 1869 amounted to 21,929 people and in 1888 to 46,680 people (Lobo & Stanley, 1989; Gonçalves 2010).

[2] Aiming to integrate urban reform and health reform, Pereira Passos invited bacteriologist and epidemiologist Oswaldo Cruz, who had a degree from the Pasteur Institute in Paris, to join him.

[3] Georges-Eugène Haussmann, chosen by Napoleon III as prefect of the Seine in 1853, was responsible for the large urban renovation that "modernized" Paris; his public works became a historical reference point for urban planning.

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represented (Benchimol, 1990). In addition to tackling health issues, these public policies sought to legitimize a set of extremely authoritarian decisions on urban restructuring in Rio de Janeiro, producing significant socio-spatial segregation (Cunha, Carmam & Segura, 2013). This first major urban renewal in Rio de Janeiro led to the destruction of 1,681 buildings and the eviction of around 20,000 people, triggering a demolition and reconstruction movement that ushered in the development of the real estate market (Vaz, 1988; Rocha & Carvalho, 1995).

As a result of these actions, the occupation of hills and the expansion of favelas became a *public problem* (Dewey, 2010; Cefai, 2017a, 2017b). Under the influence of representatives of Rio's political elite, who played the role of *moral entrepreneurs* (Becker, 1985; Ogien, 2012) of hygienism, the diagnosis initially made for the tenements was extended to the favelas, which were also classified as a *contagious evil* and a *social pathology* that society must eradicate (Valladares, 2005). From this perspective, a notion of lack or absence have always characterized favelas, not only from the standpoint of infrastructure and public services (such as piped water, electricity, sewage services, waste disposal, etc.) but also from the moral point of view, as the government deemed them territory without order, without rules, and full of promiscuity (Chalhoub, 1996; Silva, 2004). Thus, since the early decades of the 20thcentury, public policy proposals for "eradicating" favelas have often been formulated.

Throughout the 1920s, favelas expanded considerably. By this time, a new concept of urbanism was beginning to take shape beyond the policies inspired by the hygienist ideology. Under this new concept, which championed the notions of modernity, efficiency, and aesthetics in the production of urban space, favelas were deviant spaces. The fundamental assumption behind this classification of the favela was the idea that this type of dwelling space was a form of urban occupation that was contrary to the rationalist principles of city organization and development enforced by the government (Rocha & Carvalho, 1995; Cunha & Mello, 2012). Guided by this new paradigm of urban planning and modernization, French architect Alfred Agache, the urban planner in Mayor Prado Junior's administration, prepared the *Plan of Extension, Renovation, and Beautification of the City of Rio de Janeiro*, aimed at restructuring the city based on functional and space hierarchy criteria (Agache, 1930). This plan included the building of mass housing on the outskirts of Rio and deemed the eradication of favelas fully justified.

In 1937, the Rio de Janeiro City Hall approved a new Building Code to guide urban public policies until the 1970s. The text gave special attention to mass housing and, according to Gonçalves (2010), was the first legal document introducing the *favela* category into urban legislation. However, it did so in the form of a double ban: it prohibited the creation of new favelas while preventing any improvement of existing dwellings in these spaces. Thus, the Code adopted the same strategy previously used for the tenements, preventing any maintenance or renovation work so that the property would reach such a degree of degradation that its destruction would be the only possible solution. At the same time, it allowed the construction of new shacks on the hills on the outskirts of the city. This way, legislation limited the creation of new favelas without entirely banning them. This ambiguous form of *recognition through tolerance* (Gonçalves, 2010) eventually consolidated this kind of mass housing and led many landowners to file lawsuits to reclaim the land then occupied by favelas.

a) *Favela eradication policies and resistance from residents*

Although the idea of eradicating forms of mass housing emerged in the early 20thcentury with Pereira Passos's urban renovation, the government effectively implemented these public policies in favelas only from the 1940s on (Valladares, 2005). They initiated with the so-called Proletarian Parks model and were later developed with the building of Provisional Housing Centers (CHP) and finally of large housing projects on the outskirts of the city, which received the residents of the largest favelas in Rio's more affluent South Zone[4]. The Proletarian Parks would temporarily house the people expelled from some favelas under the justification that these would undergo renovation (Burgos, 1998; Valladares, 2005). Between 1942 and 1944, the destruction of four favelas in Rio's South Zone brought 8,000 people to three Proletarian Parks. However, the promised renovation never happened, and the Proletarian Parks eventually became new favelas[5] (Burgos, 1998; Gonçalves, 2010). This public policy also had a "civilizing" character and aimed to convert favela dwellers to a new way of life, integrating them into the formal city through their segregation. It exercised an extremely authoritarian social control of this population not only regarding how to use and maintain the housing units, but also regarding local sociability and movement of residents (Burgos, 1998; Brum, 2012). Also, favela dwellers were politically framed to secure support for the government. These public policies anticipated urban scenarios that would later materialize, but their restrictive nature eventually provoked a strong reaction from the residents, who began to form Resident Associations,

[4] The residents of Ilha das Dragas, Morro do Pasmado, Praia do Pinto, Morro da Catacumba, and Favela do Esqueleto were expelled from their homes and removed to housing projects such as Cidade de Deus, Cidade Alta, Vila Paciência, Vila Aliança, Vila Esperança, Vila Kennedy, among others.

[5] The government finally eradicated these new favelas in the 1960s.

especially when new favela removals were announced (Leeds, 1978; Valladares, 2005; Silva, 2005).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, *moral entrepreneurs*(Becker, 1985; Ogien, 2012) stepped up the public campaign against shantytowns[6]. This campaign was called "The Battle of Rio" and advocated the implementation of partnerships between public and private institutions to solve once and for all *the favela problem* (Silva, 2005). The economic interests of real estate developers and the government converged to promote the re-appropriation of urban space in Rio de Janeiro. In 1948, the Rio de Janeiro City Hall conducted the first favela population census, which demonstrated that favelas represented 7% of the city's total population. The data also legitimized the public policy proposal to "eradicate favelas" or at least "prevent their further development" (Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, 1949). It is in this context that the residents of the Borel favela, with the help of lawyer Antoine de Margarino Torres, created the Union of Favela Workers(UTF) in 1954 (Lobo & Stanley, 1989). In addition to defending favela dwellers against evictions and removals, this association focused on land issues and played a critical role in mobilizing and promoting the collective action and resistance of favela dwellers (Gonçalves, 2010; Cefai, 2007).

At last, from 1962 to 1974, the favela removal policies took shape and were implemented. During successive administrations of Governors Carlos Lacerda, Negrão de Lima, and Chagas Freitas, the city of Rio de Janeiro suppressed 80 favelas, and about 140,000 residents were expelled from their homes and forced to live in housing projects on the outskirts of the city. According to Lícia Valladares (2005, p. 133), this was the most important public intervention against the favelas that Rio de Janeiro has ever known. It was the beginning of the Military Regime[7], and an agreement between the Brazilian State and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) made it possible to obtain the necessary resources to finance the favela eradication policy through the building of large housing projects. Thus the real estate development sector benefited the most from these actions.

Consequently, the disturbance imposed by a rationalist and authoritarian planning model, supported by the violent actions of the State apparatus, would profoundly mark the living conditions of a large number of impoverished people in Rio. These policies imposed forced residential mobility on some of the inhabitants of a city already deeply marked by urban inequalities (Cunha & Mello, 2012). The permanent postulate of these actions was that the poor belonged to the margins, to the outskirts of the city. It did not matter that these were areas where infrastructure and public services were virtually nonexistent. Thus, these public policies were not meant to improve these population's living conditions or plan a less unequal and unfair urban space. On the contrary, they were conceived as segregation policies aimed at expelling poor residents from the central areas of the city (Cunha, Carmam & Segura, 2013).

All these operations, in terms of public policy, ultimately reinforced favela dwellers' resistance against these forced removal policies, prompting countless favela resident associations to meet in 1963 and create the Federation of Favela Associations of the State of Guanabara (FAFEG)[8], which called for legal recognition of these working-class housing spaces and access to public services. During the 1960s and 1970s, FAFEG defended the right of dwellers to stay in the favelas and sought their active participation in cooperative infrastructure improvement works (Bisilliat, 1995; Valladares, 2005). Yet, the response of the military dictatorship to this resistance and the favela upgrading proposals was immediate. With the dictatorship, the federal government resumed the eradication policies and decided to directly coordinate actions in Rio's favelas, aiming to free up increasingly valued and coveted land for the real estate market. The Metropolitan Area Housing for Social Interest Administration (CHISAM) was then created to plan and implement this program. In this scenario, the military regime outlawed favela social movements and arrested some of their main leaders on charges of communism (Lobo & Stanley, 1989; Gonçalves, 2010).

b) *Praia do Pinto: the paradigm for the favela eradication policies*

Despite their resistance, favela dwellers were unable to avoid the pressure of combined economic and political forces or the violent methods employed by the government. Among the shanty towns the government eradicated during this period, the case of the Praia do Pinto favela is symptomatic. Located between the Rodrigo de Freitas Lake and the Leblon neighborhoods, highly affluent areas in Rio's South Zone, it was the priority target of the favela eradication program. In 1969, a fire, the causes of which were never explained, destroyed it, reducing its 105,000 m^2 to ashes (Burgos, 1998; Brum, 2012). The fire occurred at a time of tension between the favela dwellers, who were mobilizing to face the threat of expulsion, and the repressive military government, which accused and imprisoned several favela community leaders. This tragic episode forced the Praia do Pinto residents to leave the land occupied by the favela where residential

[6] Journalist Carlos Lacerda launched this campaign with a series of articles about Rio's favelas published in 1948 by the *Correio da Manhã* newspaper. For more information, see Silva, M.L. (2005).

[7] In 1960, the city of Rio de Janeiro underwent significant institutional changes after the transfer of the capital to Brasilia. And in 1964, Brazil suffered a military coup that established a dictatorship for 20 years.

[8] In 1974, with the merge of the State of Guanabara into the State of Rio de Janeiro, FAFEG became FAFERJ.

buildings would be later built for the middle class. Some residents were relocated to housing projects, such as Cidade Alta and Vila Paciência, and others were moved to the Provisional Housing Center (CHP), all situated on the outskirts of the city (Brum, 2012). A few years later, this CHP originated the Maré favela, today considered one of the largest slums in the city of Rio, housing about 140,000 residents. Finally, there maining Praia do Pinto residents relocated to Cidade de Deus, in Rio's West Zone, giving rise to a new favela, which today houses about 50,000 people, according to the 2010 Population Census conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

Resident removal operations in the Praia do Pinto favela were carried out by CHISAM agents, who contacted the representatives of resident associations to let them know that dwellers were supposed to leave their homes, as their shacks would be destroyed. On the eviction day, CHISAM officers arrived accompanied by social workers of the Department of Social Work, the Army, and the Military Police (PM) (Gonçalves, 2010; Brum, 2012). The massive police presence thus prevented any possible resistance from the residents. Then the public agents occupied the houses and immediately cut off the supply of electricity and water so that residents would not reoccupy their homes. Finally, the Urban Cleaning Company (COMLURB) was responsible for moving the dwellers to the housing projects, freeing up the land for new uses. The participation of COMLURB is very symbolic, because it was an actual urban cleaning that segregated and excluded the poor from the city's most affluent areas, highly coveted by real estate developers. However, this removal policy eventually caused a significant population increase in favelas that were still standing. Since most of the housing projects receiving residents from Praia do Pinto and other South Zone favelas were about 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from their previous dwellings, some of the evicted residents would not live there. As they did not want to move away from their workplaces or where they had lived almost all their lives and built their social networks, many people resold their new houses and returned to favelas (Valladares, 1978)[9].

c) Growing violence in favelas and the pacification policies

Since the 1980s, with the interruption of the implementation of the so-called *removal policies* that characterized the 1960s and 1970s, there has been a relative decrease in State interventionism in shantytowns. During the 1980s, the expansion of drug trafficking made government intervention even more complicated in these spaces, which began to be identified as "places of crime and violence"[10]. Particularly in the late 1980s, the "war on drugs" policy that guided government actions in favelas further increased violence in these territories. Far from offering an answer to the problem, this repressive model backfired and triggered increasingly strong reactions from drug trafficking groups, leading to disastrous consequences for slumd wellers (Silva, 1998; Cunha, 2004; Cunha & Mello, 2011). The result of this war was an environment of insecurity and fear that eventually spread to the whole city. It was in this context that the municipal government implemented the Favela-Bairro Program in 1993. This program marked a change of perspective on the public policies implemented in favelas and, according to the formulators, intended to provide these places with public services and infrastructure (Leitão & Delecave, 2015; Freire, 2015). The notion of resident *removal* was, for the first time in the history of public policies for favelas, excluded, and the program aimed to reduce the social distance between the shantytown and the formal city by treating these mass housing spaces as neighborhoods, even though it ended up imposing an urban model and way of life that disregarded favela dwellers' experiences in these territories. However, increased violence owing to the "war on drugs" policy became an obstacle to achieving the goals set by the Favela-Bairro Program (Leitão & Delecave, 2015; Cunha & Mello, 2012).

More recently, the choice of the city of Rio de Janeiro to host the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympic Games brought forth a series of public policy proposals to prepare the city for these international sports mega-events. Most projects focused on urban areas that the government considered strategic on account of their economic and tourism potential. Most interventions targeted mass housing areas, particularly shantytowns. In the complex negotiations between the government and the private sector aimed at securing the necessary investments to implement urban renewal projects, the issue of public safety was essential. Rio de Janeiro's rate of violence in recent decades, considered one of the highest in the world, made this issue a priority. Security thus became the prerequisite for the transformation and restoration of the urban areas concerned.

