Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: C

Sociology & Culture



Traditional Yemeni Architecture

Dinajpur's Palatiya Drama Narratives

Highlights

Two 21st-Century Argentine Novels

Structural Racism in the Labor Market

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 25 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

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Volume 25 Issue 18 was originally issued as C2

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Volume 25 Issue 2 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

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

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Volume 25 Issue 18
Originally issued as C2



Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

From Waste to Living Symbols: Bodies and Early Deaths in Two Short Stories and Two 21st-Century Argentine Novels

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Universidad Nacional de Catamarca

Abstract- This article briefly examines the process through which the notion of the body as waste is aesthetically transformed into a symbol. To this end, it examines a corpus of literary texts within the broad field of contemporary Argentine narrative, linked by their thematization of early death. Based on the methodological principles of contrastive comparative literature, the article explores the centrality of the body, its representations, and functions in artistic expressions, which encapsulate and transmit worldviews in each community and era in which they emerge.

Keywords: *body, early death, symbol, contrastive comparatism, Argentine literatura.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: PQ7797–PQ7798*



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From Waste to Living Symbols: Bodies and Early Deaths in Two Short Stories and Two 21st-Century Argentine Novels

De Desechos A Símbolos Vivos. Cuerpos y Muertes Tempranas en dos Relatos y dos Novelas Argentinas del Siglo XXI

Pablo Javier Sosa

Resumen- El artículo examina brevemente el proceso a través del cual la noción del cuerpo como un desecho se transforma estéticamente en un símbolo. Con este propósito, recorta un corpus de textos literarios dentro del amplio campo de la narrativa argentina contemporánea, vinculados por la tematización de muertes tempranas. Apoyado en los postulados metodológicos del comparatismo contrastivo, el artículo indaga acerca de la centralidad del cuerpo, sus representaciones y funciones en expresiones artísticas, que compendian y son transmisoras de visiones de mundo en cada comunidad y época en las que surgen.

Palabras-clave: cuerpo, muertes tempranas, símbolo, comparatismo contrastivo, literatura Argentina.

Abstract- This article briefly examines the process through which the notion of the body as waste is aesthetically transformed into a symbol. To this end, it examines a corpus of literary texts within the broad field of contemporary Argentine narrative, linked by their thematization of early death. Based on the methodological principles of contrastive comparative literature, the article explores the centrality of the body, its representations, and functions in artistic expressions, which encapsulate and transmit worldviews in each community and era in which they emerge.

Keywords: body, early death, symbol, contrastive comparatism, Argentine literatura.

I. Centralidad del Cuerpo

Asociadas a creencias religiosas, a guerras o a rituales ancestrales; otras asociadas al trabajo, al cruce del umbral, a la sexualidad o a la memoria, las muertes tempranas[1] son un tema recurrente en distintas temporalidades y textualidades del arte. Se han indagado algunas de esas expresiones artísticas en *Muertes tempranas: vinculaciones entre literatura, pintura y cultura popular. Relaciones, desplazamientos, contactos* (Sosa, 2022, inédita). Sin embargo, quedan afuera numerosos aspectos que se han ido desprendiendo de aquella investigación, uno de los cuales es el nutrido y variado campo semántico en torno al binomio *cuerpo-muerte*. El cuerpo decapitado, el cuerpo cercenado, el cuerpo insepulto o el cuerpo famélico son algunas de esas expresiones, que encuentran en la literatura y en otros productos del arte fecundos ejemplos. En todos esos casos, cuya particularidad es la centralidad del cuerpo, queda latente, oculto o sobreentendido un aspecto no menor acerca de este: la de su consideración como un resto, aquello que alguna vez albergó o constituyó parte de una persona que ahora ya no está o ya no es, y de la que solo queda un residuo frágil; en síntesis, un desecho, concepción propia de la modernidad (Le Breton, 2021).

Esta figura, en tanto objeto de indagación, ha sido estudiada por varias disciplinas, entre ellas la sociología del cuerpo. Al revisar, en el marco de este campo, los orígenes de una representación moderna del cuerpo, David Le Breton (2021) afirma que durante los siglos XVI y XVII se polarizan dos visiones sobre este:

> una que lo desprecia, lo pone a distancia y lo caracteriza como algo diferente del hombre que encarna (el hombre posee un cuerpo); otra que conserva la identidad de sustancia entre hombre y cuerpo (el hombre es su cuerpo). (p. 82)

Debido a que el cuerpo "siempre está inserto en la trama del sentido (…), puesto que es una dirección de investigación, no una realidad en sí misma" (Le Breton, 2011, pp. 33-34), "la tarea de la antropología o de la sociología consiste en comprender la corporeidad en tanto estructura simbólica y no debe dejar de lado representaciones, imaginarios, conductas, límites infinitamente variables según las sociedades" (p. 31). Vista como tal, esto es, como una dirección de investigación, el estudio de la corporeidad exige abordajes múltiples, más productivos cuanto mayores

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[1] Si bien la frase "muertes tempranas" ofrece una noción relativamente clara acerca del sujeto que muere (niño, adolescente o joven), no deja de ser, al mismo tiempo, ambigua. Una revisión conceptual del binomio puede consultarse en Sosa 2022, pp. 47-53. En sentido amplio, inclusivo y práctico, "muertes tempranas", en tanto concepto, denomina "no solo los casos comprendidos dentro de lo que se conoce como 'muerte del angelito' sino también, y en especial, a todas las otras muertes, sean de niños (en la amplia extensión etaria que comprende la denominación), de fetos o embriones" (p. 49).

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sean los haces de sentido que de ella se desprendan. Apoyado, por esto mismo, en los principios metodológicos que aporta el comparatismo contrastivo (Pizarro, 1985; Croce, 2023),[2] el presente artículo pone el foco en textos literarios, en relación con otras manifestaciones de la cultura popular, y artísticas, ya que se ensayan allí representaciones e imaginarios variados que constituyen una expresión condensada de visiones de mundo, a través de una semántica poliédrica que tiene al cuerpo como eje temático. La elección de indagar múltiples modulaciones y representaciones sobre el cuerpo en la ficción encuentra sustento en la definición misma de esta, en tanto "antropología especulativa" (Saer, 2014), es decir, una vía que "no vuelve la espalda a una supuesta realidad objetiva: muy por el contrario, se sumerge en su turbulencia, desdeñando la actitud ingenua que consiste en pretender saber de antemano cómo esa realidad está hecha" (p. 11). Debido a su carácter doble, en tanto mezcla lo empírico y lo imaginario, "la ficción no es la exposición novelada de tal o cual ideología, sino un tratamiento específico del mundo, inseparable de lo que trata" (p. 11). Es otro modo de acercamiento a las tramas del sentido de la que está hecha y, por ello mismo, un objeto privilegiado para la indagación de visiones de mundo. En este recorrido, la relación cuerpo-muerte constituye el eje central para el análisis del corpus propuesto.

El artículo analiza cuatro textos literarios: Dos cuentos de la escritora Mariana Enriquez (Buenos Aires, 1973) y dos fragmentos de sendas novelas de la escritora Perla Suez (Córdoba, 1947), ambas argentinas. La muestra, constituida por "El desentierro de la angelita" y "Rambla Triste" del volumen *Los peligros de fumar en la cama* (2009) de Enriquez, y *Letargo* (2000) y *Furia de invierno* (2019) de Suez, tematiza muertes tempranas, a través de la ficcionalización de situaciones en las que el cuerpo, en tanto desecho, cobra importancia capital: en un caso, el cuerpo cadavérico de una niña, que presenta indicios vinculantes al ritual de la muerte del angelito; en otro, el cuerpo decapitado, cuya reminiscencia en la literatura argentina conduce a autores canónicos del siglo XIX como Esteban Echeverría (*El matadero*, 1871) y José Hernández (*Martín Fierro*, 1872-1879). En el caso de los fragmentos extraídos de las novelas, se trata de un cuerpo ausente y un cuerpo desechable, cuya tematización es frecuente tanto en la literatura como en la pintura. El recorrido busca analizar variadas representaciones y funciones del cuerpo en expresiones artísticas, que compendian y son transmisoras de visiones de mundo en cada comunidad y época en las que surgen.

II. Reencarnación y Pobreza

El volumen *Los peligros de fumar en la cama* (2009) de Mariana Enriquez comprende doce relatos, unidos por el subgénero *terror* e inscriptos en una cotidianeidad que incluye ámbitos particulares como la tosquera[3] en Buenos Aires a una Barcelona perturbada de la que es imposible escapar. "El desentierro de la angelita" y "Rambla Triste" pertenecen a esta colección y tienen en común, además del subgénero, la presencia inquietante de niños muertos que se manifiestan de modo concreto, ya sea a través de un cuerpo en estado de descomposición ("El desentierro") o de olores nauseabundos ("Rambla"). Además de las relaciones intratextuales entre "Rambla Triste" y cuentos como "El chico sucio" (*Las cosas que perdimos en el fuego*, 2017), en los que los niños viven en la calle, contaminan la ciudad con olores desagradables y son una figura clave en la crítica social que la autora le imprime a varios de sus relatos, "El desentierro de la angelita" propone, de modo sutil, un diálogo con la cultura popular (otra característica de su literatura), a través de referencias al ritual del velorio del angelito, que la antropología describe y estudia en profundidad.[4] Es justamente este último aspecto el que refuerza la centralidad del cuerpo durante el relato. Sintéticamente, se cuenta la historia de una niña que desentierra huesos en un jardín, que pertenecen a una hermana de

[2] "Para nosotros la noción de comparatismo contrastivo va más allá: acentuando el carácter de contraste de la comparación, apunta a deslindar el proceso de respuesta creativa que nuestras literaturas entregan a modelos literarios –obras o movimientos- a los que están ligados, pero en donde lo importante es más la deformación del modelo que su relación de continuidad con él. (…) la contrastividad del análisis apunta también a los fenómenos de unidad en la diversidad propios de las literaturas continentales, así como a la puesta en evidencia por cuanto no están resueltos los procesos de contradicción presentes en ellas" (Pizarro, 1985, p. 60). "Y a tal fin propongo este método que es menos provocativo por voluntad enunciativa que por resquemor del campo teórico. Si la comparación —como vengo sosteniendo— se afilia antes al desafío que a la confirmación, si se alinea con el proyecto más que con la concreción, si reviste flexión de futuro en vez de arraigo en el pasado, sin duda demuestra la versatilidad con que se sustrae a las relaciones constatables. Reacia a una justificación asentada en la sensibilidad —y que presupone en el mejor de los casos que la diversidad sensible puede alcanzar un consenso o, en el colmo del optimismo, que puede haber sensibilidades coincidentes, o al menos concurrentes— propongo practicar el comparatismo por diversidad, atento a las diferencias que contemplan la heterogeneidad de toda cultura" (Croce, 2023, p. 40).