Therefore, in December 2008, the Rio de Janeiro State Secretariat of Public Security began the implementation of the Pacifying Police Units (UPP) in some favelas, which were occupied by a permanent police contingent that, according to the Secretariat, aimed to "control violent crime" and "recover areas "that

9 The policy offered the chance to purchase a housing unit, not social rent.

10 In the late 1970s, Comando Vermelho (Red Command), Rio de Janeiro's first large drug gang, was formed. During the 1990s, it split into two dissident factions: Amigos dos Amigos (Friends of Friends) and Terceiro Comando (Third Command). These factions fought each other for the control of drug trade in Rio, further increasing favela violence (Souza, 1996).

were impoverished and dominated by drug traffickers[11]. The UPP implementation was immediately praised by the media, which rushed to boast the first results of pacification. Media outlets drew considerable attention to the supposed safe and calm mood that had settled over the pacified favelas (Cunha & Mello, 2011). In practice, however, this public policy and the overt police presence were quickly questioned by residents and local observers, as this law enforcement institution resorted, once again, to violence and abuse of authority. Overall, the persistent lack of respect and consideration for favela dwellers was the most criticized issue. Unwarranted home invasions became a fully established practice, and residents continued to be treated as potential "thugs". Black youth suffered even more with social discrimination, which was further intensified by this public policy (Cunha, 2004). UPP's violent practices did not provoke any reaction from the authorities and were, in fact, another layer of police corruption, already practiced through extortion and *selling of protection* to drug dealers in the form of *political merchandise* (Misse, 1997). All these actions reinforced the feeling of mistrust and fear that favela dwellers have always felt towards the initiatives of the military police in these territories (Silva, 1998; Oliveira & Carvalho, 1993; Cunha, 2004).

The Santa Marta favela was chosen for the implementation of the UPP pilot project[12]. This favela is located on a hill between the neighborhoods of Botafogo and Laranjeiras, at the heart of Rio's South Zone[13]. Before the UPP implementation process, the Battalion of Special Operations (BOPE)[14] occupied the favela. This strategy surprised even the residents, who, on November 20, 2008, came across a massive police presence for no reason. At first, they thought it was one of the regular PM actions in the favela, even though they were astonished at the large number of police officers there. Police presence intensified, and the population finally realized that the police was settling permanently in the favela. Thus, on December 19, 2008, a month after the BOPE arrived, the first UPP in the city was inaugurated under the command of then Captain Priscila Azevedo. It is worthy to note that Captain Azevedo attended the International Olympic Committee (IOC) meeting in Copenhagen in 2009, when Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the 2016 Summer Olympics, as a way of ensuring the "pacification" of the city (Cunha & Mello, 2011).

Since the installation of the UPP, the Santa Marta favela has become a model and laboratory for public safety policies. These were accompanied by several actions to gradually replace informal practices of access to public services, which were then regularized, allowing Light[15], Rio's light and power company, to regain control of 90% of the electricity supply in the favela. This significantly affected the illegal "hotwire" practice that characterize favelas, as residents could no longer "hot-wire" the power supply to share their consumption or to avoid paying at all for the service. This procedure, widespread in Rio's favelas, can be considered as a form of *infrapolitical resistance* (Scott, 2009). According to James Scott (2009), this notion refers to practices that are not publicly announced, as law enforcement would repress them, so they are quietly suggested as a way to face and resist the precarious, neglected situation to which favela dwellers have always been subjected.

At the beginning of the regularization of public services in the favelas, a *social rate* was introduced to allow a reduction in the electricity bill for residents who had a Social Registration Number (NIS), as was the case of beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família Program. However, from 2011 on, all rates were standardized, and favela dwellers had to pay the same rates formal neighborhoods paid (Loretti & Cunha, 2015; Pilo, 2015). Finally, after the favela had been mapped out, Light put up street nameplates and numbered the houses, providing residents with a city address for the first time. However, the electricity bill issued by the company was the only mail residents received directly at their homes (Cunha & Mello, 2011). In addition to that, the control of housing maintenance works, which were now required to comply with regulations, caused building costs to increase considerably, making them often inaccessible to the favela dwellers. It also killed the so-called *roof culture*[16], as it was no longer possible to build home extensions according to the needs of the family, an essential strategy for the social reproduction of family groups in mass housing areas. This attempt to control more systematically these informal strategies to access public services and housing has led to numerous conflicts between favela dwellers and the government (Corrêa, 2012; Cunha & Mello, 2012). According to the

[11] For more information, go to http://www.isp.rj.gov.br/Conteudo.asp?ident=62.

[12] Between 2008 and 2014, UPPs were installed in favelas such as Cidade de Deus, Batam, Chapéu Mangueira/Babilônia, Pavão-Pavãozinho, Cantagalo, Tabajaras, Cabritos, Providência, Borel, Formiga, Andaraí, Turano, Macacos, among others. A total of 38 UPPs were installed by 2014.

[13] According to data from the Secretariat of Public Security, Santa Marta housed at the time 6,000 residents, distributed in a 54,692 m^2 (approximately 588,700 ft^2) area. For updated data on UPP favelas from the Secretariat of Public Security, go to http://www.ispdados.rj.gov.br/UPP.html. However, it is noteworthy that there are discrepancies in the data on favela populations and areas published by different public agencies.

[14] The BOPE directly reports to the Special Operations Command of the Military Police of Rio de Janeiro State (PMERJ), which operates in Rio's favelas.

[15] Light settled in Rio de Janeiro in 1904 under the name of Rio de Janeiro Tramway, Light and Power Co.

[16] *Roof culture* is the habit of using the roof of one's home as a social space. As favela houses are usually small, the roof is a significant social space where many activities take place, such as parties, sunbathing, washing and drying clothes, etc. For more information, see Corrêa, 2012.

residents, it has resulted in a significant increase in the cost of living in the favelas. Although they acknowledged that it was important to pay for urban services, they argued that the criteria for defining the rates were unclear and, above all, unfair. They maintained that slum dwellers, who lived in areas that still lacked basic services, infrastructure, and had open sewage and poorly lit streets, could not pay the same rate applied in the wealthiest neighborhoods of the city because the service quality was inconsistent (Loretti & Cunha, 2015). Also, the creation of the UPP caused land and real estate prices to increase 400% in the favela and its vicinity, both for rent and purchase or sale. Finally, the residents mentioned a kind of *white expulsion*, due to the rising cost of living and real estate speculation (Cunha & Mello, 2011; Sisternas & Cunha, 2018).

III. Conclusion

While the urban renewal policies implemented in Rio de Janeiro, particularly the so-called favela removal or eradication policies of the 1960s and 1970s, left deep marks on the city's collective memory, having evicted a high number of favela dwellers, the results of the *pacification policies* and urban renewal projects implemented to prepare the city for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics are even more dramatic[17]. Whereas 20,000 people were displaced during the Pereira Passosad ministration and 30,000 during the Carlos Lacerdaad ministration, both of whom went down in history as mayors who had razed the city, the forced removal policies implemented by Mayor Eduardo Paes expelled 67,000 people; in most cases, they were relocated to places approximately 70 km (43.5 miles) away from their former dwellings (Faulhaber & Azevedo, 2016). Thus, throughout the urban history of Rio de Janeiro, we can say that the process of *production of space* through public policy implementation in favelas has always resulted in the expulsion of the most vulnerable social groups from the political city. These policies could have been an opportunity for the government to address Rio's urban inequalities; however, significant differences as to who has the *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968) persist and still characterize Rio de Janeiro.

Retrospective analysis of these policies shows that the logic behind these forms of expulsion changed over time. Initially, they were guided by *hygienist ideology* and aimed to control the central space of the city, removing the working classes and freeing up land for the promotion of the real estate market. These measures were meant primarily to cleanthe city's bad reputation as a *dirty port* or *port of death* and address the regular yellow fever epidemics that plagued Rio and destabilized its economy, hindering the development project of the government's elites. (Chalhoub, 1996, Cunha, 2005). Then, public policies addressed the claim that there was a need to reorganize the city based on functional criteria and stratification of urban space – a new concept of urbanism and urban planning. This new concept, influenced by the establishment of the real estate market, led to a hierarchical space division that further contributed to capital accumulation. Finally, when the government came to see favelas as the main threat to public safety and the city's image, pacification policies made it possible – in the context of cities as commodities – to implement new urban restructuring projects through the appreciation of urban land as a *financial asset* (Halbert, 2013, p.1). In this sense, this policy further improved the conditions that allowed the market to re-appropriate favela areas.

These different kinds of intervention implemented in Rio de Janeiro throughout its urban history fall into three ideal types, which correspond to three public policy models connected to different forms of favela representation and social classification: the *hygienist model*, which becomes a *modernizing model* and at last a *public security model*. We can say that different logics produced these models. If, when capital's appropriation of Rio's urban space first began, hygienist and modernizing policies aimed to stimulate the real estate market, which expanded significantly based on a new concept of urbanism and urban planning, then the pacification policies may be considered a consequence and escalation of this process of commodification of the city. It is an important distinction because the change was not just quantitative. In a scenario of financialization of the global economy, the expulsions of the most impoverished populations have not only increased considerably but also become much more intricate due to the financialization logic that promotes public-private partnerships in urban interventions and real estate speculation. It is worthy to underline that access to urban land and choice of place of residence remain fundamental issues for the poor populations of large metropolises in Brazil and Latin America. These people have always been segregated and forced to live in precarious spaces, and access to urban territory was only possible through the purchase of land on the outskirts of the city or through *occupation*, as was the case of the Rio de Janeiro favelas. Yet, in today's global economy, what is at stake is a new form of urban dispossession, as land value has become a key element in the process of financialization of cities (Rolnik, 2015; Sassen, 2016).

This way, we see that past and present public policies implemented in Rio's favelas are part of a logic of expulsion of the poor from a land that had an

[17] In addition to the *favela pacification policies*, the urban interventions that the government implemented to transform Rio into an Olympic city focused on renovating the port area, installing and renovating sports facilities, and providing urban mobility with the building of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)lines (Faulhaber & Azevedo, 2016).

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increase in value owing to the joint action of the State and the capital. These effects are becoming increasingly violent as public policies are now subject to financial profitability. Thus, we agree with Saskia Sassen (2016) that there is a *systemic underlying tendency* that makes the global economy confront us with a new logic of urban inequality production and with even more difficult, intense and aggressive ways of governing destitute populations. This new logic would be consistent with a new cycle of the global economy in terms of capital accumulation, including the process of financialization of cities. And, despite the resistance of some favela dwellers still struggling to stay in the most valued and sought-after areas of the city, the threat of expulsion remains a specter that perpetually haunts them.

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Conflictos Interétnicos. Un Análisis Documental (2018)

By Yessika Dayana Imbachi Imbachi, Juan Camilo López Martínez,
Dayana Mishell Solarte & Contreras Y Odín Ávila Rojas

Introduction- El ordenamiento territorial actual, que en gran medida respondió a intereses de elites regionales, en los que se configuró escenarios donde la constante ha sido que las diferentes identidades étnicas y sociales, así como los procesos de territorialización se hayan visto afectados por la creación de limitaciones geográficas que dejan en medio de problemas como la tenencia de la tierra y los grandes monocultivos, a las distintas comunidades indígenas, afrocolombianas y campesinas que en su lucha por el territorio contra los grandes capitales nacionales y transnacionales, se ven también enfrentados entre ellos, por la suplencia de necesidades de subsistencia básicas y mínimas de cualquier población.

Además de lo anterior, desde tiempos de la colonia, el departamento del Gran Cauca se configuró como uno de los centros esclavistas más relevantes de los Virreinatos en Latinoamérica, y producto del cimarronaje se crearon asentamientos de comunidades negras a lo largo de la costa pacífica; pero también es hoy el segundo departamento con mayor población indígena después del Amazonas. El presente informe tiene como finalidad analizar la producción académica del racismo y los conflictos interétnicos en el departamento del Cauca, ya que por lo ya expuesto ha sido objeto de amplio estudio en cuanto a la construcción de identidades étnicas y culturales no sólo en el ámbito nacional, sino también internacional.

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Conflictos Interétnicos. Un Análisis Documental (2018)

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I. Introducción

El ordenamiento territorial actual, que en gran medida respondió a intereses de elites regionales, en los que se configuró escenarios donde la constante ha sido que las diferentes identidades étnicas y sociales, así como los procesos de territorialización se hayan visto afectados por la creación de limitaciones geográficas que dejan en medio de problemas como la tenencia de la tierra y los grandes monocultivos, a las distintas comunidades indígenas, afrocolombianas y campesinas que en su lucha por el territorio contra los grandes capitales nacionales y transnacionales, se ven también enfrentados entre ellos, por la suplencia de necesidades de subsistencia básicas y mínimas de cualquier población.

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En ese sentido, escoger el tema de conflictos interétnicos para este trabajo, responde a la existencia de aportes variados desde diversas ciencias como la antropología, la sociología, la ciencia política e incluso la economía, que configuran un espacio ideal para un avance en el estudio interdisciplinar del problema del racismo y los conflictos interétnicos por el territorio.

Author ω: Equipo de investigación de análisis documental sobre conflictos interétnicos como producto del proyecto "Construcción de paz y tramitación de conflictos Cauca 2019-2020: una mirada territorial y con enfoque diferencial", abril 2019-abril 2020. ID 4973. Responsable del producto: Ph.d, e-mail: odinavila@unicauca.edu.co

II. Racismo y Conflictos Interétnicos (Contexto Actual)

En el departamento del Cauca convergen diversidad de conflictos, que además mantienen una relación de reciprocidad. Este es el caso de los conflictos interétnicos que se evidencian por factores como el conflicto armado, la explotación de recursos naturales renovables y no renovables o lo que es lo mismoel extractivismo, la disputa por la tierra y el territorio, los intereses de los actores involucrados e incluso la superposición normativa del Estado frente a estos últimos. De acuerdo con ello, se afirma que problemáticas como la pobreza, la desigualdad, la violación de los derechos humanos y el despojo de la tierra y bienes materiales y simbólicos de los pueblos indígenas de esta región, son consecuencia de dicha conflictividad y la capacidad limitada de la sociedad civil y de la institucionalidad para incidir en la toma de decisiones y de decidir bien respecto a estas problemáticas.

La revisión de las fuentes bibliográficas determina una base teórica que fundamenta los conflictos interétnicos a partir de características como la disputa por el territorio, la reivindicación de los derechos humanos y el reconocimiento legitimo de los pueblos indígenas, además de la asignación de los recursos por parte del Estado a determinados grupos étnicos que hacen parte del territorio. Los elementos conceptuales que se consideran en dicha revisión son la cultura, la identidad, el territorio, la violencia y la marginación.

La investigación se realizó a partir de la recolección de los principales documentos académicos, registrados en las bases de datos especializadas de Ciencias Sociales. Una vez sistematizados los documentos, fueron clasificados a partir de ocho variables, con el fin de realizar comparaciones y hallazgos claves: autor (es), año, fuente de publicación, tipo de fuente, fuente de recolección, título de texto, reseña y conceptos básicos.

De este modo, la Tabla No 1. permite evidenciar los tipos de fuentes de recolección de los documentos, en los cuales es posible resaltar que el 56,2% son artículos de revistas académicas indexadas. La segunda categoría de mayor recolección referencia a los libros, pues constituye el 22,5% del total de los documentos, seguido por informes de instituciones gubernamentales y no gubernamentales. Cabe destacar, que respecto a la temática de conflictos interétnicos el menor número de fuentes de recolección son las tesis de grado, de maestría y doctorado, pues estas tres categorías solo constituyen el 5,5% de documentos.

Tabla No 1: Fuentes de recolección

Fuentes de recolección	Número de fuentes	Porcentaje
Artículos (AR)	50	56.2
Documentos de Investigación (DI)	1	1.1
Informes (IN)	11	12.4
Libros (LB)	20	22.5
Prensa (PR)	1	1.1
Revista	1	1.1
Tesis	2	2.2
Tesis DO (TD)	1	1.1
Tesis MA	2	2.2
Total	89	100.0

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la base de datos "Conflictos interétnicos en el Cauca".

Tabla No 2: Rangos de temporalidad académica

Rango de temporalidad	Número de fuentes	Porcentaje
1944-2003	12	13.5
2004-2008	11	12.4
2009-2013	17	19.1
2014-2018	49	55.1
Total	89	100.0

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de la base de datos "Conflictos interétnicos en el Cauca".

III. Categorías de Análisis Usadas

El presente análisis fue guiado por el uso de dos categorías básicas de análisis que son: Conflictos interétnicos y Control Territorial. Ambas categorías son el resultado de un análisis interdisciplinario entre las Ciencias Políticas y otras disciplinas como la Antropología, la Sociología y la Historia. En este sentido, fue organizado la explicación de cada categoría de la siguiente manera:

a) Conflictos interétnicos

Este es un término que comenzó a usar el Estado colombiano para hacer referencia a los conflictos en la región del Cauca y decir que su origen estaba en una diferencia étnica, cultural e identitaria. Pero, en este trabajo, se puso a discutir el término como lo ha definido el Ministerio del Interior de Colombia a partir de la revisión y análisis de fuentes de información más importantes que se han escrito sobre el tema, en los últimos treinta años, así como el contexto, la realidad y la trayectoria histórica del fenómeno. El Ministerio del Interior dice que los conflictos interétnicos se dan entre comunidades de distinta identidad étnica (comunidades indígenas de diferentes pueblos, comunidades indígenas-comunidades negras) (Ministerio del Interior, 2018).

Si uno estudia con detenimiento la noción sobre Conflictos interétnicos que el Ministerio del Interior plantea, uno puede identificar que parte del hecho que la causa del conflicto entre etnias se da por razones identitarias y hasta desacuerdos culturales al generar una ambigüedad en la definición y no precisar los elementos que en realidad caracterizan a dichos conflictos. Por ejemplo, desde la mirada del estudio de la disciplina de la Historia, hay esfuerzos como el que hace Daniela López Gómez, en su artículo *Historia de* *los conflictos interétnicos por el territorio en Chocó y Norte del Cauca. Su incidencia en la política de restitución de tierras* (2014), por plantear hay tres elementos que caracterizan a los conflictos en el Cauca "1) la adjudicación por parte del Estado de tierras ya ocupadas; 2) la reclamación de las comunidades étnicas por territorios que consideraban suyos, pero que estaban ocupados por otro grupo étnico o por campesinos y 3) la reclamación de territorios ocupados por economías ilegales o por grupos armados ilegales" (p. 39).

Daniela López (2014), en este sentido, apunta en su artículo al hacer ella la revisión histórica sobre el Cauca y compararla con el Chocó que la noción de conflictos interétnicos se encuentra asociada a la lucha por la tierra y empieza a poner en duda que sea un asunto exclusivamente de carácter étnico en términos identitarios, es decir, un fenómeno que se reduzca a peleas por diferencia cultural y religiosa solamente. Por eso, en este trabajo se considera, aunque hay diversas nociones que permiten la aproximación a la definición a los conflictos interétnicos, la idea en este texto es que se propone discutir la idea que se tiene con relación a que ellos tienen una naturaleza identitaria exclusivamente, sin considerar los elementos de fondo que producen el fenómeno, especialmente, en regiones colombianas tan complejas e interesantes como el propio Cauca.

Por ello, en esta presente investigación se propone concebir a los conflictos interétnicos, a diferencia de los estudios anteriores y después de haber hecho la revisión de múltiples fuentes, a partir de un análisis que, por un lado, a partir de la consideración de la realidad y la trayectoria de quienes participan dentro de dichos conflictos en el Cauca, y por otra parte, se hace una recuperación de los debates teóricos entre el pensamiento político y las investigaciones hechas sobre el caso colombiano en los últimos tiempos, especialmente entre la década de los noventas y el transcurso del siglo XXI.

Entonces, se ha llegado a la conclusión que son los siguientes elementos son componentes fundamentales del concepto de conflictos interétnicos que permite explicar el caso del Cauca en Colombia: la violencia, el despojo y el poder. Estos tres elementos se encuentran entrelazados entre sí y, al mismo tiempo, éstos se encuentran detrás de la cuestión identitaria en sociedades caracterizadas por su diversidad cultural y étnica. Esta diversidad cultural y étnica, en el caso del Cauca, por ejemplo, se fundamenta en la idea de la existencia de grupos étnicos afro descendientes e indígenas que históricamente han buscado su integración mediante el reconocimiento de sus derechos frente a los grupos de poder blanco-mestizo en el contexto actual de la construcción del Estado en Colombia.

Además, autores como Peter Wade, en su libro *Raza y etnicidad en Latinoamérica* (2000) y Luis Carlos Castillo Gómez, en su libro *Etnicidad y nación* (2007), explican, en común, que la construcción, reinvención y el uso estratégico de la identidad responde a la necesidad de los grupos excluidos en los procesos de construcción del Estado moderno para ser incluidos y reconocidos. La cuestión en este sentido a discutir es ¿cómo son incluidos y reconocidos? La identidad es un asunto que refiere a la relación entre ese otro que se niega o reafirma a partir de ese otro que es diferente a él, es decir, la preocupación de este tipo de fenómenos reside en la necesidad del ser humano para identificarse con aquel distinto a él, a pesar que ese otro sea conquistador, explotador, despojado e incluso totalmente proveniente de un horizonte civilizatorio, cultural e ideológico opuesto a éste.

Mientras, si se centra el debate de los conflictos interétnicos en las relaciones de poder, el despojo y la disputa por el Estado desde el ámbito regional y local, la identidad se convierte en un concepto secundario y se pone en función de la otros elementos que muestran como el tema no se limita a un odio entre culturas por su diferencia, sino más bien, por el control y dominio territorial, al igual que el manejo de los recursos y la reproducción de la base material que finalmente es lo que sustenta las relaciones ideológicas e identitarias que se niegan, asumen o se reapropian socialmente, aunque no necesariamente las define, ni tampoco las caracteriza a éstas.

b) Control Territorial

Es una categoría más común y usada en el lenguaje científico social, especialmente en la antropología, que en las Ciencias Políticas. Sin embargo, dicha categoría cada vez comienza a tomar mayor relevancia en los debates polito lógicos colombianos y, por esa razón, es recuperada en este informe de análisis documental sobre conflictos interétnicos para explicar a éstos. Además, la idea de control territorial permite ampliar el análisis de la relación entre el contexto en el que se enmarca este fenómeno y su correspondiente relevancia política y social.

Por eso, se consideró como punto de partida definir la noción de Control Territorial en términos conceptuales con base en el trabajo antropológico y etnográfico de Daniel Campo Palacios, llamado *Territorios, control y diferencia étnica*, en el que asocia el estudio del territorio, sus imaginarios e identidades con la capacidad que tienen distintos actores sociales y políticos sobre la toma decisoria de éste. Este autor parte de la idea que los conflictos interétnicos tienen un origen de disputa territorial en términos sociales, políticos y económicos.

Esta es la razón que se recuperó este autor en el presente análisis, sólo que desde una postura teórica y metodológica en el que se hace énfasis en el papel político de los diversos grupos étnicos y su lucha por definir las relaciones estatales en el Cauca. Aunque hay que señalar Campo Palacios, en su texto ya citado, se centra en los territorios y comunidades del norte caucano; pero pese a ello, aporta un postulado que ayuda a comprender todo el Cauca en materia de conflictos interétnicos que consiste en explicar a dichos conflictos desde un contexto que hace converger la respuesta de las comunidades y sus resistencias frente a las medidas gubernamentales y la penetración de las empresas trasnacionales, así como la reapropiación territorial de las poblaciones indígenas y afro descendientes en el Cauca.

Precisamente en este trabajo, este autor expresa los siguientes elementos para entender el contexto en que se han desarrollado los actuales conflictos interétnicos: “desde las reformas de 1986 y los procesos legislativos, al igual que en la modernización del Estado colombiano impulsado por los gobiernos neoliberales de esa época, se promovió la descentralización política, administrativa y fiscal de municipios, así como de los distintos territorios locales y regionales del país…” (2018, 142).

También en este contexto, dice el autor que con la penetración del neoliberalismo en estos territorios y el incremento del sector privado en estos territorios, sin la mediación estatal entre este proceso y las comunidades afro descendientes y los pueblos indígenas, se ha producido “una búsqueda de reivindicaciones territoriales, en el proceso de descentralización , en el que se ha perseguido la apropiación territorial del poder, tanto referido a la administración pública estatal como a otros ámbitos que involucra la política y la economía a nivel nacional.

Por lo tanto, Control Territorial en términos conceptuales, según Campo Palacios es “la capacidad de gestión sobre el territorio, la posibilidad de regular la circulación, inspeccionar las actividades económicas de la población; la capacidad de practicar cierto dominio sobre el territorio y ejercer autoridad entre sus habitantes. El control busca mantener un orden establecido en la comunidad, evitar que el Estado de cosas-aquellas cosas que se ligan al bienestar-cambie, previene y confronta las amenazas, busca preservar unas condiciones que hacen posible y efectiva la gobernabilidad. En este sentido, se compone este control de tres tipos: el de los habitantes, el de las actividades económicas y el de los movimientos o circulaciones” (2018, 146).

Estos tres tipos de control son manejados a partir de la implementación y el establecimiento de estrategias de gobierno directamente relacionadas con la disposición de recursos y también de elementos que permitan generar cierta hegemonía (legitimación) a los proyectos políticos que se generan en una condición de para estatalidad como plantea José Aristizabal, en su libro *Metamorfosis: Guerra, Estado y globalización en Colombia* (2007). Aristizabal, en dicho texto explica que el Estado colombiano se encuentra conformado por proyectos, poderes políticos y gérmenes estatales paralelos a la administración, gestión y gobierno central del Estado.

Por ello, es importante destacar que el control estatal es un asunto de disputa por el Estado, cuya composición, por lo menos en el caso caucano, es diversa étnicamente y culturalmente, pero también en términos de la forma política y territorialidad que producen las poblaciones afro descendientes e indígenas con relación a la normatividad, respuesta a las empresas trasnacionales, el ejercicio de autoridad que ha tratado de imponer el Estado colombiano sobre ellas y sus experiencias de resistencia, autonomía y gestión interna, entre otras situaciones en los que no existe una mediación estatal legitimada desde una dimensión de la gobernanza social y civil.

IV. Conclusiones

El departamento del Cauca es un territorio que concentra un gran porcentaje de la población étnica del país, en su mayoría población indígena y afro colombiana. De igual forma es un departamento que concentra una gran cantidad de problemáticas, destacando especialmente la disputa histórica por el territorio y el conflicto armado. En este sentido la recolección de las fuentes académicas ocupa un papel importante al momento de caracterizar y aportar insumos explicativos del fenómeno en cuestión.

La recopilación de escritos académicos en el departamento del Cauca en tanto a conflictos interétnicos se refiere, resulto ser bastante sustanciosa por las particularidades propias del departamento, siendo este un referente clave en el estudio de los conflictos sociales, políticos, económicos y culturales del país.

V. Hallazgos Relevantes

1. El análisis que se hizo sobre estas fuentes mostró un hallazgo interesante en la investigación que consiste en que el término de conflictos interétnicos que designó el Estado colombiano de manera oficial para nombrar el fenómeno que relaciona la etnicidad con la violencia que sucede territorialmente en el Cauca, es impreciso, porque, la revisión documental y de la información, en la mayoría de los casos, evidenció que dichos conflictos interétnicos son una disputa por el territorio, la tierra y la normatividad en términos económicos y políticos. No es el odio étnico, ni tampoco es la lucha entre indígenas y afro descendientes por la tierra únicamente, sino, es un conflicto en el que intervienen distintos actores políticos armados, organizaciones civiles, gobiernos

locales, intereses privados, movimientos sociales y comunidades en la que participan todos por definir las relaciones estatales desde el Cauca.

2. Otro hallazgo, fue la identificación de una tendencia por parte de las investigaciones de la Universidad Javeriana por insistir en usar el término de conflictos interétnicos para referirse al fenómeno estudiado, mientras, en otras universidades públicas como la del Cauca se analiza el mismo fenómeno, pero se utilizan otros conceptos como control territorial, etnicidad y otros como paz territorial para explicar el proceso de disputa por el Estado a nivel local y regional que acontece en el Cauca.
3. Y el último hallazgo que fue encontrado en la revisión y análisis documental y de información sobre el tema es que las fuentes analizadas en su mayoría refieren al norte del Cauca como el territorio en dónde se expresa la disputa por el territorio, la tierra y su normatividad entre indígenas, afro descendientes y otros actores políticos que intervienen en este proceso.

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Problems and Doings of Elementary Education for Girls in the Char Region: An Observational Study from the Teacher's Perspective

By Dr. Prosannajid Sarkar, Mst. Anowary Parvin, Md. Rafiqul Islam & Md. Motaher Hossain
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Background of the Study- Education is the way to live well in this vast workplace. Education exposes us to creativity, adapting to the surrounding world. Education is the key to development. The scope of education is very wide and broad. Very important in terms of education. Education is a human process that directs a person to the desired behavior in order to achieve a specific goal. Education is behind any civilization change. Education reaches the nation at its peak. And education is the mainstay of development of any country. And the basic premise of education is primary education. Different types and levels of education have been seen in the social system of Bangladesh since ancient times. One of these levels is the elementary education level. It is through this stage that a child begins to receive the most important education in his life. It is through this education that she gradually begins to grow as a child.