[3] "Una tosquera es una excavación artificial que se forma al extraer tosca, un material arcilloso resistente, y que, al quedar llena de agua, se transforma en un cuerpo de agua artificial". Las tosqueras suelen ser lugares a los que mucha gente concurre a bañarse. Debido a que no están señalizados y que, en muchos casos, son muy profundos, se transforman en lugares muy peligrosos. Representan un "mapa de la pobreza [que] coincide con el mapa de la degradación ambiental", de acuerdo con la opinión de la socióloga Maristella Svampa (Grasso, 2020). También suelen denominarse "piletas de natación de los pobres".

[4] Sobre el rito del velorio del angelito véanse, entre otros, Quiroga 1992 [1887], p. 382; Ferrer 2003, pp. 125-126; Bantulà Janot & Payà Rico 2014, pp. 167-188; Cerruti & Martínez 2010, pp. 9-15; Bondar 2012, pp. 1-56; 2014, pp. 121-137; Cerutti & Pita 1999, pp. 47-52 y Coluccio 1954.

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su abuela, fallecida a los meses de haber nacido. "Pero más tarde, esa misma noche, me llamó y me contó todo. Era la hermana número diez u once, mi abuela no estaba demasiado segura, en aquel entonces no se les prestaba tanta atención a los chicos. Se había muerto a los pocos meses de nacida, entre fiebres y diarrea" (Enriquez, 2021, p. 15). Lo peculiar del relato, en el nivel de la historia, es la aparición de la difunta a la narradora, quien, después de varios intentos por ignorar aquella presencia, termina aceptando el suceso. Al describirla, afirma: "La angelita no parece un fantasma. Ni flota ni está pálida ni lleva vestido blanco. Está a medio pudrir y no habla" (p. 16). Y más adelante: "la angelita seguía ahí con los restos de una manta vieja puesta sobre los hombros como un poncho" (p. 17). Aquellos pocos huesitos que han sido tiempo atrás desenterrados en el jardín, y que han sido identificados como restos de una niña de apenas dos meses de vida que ha fallecido, reencarnan en una forma que "está a medio pudrir". Es decir que, para darle continuidad al relato y no condicionar en demasía el pacto de verosimilitud con el lector, la autora *encarna* esos huesos, les da espesor, les otorga volumen a través de la carne, aunque se trate de restos de carne en descomposición. Así, a través de la voz de la narradora, afirma luego, en una escena que intenta provocar terror pero que se convierte en humorística:

> Con los guantes puestos la agarré del cogotito y apreté. No es muy coherente intentar ahorcar a un muerto, pero no se puede estar desesperado y ser razonable al mismo tiempo. No le provoqué ni una tos, nada más yo quedé con *restos de carne en descomposición* entre los dedos enguantados y *a ella le quedó la tráquea a la vista* (p. 17, cursivas nuestras).

La narradora, preocupada por entender si se trataba de un juego de su imaginación o no, gira alrededor de la angelita y la describe: "vi, en la espalda, colgando de los restos amarillentos de lo que ahora sé era la mortaja rosa, dos rudimentarias alitas de cartón con plumas de gallina pegoteadas" (p. 17), que se corresponde con la descripción que, páginas antes, se hace del ritual del velorio de la niña:

> Como era angelita, la sentaron sobre una mesa adornada con flores, envuelta en un trapo rosa, apoyada en un almohadón. Le hicieron alitas de cartón para que subiera al cielo más rápido, y no le llenaron la boca de pétalos de flores rojas porque a la mamá, mi bisabuela, le impresionaba, le parecía sangre. Hubo baile y canto toda la noche (…) Una rezadora india cantó trisagios, y lo único que les cobró fueron unas empanadas. (p. 15)

Si todo cuento cuenta en verdad dos historias (Piglia, 1986), "El desentierro de la angelita" confirma esta tesis. La primera, que pone en escena la reencarnación de una niña fallecida muchos años atrás y su repentina aparición ante su sobrina nieta, está enmarcada en el género *terror* y es consecuente con el tono del volumen en el que el relato está inserto. La segunda historia, soporte de la primera, pone en escena con sutileza una crítica a las condiciones socioeconómicas empobrecidas en las que vive una familia del interior del país, lugar al que pertenece y donde fallece aquella niña recién nacida. Aquí se incluyen las referencias al "velorio del angelito", ritual antiguo, pautado y claramente identificable, que refiere cómo despedir a los infantes muertos: el cuerpo colocado sobre una mesa, las alitas de cartón, el baile y el canto durante la noche. Hay datos específicos que señalan las condiciones en las que ha muerto la niña: el lugar del velatorio (Salavino, Santiago del Estero, una de las provincias más pobres del país), la cantidad de hijos de la familia (diez u once), las causas de la muerte de la niña (fiebres y diarrea) y la descripción de la casa en la que vivían (techo de chapa). Además de la velada crítica social, el relato aporta algunas particularidades de aquel ritual y, con ello, establece vínculos con la tradición cultural de Latinoamérica y solidaridad con otras manifestaciones artísticas que refieren este mismo motivo, tal el caso de *El difuntito Dimas Rosas a los tres años de edad* (1937), que pinta Frida Kahlo.

Más allá de las múltiples coincidencias entre relato y pintura, enhebradas por la presencia de un cuerpo-resto, se trata de un motivo recurrente en el arte, que da cuenta de las variadas representaciones e imaginarios en torno a la muerte de un niño y a su cuerpo. La pintura de Kahlo, el cuerpo de un niño ataviado con la vestimenta de san José, con una corona y una vara y recostado sobre un petate, representa una clara simbiosis cultural entre el mundo cristiano y el mundo precolombino[5] y otorga centralidad al cuerpo desde esta perspectiva, que compendia en una sola imagen central lo popular, lo religioso y el sustrato aborigen. Por su parte, en el relato, visto de modo aislado, el cuerpo se manifiesta como un desecho, con su "cara podrida verdegrís" (p. 19) y su "piel podrida" (p. 20), cuya finalidad atiende a dos aspectos: en el plano formal, dar entidad, un rostro, a aquellos huesos que se aparecen de modo repentino y generan una pesadilla en la narradora, y en el plano técnico, generar un ambiente de terror verosímil. Pero desde una mirada comparada, que atienda a las *funciones* (diferencias) y no a las *totalizaciones* (lo similar o idéntico), el relato funciona como un continente que aloja dentro de sí una crítica velada a las condiciones socioeconómicas degradadas de una familia del interior del país, que ha perdido a una hija. La centralidad del cuerpo, entonces, funciona en el relato en una doble dirección. Desde el punto de vista técnico, permite el avance del relato al darle carnadura a la niña fallecida y facilita la interrelación entre la angelita y la narradora; desde

[5] Un estudio del cuadro de Frida Kahlo y su relación con las muertes tempranas, el ritual del velatorio del angelito y la vinculación con la tradición literaria, pictórica y popular en torno a este motivo en Latinoamérica puede verse en Sosa, 2022, pp. 311-317.

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una perspectiva contrastiva, el cuerpo, aquí en descomposición, es un indicio claro del diálogo que el texto establece con la tradición y sirve para la crítica social. Pero mientras en la pintura de Kahlo se asiste al ritual en sí mismo, objeto principal de la representación gráfica, en el relato de Enriquez el cuerpo es un recurso, una pieza necesaria dentro del sistema narrativo para darle continuidad al relato (aspecto técnico en la construcción del texto) y vehículo para la crítica sutil de las condiciones socioeconómicas de una comunidad.

III. Decapitados y Crítica Sociopolítica

A la imagen de un cadáver putrefacto, que había quedado reducido apenas a huesitos y que, de pronto, reencarna ("El desentierro de la angelita") le suceden, páginas más adelante, cuerpos que no se ven pero se sienten, a través de olores nauseabundos. Tanto en el primer relato como en "Rambla Triste", los seres que repentinamente aparecen, casi fantasmales, necesitan de un cuerpo para manifestarse. En este segundo relato, los niños muertos vuelven al presente a través de los olores, desagradables y penetrantes. Siempre en la misma línea, que une la búsqueda del terror a una crítica social, la autora ubica la historia en Barcelona, en la Rambla del Raval y en zonas cercanas, asediada por niños muertos que impiden a sus pobladores abandonar la ciudad. El argumento puede resumirse en pocas palabras: la llegada de una mujer a Barcelona para visitar a sus amigos y el pedido desesperado de una de ellas para que abandone la ciudad y vuelva a Argentina. En este marco, el cuento otorga centralidad a la aparición fantasmal, no perceptible para todos, de niños muertos en condiciones espantosas: degollados, víctimas de pedofilia, abandonados o violados. Pero lo hace a través de una manifestación sensible, los olores desagradables que emanan de sus cuerpos. En un caso, el olor a mugre de un niño que deambulaba en la calle y que, tras su muerte, "anda por toda la ciudad, llena de olor la ciudad, para que no se olviden de él" (2021, p. 88). En otro, "el que te toca con sus manos negras, el que te deja la campera colgada de la silla en los bares llena de olor a carne muerta cuando la roza" (p. 89). Es decir, sin cuerpo o sin lo que de un cuerpo emana, no hay modo de comunicación de los niños muertos con los residentes de la ciudad en la que ellos siguen habitando y se niegan a abandonar.

De nuevo, el procedimiento narrativo se apoya en la recuperación de las voces populares, legendarias en algunos casos, versiones periodísticas en otras, que van configurando un modo de interacción entre los espacios y sus habitantes. En ese contexto, "Rambla Triste" recupera la historia legendaria de Madame Yasmine, que da nombre actualmente a un bar ubicado en el denominado Barrio Chino en Barcelona.

> Manuel dijo que ésa era una historia famosa. La Yasmine había nacido en el Chino, fines del diecinueve. Era hija de una vendedora de flores. Y, claro, era pobre y se hizo puta. El Chino era pura pestilencia entonces, y ella era madame de un burdel donde iban poetas y anarquistas. De un anarquista se enamoró, y le nació un hijo. Pero los franquistas lo mataron – al anarquista – y ella montó un fumadero de opio. El hijo se le murió decapitado por un carro en las Ramblas, dijo Manuel, y agregó que no sabía más detalles, lo que se conservaba en la leyenda es que un carro le había cortado la cabeza al chico, pero cómo, ni modo. (2021, pp. 83-84)

La escena, una más en la sucesión de historias cuyos protagonistas son niños muertos que deambulan por la ciudad, dejan sus marcas en desagradables olores en la ropa de los transeúntes y "no te dejan salir" porque "quieren hacerte sufrir" (p. 91), rescata una historia popular y la hace parte de un ambiente citadino que genera terror en sus habitantes. Como tal, es parte de un entramado extraño y asfixiante que los habitantes de Barcelona conocen y no pueden evitar, y que justifica el pedido último de Julieta a su amiga Sofía: "-Te vas mañana (…) Cambiamos el pasaje. Yo te ayudo. Vos estás de visita. A los visitantes no los pueden atrapar" (p. 92). El cuento no solo dialoga con la cultura popular, que circula de boca en boca (el caso de Madame Yasmine), sino que se vale de un motivo que tiene antecedentes en la literatura argentina del siglo XIX: la muerte de niños por decapitación. El fragmento citado condensa, en claves, varios elementos presentes en la escena de *El matadero* (1871) de Esteban Echeverría,[6] en el que un lazo se corta y cercena la cabeza de un niño que estaba sentado sobre un poste. Puesto en contexto, la escena del cuento de Echeverría refiere el momento en el que los trabajadores del matadero lidian con un toro, al que no pueden sacar del barro para luego faenarlo. En esa situación,