In Bangladesh's education structure, primary education is divided into two levels. 1) Pre-primary education level 2) Primary education level. Pre-primary education has been organized to ensure the development of universal humanitarian scholarship and the necessary mental and physical preparation such as infinite curiosity, infinite curiosity, joy, and endless enthusiasm for the child to begin formal education for the child.

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PROBLEMSANDDOINGSOFELEMENTARYEDUCATIONFORGIRLSINTHECHAR REGIONANOBSERVATIONALSTUDYFROMTHETEACHERSPERSPECTIVE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Problems and Doings of Elementary Education for Girls in the Char Region: An Observational Study from the Teacher's Perspective

Dr. Prosannajid Sarkar [α], Mst. Anowary Parvin [σ], Md. Rafiqul Islam [ρ] & Md. Motaher Hossain [Ѡ]

I. Background of the Study

Education is the way to live well in this vast workplace. Education exposes us to creativity, adapting to the surrounding world. Education is the key to development. The scope of education is very wide and broad. Very important in terms of education. Education is a human process that directs a person to the desired behavior in order to achieve a specific goal. Education is behind any civilization change. Education reaches the nation at its peak. And education is the mainstay of development of any country. And the basic premise of education is primary education. Different types and levels of education have been seen in the social system of Bangladesh since ancient times. One of these levels is the elementary education level. It is through this stage that a child begins to receive the most important education in his life. It is through this education that she gradually begins to grow as a child.

In Bangladesh's education structure, primary education is divided into two levels. 1) Pre-primary education level 2) Primary education level. Pre-primary education has been organized to ensure the development of universal humanitarian scholarship and the necessary mental and physical preparation such as infinite curiosity, infinite curiosity, joy, and endless enthusiasm for the child to begin formal education for the child. The government has recognized pre-primary education as a distinct and distinct category in light of the important directions of the National Education Policy, 2010 for teachers and the existing child development and education set for this pre-primary education level. The age of the baby here is between 3 years and 4 years. In the primary education level, the age of the child is from 3 years to 4 years. It is through this stage that a child begins to receive his formal and formal education. This education is from 1st grade to 5th grade. Which is 5 years. Primary education level education in Bangladesh has been made public, unpaid and compulsory for 5 years. This level of education has been made compulsory by enacting parliamentary legislation. If the child is in the age of 5 years to 6 years, he has the law to provide compulsory primary school admission. Percentage of enrollment in primary schools has been enacted. So that this child at the primary education level can be exploited for the welfare of the country and the world. It is the responsibility of the society to provide the child with the opportunity to receive such education only when he/she is of primary age.

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II. Problems of the Study

Bangladesh is one of the largest islands in the world. Numerous rivers have flowed over this sub-island of three nature landmarks. And that is why Bangladesh is well known as a riverine country (Contemporary World: Bangladesh International and Other Context-Page-1) Due to increasing population crisis and river erosion, the people of this country have been living in the past for long time to settle the housing crisis. Is coming Livelihoods of livestock are mainly dependent on agriculture and fisheries. But drought, floods and hailstorms are affecting the agriculture of the Chara region constantly. Residents of Chowar spend most of their time struggling to survive in adverse weather and disaster conditions. The quality of life of people in the Chara region is almost always equal. Child labor is a common occurrence in the Char regions. The Charavibis themselves, as laborers, employ their children as their assistants, in the name of acquiring their professional skills before they reach the ripe old age. Moreover, the lack of schooling, transportation problems, various constraints of education administration due to lack of appropriate activities due to lack of proper activities impedes the speed of primary education in the Char region. This problem is more pronounced in the case of daughters' children. The feminist aspect deprives the children of the education of the girls of the Char region, and in addition to the family discrimination, including the marriage of the children, the children of the children who are able to go to primary school in the char region have to live. Which hinders implementation of compulsory primary education. On the other hand, the International CDO Charter, National Women's Development Policy, has impeded implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.

III. Rational of the Study

Since primary education is the mainstay of education. And this education is founded on the next level of education and educational life. Therefore, the success of the next level of education and the student depends especially on seeing this level of education properly. Primary level students are soft children at this time. Everything they learn at this time is affected throughout their lives. No nation can improve without education. Therefore, if the girls are left behind in primary education, the country will be left behind as an educated nation. At present, there is a great need for women's education in Bangladesh. At present, the female literacy rate in the Char region is 6 percent. The present study has the rationale for integrating with the pioneer students of the girl students who are left behind in the Char region. What kind of problems exist in the backdrop of girl students from elementary education to the present, and the current research has a rationale for the concept of backwardness.

Goal:

From elementary education, check the daughters of the girls of Char region to see if they are lagging behind and to find a way to solve it if they fall behind.

Purpose:

- To check the involvement of girl children of Char region in primary education.
- To select religious and social barriers to the education of the girls of the region of Char.
- To know the existing problems of the primary education activities of the girls of the region.
- To provide recommendations for improving the primary education activities of the girls of the Char region.

Permitted decisions:

1. The physical infrastructure of the government primary school in the Char region is poor.
2. In the primary education, the girl child of the region of Char is part of the primary education not saturated.
3. There are various obstacles to the education of the children of the girls of the Char region.
4. The primary education activities of the girl children of the Char region are underdeveloped.

IV. Related Literature Review

Prior research and literature review are very important in any one study. The subject of research that the researcher has to review related research and literature before selecting. According to the researcher, no research has been done in the Rangpur Government Teachers Training College or any Teacher Training College belonging to the National University. In this regard, the research work is completely new. However, a research paper titled "Children's opinion zip / 20" in connection with this study was found.

V. Methods and Methodology

The survey method has been followed in carrying out the research work. In this study, data related to the physical activities of the primary elementary school of the region, teaching methods, use of educational materials, library, toilets, teacher-student boundary wall, etc. were collected. The data was collected through direct interviews with the respondents in light of the questionnaire for data collection. The results are presented by applying different statistical methods in processing and analyzing the data collected for the study. Data were collected separately from schools of different grades (A and B). As a result, there is an opportunity to analyze the data of government primary schools in different grades of grades separately.

a) *Sample selection of research*

Generally, the number of educational institutes in the Char region is low. In order to carry out the research work, eight government primary schools were selected out of 16 schools in different Char area of Gangachara Upazila under Rangpur district administrative areas. Of them, 4 were selected from Lohani char, 3 from Binabina char and 1 from Mutukpur char. The data were collected from selected 8 government primary school teacher were selected 16 primary teachers by using snowball sampling technique.

VI. Results and Discussion

Figure 1: Does your school have separate toilets for girls? Statistics for the answer to this question are shown in the pie chart below and 62.5% of schools do not have separate toilets for girl students.

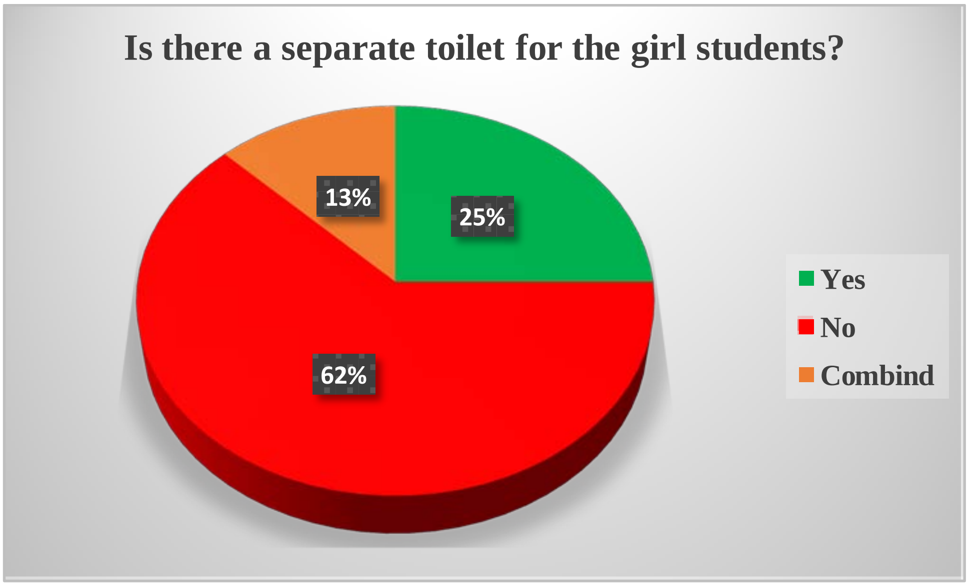

Figure 1: Is there a separate toilet for the girl students in the pie chart?

Figure 2: Is there a school restroom or common room for girl students?

The answer to this question is shown through the below pie chart and 12% of schools do not have a restroom or common room for girls.

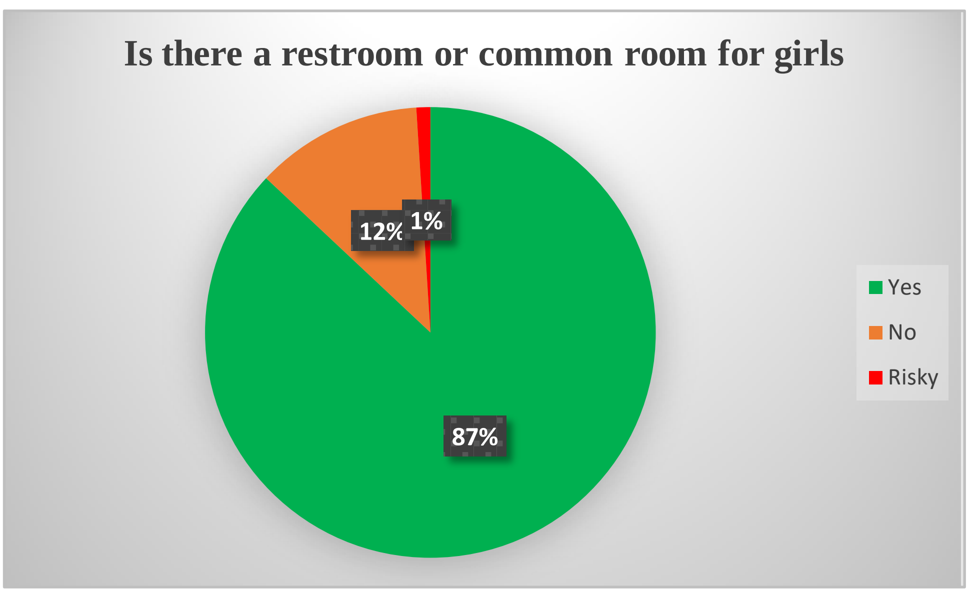

Figure 2: Is there a restroom or common room for girls in the pie image?

Figure 3: Are there female teachers required to attend school?

The answer to this question is shown through the pie chart and 69% of the schools do not have the number of female teachers required for teaching.

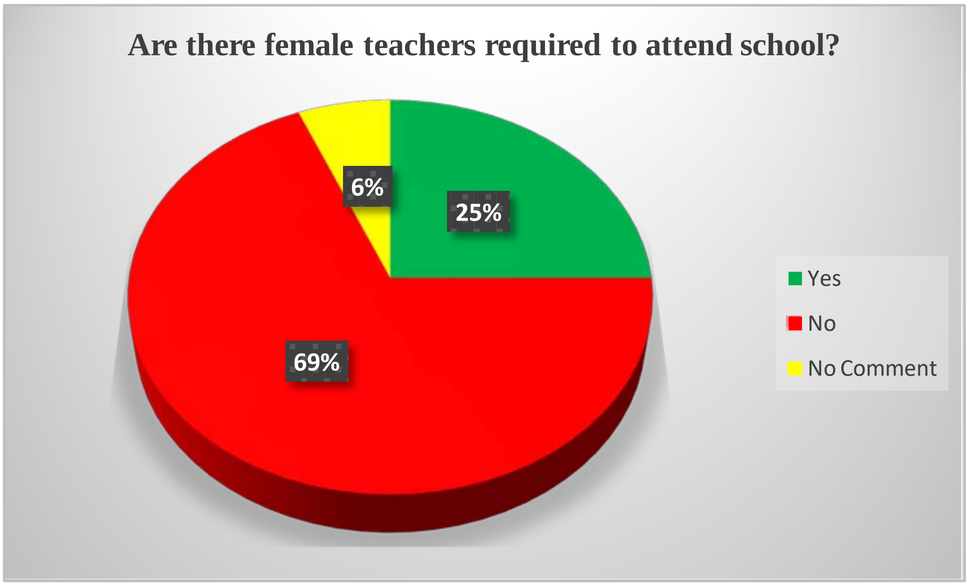

Figure 3: Are there female teachers required to attend school?

Table 1: Do members of the SMC preserve their daughter's rights properly?

Statistics for the answer to this question are shown in the table 1, and 62.50 percent of school members in SMC do not do properly exercise their daughters' rights.

Table 1: Members of the SMC- preserve their daughters rights properly?

Do	Do not do	Some do
3 (18.75)	10 (62.50)	3 (18.75)

Figure 4: Do teachers have friendly relationships with female students?

The answer to this question is shown through pi chart. The study revealed that the teachers do not have a student friendly relationship with the girls' students in 31% of schools.

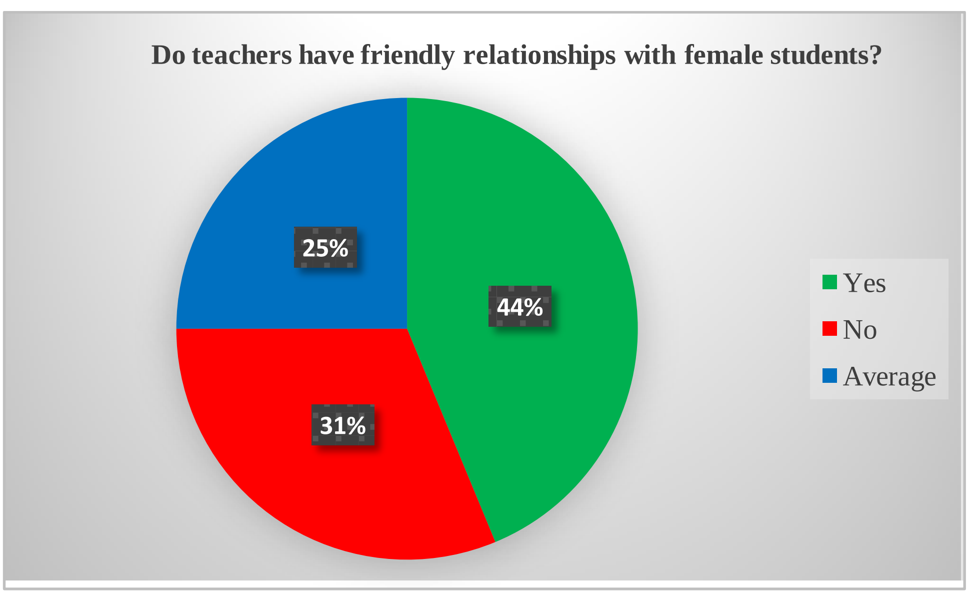

Figure 4: Do teachers have friendly relationships with female students?

Figure 5: Do the girl learners regularly participate in the classmates' regular activities with other students?

The answer to this question is shown through the pie diagram. The study illustrate that 37.5% of school girls do not participate in regular school-class activities with other students.

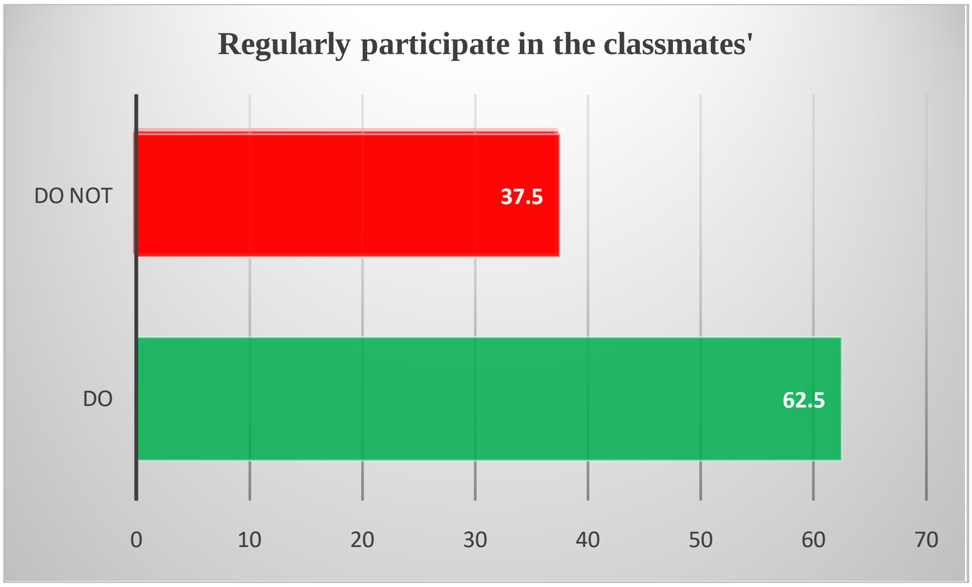

Figure 5: Do pie girls, female students, regularly engage with other students in sequential activities?

Table 2: Is there a safe way to walk to your school?

Statistics for the answer to this question are shown in the Table 2. The study displayed that 31.25% of school do not have safe walking street to go to school.

Table 2: Is your school safe way for walking on the road?

There is	There are some parts	No
2 (12.5)	5 (56.25)	9 (31.25)

The above table number in parenthesis indicated percentage

Table 3: Are there any different sports items for girl students?

The statistics for the answer to this question are shown in the Table 3. The study exhibited that 50% of schools do not have any separate sports content for girl students.

Table 3: Are there any different sports items for girl students?

There is	There are rough	No
3 (18.75)	5 (31.25)	8 (50)

Figure 6: What do you think child marriage is a barrier to the development of primary education for girl students?

The answer to this question is shown through the pie diagram and 69 percent school teachers believe that there is a barrier to the development of primary education for the girls.

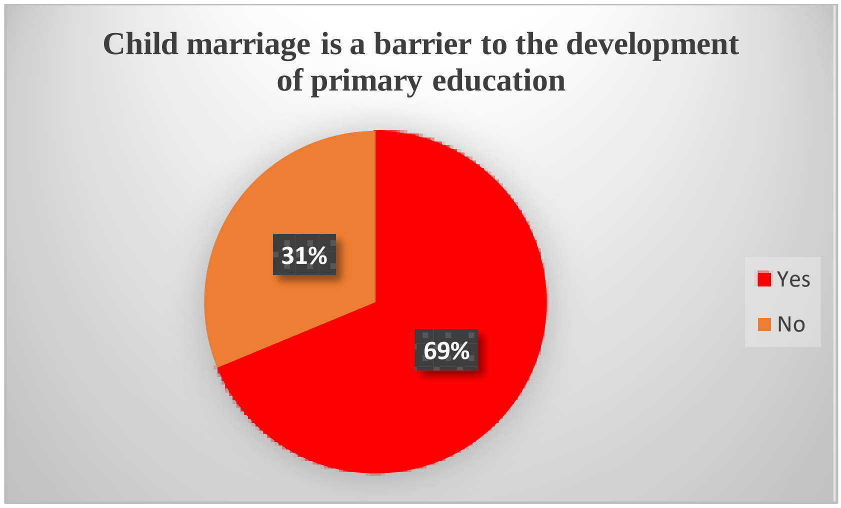

Figure 6: Child marriage is a barrier to the development of primary education of girl students.

Figure 7: Are female students engaged in harvesting/harvesting potatoes?

The answer to this question is shown in the figure sunburst as below. The data showed that 62% of school girls are engaged in harvesting/harvesting potatoes.

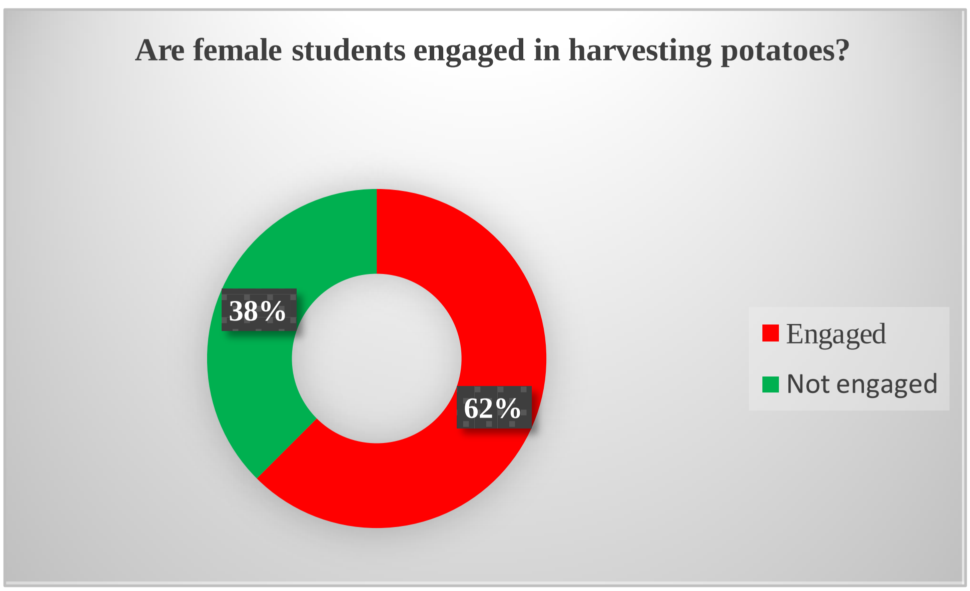

Figure 7: Are female students engaged in harvesting/harvesting potatoes?

Figure 8: Is there any secure way for female students in the time of menstruation?

The answer to this question is shown through the pie diagram, and 1.25% of school girls have no safe way to go in monthly.

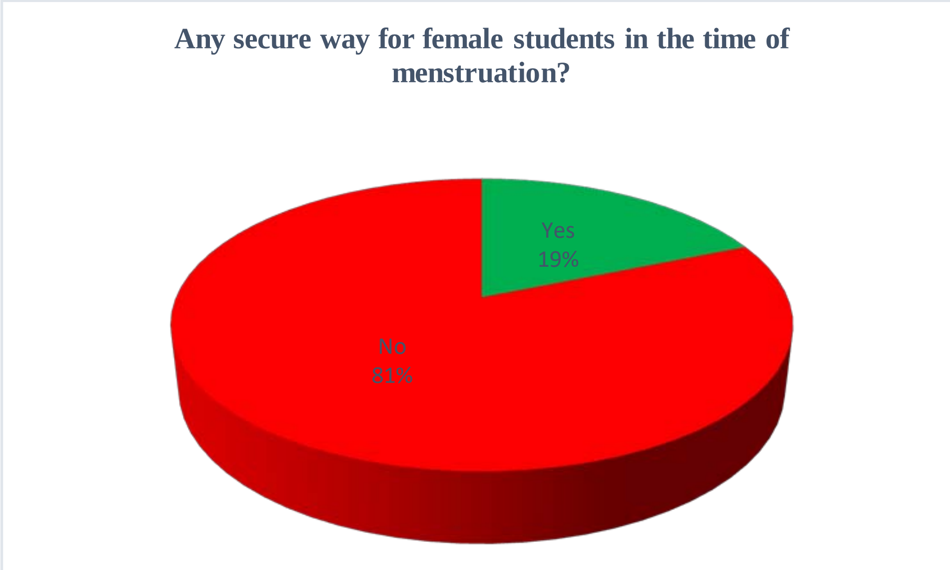

Figure 8: Is there any secure way for female students in the time of menstruation?

Table 4: Are Girl Students Employed as Garment Workers?

Statistics for the answer to this question are shown in the Table 4. The study showed that 50% of the girls are employed as garment workers in the school.

Table 4: Are Girl Students Employed as Garment Workers?

Appointed as garment worker	Number (Percentage)
Being	8 (50%)
Not being	1 (6.25%)
Being rough	7 (43.75)

VII. Findings of the Study

This study can be called an exceptional and unique single study. The study not only examined the problems and causes of primary education of the girls of the government primary schools in the Char area but also highlighted the overall condition of all primary schools in the country. After obtaining the necessary research and validation decisions, one can get an idea of the elementary education of the girl students of the Government Primary School in the Char region and come to the following written conclusions about the presence of girls in the schools. The physical infrastructure of the government primary schools in the Char region is poor. Therefore, there is a lack of necessary infrastructure in proportion to the needs of the girl students.

i. No separate modern facilities for girl students have been added to government primary schools in the Char region.
ii. iThe required number of female teachers was not recruited in the government primary schools in the Char region.
iii. Not all the combined efforts and initiatives of primary education of girl students were seen in the government primary schools of the Char region.
iv. The government primary schools in the Char region have not yet been converted into a sanctuary for female students, considering the overall aspect.

VIII. Recommendations

Research is an ongoing process. The main objective of the present study is to inform the girls about the real situation of primary education of girls in Char area, subject to the "problems and causes of primary education of girl children of Char region". By analyzing the various material, data and data collected along with this study, more information was given about the importance of enhancing the primary education of girls in the region. The recommendations that the researcher has made to continue the research work in the future are:

i. Schools should be helpful for the development of children for girls.
ii. It is necessary to increase the supply of appropriate education.
iii. Teaching of the school should be continued in an age-appropriate science-based teaching and learning system.
iv. Friendship with daughter students and teachers should be maintained in a friendly relationship.

v. Modern facilities should be increased in schools for girl students.
vi. It is necessary to appoint the highest qualified and talented female teachers at the proportionate rate in the schools.
vii. The school should be equipped with materials that attract the child's mind.
viii. The authorities should take immediate steps to remove any problem, fearing that the school may be in the middle of a girl child.
ix. All children should keep an eye on the basic education of their daughters.

IX. Conclusion

Finally, by analyzing the results, it can be said that, for each student, his or her school is one of the most attractive places, where each student will be in a spontaneous position and every student will be surrounded by his or her classmates' education and dreams for the future. In order to make that dream a reality, every person living in the society today should give priority to the education where the light of education spreads. The innocent child should be given the maximum opportunity to smooth the path of growth. This requires the development of appropriate school. More needed are the great teachers who have truly established themselves as craftsmen to make people. Government should ensure availability of proper curriculum and modern education with the help of developing the dormant talent of the child. The progress of education should be continued in accordance with the modern scientific methodology in time. All children must be school-oriented to ensure quality basic education. The child must do whatever is necessary for primary education. Parents must be aware of the importance of elementary education. This importance is especially widespread, especially for children of daughters. The role of mothers in child education is more pronounced. A single mother is the first teacher of a child's primary education. The child's education relationship with the mother's education is very close. If the mother is educated then the child will be educated at least in primary education and if the mother is educated then the nation will also be educated.

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La Migrance Littéraire: Entre Description Du Pays D'origine Et Textualisation De L'intégration Du Migrant A L'espace D'accueil

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Résumé- Le déséquilibre socio-économique entre le Nord et le Sud est la raison primordiale à l'immigration des sujets africains vers l'Occident. C'est pour échapper aux dures réalités de l'Afrique que les Africains vont à la recherche d'une vie plus digne ou d'une gloire souvent vaine. Cet article vise à montrer que les différentes vicissitudes qui entravent la vie du migrant dans le pays d'accueil sont à l'origine de multiple crises dont est victime ce dernier. Nous arrivons à la conclusion que le traitement du migrant est essentiellement avilissant et son intégration au pays d'accueil est complètement humiliante voire vicieuse.

Motsclés: espace, exclusion, immigration, intégration, migrance, pays.

GJHSS-H Classification: FOR Code: 160699

LAMIGRANCELITTRAIREENTREDESCRIPTIONDUPAYSDORIGINEETTEXTUALISATIONDELINTGRATIONDUMIGRANTALESPACEDACCUEIL

La Migrance Littéraire: Entre Description Du Pays D'origine Et Textualisation De L'intégration Du Migrant A L'espace D'accueil

Guilioh Merlain Vokeng Ngnintedem [α] & Romuald Valentin Nkouda Sopgui [σ]

Résumé - Le déséquilibre socio-économique entre le Nord et le Sud est la raison primordiale à l'immigration des sujets africains vers l'Occident. C'est pour échapper aux dures réalités de l'Afrique que les Africains vont à la recherche d'une vie plus digne ou d'une gloire souvent vaine. Cet article vise à montrer que les différentes vicissitudes qui entravent la vie du migrant dans le pays d'accueil sont à l'origine de multiple crises dont est victime ce dernier. Nous arrivons à la conclusion que le traitement du migrant est essentiellement avilissant et son intégration au pays d'accueil est complètement humiliante voire vicieuse.

Motsclés: espace, exclusion, immigration, intégration, migrance, pays.