> el animal, acosado por los gritos y sobre todo por dos picanas agudas que le espoleaban la cola, sintiendo flojo el lazo, arremetió bufando a la puerta, lanzando a entre ambos lados una rojiza y fosfórica mirada. Diole el tirón el enlazador sentando su caballo, desprendió el lazo del asta, crujió por el aire un áspero zumbido, y al mismo tiempo se vio rodar desde lo alto de una horqueta del corral, como si un golpe de hacha la hubiese dividido a cercén, una cabeza de niño, cuyo tronco permaneció inmóvil sobre su caballo de palo, lanzando por cada arteria un largo chorro de sangre. (Echeverría, 1979, pp. 80-81)

En términos de creación de una atmósfera de terror, el realismo de la prosa de Echeverría supera ampliamente a la de Enriquez; es más brutal. Lo logra al dar lugar con detalle al momento del cercenamiento de

[6] Esteban Echeverría (1805-1851), escritor y poeta argentino, es uno de los representantes más importantes del Romanticismo en Argentina. Sus obras más destacadas son *Elvira o la novia del Plata* (1832), considerado el primer relato romántico; *La cautiva* (1837), que conforma el volumen de *Rimas* junto a otros poemas, y *El matadero* (1838-1840), que ha permanecido inédito hasta 1871. También redactó el *Dogma socialista de la asociación de mayo, precedido de una ojeada retrospectiva sobre el movimiento intelectual en la Plata desde el año 1837* (1873).

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la cabeza del niño, aspecto que el otro texto calla acertadamente. En los textos se observan otras similitudes: alusión al contexto político, en las referencias a posiciones opuestas entre unitarios frente a federales (*El matadero*) y anarquistas frente a franquistas ("Rambla Triste"); también el ámbito de la tragedia, un espacio periférico, lugar de la chusma (*tías*, carniceros, africanas, mulatas) y de los marginados (yonquis, locos, ladrones y putas). Sin embargo, es en las diferencias donde se puede observar la heterogeneidad de una cultura (Croce 2023), las distintas modulaciones y representaciones, en este caso, en torno al cuerpo y a sus funciones simbólicas en cada comunidad. En la crítica social que cada texto hace se puede leer el foco en el que se detiene la mirada del artista. Mientras el cuento de Echeverría acentúa con ironía el papel de la Iglesia católica en la sociedad de ese momento ("¡Cosa extraña que haya estómagos privilegiados y estómagos sujetos a leyes inviolables, y que la Iglesia tenga la llave de los estómagos!" [1979, p. 74]) y ejemplifica las hostilidades políticas, que derivan en posiciones ideológicas antagónicas (civilización o barbarie), el texto de Enriquez reclama la pertenencia del espacio público de una ciudad para los niños de la periferia, los olvidados, los violentados, los no deseados. Los pone como centro, no solo de su historia sino de la atención que han perdido, a través de un énfasis en lo corporal, en lo inmundo, en aquello que busca incomodar. Y los hace decir "aquí estoy, no me olviden". Si hay razón en la afirmación de Le Breton (2021) cuando dice que "el cuerpo sigue ocupando, para los sectores populares, un lugar central como núcleo de arraigo del hombre en el entramado del mundo" (p. 82), la ficción que propone Enriquez confirma ese juicio. Se trata de una perspectiva premoderna, que identifica hombre y cuerpo. Por ello, ese cuerpo cadavérico, que "conserva la identidad de sustancia entre hombre y cuerpo" (2021, p. 82), todavía es un habitante de esa ciudad, y reclama para sí ese espacio.

IV. Cuerpos Ausentes y Desechables

La infancia puebla las novelas de Perla Suez. Casi imperceptible en algunas, protagonista en otras, asume un papel clave. También recorren sus textos las historias de niños que han muerto prematuramente y que, en algunos casos, adquieren incidencia notoria en la trama. Es el caso de *Letargo* (2000), una novela que "se construye desde un presente de la enunciación en la que Déborah es adulta, y se proyecta, a través del recuerdo, hacia un pasado lejano pero claramente delimitado por acontecimientos claves en su trama: la locura de su madre, la infidelidad matrimonial de su padre, la severidad de su abuela y, fundamentalmente, la muerte de su hermano menor, acontecimientos que llevan como marca común la imposición de un secreto que hay que cuidar de que no rebase los límites del hogar" (Sosa, 2022, p. 268). Como suceso narrativo, la muerte prematura del hermano provoca un quiebre en la trama, aglutina al resto de núcleos narrativos y afecta a todos los personajes que componen la familia, aunque el impacto más brutal se manifiesta en la madre, Lete, que enloquece y se suicida.

> Escuché al doctor Yarcho que decía que mi hermano había muerto durante el sueño.
>
> Dijo,
>
> Muerte blanca.
>
> Papá también dijo *muerte blanca*, la voz quebrada, seca. Mi hermano estaba en la cuna. (Suez, 2014, p. 34, cursivas del texto)

Durante el proceso que lleva a Lete paulatinamente a perder el juicio, se reitera el pedido en su voz quebrada: pide que le devuelvan a su hijo que ha perdido por una muerte súbita, lo llama, lo busca y le habla.

> Escucha que la madre le habla al hijo que ya no tiene.
>
> Caminaba por el pasillo, y yo la espiaba cuando encendía las luces de la casa en busca de mi hermano, y la *bobe*, a dos pasos detrás de mamá, sigilosa, que las apagaba. (2014, p. 37, cursivas del texto)

Lo que busca Lete es un cuerpo, el cuerpo de su hijo, al que llama y no encuentra. El cuerpo ausente es un símbolo de lo que ha perdido, pero es también la expresión concreta y sensible de una permanencia, que se resigna a perder porque así, de ese modo, se asegura de que su hijo siga allí, junto a ella. La falta de un cuerpo provoca en la madre la agudización de un proceso patológico que culmina con el suicidio. Es tan poderosa la necesidad de un cuerpo, que Lete "se inclina sobre ese espacio, al lado de su cama, como si el hijo estuviera en la cuna. Mamá llama a mi hermano" (2014, p. 74). El motivo de la cuna vacía, observable también en *Letargo*, encuentra en la literatura y en la pintura muchos ejemplos. Entre las más conocidas en la pintura latinoamericana, *Ataúd blanco* (1955) de Osvaldo Guayasamín reinstala el mismo motivo. Se llora una ausencia. Pero lo que en el lienzo del pintor ecuatoriano es una presencia viva y sensible, manifiesta en el ataúd blanco, en *Letargo* es una fantasía, la de la cuna y la del cuerpo del hijo muerto. La peculiaridad del texto de Suez es la construcción de una doble ausencia, la del contenido (el hijo) y la del continente (la cuna), lo cual obliga a buscar sustitutos para esa *presencia ausente*, un oxímoron que va a ser construido a través de la palabra escrita de Déborah, reservorio de la memoria y eje temático de varias novelas de la escritora.

Distinto es el caso que se lee en *Furia de invierno* (2019). Aunque haya una vuelta del personaje principal, Luque, a su propia infancia, no es esta la escena que interesa, sino el accidente que provoca la

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muerte por ahogamiento de un niño. El personaje se encuentra parado en la costanera y contempla una barcaza. De pronto oye la risa de un niño que juega con una pelota.

> En un momento la pelota se le escapó y fue a parar al agua. El niño corrió, y cuando tendió los brazos para alcanzarla, perdió el equilibrio y cayó al río. Gritaba pidiendo ayuda aferrado a la pelota, sin embargo Luque no reaccionó. (…) Repentinamente el grito del niño se apagó y la pelota quedó flotando sola arrastrada por la corriente. (2019, p. 38)

La escena no tiene otro propósito que el de describir a Luque. Y lo hace de modo indirecto, a través de la focalización en un niño que se ahoga. Se dice cómo es Luque por lo que no hace, por su falta de empatía y de acción frente a un niño en peligro. Y es la pelota que flota luego en el curso del agua el objeto que resume la desgracia. Ya no se trata de una ausencia sino de una vida que parece desechable o prescindible, si se mira a través de los ojos de Luque. El motivo de la muerte por ahogamiento, entonces, no tiene otra función que la de operar como un espejo de su comportamiento. Como tal, el cuerpo ausente del niño ahogado se configura en un símbolo de la miseria humana, que se expresa en la incapacidad de reacción de un sujeto que mira, impasible, la tragedia del otro.

V. Síntesis: De Residuo a Símbolo Vivo

En una síntesis del recorrido andado, el cuerpo (en relación aquí con las muertes tempranas) se insinúa en cada texto literario como un residuo frágil que adquiere, con el desarrollo de las acciones, consistencia hasta transformarse en un símbolo de las representaciones, motivaciones, sensaciones o imaginarios de la comunidad en la que están insertos. Se trata de un procedimiento que condensa visiones de mundo. No es un objeto, una cosa en sí, sino un recurso, un vehículo para señalar procesos sociales y su impacto. Es el caso de los textos de Enriquez, que resumen una crítica socioeconómica (“El desentierro”) y política (“Rambla Triste”) que tiene como víctimas a los niños, personajes que incomodan, que provienen de las periferias; en una palabra, los desposeídos. O como el caso de las novelas de Suez, en las que el cuerpo se transforma en un símbolo de las pérdidas, una de las cuales se manifiesta en la miseria humana frente a la tragedia del otro (la escena de Luque en *Furia de invierno*).

La perspectiva comparada, que permitió el diálogo del corpus de análisis con la cultura popular y con otras ficciones y pinturas, señala permanencias a través de varias coincidencias, especialmente en el campo temático: la cuna vacía, el velorio del angelito, el cuerpo decapitado. Sin embargo, en este plano son más importantes las diferencias, que dan cuenta de la heterogeneidad de la cultura. Y permiten ver cómo opera cada comunidad o cada época con respecto a otra, frente a un caso idéntico: del desplazamiento de la crítica ideológica (Echeverría) a la crítica socioeconómica (Enriquez), y de la aceptación estoica de una pérdida (Guayasamín o Kahlo) a la locura y al suicidio (Suez). Así, el cuerpo, más que un desecho o un residuo frágil, es un símbolo vivo que habla de la visión de mundo de la comunidad en la que se aloja.

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture: A Case Study of Dhamar City

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Abstract- The issue of privacy has been a very important topic in all fields because it is a topic related to human and social aspects. The problem is represented by the spread of the phenomenon of globalization and the spread of modern global thought in historical cities that are characterized by their local specificity. The research aims to determine the level of architectural privacy in Dhamar by identifying the criteria and factors that affect privacy and measuring those to determine their importance and priority. The methodology is based on building a multi-criteria model that represents a theoretical framework for the dimensions of the research problem and includes criteria for achieving privacy at the level of plans and layout, at the level of facades, and at the level of urban. The research was adopted from a field study that included questionnaires that were designed and distributed to the participating architects who live in the study region. The results showed that the use of elements and methods of traditional architecture in contemporary architecture achieved great success at the level of privacy.

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: NA2542.35*



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Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture: A Case Study of Dhamar City

Ahmed A. Al-Nehmi[1]

Abstract- **The issue of privacy has been a very important topic in all fields because it is a topic related to human and social aspects. The problem is represented by the spread of the phenomenon of globalization and the spread of modern global thought in historical cities that are characterized by their local specificity. The research aims to determine the level of architectural privacy in Dhamar by identifying the criteria and factors that affect privacy and measuring those to determine their importance and priority. The methodology is based on building a multi-criteria model that represents a theoretical framework for the dimensions of the research problem and includes criteria for achieving privacy at the level of plans and layout, at the level of facades, and at the level of urban. The research was adopted from a field study that included questionnaires that were designed and distributed to the participating architects who live in the study region. The results showed that the use of elements and methods of traditional architecture in contemporary architecture achieved great success at the level of privacy.**

I. Introduction

The subject of privacy in residential buildings has been a very important topic because it is a major requirement for housing. Some studies have identified the needs of individuals and the pattern of spatial use as the basis for different home models in several cultures [1]. While other studies addressed the relationship between social and cultural dimensions and spatial arrangement in terms of the design process and morphological features and characteristics, others dealt with achieving privacy and comfort in multi-story residential buildings and defined privacy standards in the spatial design of housing [2]. Mustafa et al. focused on achieving privacy in distribution areas of dwelling spaces. The study used space syntax theory to compare spatial formation and its relationship to privacy levels between traditional housing and modern housing. It was concluded that traditional housing provides more solutions for privacy than modern housing [3]. Tomah et al. evaluated the interior layouts of residential units in the city of Amman, Jordan, and their impact on individuals' privacy. The relationship between the number of areas within the residential unit and the privacy level was observed to be that when the number of internal areas increased, the privacy increased as isolated and transitional areas between levels [4]. On the other hand, Babangida and Sani-Katsina discussed privacy and its environmental context in Islamic homes and defined it as boundaries between a person and their physical environment to separate private and public life. It emphasized that traditional homes achieve privacy while contemporary homes do not achieve the required privacy[5]. Al-Birawi and Adawi discussed Islamic architectural standards and elements contributing to achieving privacy [6]. Musa et al. studied the impact of Islamic religion on housing design through Sharia rulings, especially those related to privacy principles[7]. Other studies dealt with levels of visual privacy, social and economic changes in Islamic society, as well as entering new building materials and affecting them on the use of Mashrabiyas in building facades [8]. Manesh and Latifian studied the development of sustainable construction standards by studying construction methods in a number of countries in a descriptive and analytical manner, taking into account the privacy principles of different cultures. The study also pointed to the role of environmental factors in determining standards related to privacy [9]. Asadpour et al. dealt with the privacy topic and its variation in urban environments by examining privacy patterns and environmental and human factors [10]. Some studies indicated that the most important factors that affect security of privacy: first, security challenges such as incorrect security laws, cultural diversity, and lack of cooperation. Second, police services, low individual income, and presence of migrants [11]. Moradi et al. discussed the issue of privacy in Iranian traditional architecture, and the mutual influence between culture and spatial organization of different tasks, and pointed to the role of climate and region in shaping the urban structure in cold and dry regions [12]. Movahed and Jafarpour Ghalehteimouri study indicated the relationship between tourism activity and man local geographical concepts, sides and meanings. Different places are characterized by special identity where they are different from other places. It focused on easy movement from place to place as modern systems. The lack of interest in the function and meaning of space in geography will reduce the success of geographical studies [13]. It is clear that previous studies have dealt with the subject of privacy from several different aspects. However, there is no study identified criteria and factors and measured its level from all architectural aspects. In addition, the current study area has not

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received attention from any previous studies on related topics or even the presence of architectural studies that focused most attention on the architectural aspects of the targeted region. The problem is the aggravation and spread of the globalization phenomenon and the spread of the modernity idea in historical cities characterized by national and Islamic privacy. The rapid growth of Dhamar city led to urban problems that negatively affected the life and privacy of the community. The rapid growth also led to the emergence of urban fabrics lacking urban and historical privacy. It shows from previous studies, there is no general framework, including the criteria and factors that have a major role in shaping architectural privacy. Therefore, this framework is a tool for evaluating any urban environment and its privacy in order to become a reference and design guide for the architect and the local community.

Objectives

The current research aims to develop a general framework that includes the standards and criteria relied upon by our ancestors to draw a path for society, engineers, and the relevant official authorities to enable them to deal effectively with the issue of privacy and increase their ability to deal seriously with urban growth. The research also aims to identify the level of local architectural privacy in Dhamar city by identifying the factors affecting privacy and measuring those factors to determine their importance and priority.

Methodology

Methodology depends on building a general model that represents the theoretical framework, including special standards for measuring privacy levels in plans and layouts, architectural facades, and urban planning. Under each of the standards lies a set of factors based on which the level of architectural privacy is measured. To obtain information, field studies were used, such as observations and personal interviews with relevant users, in addition to using a questionnaire tool to measure various aspects. Then, questionnaires were built through which the information required for the study was collected, which consisted of a set of factors put in the form of questions. The required sample consists of 48 participants-architects and final-year architecture students at Thamar University-who live in the study region. In addition, the study adopted a methodological framework based on using a number of scientific research approaches, namely the descriptive approach and the analytical approach, so that each approach is used to study a specific aspect of the problem.

The Concept of Privacy

Privacy is defined as a social and cultural need and a form of cultural meaning [1]. It is a social phenomenon linked to humans, their lifestyle, and related cultural traditions. In other words, it can be considered the process of defining public and private boundaries and determining the level of interaction with others [9]. It is the process of monitoring boundaries between people and controlling the relationships of closeness as well as the relationship between accessibility and inaccessibility so that multiple access leads to enhanced privacy in spatial spaces [14]. In fact, privacy does not prevent social communication and does not encourage full isolation, and therefore it is a tool for regulating communication with societal controls and behaviors. The concept of privacy has expanded with recent developments, and it has other tasks in new areas such as the privacy of personal data on the Internet and phones. The reciprocal relationship between individuals through the presence of boundaries and possessions serves as a means of controlling personal spaces, and represents a major factor in planning and designing homes and functional spaces [15]. The concept of place privacy means that a person has control over his private life environment and a sense of power, strength, and control in social interactions. The concepts of privacy and social interaction must be combined because an excessive focus on achieving privacy in spaces may lead to a loss of social interaction. The emphasis on privacy can complicate social interaction between community members within residential units. These concerns are caused when the distance between residential units is reduced, open spaces are limited, and common walls are used between residential units [9].

The Relationship between Culture and Privacy

Culture means the set of beliefs, perceptions, values, norms, and behaviors shared by a group of people that lead to the building specific forms, functions, and spatial organizations. In other words, it is a set of ideas, principles, and activities in the form of a cultural force that affects people. It is also a way to distinguish between acceptable matters that must be taken into account and matters that are not acceptable and must be avoided. Cultural forces include religious beliefs, family structure, social system, way of living, and social relations between individuals [9]. Privacy is defined as a cultural concept; it is the process of changing boundaries to control interactions between a person and others [15]. There are many viewpoints regarding the concept of privacy, but the common thing is that they acknowledge that, at a basic level, it is about the ability of an individual or group to control the visual and audio privacy of every person in a society. It is not noticing or hearing others without their knowledge, especially in their own space or residence [6].

Privacy Levels

Privacy is a basic need that allows individuals to separate their lives from the streets and neighbors, but they are still socially and psychologically connected with society. Accordingly, it links isolation and individualism to the desire to live as part of a community. In other words, there is a relationship between the hierarchy of

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society and the built urban environment [16]. It aims to put limits on the outside world, such as strangers and neighbors, and includes certain limits allowed in the family's dealings with visitors and strangers, as well as limits between the family members and each other [5]. In general, privacy in housing is divided into two types: between the occupants of the building, and between the occupants of the building and people outside the building [8]. The levels of architectural privacy are divided into three levels: the first is the general level, which is in public places, main roads, commercial areas, and open squares. In these spaces, the level of privacy is at its lowest. The second is the semi-public level; it takes place in regions and roads that intersect residential neighborhoods, and there is communication between individuals. The third is the private level, and it takes place in homes on the individual and family levels. Robinson expanded the scope of privacy levels from three to seven domains ranging from public to private: the public civil domain, the public neighborhood domain, the semi-public domain, the semi-private domain, the private domain, the semi-intimate domain, and the intimate domain [3]. It can be presented as a set of several points: Privacy is the process of controlling personal boundaries, which is desired and achieved. Privacy is a dialectical process that includes constraints on interaction and requests for interaction. In addition, it is a process of improvement, which includes several social units, such as people and families [17].

Privacy in Islamic Religion

Islamic religion provides many principles that protect the individual's freedom, privacy, and the privacy of others and separate private life from public life. Privacy includes vision control to maintain the privacy of family members, noise control to achieve acoustic privacy, and odor control to prevent the spread of odors[15]. Islamic teachings are an approach that defines an individual's ownership and prevents others from accessing and breaking boundaries, whether through looking or speaking. Privacy in Islam includes the separation of private and public places to provide security for all family members. It includes four main cases: between neighbors' homes, between males and females, between family members within the home, and individual privacy [18]. Islamic principles regulate the life of a Muslim, whether inside or outside the home. They emphasize the rights of the family and the neighbor at the same time. Neighborhood relationships are important in city planning, housing design, and the general composition of the city, including spaces, squares, streets, residential buildings, markets, and green spaces, which are a reflection of the social and religious relationships of the community [19]. Islamic religion is keen to prevent women from being seen by strangers, and this shows in dwelling orientation, opening treatment, entrance treatment, and covering of openings with Mashrabiyas. According to the commands of Islam, two things should be controlled through two methods: the first is that a person should not look at a woman's strange body, and the second is that a woman should wear and cover all her body. Moreover, Islamic teachings also promote respect for guests, monitoring their privacy, and controlling the space of the house, including the courtyard and rooms, in which strangers require permission to enter [12].

Privacy and Architectural Space

Ancient man had the need to protect himself from environmental conditions and enemies, so the need came to provide sufficient levels of security and privacy through creating special spaces. These spaces require creating specific boundaries that constitute a dividing line between the external public region and the internal private region. In fact, the semantic meaning of these boundaries is the state of restricting access to the specified space using elements such as walls, fences, doors, and windows [17]. The idea of privacy as a characteristic of a built environment coincided with the beginning of civilization as a means of protection from environmental conditions, which produced the architectural place that provides both security and privacy. In fact, it is not only a human need, but it has multiple relationships related to the issue of architectural identity [20]. It serves three main functions: limiting social interactions, creating plans to manage interactions, and maintaining self-identity [3]. Privacy is achieved in architectural and urban planning on three levels: at the plan and layout level, through techniques of distributing functions and spaces into places for males and females and isolating guest and visitor areas from family use areas. This creates a series of areas that transfer people from the public space to the private space. At the facade level, it is achieved through several techniques, including the use of Mashrabiyas to protect women from external exposure and from seeing women inside the building [8]. At the urban level, it is achieved through a gradual movement and spatial sequence to move from a public place to a private place, as well as architectural treatments at the urban level of the city.