I. Introduction

S'il est vrai que l'un des objectifs visé par le processus de mondialisation était l'émergence d'un véritable citoyen du monde afin de confirmer le principe quasi-universel selon lequel la migration est consubstantielle à l'espèce humaine, l'on constate que des frontières sont érigées dans le but d'empêcher cette mobilité. C'est ce que constate Bi Kacou Parfait Diandue lorsqu'il note que

> la notion de migration a partie liée avec la nature profondément erratique de l'Homme. Les nations s'étant formées et les Etats délimités, la migration est aujourd'hui régie par des lois qui la posent *de facto* comme une sélection. Elle n'est plus un phénomène naturel assurant la jonction entre les états de nomadisme et de sédentarisation. Elle est surtout l'exode contrôlé et réglementé des populations pauvres vers des zones riches ou supposées telles.[1]

Notre réflexion a pour objectif de questionner les motivations de la traversée spatiale et les modalités de l'intégration mieux, du devenir du migrant dans l'espace d'accueil. En clair, il s'agira, dans un premier temps, de travailler sur le passage de la communauté d'origine pour le pays dit d'accueil. L'analyse de la motivation à la migration prendra appui sur la réflexion de Daniel Sibony qui situe la migration, mieux la traversée entre deux modalités : le voyage de l'appel et le voyage de l'origine. Le premier renvoie à l'idée de recherche du paradis, non pas dans le sens de lieu de satisfaction de son incomplétude matérielle, mais dans le sens d'un exutoire où le personnage se reconstruit. Aussi, « le ressort du voyage étant le désir de se « refaire », de produire quelque chose d'autre que soi où l'on puisse se reconnaitre, se méconnaitre, à travers quoi on puisse fuir l'horreur de soi, apaiser sa soif d'autre, d'autre chose, et partant donner au soi une certaine consistance[2]». Ce premier versant, qui est, à maints égards, assimilable au voyage spirituel, est doublé d'un deuxième type, le voyage de l'origine, qui se caractérise fondamentalement par le déplacement spatial. En ce sens, il constitue une quête de l'Ailleurs et une satisfaction des fantasmes. Par ailleurs, nos analyses nous conduiront à porter un regard sur le rapport du migrant à son espace d'accueil. Cette deuxième articulation de notre travail s'intéressera, à la lumière de *53cm* (1999) de la gabonaise Bessora et de *Debout-payé* (2014) de l'écrivain ivoirien Gauz, au devenir des personnages migrants dans l'espace d'accueil[3]. Nous orienterons notre analyse vers la dimension conflictuelle et adversative à l'œuvre dans ces textes pour montrer comment la question raciale travaille les récits afin de rendre visible les formes de marginalisation et d'exclusion qui font entrave à l'intégration du migrant.

[1] Bi Kacou, Parfait Diandue 2005. « Le Ventre de l'Atlantique, métaphore aquatique d'un mirage: idéal brisé de l'ailleurs ? » In: *Langues & Littératures*, Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis, Sénégal, n° 9, janvier: 31-42. Ici p.31.

[2] Daniel, Sibony 1991. *Entre-deux. L'origine en partage*, Paris, Seuil, Coll. « Points/Essais », p.302.

[3] Le corpus retenu thématise des situations de migration de l'Afrique vers l'Europe. De ce point de vue, qualifier les textes de romans de migration permet de faire ressortir la configuration ternaire établie par Catherine Mazauric, à savoir que leurs auteurs sont des migrants (ils n'écrivent pas depuis leurs lieux de naissance), qu'il s'agit de représentations textuelles d'expérience de migration, enfin « que le parcours enclenché par de tels récits, outre qu'il met en question une certaine territorialité, est de l'ordre du déplacement et de la reconfiguration ». Nous renvoyons à Catherine, Mazauric 2011. « Lambeaux d'Afrique en terre d'ailleurs ». In : Christiane, Albert ; Rose-Marie, Abomo Maurin, Xavier, Garnier et Gisèle Prignitz (sous la direction de) *Littératures africaines et territoires*, Paris, Khartala : 225-235. Ici p.225.

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II. De la Description du Pays D'origine Aux Motivations de la Traversée Spatiale

Dans son introduction à l'histoire des migrations, l'*Encyclopédie française Universalis* écrit:

> Notre époque repose sur une mythologie de la mobilité, notamment géographique, censée à la fois assurer l'adaptation à un marché du travail flexible et l'épanouissement personnel d'une permanente construction de soi. Qui plus est, cette mobilité est potentiellement sans limites, tant la notion de mondialisation suggère la vision d'une circulation planétaire des flux migratoires[4].

L'histoire relève que la migration n'est pas la condition de « l'homme moderne », mais celle de l'humanité tout entière depuis qu'elle a commencé son expansion. Toutefois, les formes et les logiques migratoires se modifient profondément au cours du temps, créant chaque fois des stéréotypes qui, bien que contradictoires, se sont ancrés dans l'imaginaire. Dans le contexte de la globalisation, nous assistons, par exemple, à une dynamique contradictoire où l'abolition des frontières et la promotion d'une circulation, sans entraves, des biens et des personnes s'accompagne d'un désir de contrôler les frontières et de maîtriser ou, du moins, de réguler les flux migratoires. Cette perspective est au service du politique qui se fonde sur une détermination cloisonnante de l'immigré dans le but de justifier sa répression et, par là, légitimer la fermeture des frontières. Pourtant, les motivations à la migration sont latentes en chaque individu et sont sous-tendues par un désir d'altérité inconscient. Ce désir est la manifestation d'une incomplétude ou d'un manque spirituel que chaque sujet veut combler dans l'autre. Par conséquent, « la traversée devient une quête de Soi en l'Autre, une quête d'un paradis originel jadis perdu et à retrouver[5] ». La littérature thématise bel et bien le phénomène migratoire en accordant une place de choix aux motivations du départ et à l'intégration du migrant à l'espace d'accueil[6].

D'Homère qui en fit un mythe en passant par Guillermo Cabrera Infante qui fut contraint de s'y soumettre, la migration est intimement liée à la littérature. Du bannissement politique aux motivations personnelles, en passant par les contraintes économiques, nombreuses sont les raisons qui peuvent pousser des personnes à quitter le pays d'origine pour aller s'installer et vivre ailleurs. Nombreuses sont, en effet, les grandes voix de la littérature qui ont vécu cette expérience temporaire ou définitive et qui se plaignent de la déchirure et de la dépossession qu'elle implique. Dès l'an 8, Ovide, expulsé brutalement de Rome par Auguste puis assigné à Tomes[7] à perpétuité, rédigea *Les Tristes* et *les Pontiques*, élégies exprimant la douleur de sa condition. C'était aussi le cas de Dante, banni de Florence en 1301 qui n'y retournera jamais ou celui de Machiavel, autre migrant florentin célèbre. Au cours des siècles qui suivirent, d'innombrables Hommes de Lettres écrivirent *in migratio*. On peut citer entre autres des écrivains français tels Victor Hugo et Milan Kundera, ou encore de l'allemand Berthold Brecht. L'effet de dessaisissement provoqué par la migration, le sentiment de perte qui en résulte ainsi que l'inéluctable solitude représentent autant de sources d'énergie créatrice[8]. Si l'on note, depuis quelques décennies, dans la littérature africaine une attention accrue pour l'esthétisation des phénomènes migratoires, c'est qu'elle contribue à la mise en scène d'un sujet africain issu de la traversée. De l'avis de Catherine Mazauric et Alioune Sow

> C'est d'ailleurs une caractéristique majeure de la plupart des récits de la migration [africaine] que d'entrelacer de façon indémêlable déplacement géographique, parcours biographique et productions des subjectivités, qu'il s'agisse d'un personnage ou d'une collectivité. Si l'on peut d'ailleurs légitimement s'interroger sur la nécessité de distinguer entre « sujet individuel » et « sujet social », « pôle de singularité d'un côté et pôle des identifications de l'autre», il n'en reste pas moins que cet entrelacs est particulièrement apparent au travers des écritures africaines de Soi[9].

Ainsi, conditions de départ et intégration à l'espace hôte apparaissent comme les deux pendants de la migration. Abdelmalek Sayad fait d'ailleurs prévaloir que

> […] toute étude des phénomènes migratoires qui néglige les conditions d'origine des émigrés se condamne à ne donner du phénomène migratoire qu'une vue à la fois partielle et ethnocentrique : d'une part, comme si son existence commençait au moment où il arrive en [Occident], c'est l'immigrant – et lui

[4] Paul-André Rosental, « MIGRATIONS - Histoire des migrations », *Encyclopædia Universalis* [en ligne], URL: http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/migrations-histoire-des-migrations (consulté le 28 Juillet 2014).

[5] Guiyoba, François 2003. « Ad-venire : pour une poétique de la relation d'aventure. » In : *Syllabus, revue scientifique interdisciplinaire de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, Séries Lettres et Sciences Humaines*, Vol. 1, n°2, Yaoundé : 51-63, p. 53.

[6] Nous renvoyons à Adama Coulibaly ; Louis Yao Konan (Sous la direction de) (2016), « Introduction », in : *Les Écritures migrantes. De l'exil à la migrance littéraire dans le roman francophone*, Paris : L'Harmattan : 7-17. Ici page 7.

[7] Il s'agit d'une ville située au Sud-Est de l'actuelle Roumanie

[8] Voir à ce sujet Edward, W. Said 1995. The Mind of winter: Reflections on Life in Exile». In: Bill Ashcroft et al 1995. *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 439-443.

[9] Catherine, Mazauric ; Alioune, Sow (Textes réunis par) 2014. *Littératures et migrations transafricaines, Etudes Littéraires africaines*, Revue internationale à comité de lecture publiée par l'Association pour l'Etude des Littératures Africaines et le centre Ecritures (EA 3943) de l'Université de Lorraine avec le soutien de LAM. « Les Afriques dans le monde » (UMR 5115) du CNRS et de l'Université de Bordeaux : 7-16, ici p.14.

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seul- et non l'émigré qui est pris en considération; d'autre part, la problématique, explicite et implicite, est toujours celle de l'adaptation à la société d'accueil[10].

A partir des romans *Le Ventre de l'Atlantique* (2003) de la franco-sénégalaise Fatou Diome et *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux* de la camerounaise Nathalie Etoke, nous montrerons que la migration, entendue comme processus de déracinement du personnage africain vers l'Occident, est, non seulement, conditionnée par son statut social et familial dans le pays d'origine, mais aussi par la disparité entre la situation socio-économique de ce dernier et celle du pays d'accueil. En effet, les pratiques sociales, les régimes politiques autoritaires, injustes et corrompus sont à l'origine d'une insécurité psychologique et d'une précarité économique qui plongent les populations africaines dans la misère et le désespoir. Du coup, l'Ailleurs est convoqué par les candidats à l'immigration. De ce fait, nous accorderons nos violons à ceux de Susanne Gehrmann pour dire que « le sujet migrant, situé entre les espaces et les cultures, se retrouve soumis à une perturbation continuelle liée à des paradigmes de pensée concurrentiels, ainsi qu'aux conséquences sociales telles que le racisme et la marginalité dans les pays d'accueil[11]».

Le Ventre de l'Atlantique de Fatou Diome décrit la vie des habitants de l'île sénégalaise de Niodior, en particulier la vie de la narratrice Salie et de son demi-frère Madické. Salie vit en France, alors que Madické, resté au Sénégal, rêve de la rejoindre et de réussir comme footballeur en France. Le roman est en partie autobiographique puisque Salie, comme Diome, est écrivain, originaire de Niodior et habite Strasbourg. Le roman s'inscrit dans une tradition postcoloniale mettant en question les rapports de pouvoir entre la France, ancien pays colonisateur, et le Sénégal, ancien pays colonisé. Le roman ne présente, toutefois, ni une vue complètement occidentale, ni une vue africaine puisque la narratrice mélange les perspectives. Elle décrit la vie de son île natale à partir de la France où elle habite désormais et son expérience de l'Occident vient se surimposer à ses racines africaines. Tout naturellement se pose alors la question des rapports entre la France et le Sénégal. La France est un point de référence omniprésent et elle est définie comme un paradis par la plupart des habitants de Niodior : « Au paradis on ne peine pas, on ne tombe pas malade, on ne se pose pas de questions : on se contente de vivre, on a les moyens de s'offrir tout ce que l'on désire, y compris le luxe du temps et cela rend forcément disponible. Voilà comment Madické imaginait ma vie en France » (VA : 50)[12]. Si la France est considérée comme étant le paradis, c'est dire que l'île de Niodior est un espace dysphorique. Dans ce contexte représenté par le roman de Fatou Diome, cette atmosphère sociale faite de pauvreté, de corruption, d'insécurité, de précarité et de désespoir alimente un imaginaire social qui fait de l'Ailleurs un Eldorado et de la migration l'une des voies privilégiées de survie, de la réussite individuelle et de la promotion sociale. Pour les Niodiorois, rien ne semble difficile dans l'Ailleurs et la vie de ceux qui y habitent est idéalisée. Selon les habitants de Niodior, en France, tout le monde est riche et ne manque de rien. La richesse des Français est un thème récurrent dans le roman. La vision étriquée de l'Hexagone se nourrit de nombreux « clichés verbaux ». Les esprits immatures voient alors en la France « un espace mythique de la réussite et de la consécration[13] ». La France est associée à la richesse matérielle, celle qui impressionne les voisins: « Ici, la friperie de Barbès vous donne un air d'importance, et ça, ça n'a pas de prix » (VA : 35). Tout ce qui vient de France constitue un objet d'envie, même ce qui en France serait considéré comme de la pacotille. Une conséquence de l'idéalisation de la France, issue de la colonisation, est aussi la déstabilisation de l'économie locale: « L'île regorge de vieillards […] et de femmes d'émigrés encerclées par une marmaille qui consomme à crédit sur la foi d'un hypothétique mandat » (VA: 41). A l'analyse du roman de Fatou Diome, l'on voit bien que le texte de migration prend forme selon les conditions existentielles du pays d'origine comme le souligne si bien Simon Harel pour qui l'écriture migrante est « l'aboutissement tragique et lyrique de la condition immigrante[14] ». Il ajoute que « ces écrits mettent l'accent sur la situation de l'immigrant par rapport […] à la réalité qu'il a vécue dans son pays d'origine ou que ses parents lui ont racontée[15] ».

Si dans les romans de la première génération d'écrivains africains, la migration en Europe était sous-tendue par des raisons académiques avec l'étudiant noir poursuivant ses études à Paris, le départ des Africains pour l'Occident dans les romans africains de migration à partir des années 1980 est avant tout imputable à une misère matérielle galopante. Cela s'applique particulièrement à *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux* où, à en croire Blaise Tsoualla, « […] le mouvement en direction du Nord se transforme en exode alimentaire calqué sur le circuit des oiseaux migrateurs ou des

[10] Abdelamalek, Sayad 1999. *La double absence : des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*, Paris, Le Seuil, p.56.

[11] Susanne, Gehrmann: « Migration africaine et modernité dans les essais autobiographiques de Manthia Diawara » In: TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften. N°. 17/2008: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/3-4/3-4_gehrmann.htm(Consulté le 02 Octobre 2015).

[12] Dans la suite de nos analyses, nous utiliserons l'abréviation VA pour *Ventre de l'atlantique* suivie de la page.

[13] Jacques, Chevrier 1998. « Note de lecture de Bleu Blanc Rouge. » In: *Notre Librairie*, n° 135, Septembre-Décembre: 26-27.

[14] Simon, Harel 2005. *Les passages obligés de l'écriture migrante*, Montréal, XYZ éditeur, ici p.192.

[15] Idem, p.47.

bêtes transhumantes[16]». En effet, avec la publication de son deuxième roman *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux* en 2008, l'écrivaine camerounaise Nathalie Etoke s'inscrit dans le sillage de la satire sociopolitique. Le roman puise dans l'actualité du phénomène migratoire dont il dresse l'hallucinant catalogue des périls et des humiliations d'Africains jetés en pâture dans un Occident féroce à l'instar des récits tels *Nègre de paille* (1982) de Yodi Karone, *Ici s'achève la voyage* (1989) de Léandre-Alain Baker, *Le petit prince de Belleville* (1992) de Calixthe Beyala, *Le Paradis du Nord* (1996) de Jean Roger Essomba ou encore *L'Impasse* (1996) de Daniel Biyaoula. Au-delà de la thématique de la misère du migrant africain au Nord, à laquelle elle avait habitué les lecteurs dans *Un amour sans papiers* (1999), Etoke se préoccupe fondamentalement de sonder les causes de la migration dans *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux.* Au Koumkana, nom fictionnel où se déroule l'action du roman, chacun subit de plein fouet les affres de la précarité de l'existence, les petits métiers y tenant la vedette sans pour autant être soutenus par un investissement conséquent. Le pays est pris en otage par une bande de prébendiers sans vergogne ni scrupule. Voici, à ce titre, le train de vie d'un ministre moyen : « Il sert la Nation et s'en sert au passage. Vacances sur la croisette ou aux Bahamas, appartement sur les Champs Elysées, château au village, parc automobile hors du commun, soins médicaux dans les capitales étrangères. […] L'abondance, l'excès et le gaspillage » (JVS: 78)[17]. Au-delà des causes économiques qui justifient la migration chez Nathalie Etoke, s'ajoutent comme le note Catherine Mazauric « des motifs politiques et sociaux liés à l'impéritie des gouvernants et au manque de démocratie dans les pratiques politiques[18]». La conséquence de cette société en pleine dérive est que « riches et pauvres ont les yeux braqués sur l'Occident d'où viendra le salut, tout étant mis en œuvre ici pour hypothéquer l'avenir de génération en génération » (JVS : 92). Nous sommes bel et bien dans « un continent où la chose la mieux partagée est la souffrance, la maladie et la famine » (JVS: 173). Rien d'étonnant que tout le monde rêve de s'en aller, de trouver son chemin de Damas, de quitter cet enfer envahissant pour des horizons meilleurs: « J'étais en train de réaliser notre rêve. Partir. Fuir la misérable Afrique pour le riche Occident » (JVS: 157). Les koumkanais qualifient le pays d'origine de « terre maudite » (JVS: 181), légitimant ainsi leur départ comme stratégie de survie et de remise à flot. A l'image de ses consœurs, Wéli, le personnage principal, est plus que jamais décidée à se battre de toutes ses forces pour attraper son « Blanc » bienfaiteur et salvateur:

> Pourquoi ? Pourquoi ? Ne cessais-je de me demander, comme si les questions allaient cicatriser les plaies béantes d'une vie déchirée, écorchée, cabossée. Maltraitée sur ma terre, je pensais à mon BLANC riche en francs surévalués qui allait me sortir de la misère. Pourquoi crever dans ce monde sans espoir, dans cette Afrique où tout conspire à vous décourager, cette Afrique qui nous livre pieds et poings liés à l'Occident ? (JVS: 127)

L'objectif de la quête du Blanc dans *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux* est de surmonter le handicap de la distance physique entre l'Occident où se trouve le Blanc et l'Afrique où le Noir semble cloué au sol.

Dans l'ensemble, les personnages de Fatou Diome et de Nathalie Etoke portent un regard idyllique sur l'Ailleurs, disons sur l'Occident. C'est dans ce sens que l'esthétique migratoire, telle qu'elle transparaît, dans les deux romans présente une Afrique désenchantée face à un Occident idyllique. De là, se dégage chez les personnages un souci de découvrir l'ailleurs sous le signe de la migration. Pour Daniel Sébastien Larangé:

> L'un des soubassements du thème de [l'Ailleurs] dans la littérature africaine est sans doute la colonisation et les conséquences de la gestion des pouvoirs politiques par les intellectuels africains au lendemain des indépendances. Craint d'abord pour sa supériorité et sa force, l'administrateur blanc est ensuite admiré, puis adulé pour son aisance dans le parler et la gestuelle. Les ex-puissances métropolitaines exercent un attrait très fort sur les Africains, tous désireux d'effectuer le voyage outre-Atlantique, un pèlerinage en Europe[19].

De l'avis de Clément Dessy, « l'attraction exercée par la métropole sur les colonisés africains et leur fascination pour [l'Occident] ont également abouti à la transcription de ce mythe littéraire dans la littérature africaine[20] ». Du point de vue des personnages migrants, on peut évoquer avec Romuald-Blaise Fonkoua le cas du « *voyageur à l'envers* » qui « à l'opposé du voyage qui a pris son pli avec la découverte

[16] Blaise, Tsoualla 2011. « Sortir de la transhumance humaine, échapper au ghetto identitaire : Aminata Sow Fall et Nathalie Etoké. » In : Pierre Fandio; Hervé Anderson Tchumkam 2011. *Exils et migrations postcoloniales. De L'urgence du départ à la nécessité du retour. Mélanges offerts à Ambroise Kom*, Yaoundé: Ifrikiya : 245-272. Pour la citation, p. 254.

[17] Dans la suite de notre réflexion, nous utiliserons l'abréviation JVS pour *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux* suivie de la page.

[18] Catherine, Mazauric 2012. *Mobilités d'Afrique en Europe* : *récits et figures de l'aventure*, Paris, Khartala, p. 92.

[19] Daniel Sébastien, Larangé 2012. « Le Pari(s) littéraire des écrivaines franco-camerounaises. » In : Louis-Bertin Amougou (sous la direction de) *La Tortue Verte, Revue en ligne des Littératures Francophones*, Ce que Paris fait aux littératures francophones, Dossier n° 1, Janvier 2012: 66-79. Ici page 69. URL: www.latortueverte.com (Consulté le 17 Mars 2013).

[20] Clément, Dessy 2011. « Mirages de Paris: images et perceptions d'une ville lumière ». In : Françoise, Noudillon; Jean, Ouedraogo (Sous la direction de) *Images et mirages des migrations dans les littératures et les cinémas d'Afrique francophone*, Montréal, Quebec, Mémoire d'Encrier: 67-83, ici p.68.

du nouveau monde et qui désigne sous ses formes traditionnelles le « *voyage à l'endroit* », de l'Europe vers l'ailleurs, « *le voyage à l'envers*» désigne l'itinéraire qui conduit le voyageur de ces ailleurs vers le vieux continent[21]». Cet itinéraire, selon Fonkoua, a été emprunté par trois groupes d'écrivains dans l'élaboration de l'espace de leurs textes. Il s'agit des écrivains Noirs-américains qui ont pratiqué « *le voyage pittoresque à l'envers* »; des écrivains des anciennes colonies françaises d'Afrique qui ont effectué « *le voyage avant à l'envers* » et enfin des écrivains des nouveaux départements français d'outre-mer dont le motif était « *le voyage philosophique à l'envers*[22] ». Dans tous les cas, l'analyse de la motivation à la migration dans les textes montre qu'il y a chez les personnages un manque qu'il faut combler en traversant les frontières. A cela s'ajoute le fait d'une situation de crise toujours persistante qui fait que les immigrés originaires des pays du Sud voient le Nord comme un refuge qui peut les aider à affronter l'avenir sous de meilleurs auspices. Paul Ricœur justifie le flux migratoire actuel par le « tropisme » qui.

> […] pousse les populations les plus pauvres du globe vers les régions où se concentrent l'opulence économique, les exercices de justice sociale, la mise à l'épreuve de la démocratie, le rayonnement intellectuel et artistique et l'invention de la culture de divertissement. Tous ces éléments constituent un idéal rêvé qui se manifeste par un appel au départ, une chute dans l'exil[23].

Salie la narratrice de Fatou Diome est consciente de l'obsession de son jeune frère. Elle fait remarquer: « Mon frère avait la ferme intention de s'expatrier. Dès son plus jeune âge, ses aînés avaient contaminé son esprit. L'idée du départ, de la réussite à aller chercher ailleurs, à n'importe quel prix, l'avait bercé; elle était devenue, au fil des années, sa fatalité. L'émigration était la pâte à modeler avec laquelle il comptait façonner son avenir » (VA: 190). La narratrice évoque d'ailleurs cette soif d'exil de Madické en ces termes: « Une seule idée inondait son cerveau partir, loin; survoler la terre noire pour atterrir sur cette terre blanche qui brille de mille feux. » (VA: 189) Le retour en Afrique de l'homme de Barbès fait l'objet, sur place, d'une remarquable attention. Investi de la légitimité de l'expérience, l'homme de Barbès fournit aux jeunes de l'île un compte rendu circonstancié affirmant que les Français sont « très riches », qu'ils vivent dans les « appartements luxueux » avec l' « électricité » et l' « eau courante ». Pour la jeunesse locale, ce genre de discours suscite l'engouement. Salie, la sœur de Madické note à propos de cet engouement:

> Mon frère galopait vers ses rêves de plus en plus orientés vers la France. Il aurait pu désirer se rendre en Italie, mais il n'en était rien. Les fils du pays qui dînent chez le président de la République jouent en France. Monsieur Ndétare qui lui apprenait la langue de la réussite, avait étudié en France. La télévision qu'il regardait venait de France et son propriétaire, l'homme de Barbès, respectable notable au village, n'était pas avare en récits merveilleux de son odyssée (VA: 93).

Le récit de migration de l'homme de Barbès montre que le processus migratoire participe d'une promotion sociale de la famille en vue de soutenir l'espoir des siens. La fixation sur l'Occident dont la France est ici la représentation métonymique pourrait, si l'on s'en tient aux extraits précédents, procéder d'emblée du complexe de l'ex-esclave et ex-colonisé qui, parce qu'il n'a jamais cru en lui, ne s'est véritablement pas préoccupé de sa décolonisation mentale. Chez Fatou Diome, ce complexe du colonisé pousse la narratrice à noter:

> Après la colonisation historiquement reconnue règne maintenant une sorte de colonisation mentale: les jeunes joueurs vénéraient et vénèrent encore la France. A leurs yeux, tout ce qui est enviable vient de France. Tenez, par exemple la seule télévision qui leur permet de voir les matchs vient de France. Son propriétaire, devenu un notable au village, a vécu en France. L'instituteur, très savant, a fait une partie de ses études en France. Tous ceux qui occupent des postes importants au pays ont étudié en France. Les femmes de nos présidents successifs sont toutes françaises. Pour gagner des élections, le Père-de-la-nation gagne d'abord la France. Les quelques joueurs sénégalais riches et célèbres jouent en France. Pour entraîner l'équipe nationale, on a toujours été chercher un Français. Même notre ex-président, pour vivre si longtemps s'était octroyé une retraite française. Alors sur l'île, même si on ne sait pas distinguer, sur une carte, la France du Pérou, on sait en revanche qu'elle rime avec chance (VA: 60).

Une forte séduction de l'Ailleurs s'exerce aussi sur les Africains dans *Je vois du soleil dans tes yeux*. Rompre le cordon ombilical d'avec sa terre n'est pas une nécessité absolue pour les Koumkanais, mais une mode. L'Occident n'est dans l'imaginaire de l'Africain rien d'autre que « le pays du bonheur »: « Quels soucis ? Comment peut-on avoir des soucis au pays du bonheur ? » (JVS: 177). Il suffit de franchir ses portes pour subir une sorte de transfiguration. Son magnétisme est tel que lorsque Wéli annonce à sa mère son départ prochain pour la France, cette dernière commence à énumérer ses besoins immédiats:

[21] Romuald-Blaise, Fonkoua 1999. « L'espace du « voyageur à l'envers », In: Jean, Bessière, Jean-Marc, Moura, (Textes réunis par) *Littératures postcoloniales et représentations de l'ailleurs-Afrique, Caraïbes,* Canada, Paris, Honoré Champion, p.99.

[22] Idem.

[23] Paul, Ricœur 2000. *Migrations et errances*, Paris, Grasset, P.16.

Dès que tu arrives à Paris, débrouille-toi pour m'acheter des vêtements, des tissus et des parfums. On m'a parlé d'un quartier où les choses sont très moins chères. Hum comment ça s'appelle encore là ? Bar ? Barbis ? Non Barbès ? Oui c'est ça. Barbès. Il y a un magasin là hum… TATI. N'oublie pas tes frères et sœurs, ils marchent quasiment nus. Surtout envoie-nous de l'argent tous les trente du mois. Au moins cinq cent mille francs CFA. Ce n'est pas énorme. De toutes les façons les Blancs sont riches. Il parait que chez eux, l'argent n'est pas rare comme ici. Eyenga a même à dit sa mère qu'elle gagnait de l'argent sans travailler. Tu te rends compte ! Ici tu grilles au soleil devant tes marchandises ou tu attrapes le palu à force de rester dehors sous la pluie. Du matin au soir. Du soir au matin. Sept jours sur sept. Tout ça pour rien ! Alors que là-bas, tu t'assois la monnaie tombe. Je n'y suis jamais allée mais je sais comment ça fonctionne. Ah oui, je sais comment ça fonctionne (JVS: 165-166).