Criteria and Factors Affecting Privacy

Researchers believe that the dwelling is a multidimensional institution influenced by culture, religious rituals, economics, and environmental conditions. Others believe that culture is the main factor in shaping housing, followed by other factors such as climate, location, and economy. Therefore, local or cultural traditions are directly linked to the material forms produced by the culture of a society [1]. One of the main factors in shaping the residential building is the local culture, which plays an important role in the need for privacy. A number of factors, including personal, religious, cultural, and psychological factors, affect privacy [8]. On the other hand, there are many criteria

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related to privacy, such as religion, culture, environment, and values [6]. Some believe that it includes religious factors, cultural factors, social factors, economic factors, political factors, and environmental factors [16]. The lifestyle, beliefs, visions, and ideas of the local community have a significant impact on housing construction. They also have an impact on the boundaries of privacy, the arrangement of social relationships, hierarchies, and accessibility. They have a significant impact on dividing functional spaces and creating areas with different privacy whether among family members or with neighbors at the urban level [12]. Five factors affect privacy, including accessibility, clarity, proximity, sound, and smell. These factors relate to the five human senses. The first is related to skin, the second is to the eye, the third is to touch, the fourth is to the ear, and the fifth is to the nose [17]. Privacy in buildings is achieved on a number of levels, whether at the level of spatial organization or at the level of urban planning. At the design level, it is through a series of spaces that graduate in their privacy, giving the person a great measure of control over the space and social interaction [3]. One researcher has identified the criteria that affect privacy in the spatial organization as follows: amount of spatial sequence, gradation of spaces, presence of transitional spaces between spaces, amount of transitional circulation between internal spaces, and presence of intermediate distances between functional spaces [2]. Islam's teachings give special importance to the relationship between the residents of the dwelling and the neighbors, taking into account the neighbor's rights. The dwelling must be directed to the inside; the presence of openings in facades that are direct to the neighbors' homes must be minimized; and the openings should not be designed in a manner that is face-to-face or parallel to the openings of neighboring buildings. Among the most important effects of privacy on the design and planning process are raising curtain walls to block the view and using Mashrabiyas [19]. The designs also include specific requirements for private outdoor space and acoustic privacy between neighborhoods. The outdoor space must be appropriate in dimensions so that it cannot be seen directly from the neighbors [9]. One of the important architectural elements that affects privacy is the entrance, which regulates the relationship between the public space of a street and the private space of a building. Its importance comes from its location in the center of the facade of the house. Moreover, its location must be respected in relation to the entrance locations of the surrounding buildings [6].

Architecture of Ancient Dhamar City

Since the current study deals with the issue of privacy in the city, it is necessary to get to know the study region. Dhamar is one of the Yemeni cities located in the middle of the northern governorates. The city is located to the south of the city of Sana'a, approximately 100 km away (Figure 1). It is one of the Yemeni historical cities with a Yemeni architectural character and pattern [21]. The city has grown and expanded in recent centuries to reach places far from the city center, although the city lived for a long period, retaining its identity and authentic traditional architectural character. Its small area, narrow streets, close proximity of its buildings, and closeness in many cases characterized the city at this stage [22]. The city is one of the Yemeni and Arab cities that has preserved its planning and characteristics. It has remained preserved in its ancient architectural style, which has an ancient history dating back to before Christ (Figure 2). The old city consists of three main neighborhoods: al-Houta neighborhood, located in the south-eastern side of the city, which is the oldest neighborhood and the Great Mosque is located in it; al-Mahal neighborhood, located in the northern side of the city; and al-Jarajish neighborhood, located in the south-western side of the city [23]. In the middle of the three areas is the market area, which is distinguished in its layout from the rest of the city's fabric. The market is located in the city center and consists of a number of one-story commercial shops (Figure 3). In addition, there is a weekly market called al-Rabou' Market in an open square surrounded by buildings on three sides [24].

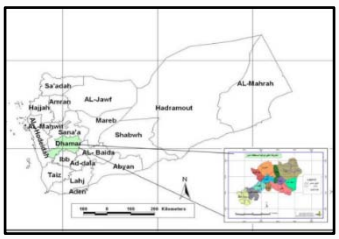


Figure 1: Map of Yemen Shows the Location of Dhamar [25]



Figure 2: Panorama of Old Dhamar City and its Architecture [24]



Figure 3: The Market: al-Rabou's Market (Author)

Historic Dhamar contains traditional houses that are distinctive from an architectural and historical standpoint. The ground floors of houses are built from black granite stones, but on the upper floors, they are built from brick and mud (Figure 4), and most of them contain an open courtyard on the last floors for privacy [23]. The urban fabric of the city contains a number of green areas called al-Maqashim, which

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mostly belong to mosques (Figure 5). The buildings of historic cities are distinguished by their multiple floors, ranging from two to four floors, and the construction style and method of implementation are compatible with the climatic factors. Religious, social, cultural, and functional factors also played a role in the presence of architectural elements such as Mashrabiyas and Qamariyyat (Figure 6).



Figure 4: Multi-Storey House in the Old City (Author)



Figure 5: The Garden (Almqashamah) in the Old City (Author)



Figure 6: The Mashrabia in the Façade [21]

Most of the houses in the ancient city are similar in form, shape, and spatial layout. The ground floor consists of a number of rooms arranged in two rows that end with a staircase ascending to the upper floors. The rooms are used as stores for grains and wood used as fuel, and some rooms are used for animals (Figures 7-9). The first floor is connected to the ground floor in the function; there is a small room without windows called Mahkamah, and there is a guests' room called Diwan, which is used for social events and guests. However, the second floor is used for family living rooms, the third floor is family and kitchen rooms, and then the fourth contains guest rooms called Mafrag [23].



Figure 7: Ground Plan of Al-Nagahy House [26]



Figure 8: First Floor Plan of Al-Nagahy House [26]



Figure 9: Fourth Floor Plan of Al-Nagahy House [26]

Discussion and Data Analysis

From field observations and previous studies, a special list of criteria was formed to measure the level of architectural privacy. These criteria contain a group of sub-criteria that were measured within a group of factors and classified under three levels: the level of plans and layouts, the level of facades, and the level of urban.

Plans and Layouts

The most important criteria that determine the level of privacy in the spatial design of a house are the amount of spatial sequence, the presence of transitional spaces between spaces, the amount of transitional circulation between interior spaces, and the presence of intermediate spaces between functional spaces. Another important theme is the hierarchy or gradation of spaces in the layout of a house when moving through a group of connected spaces. Therefore, the movement is gradual from the public external space to the semi-public space to the private space, and the movement of women must be isolated from the movement of guests. There are different types of privacy, including individual privacy for each member, family privacy that represents the relationship between the private lives of family and guests, and family privacy for its members with neighbors. There is urban privacy that shows the relationship between family members and society at the neighborhood level. In general, privacy is related to two issues that should be taken into consideration, and appropriate solutions should be developed: audio privacy and visual privacy. Privacy principles depend on the extent to which housing design responds to achieving the greatest amount of privacy for individuals and families towards strangers and visitors. One of the most important principles is that the entrance doors

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should be within the principle of preserving private life, and the houses should not be exposed to visual visibility from other buildings. In addition to the function of the house as a place of rest, it is also a place to preserve the secrets and sanctities of the family.

Facades

Façade has a fundamental role because it represents the building's direction and its image exposed to strangers and to public streets. Facades achieve privacy through elements and components such as the position and size of windows and balconies, methods of arranging entrances, building materials, details of architectural treatments, etc. One of the most important criteria that plays an important role in facades is the architectural shape, whether horizontal or vertical, as well as the building's relationships with its neighbors in terms of the directions of entrances and openings. In addition, standards related to details and treatment also play a major role in openings for women, controlling the heights of windows, and treating roof balconies (al-Gobba) to be at a sufficient height. Openings play an important role in terms of privacy, as they are transparent parts of building facades for the interior. There are different methods, such as the use of false windows as well as variations in the formation of windows on building facades. The locations and arrangements of windows are according to the functional and aesthetic requirements and the specificities of the space's privacy. On the other hand, the role of building materials and construction techniques, whether in the external parts of facades or in the partitions and finishing materials, comes in reducing sound transmission.

Urban Planning

Islamic rulings affected not only the level of the building and its facades but also the level of urban planning in the city. They determined the type and width of streets for the use of umbrellas, what might come out of the gutters, and so on. Ideal planning is achieved in the urban fabric of the city when an individual walks through the streets and notices the flow and gradation of spaces. A person can differentiate between borders through the connotations and expressions possessed by space and the street, which suggest to a person's conscience the difference between a public place and a private place. These suggestions make the individual differentiate between a public place, which encourages him to continue, and a private place, which causes him to stop. There are several criteria through which privacy is achieved at the urban planning level, including spatial arrangements such as the design of narrow, graded streets that create a feeling of security and privacy. Likewise, when designed in a non-straight shape, it can close the visual perspective, control the visual relationship between a dwelling and its neighbors, and arrange the flow of urban space between public and private. Urban treatments play a major role in achieving privacy, as it requires taking possible measures to treat the urban environment to achieve the greatest amount of privacy, such as using courtyards, orienting residential units to give their backs to noise, using trees and natural elements to achieve visual and audio privacy, and providing sufficient distances between houses.

Survey Results

The sample of the current study consisted of 48 architects who live in the city of Dhamar, including engineers working in the labor market and architecture students at Thamar University who are studying in their fifth year. The questionnaire consists of two parts: the first is general information about the participants answering the questionnaire, including age, gender, type of residence, etc.; and the second is the criteria and factors that affect privacy, developed in the form of 51 questions so that they can be easily evaluated according to the level of measurement.

Analysis of General and Personal Information

The answers varied between males and females, and the number of males was 36 and the number of females was 12. All of the participants were between 20 and 40 years old, and their knowledge of heritage was good for the majority. The participants lived in apartments with 18 people and in separate houses with 30 people. On the other hand, they lived in an old city with 12 people and in modern neighborhoods with 36 people. The answers were distributed regarding the elements that carry and achieve privacy, as six persons see it in the urban fabric, eight persons see it in the shape and form, fourteen persons see it in the functional spaces, four persons see it in the facade details and elements, and sixteen persons see it in all of the above. The participants were asked to define privacy in general, and the answer for most of the participants in general was close and poured into a definition that is the need for individuals to carry out the various activities without monitoring or follow-up by others. It guarantees the right to control personal data by providing appropriate limits for social relations and dealing with others. The participants were asked to clarify the importance of privacy in architecture, and the answer for most of the participants was generally close and related to appropriate conditions that are provided for a person to carry out the requirements of daily life in appropriate social and psychological conditions and with complete freedom without the intrusion of others. In the architecture field, privacy means providing different spaces that fulfill different living needs and requirements with great freedom and flexibility. The participants were asked to determine whether they were satisfied with the level of privacy in the place where they lived. The answer for the participants was that 28 persons were satisfied and 20 persons were dissatisfied, meaning that 58% of

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the participants were satisfied with the level of privacy, and 42% of the participants were dissatisfied with the level of privacy.