De ce qui précède, on peut dire que pour les personnages de Diome et d'Etoke, l'immigration vers l'Occident représente le fait par excellence de l'accomplissement de soi. C'est ainsi qu'en essayant de fuir les dures réalités africaines, les sujets africains vont à la quête d'une dignité, d'une gloire mythique ou légendaire. L'Occident représente un exutoire, le lieu où ils pensent trouver un mieux-être. Une analyse des romans montre que la motivation à la migration est imputable au déséquilibre économique entre le Nord et le Sud. Catherine Mazauric abonde dans le même sens lorsqu'elle fait savoir que.

[…] ce qui est un jeu dans la question des migrations ne relève évidemment pas, pour l'essentiel, de motifs endogènes aux sociétés d'origine. Bien au contraire, le déséquilibre colossal des rapports Nord/Sud est généralement mis en avant pour en fournir une explication première. Au-delà des généralités, au-delà de la puissance mobilisatrice du rêve européen, certains romans établissent clairement les causes objectives d'un exode qui ne doit pas tant que cela à des pulsions irrationnelles ou des rêves d'eldorado, et beaucoup plus à des réalités économiques dont les pays du nord surdéveloppé sont directement responsables[24].

III. De La Relation au Pays D'accueil ou la Textualisation de L'intégration du Migrant Africain a L'espace D'accueil.

Dans sa contribution à l'ouvrage de Michel Wieviorka intitulée « *Une société fragmentée: le multiculturalisme en débat* », Didier Lapeyronie fait prévaloir que l'immigré possède deux figures qui déterminent son comportement dans la société d'accueil. La première figure, celle de l'étrangeté, apparait dans le rapport du migrant à son espace d'origine. La deuxième figure se réfère à la relation avec l'espace d'accueil, et plus spécifiquement la confrontation avec le regard de l'autre, du natif [25]. S'il est vrai que le migrant intègre les normes et les valeurs lui permettant de se mouvoir, de s'adapter, disons de s'intégrer au pays d'accueil, reste que son identité est fabriquée et construite à partir des marques de la « différence ». Cela est d'autant plus pertinent que si la migration constitue primordialement une traversée de l'espace, elle a pour principale conséquence un contact des cultures résultant de cette mobilité. Le contact avec l'espace d'accueil dans *53 cm* et dans *Debout-payé* s'effectue sous l'angle de la dévalorisation du personnage migrant. Cette situation emprunte la voie de la marginalisation et de la ségrégation. Il s'agit, pour Bessora et Gauz, de mettre en lumière les réalités sociales, les malaises et les frustrations que rencontrent les immigrés africains dans l'espace d'accueil.

Les Africains vivant en Europe expérimentent au quotidien les tristes réalités de la condition migrante. L'un des aspects inscrit explicitement dans l'œuvre de la diaspora africaine est la mise en scène des figures discriminées dans l'espace d'accueil. Dès lors, les rapports entre l'immigré et le natif aboutissent à une configuration où stéréotypes, préjugés, peur de l'altérité, racisme et indifférence déterminent le contact des cultures. Dans ces conditions, nos analyses vont s'atteler à décrypter les situations d'exclusion qui essaiment le parcours du migrant et qui révèlent son rapport à la terre d'élection, terre autrefois rêvée.

53cm de Sandrine Bessora se signale comme une épopée dans laquelle l'héroïne Zara Sem Andock, une ethnologue engagée et fille d'un Gabonais et d'une Helvète, lutte au gré des rencontres, des convocations et des déconvenues aux services d'immigration pour régulariser la situation de sa fille Marie-crevette et pour obtenir elle-même une *ca't de séjou* (carte de séjour). A cet titre, Patricia-Pia Célérier remarque que.

Bessora figure une France (parisienne) postcoloniale en transition, un espace social, dérangé, n'ayant pas encore pris la mesure de son évolution. Elle dit un monde où le vocabulaire pluriel des individus n'est plus en phase avec le lexique de la Nation qui, de fait, apparaît comme un mythe (à dissiper pour certains, à consolider pour d'autres). L'argument ici illustré par la fiction est celui de la persistance du référent identitaire

[24] Catherine, Mazauric 2012. *Mobilités d'Afrique en Europe*, *Op.cit*., p. 89.

[25] Didier, Lapeyronie 2000. « Les deux figures de l'immigré. » In: Michel, Wieviorka *Une société fragmentée ? Le multiculturalisme en débat*, Paris, La découverte/Poche « Essais », p.262.

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racial dans la conduite des affaires politiques, sociales et économiques [26].

Le roman suggère une infériorisation de l'autre et l'existence d'une France à échelle du fait des multiples paliers que le migrant doit gravir avant de vivre en France. La vie en France est déterminée par un jeu de cartes dont les obtentions ou les refus ouvrent et/ou ferment des portes et donc l'accès au monde ainsi qu'à l'intégration à la société française. Le chapitre sur le gymnase ouvre le roman comme pour préparer la narratrice à la course de fond qu'elle devra effectuer pour obtenir la carte de séjour:

> L'accès à la Gaule, vous le savez, exige un long et pénible détour : l'escalade du mont préfectoral [...] L'ascension du mont préfectoral est un rite purificateur ; il rend la présence de l'immigré métaphysiquement acceptable aux yeux des représentants gaulois. Un temple se dresse sur son sommet, centre des étudiants étrangers. Mon premier dessein sera d'y pénétrer pour dérober un talisman appelé *ca't de séjou'*. En échange du papier, l'officiante donne le talisman *cart' de séjou'*. Il protège de mille oiseaux volants, charters, qui boutent les explorateurs hors de la tribu dans le plus grand secret. *Ca't de séjou'* protège aussi d'esprit vengeurs et innombrables nommés Police, comme l'Eunuque aux cheveux longs. […] Il permet de passer du statut de *sans- papiers*, au statut intermédiaire d'*ex-sans-papiers*, et enfin, au statut plus ou moins définitif de *futur-sans-papiers* (CM: 29-33)[27].

Selon Zara Sem Andock, les cartes les plus importantes à posséder pour être promu au rang de citoyenne française sont la carte d'identité, la carte de séjour (visa de résidence), et la carte de gymnastique (celle qui donne l'accès et le droit d'utiliser les locaux et le matériel d'un club de gym). Ces cartes fonctionnent comme des conditions d'intégration à la vie en France:

> Mais le signe absolument absolu d'intégration intégralement totale à la tribu est la *ca't d'identité gauloise*. Mathématiquement, c'est une somme: *ca't d'identité= ca't de séjou + ca't du Gymnasium*. *La ca't d'identité gauloise* est originaire d'un village fasciste appelé Vichy. Née le 27 octobre 1940, de mère inconnue et de père Pétain, elle permettait de chercher les barbares qui avaient pour signe particulier d'être *juifs*. (CM: 50).

Plus loin, le roman combine les questions anthropologiques et coloniales comme toile de fond pour aborder la problématique de la migration dans la France contemporaine. De ce fait, l'espace textuel, à en croire Sylvère Mbondobari, est perçu comme le lieu de cohabitation de discours [28]. L'anthropologie dont la race est l'expression la plus avérée occupe, dans la textualisation de la migration, une place de choix chez Bessora. Les noms de l'anthropologie raciale française, Georges Montandon et Georges Cuvier, sont insérés sous forme d'intertexte dans le roman. Le regard dépréciatif de Zara sur les théories anthropologiques, dont la France se sert pour gérer les flux migratoires, est renforcé par un jeu de miroirs qui permet d'établir un point commun entre Montandon et Cuvier: « Stéatopyge, ça veut dire 'fesses grosses'. C'est une race pygmoïde et sud-africaine. Georges Montandon, mon éminent collègue, en parle dans une étude racialiste de 1933. Georges Cuvier a prouvé l'existence de cette race ; depuis, il a gagné une rue à son nom, dans le V^{e} arrondissement de Paris » (CM: 164). Bessora introduit le débat sur la race stéatopyge et dévoile, par là, une des pages les plus sombres de l'anthropologie française: les expériences de l'anthropologue français Georges Cuvier sur Saartjie Baartman. Le titre du roman *«53 cm»*, qui correspond au périmètre fessier de l'héroïne (CM: 168), renvoie directement à l'histoire de Saartjie Baartman. Zara, la narratrice, aura une peur obsédante de son postérieur. Son nom déjà signifie « Celle qui est maigre aux fesses » (CM : 56). Elle se plaint : « [m]es fesses ne se décident pas » (CM: 57), « [à] Lausanne mon cul ne croît plus » (CM: 59). Comme Georges Cuvier, Zara ne fait que reproduire l'obsession des individus qui ont participé à construire le discours sur la race à partir du pourtour fessier de la «Vénus Hottentote ». Le tour de hanches de cette femme deviendra l'unité de mesure utilisée dans la distribution des « races » des individus au XIX^{e} siècle. Lorsque Zara se rend avec sa fille Marie à l'office des Migrations internationales (OMI) pour la visite de santé annuelle des résidents étrangers, elle fait remarquer: « Aujourd'hui l'OMI ne procède plus à un examen anthropologique mais à un examen sanitaire » (CM: 50). Le docteur examine tous ses millimètres et oublie seulement de compter ses dents (CM: 14). Cette allusion à l'esclavage souligne le caractère animalisant des lois sur l'immigration. A l'analyse, on voit bien que l'écriture postcoloniale du corps africain en contexte migratoire explore et révèle la relation à la race. Dans cet ordre d'idées, Susanne Gehrmann note que .

> les corps des personnages littéraires fonctionnent comme des entités pour la survie économique, émotionnelle et/ou intellectuelle tout en réagissant aux projections européennes et aux discours normatifs sur

[26] Patricia-Pia, Célérier 2002. « Bessora: De la Gaulologie en impéritie ». In : *Présence Francophone*, « Francophonie, Écriture et Immigration », n° 58, Massachusetts, Mai: 73-84, ici p.75.

[27] Dans la suite de nos analyses, nous utiliserons l'abréviation CM pour *53 cm* suivie de la page.

[28] Sylvère, Mbondobari 2012. « Prose postcoloniale et enjeux mémoriels. Discours, mythes, et mémoire coloniale dans *53 cm* et *Petrolium* de Sandrine Bessora ». In: Anthony, Mangeon (sous la direction de) Postures postcoloniales: domaines africains et antillais, Paris, Karthala: 95-127.

les corps noirs. Les conditions particulières de la dislocation du corps africain en exil produisent des inscriptions racialisées et sexuées: les corps deviennent des espaces symboliques privilégiés pour les conflits lors de la rencontre avec l'Europe[29].

En général, l'emploi de l'immigré oscille entre le formel et l'informel, le légal et l'illégal. Dans tous les cas, il s'agit toujours d'un emploi précaire. Gauz raconte dans *Débout-payé* (2014) l'itinéraire d'Ossiri, un étudiant ivoirien sans papiers devenu vigile à Paris dans des années 1990. Le recrutement des Africains à cette tâche se fait sur la base d'une critériologie fortement emprunt des stéréotypes de la « bibliothèque coloniale »:

> Les noirs sont costauds, les noirs sont forts, les noirs sont obéissants, les noirs font peur. Impossible de ne pas penser à ce ramassis de clichés du bon sauvage qui sommeillent de façon atavique à la fois dans chacun des blancs chargés du recrutement et dans chacun des noirs venus exploiter ces clichés en sa faveur (DP: 7)[30].

Le narrateur donne une description particulièrement méticuleuse de la profession de vigile à laquelle sont contrains les noirs en France:

> Ceux qui déjà ont une expérience du métier savent ce qui les attend les prochains jours: rester debout toute la journée dans un magasin, répéter cet ennuyeux exploit de l'ennui, tous les jours, jusqu'à être payé à la fin du mois. Debout-payé [...] Ennui, sentiment d'inutilité et de gâchis, impossible créativité, agressivité surjouée, manque d'imagination, infantilisation, etc., sont les corollaires du métier de vigile (DP: 62).

Dans le roman *Debout-payé*, l'état psychologique du personnage Ossiri porte le sceau de la déchéance, mieux de la décrépitude. Il affirme: « Depuis que je suis arrivé dans ce pays, je suis dépassé par les… les événements » (DP: 75). Véritable confession, disons aveux, au sens propre du terme, cet extrait montre que l'état psychologique du migrant peut se lire comme étant la métonymie de son existence.

IV. Conclusion

Au total, il se dégage des textes analysés que les écrivains de la diaspora africaine revisitent les mythes et les clichés dont on affuble les migrants africains. Une lecture des stratégies narratives de l'intégration de l'immigré chez Bessora et chez Gauz montre que le migrant est un étranger, un perturbateur des cultures, un intrus, « *un damné de la terre* » qui vient parasiter l'espace d'accueil. S'il est vrai que dans le contexte contemporain de mondialisation et de diversité culturelle, les immigrés et les diasporas constituent des constellations qui tendent à infléchir les identités ethnocentriques, l'on remarque que les logiques disjonctives inhérentes aux contacts culturels asymétriques débouchent sur des constructions binaires. De ce point de vue, nous avons montré, au cours de nos analyses que les écrivains africains de la migration mettent en scène des personnages dont les leviers de la mobilité se déclinent selon le triptyque Afrique-voyage-intégration auquel s'ajoute le caractère déstabilisant du pays d'accueil. Cela est d'autant plus fondé que Jean Francis Ekoungoun affirme que « le trauma de l'Ailleurs de l'immigré africain en Europe constitue le creuset de la réflexion proposée par l'ensemble de cette production littéraire africaine sur le voyage en Europe [31] ». Ce qui est mis en cause par nos auteurs, c'est le problème de l'intégration de l'immigré à la société qui l'accueille. Faisant l'objet d'un traitement particulièrement dégradant, son intégration et son épanouissement semblent ne pas être un fait évident.

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[30] Dans la suite de nos analyses, nous utiliserons l'abréviation DP pour *Débout-payé* suivie de la page.

[31] Jean Francis, Ekoungoun 2015. « Quand l'Afrique voyage, l'Europe se "provincialise". Esquisse d'une historiographie de l'exotisme à rebours dans la littérature viatique africaine. » In: *Perspectives philosophiques. Revue ivoirienne de philosophie et de sciences humaines*, Volume 5, numéro 9: 232-258, ici, p. 244.

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

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper’s subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

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

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

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

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

Format Structure

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

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative 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) where the work was carried out.

Author details

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

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

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

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

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

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

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

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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

Figures

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

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

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

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.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

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 avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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

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

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