Analyze the Information about the Study

The second section is the most important part of the study and consists of criteria and factors and their evaluation through a five-point scale (1-5), where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree, while 3 is neutral, and the value has been distributed for each period.

The criteria and factors were divided into categories through which the level of privacy can be measured and evaluated. It includes three categories: the level of plan and layout, the level of facades, and the level of urban. Table 1 shows the results of the answers after analyzing them with SPSS and finding the arithmetic mean and standard deviation. At the level of plans and layouts, the factors that received more ratings are: the location of the bedrooms is in the back of the house or on the upper floors; isolating the Diwan reception room from the rest of the house's sections; and placing the men's and guest rooms on the main street. While some factors received the lowest ratings, including the transitional circulation in the interior spaces, two separate entrances to the house, one for males and one for females, and the entrance hall being dark to block the view into the interior.

The high rating for spatial arrangement indicates the importance of factor in achieving privacy. For example, placing bedrooms at the back of the house or on upper floors evaluated the highest score (4.54) with 91%, indicating the importance of maintaining privacy in private spaces within the house. Diwan (the reception room) is isolated from the whole house also evaluated a good score (4.33) with 87%, indicating the importance of separating private and guest spaces. Optimal spatial arrangements help to create an environment that promotes privacy by avoiding direct vision between different spaces within the house. However, the balance between architectural activities and privacy is crucial; architectural partitions (such as high roofs or thick walls) should be designed to maintain comfort and good ventilation without compromising privacy. Placing bedrooms at the back or on upper floors, in addition to good separation between private and public spaces, played a significant role in improving privacy.

The results indicate that the level of privacy within houses is relatively good, but there are some noticeable variances between different spaces within a house. For example, the privacy level is high in the living hall, kitchen, and bedrooms received a good score (4.13) with 83%, indicating respondents' satisfaction with the privacy arrangement in these rooms. However, the privacy level between family members inside a house received a middling rating of only 3.29, indicating that individual privacy was not as high as expected. Although the level of privacy in some areas within the house is good, there is a need to improve individual privacy. This may be due to designs that do not provide each individual with a completely independent space.

Table 1: The Results of Assessing Privacy Level from the Questionnaire: Plans and Layouts

Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture			Mean	S.D	Ratio	Pref. Order
Plans and Layouts (3.70)	Circulation and Transition (3.35)	1) The presence of hierarchical movement among the spaces.	3.63	0.81	73%	8
		2) The existence of transitional regions among spaces.	4.04	0.96	81%	6
		3) The presence of transitional circulation between spaces.	2.87	0.64	57%	13
		4) Each house has two separate entrances, one for women and another for men.	3.02	0.73	60%	12
		5) Women move freely in the house, even in exterior spaces.	3.21	0.50	64%	10
	Spatial Arrangement (4.15)	6) The bedrooms are placed back in the house or on high floors.	4.54	1.18	91%	1
		7) Diwan (the reception room) is isolated from the whole house.	4.33	0.90	87%	2
		8) Strong insulation between guest spaces and family spaces.	4.25	0.95	85%	4
		9) The entrance hall is dark to block visibility to the inside.	3.13	0.76	63%	11
		10) Family spaces on the house back and their facades open to the garden.	4.25	0.88	85%	4
		11) Men and guests spaces are opened to the public street.	4.29	0.96	86%	3
		12) Courtyard in the roof used by women for privacy.	4.29	0.94	86%	3
Privacy Level (3.60)						
1) The privacy level is high in the living hall, kitchen, and bedrooms.						
4.13						
0.80						
83%						
5						

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		13) The privacy level is high between family members inside a house.	3.20	0.83	64%	10
		14) Good sound insulation between all house spaces.	3.75	0.60	75%	7
		15) Individual privacy levels are high.	3.29	0.66	66%	9

Table 2 shows the results of the answers after analyzing and finding the mean and standard deviation at the facade level. It shows that the factors that received more ratings are the sufficient height of the ceiling; the presence of openings for women to see the visitor; the openings of the facades between small and large serve the function and enhance privacy; and the locations of the windows suit the requirements of function and privacy. While some factors received the lowest ratings, including the lower floors and those close to the streets being solid and devoid of openings, reducing the areas of the facades exposed to the street because adhering the building blocks, and the entrance opening in the door being small as part of it to reduce the viewing area inward.

The most important factor is that the ceiling walls are suitable heights to block visibility for women's activity. It received the highest rating (4.46), and was rated very positively, indicating that this factor is effective in enhancing privacy in traditional architecture. The results indicate that the openings and architectural details play a vital role in enhancing privacy. There are windows for women in the façades to see the visitor located above the house door received the rating of 4.38, indicating that these details are very important in continuing privacy in Yemeni culture. In addition, the results indicate that participants believe that small and large openings in the facades serve both function and privacy well, with this factor receiving an average rating of 4.21. Participants also agreed on the importance of the Mashrabiyats for achieving privacy and maintaining visual protection. It is noted that architectural details were among the most prominent criteria enhancing privacy. These elements can be enhanced by studying the balance between aesthetic, functional aspects and privacy.

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Table 2: The Results of Assessing Privacy Level from the Questionnaire: Façades

Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture			Mean	S.D	Ratio	Pref. Order
Façades (3.75)	Form and Shape (3.64)	1) Vertical functional division keeps family spaces away from the public street.	4.08	0.91	82%	6
		2) The facades exposed to the streets are reduced because they adhere to the building blocks.	3.04	0.65	61%	17
		3) The street ratio to the rise of the building is small enough to make the vision impossible.	3.29	0.67	66%	15
		4) The entrance bounces and twists back to prevent vision into the house.	4.17	0.96	83%	5
		5) The building's defensive form and shape strengthen privacy.	3.62	0.71	72%	11
	Architectural Details (4.01)	6) Windows in the façade for women to see the visitor on the house door.	4.38	0.99	88%	2
		7) The heights of facing windows with neighbors are controlled.	3.96	1.10	79%	7
		8) The ceiling walls are suitable heights to block visibility for women's activity.	4.46	1.05	89%	1
		9) The entrance in the door is small, as part of it reduces the visibility area to the inside.	3.25	0.71	65%	16
	1) Openings and The façade openings between small and big serve function and privacy. Windows (4.14) 2) The Mashrabiyats are used in the façades to achieve privacy and block vision. 4.20 0.93 84% 4		4.21	1.01	84%	3
		10) The locations of the openings are designed to meet function and privacy.	4.21	1.14	84%	3
		11) The wooden boards close and envelope the glass windows from outside.	3.92	0.71	78%	8
	Materials and Techniques (3.35)	12) The local materials are used for partitions and finishing to insulate noise.	3.58	0.79	72%	12
		13) The lower floors that are near the street are solid and without windows.	3.00	0.64	60%	18
		14) The walls have a large thickness to reduce the transition of sounds.	3.29	0.80	66%	15
		15) The local materials are used to provide good sound insulation.	3.54	0.68	71%	13
	Elements Arrangement (3.59)	16) The house entrances do not face each other or run parallel to each other.	3.71	0.65	74%	9
		17) The formation of façade elements varies according to function and privacy.	3.62	0.71	72%	11
		18) The entrance opens from the side façade of the building for privacy.	3.33	0.62	67%	14
		19) The façade components and elements are arranged in harmony with privacy.	3.70	0.67	74%	10

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Table 3 shows the results of the answers after analyzing and finding the mean and standard deviation at the urban level. It appears from the table that factors such as the use of fences and walls around the houses, open spaces and squares' role as a place for meeting, gathering, and celebration, the urban fabric generating a sense of familiarity and containment, and the urban composition being consistent with social customs and social morals received the most evaluations from the participants.

The use of fences and walls around the houses received the highest ratings, with an average of 4.29 (86%). It means that they are considered one of the most effective elements of protection and privacy. They are an effective method in providing visual and audible privacy in traditional societies, and contribute to separating public from private spaces. However, the factor of open spaces and squares representing places for meetings and gatherings received a rate of 4.21 (84%), indicating a strong interest in public areas that encourage social interaction without compromising privacy. While some factors received the lowest ratings, including that the streets are narrow and graded, creating a feeling of security and privacy received the lowest rating, with an average of 2.45 (49%). It shows that the city's streets are not ideally designed to promote privacy, according to the participants' assessment. Narrow streets may enhance privacy by reducing visual and traffic movement, but they may be insufficient to provide adequate privacy. The adequate distances between the houses to increase privacy received an average of 2.75 (55%). It indicates that distances between houses are not always sufficient to provide real privacy.

Table 3: The Results of Assessing Privacy Level from the Questionnaire: Urban

Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture			Mean	S.D	Ratio	Pref. Order
Urban (3.60)	Urban Spatial Arrangement (3.34)	1) The streets are narrow and gradated for security and privacy.	2.45	0.87	49%	14
		2) The roads are not straight from a close-up visual perspective.	3.29	0.63	66%	11
		3) The residential units are oriented to give their back to the noise.	3.95	0.86	79%	5
		4) The urban space flows between the public and private.	3.67	0.75	73%	9
	Urban Treatments (3.54) 1) The fences and walls are used around the houses. 2) The trees are used to achieve visual and audio privacy. 3.71 0.65 74% 8		4.29	0.94	86%	1
		5) The visual relationship is controlled between homes and neighbors.	3.75	0.97	75%	7
		6) Building heights are formed to achieve high privacy.	3.21	0.70	64%	12
		7) Adequate distances between the houses to increase privacy.	2.75	0.61	55%	13
	Convenient Traditions and Norms (3.93)	8) The open spaces and squares represent places for meetings and gatherings.	4.21	0.87	84%	2
		9) The urban form fits with social habits and social morals.	4.00	0.73	80%	4
		10) The neighborhoods are formed according to social and tribal convergence.	3.42	0.62	68%	10
		11) The urban fabric generates a sense of familiarity and containment.	4.20	0.95	84%	3
		12) The streets show when there is a public area and a private area.	3.80	0.63	76%	6

Table 4 shows the results of the answers after analyzing and finding the mean and standard deviation. After analyzing the data, it became clear that the highest level of privacy was achieved at the level of facades, which was rated by participants with a value of 3.75, followed by the level of plans and layouts, which was

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rated by participants with a value of 3.70. Finally, at the level of urban planning, with a value of 3.60. Accordingly, it becomes clear that the treatments applied to the facades and to the plans and layouts are more responsive to achieving privacy because they are directly linked to the public part and its relationship with the private part. Spatial arrangements received the highest evaluation of all elements, as well as openings and windows, followed by architectural details, and then convenient traditions and norms. Urban spatial arrangements, building materials, and building techniques received the lowest value given by the participants.

Façades are a criterion that receives significant attention due to their impact on privacy. The external appearance of buildings, particularly facades, plays a significant role in controlling the relationship between internal and external spaces, thus enhancing privacy. Spatial arrangement appears to be the most important criteria that significantly influence privacy in traditional Yemeni architecture. According to participants' evaluations, openings, windows, and architectural details are considered the most important criteria, as they play a significant role in determining the level of privacy. The details include the used materials, forms, and decorations that may contribute to enhancing isolation between spaces. The wide variety in the criteria's averages and percentages indicates that some criteria and factors are considered more important than others are.

Table 4: The Results of Assessing Privacy Levels from the Questionnaire

Assessment of Privacy Level in Traditional Yemeni Architecture: A Case Study of Dhamar City		Mean	Ratio	Preference Order
Plans and Layouts (3.70)	1) Circulation and Transition	3.35	67%	9
	2) Spatial Arrangement	4.15	83%	1
	3) Privacy Level	3.60	72%	6
Façades (3.75)	4) Form and Shape	3.64	73%	5
	5) Architectural Details	4.01	80%	3
	6) Openings and Windows	4.14	83%	2
	7) Materials and Techniques	3.35	67%	9
	8) Elements Arrangement	3.59	72%	7
Urban (3.60)	9) Urban Spatial Arrangement	3.34	67%	10
	10) Urban Treatments	3.54	71%	8
	11) Convenient Traditions and Norms	3.93	79%	4

II. Conclusions and Recommendations

The concept of privacy means respecting the privacy of others and referring to the principles that protect and preserve the privacy of individuals. In addition, it is the process of monitoring boundaries between people and controlling relationships of openness and closeness. Among the most important principles in achieving privacy is the attempt to isolate between the sexes in house designs and to isolate the movement of guests and visitors from the movement of women. It is also possible to benefit from the elements that were used in traditional Yemeni architecture, such as Mashrabiyas, observation openings, and other details.

Plans and layouts usually reflect the culture and social customs of the population. The formation of internal spaces and the way they are organized based on a gradual hierarchy give an indication of achieving privacy. Furthermore, the vertical division of family functions was very effective. This concept can be developed through designs that contribute to accomplishing privacy between residential units. In addition, there is a need to improve the design of streets to achieve a better balance between security and privacy through increasing the distances between houses contributes to improving privacy.

The use of elements and methods of traditional architecture in contemporary architecture has achieved great success at the level of privacy, whether at the level of plans and layouts, at the level of facades, or at the level of urban planning. The results indicate the need to improve certain elements, such as windows and spaces between houses, to enhance privacy in traditional architecture, a matter that requires modification in urban architectural practices. Modern architecture should enhance the sense of belonging, privacy, moral behavior of family members, and social closeness among residents through a valuable connection to cultural and Islamic principles.

The failures of modern architecture in achieving privacy are due to a number of reasons, including unsocial dimensions of the streets, an increase in heights, the openness of buildings to the outside, and a lack of interest in meeting the user's needs. In addition, taking advantage of local structural traditions and architectural and urban treatments creates a modern building while maintaining the local identity. In addition, studying the ancient urban fabric of cities and benefiting from it provides the best solutions related to privacy.

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It is possible to connect the past, present, and future in light of customs, traditions, and privacy and apply this to contemporary architecture in a manner that suits the spirit of the times and adapts to modern technologies and new human requirements. In addition, it recommends a deeper study of the impact of social traditions on architectural design to achieve a balance between preserving architectural identity and modern privacy needs.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank all architect's participants in answering questionnaires of this study. The author would also like to thank all persons helping in the distribution of the questionnaires.

Data Availability

The data used to support the findings of this study are included within the article.

Funding

The authors received no specific funding for this work.

Author Contributions

Ahmed A. Al-Nehmi. The author has read and agree to the published version of the manuscript.

An ethics statement is not applicable because this work is based on published literature and personal wark.

Competing Interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Declarations

Ethics approval and consent to participate

Not applicable.

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Out of Sync: The Emotional and Social Cost of Living Ahead or Behind One's Time

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Abstract- This study deals with the emotional and social outcomes brought upon individuals who consider themselves as temporally misaligned either behind or ahead of the prevalent cultural and ideological standards at that time. Based on the cultural lag theory and existential psychology, this study examines the influence of temporal dissonance on identity, belonging, and well-being. The paper adopted a phenomenological research design in the form of in-depth semi-structured interviews with sixteen respondents, divided into two groups: those who consider themselves traditionalists and are finding it challenging to adjust to the changes of modern times, and those who consider themselves visionaries and are getting upset about the pace of social change. A thematic analysis unveiled these five major findings: temporal alienation, social misrecognition, emotional burden, tension in identity, and coping mechanisms wherein different belief systems led to identical underlying experiences of psychic pain and marginalization. Many also showed strength by creating different value systems and support groups. These results suggest that time not being in line is a meaningful way of looking at who a person is and how they feel, and it should be studied more in the fields of culture and psychology.

Keywords: *cultural dissonance, identity and belonging, phenomenological research, temporal misalignment.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: BF698.9.I3*



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I. Introduction

Most of human life is inseparable from the time when it occurs. Social habits, cultural forms, tools in hand, and political beliefs that give the fabric of individual existence shape are meaningful realities of lived experience. However, there are people whose beat does not fall within the dominant temporal rhythms of their societies. While the vast majority may or may not come to terms with a shift in society—chronically lagging or striving with the ideology, culture, or technology of the times, there are individuals, whether by nature or choice, feel themselves to be "misfits in their times," either fitting well with prevailing forms or reaching ahead to a future that is not fully present.

This feeling of not belonging in time can come in two quite different but equally distressing forms. There are people who have been left feeling somewhat adrift by the hastening change. Largely clinging to values or thoughts in a more traditional way, they may feel somewhat wary or uneasy about modern developments, like gender equality, digitization, or multiculturalism. Their pain comes from the fact not only of losing familiarity but also because the social frameworks that could anchor their identity and beliefs are eroding. And on the other side, people are there, who feel intellectually, ideologically, or creatively misplaced. Those avant-garde individuals typically have difficulty finding support or resonance in their communities. Their visions, ideas, and values may be opposed, laughed at, or met with indifference, leaving them feeling lonely and alienated.

This double phenomenon- being too long behind or too long in front of the social curve- raises big questions about the links between personal identity and historical setting. The term cultural lag, first used by William Fielding Ogburn (1922), usually means that society is not able to catch up with tech development, but here it can mean something else: the disagreement at the individual level with main cultural timelines. Also, from an existential psych view, the pain of being out of the right time can twist into crises of meaning, of loneliness, of emotional alienation.

Though highly relevant, little academic work has been done on this subject, particularly in terms of personal narratives and lived experience. Most of the social science works pursue the study of societal change at a macro level; it oftentimes leaves out the internal struggles of those who feel temporally out of step with the environment. The paper will set out to fill this lacuna by offering an exploration of how temporal misalignment influences the psychological well-being, identity formation, and social integration of individuals who perceive themselves to be either "behind" or "ahead" of their time.

This study, therefore, adopted a qualitative-phenomenological approach to inquire into the inner and social lives of two groups of participants: those who feel neglected by the modernizing process and those who feel oppressed by the constraints of their way of life. The study conducts in-depth interviews to perceive how temporal tensions mold their being and becoming, such as their identity, relationships, and emotional well-being. Thus, it adds to the more general question of the subjective cost of temporal desynchronization in a world that is becoming more dynamic and fragmented.

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II. Literature Review

a) Temporal Experience and the Individual

The experience of being 'out of sync' with one's time is a matter of enduring interest to philosophers and cultural theorists. First, Karl Mannheim (1936) brought in the concept of generational consciousness, contending that individuals are made by the social and historical setting of their birth but into also the awareness of their temporal dissonance. Recently, Rosa (2020) discussed Social Acceleration as the rapidity of change with technology and culture and its reaction with people either struggling to keep pace or demanding change the rest of society resists. These temporal disjunctions very often translate to alienation, feelings of disconnection, and even existential unease.

b) Cultural Lag and Psychological Dissonance

Cultural lag is the term for the relationship between technologically induced change in society and changes in nonscientific, nonmaterial culture (Ogburn, 1922). More specifically, cultural lag refers to the macro-social inertia of society at large. With recent re-readings of the Ogburn thesis, attention has shifted to the micro-level social experience of individuals feeling that there is a lag in time between their values and the values of society (Kavoori, 2021). Those who are slower in adopting emerging norms feel the burden of being left behind and experience anxiety, if not moral panic and even plain confusion (Heim & Ziegler, 2022). Those who are quicker to articulate an emerging social vision are currently well in advance of popular social opinion and, in many instances, are ridiculed by that emerging group and are, therefore, experiencing real psychological distress (Ahmed & Singh, 2023).

c) Existential and Social Costs of Temporal Misalignment

From a view that combines both time and psychology, being mismatched temporally could lead to what was described by Yalom (1980) as "existential isolation"— a profound feeling of not fitting in or being connected. Those who are ideologically late might feel out of culture, while for those ahead of time, it could be an issue of being underappreciated for a long while, or even considered a problem. Failing to connect to one's temporal surroundings often leads to a self-idea that is not whole, less wellness, and problems with people (Smith & Delaney, 2021).

Time is another factor that determines whether or not people easily get integrated into a society. According to the sociological and cultural viewpoints, sharing temporal basics forms a fundamental aspect of social integration. In cases where individual timing sharply deviates from the group's rhythms, one can become marginalized in both subtle and overt manners. This would be the progressives in societies where the collective impulse is received and the conservatives in places where collective impulse is not welcomed. This tension between the individual will and the general wish creates chronic emotional conflicts in the person.

d) Gap in the Literature

Although there has been increasing consideration of the psychic effects of cultural and technological change, there has been virtually no direct, sustained empirical investigation into the subjective experiences of those who believe themselves to be temporally misaligned with their social context. Most studies deal with issues of generational change, innovation resistance, or future-oriented thinking at the level of the institution. The day-to-day experiences of those for whom "too far behind" or "too far ahead" applies are very much not well understood, at least not through qualitative, person-centered research. This study addresses that gap by focusing on the narratives of individuals who consciously perceive themselves as temporally out of step with contemporary society, using their self-understandings as the primary data source.

e) Research Questions

1. How do people feeling temporally misaligned—either behind or ahead of their time—experience their psychological and emotional life?
2. What social confrontation and forms of marginalization do they encounter in their relationships?
3. What coping strategies do they use to manage the tension between their internal beliefs and the dominant cultural narratives?

III. Methodology

a) Research Design

This study used a qualitative phenomenological research design to look into the lived experiences of individuals who see themselves as either laggards or leads in adopting particular technologies. The choice of phenomenology proves the most relevant in this study because it concerns the essence of lived experience, where one learns how to interpret highly subjective matters like alienation, or even destitution and displacement, from prevailing sociocultural currents (Moustakas, 1994). The aim was not to measure or categorize the participants in any which way, but to learn how they themselves make sense of their temporal dissonance and the bearing it has on their identities and emotions.

b) Participant Selection and Self-identification

Participants were chosen by a selective sampling approach and then a snowball sample to find people who felt that there was a time lag in their values and the mainstream culture. The selection materials used inclusive, nondirective wording and asked people who felt "out of step with the times" to share their stories. A total of 16 participants, 8 who saw themselves

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as "behind" their time and 8 as "ahead" of their time, from urban areas with different jobs and education levels.

Participants were required to complete a short screening questionnaire before the actual interview in order to establish genuine identification into target categories. The questionnaire comprised Likert-scale statements and an open-ended question meant to determine whether the individual perceived themselves as ideologically or culturally "behind" or "ahead" of their time. Sample items include: "I often feel my values are outdated compared to society," and "I feel that society is not ready for my ideas." These responses were later used to assign participants to either the "Temporal Traditionalist" or "Temporal Visionary" group, based on their self-perception, and not on any existing external classification. This ensured the phenomenological integrity of the study stayed true to the conscious understanding of the experience by the actors.

The participants were aged between 22 and 61 years, comprising 9 males and 7 females – and including university lecturers, artists, IT professionals, students, and retirees. The inclusion criteria were adults aged 18 to 65 years, with fluency in English or Uzbek and able to express themselves in a narrative interview. Active treatment for acute psychiatric presentation was the only exclusion as a means to separate existential experiences from the effects of clinical pathology. All participants provided written informed consent.

c) Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were the most common way of gathering information. Depending on what the interviewee was comfortable with, the interviews happened either online through Zoom or directly and took between 45 to 75 minutes. All interviews were recorded after taking permission. Depending on the comfort of the interviewee, the conversation happened in English or Uzbek. The responses in Uzbek were translated and then back-translated by professionals to ensure consistency. The interviews were designed to encourage the sharing of very personal experiences and thoughts. It included questions like: "Can you describe a time when you felt out of place because of your beliefs or values?" and "How do you relate to the current era you live in?".

d) Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed correctly and checked using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase system of thematic study. First came immersion: reading the transcripts time and time again to get to know the content well. After that, codes were made by hand, picking up both direct feelings (like clear mentions of separation, strong feelings, or not understanding) and hidden meanings told in the stories by the people.

Following this phase of open coding, the analyst uploaded the transcripts to NVivo 12 for a systematic process of further developing and arranging the codes. Categories like "feeling left behind," "being too progressive," and "judged by others" were evident in the respondents. For example, Nargiza said, "Everything changed too fast. The values I grew up with are now seen as 'wrong' or 'old-fashioned,'" first coded with nostalgia but later properly subsumed under the wider theme temporal alienation.

Codes were grouped into basic headings on the basis of common concepts and feelings. The researcher then used visual maps of themes to help sort through codes in order to begin to see how they related to each other. After much back-and-forth discussion, five main themes were eventually decided upon and these included the experience of being disconnected in time, rejected by society and not seen for who they are, the emotional burden of being misplaced, grappling with one's identity and the self-doubt that comes with it, and finally, coping mechanisms and time-bound resilience. For example, under the theme of "coping mechanisms," what Rashid said, "The internet saved me. I may not fit in here, but somewhere out there, someone understands," was first labeled as digital refuge and then eventually combined with others that described alternative communities and all the other types of strategies for psychological survival.

Themes were constantly checked back to the raw data to make sure that they really expressed what the participants' lived experiences were. Actively searching for disconfirming evidence and counter-narratives to keep the analysis sharp. Sharpened in small group discussions and the theoretical framework, improving clarity and representational accuracy.

e) Ethical Considerations

This study was carried out with the highest ethical considerations in qualitative research, especially because the topic is emotionally charged. All participants were fully made aware of the purpose, scope, and procedures of the research before they got involved. An informed consent form was provided, including the rights of the participants to withdraw at any time without consequences, and to stress the voluntary nature of participation.

For the purpose of ensuring and upholding the anonymity and confidentiality of all participants, pseudonyms are applied throughout this data presentation. No identifying detail that may link the responses to any individual or institution is removed or modified. The audio recordings and their transcripts are stored in a secure encrypted password-protected device accessible to the researcher only.

Given the possible depths of emotion that the interviews may lead to, they were informed that at any point they could pause a question, skip a question, or stop the interview. No distress — reported either during the interviews or after — but, just to be safe, all were

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given a number for general psychological support service.

Throughout the research process, the emotional and narrative integrity of participants' voices was treated with care and respect, and efforts were made to ensure that their contributions were represented ethically and accurately in the final write-up.

f) Trustworthiness

To enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings, several strategies were employed throughout the research process.

A constant interaction with the data was kept up by reading and reflecting on it time and again. The transcripts were gone through many reads not just for coding, but also to pick out the subtleties, contradictions, and the emotional color of the narratives.

Secondly, four members were checked by inviting them to review the summaries of their interviews. Feedback clarified that there was no misunderstanding at all, except for some misinterpretations in language or context. For example, one participant noted that their frustration was not with the imputation of societal rejection but with the lack of meaningful conversation.

The third strategy used in this study to reduce researcher bias was peer debriefing. The coding scheme and theme definitions were shown to a qualitative researcher colleague for critical review. This helped in further sharpening overlapping categories and in checking for over-interpretations.

The study fourthly utilized thick description, including proper contextualized quotes relating to the emotions and social realities of the participants. This can help the readers properly engage with the data and make judgments about its transferability to other settings.

Lastly, audit trails were maintained for decisions made during coding and theme development, and NVivo project logs preserved the analytic process for transparency and reproducibility.

g) Researcher Positionality

Being the only one carrying out this study, I admit that my background, beliefs, and personal experiences have informed the inquiry at various levels. A qualitative researcher and a language teacher, I have for long been interested in how individuals deal with social change, especially in cultures where old and new values coexist.

Personally, a feeling of "not belonging in the moment" has often crossed my mind— especially when I have to interact with some older, more conservative-thinking peers, and some younger, more forward-looking students. This double exposure has made me more aware of the cost, both emotional and psychological, that temporal misalignment can have.

My teaching, mentoring, and interaction with people of different generations sparked my interest in exploring the lived experiences of individuals who feel disconnected from the dominant cultural stories. I had a personal and academic stake in this endeavor: I wanted to give a voice to those whose internal time does not match the larger, social dominant clock.

Throughout the research process, I engaged in reflexive journaling, noting when my assumptions or reactions might have influenced interpretation. This ongoing reflection helped me remain aware of my positionality and to consciously foreground participants' voices over my own expectations.

IV. Results

Five major themes emerged from the experience of emotional, social, and identity-related consequences of temporal misalignment in the 16 interviews. These themes often overlapped, with specific patterns more pronounced in either the Temporal Traditionalist or Temporal Visionary group. The text is kept valid by including direct quotations (using pseudonyms) to show the authenticity and emotional tone of the narratives shared by the participants.

a) Theme 1: Temporal Alienation

All participants in both categories felt a repeated sense of disconnection from the prevailing zeitgeist. In the Temporal Traditionalists group, this feeling came from a seeming loss of familiarity, right and wrong, and togetherness. For instance, Nargiza, who is 54 years old and used to teach, believed:

"Everything changed too fast. The values I grew up with are now seen as 'wrong' or 'old-fashioned.' It feels like the world is leaving people like me behind."

On the contrary, Temporal Visionaries felt isolated not by dejection but by vexation. Their concepts, as oriented toward the future, frequently suffered without backing from society. Farid, a futurist who is 29 years old said:

"It's very tiring to always be ahead of the conversation. People roll their eyes or say, 'You think too much.' I just see where we're headed — why is that so scary to them?"

In both groups, the feeling of not "belonging" in their time was accompanied by internal conflict and social fatigue.

b) Theme 2: Social Rejection and Misrecognition

Participants would feel that their temporal orientation brought a lot of social cost. The traditionalists would feel that the younger mocked them and even the institutions were not valuing them. Sohail, a 47-year-old accountant, noted:

"When I talk about how we used to live or how kids should behave, people act like I'm some backward fool. It's painful."

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Visionaries, meanwhile, described a different but parallel form of rejection — not for being behind, but for being "too much." Layla, a 33-year-old artist and feminist activist, remarked:

"I've been told, 'People aren't ready for your kind of thinking.' But how long do I have to wait for the world to catch up?"

There was a great deal of emotional pain involved in feeling misrecognized—seen through inaccurate or distorted lenses, whether with family, coworkers, or any kind of authority figure. This was the main theme that surfaced during the interaction.

c) *Theme 3: Emotional Weight of Misplacement*

The mental burden of feeling "out of time" would be palpable. Traditionalists would speak of anxiety, nostalgia, and even grief. A number of participants would speak of mourning the world it had once known. Zarina, 45 years, homemaker shared:

"I sometimes cry watching old movies. Not because they're sad, but because they show a time that felt safe. I don't feel safe anymore."

For *Visionaries*, the emotional weight took the form of loneliness, burnout, and a lack of meaningful dialogue. Ali, a 26-year-old sustainability consultant, explained:

"It's like shouting into a void. I care so deeply, but it's like nobody wants to listen until it's too late."

This theme illustrates that while the source of suffering differs (loss vs. delay), the emotional texture — sadness, exhaustion, and existential loneliness — is shared.

d) *Theme 4: Identity Tension and Self-doubt*

Temporal misalignment created an ongoing struggle for the individuals to reconcile their inside identity with the outside perception. Most of the people from the older generation described feeling irrelevant or obsolete. Shavkat, a 58-year-old ex-government worker, said:

"It's like I'm a VHS tape in a streaming world."

Visionaries described moments of imposter syndrome or self-censorship in professional settings. Nilufar, a 38-year-old academic, reflected:

"Sometimes I think, maybe I am *out of touch. Maybe I* should *just tone it down. But then I feel like I'm betraying myself."*

This theme highlights an identity conflict — between holding onto one's convictions and adapting to the pressures of time-bound environments.

e) *Theme 5: Coping Mechanisms and Temporal Resilience*

Despite the hurt, many involved developed adaptive strategies. Those of the old school often looked to customs, religion, or groups based on olden times for support. Malika, who was 50 years old and an educator in matters of religion, said:

"I've found peace in going back to what matters — prayer, family, simple things. Let the world run ahead. I don't need to chase it."

Visionaries, on the other hand, leaned on creative expression, online platforms, or international communities to find resonance. Rashid, a 32-year-old transhumanist thinker, explained:

"The internet saved me. I may not fit in here, but somewhere out there, someone understands."

This theme suggests that while temporal misalignment can be isolating, it can also generate unique forms of resilience, meaning, and even leadership when participants find or build alternative spaces for belonging.

V. Discussion and Conclusion

This study sought to analyze the emotional and social experiences of persons who feel themselves as temporally misaligned, whether as "lagging" or "leading" the time. On the basis of in-depth, phenomenological interviews with 16 participants in urban areas, it emerged that though the bases of temporal misalignment are different, the emotive outcomes—alienation, misrecognition, identity battle, and resilience—were quite similar among both groups. The identified themes point at a common psychological and social effort of making sense of one's identity when feeling discrepant to the dominant cultural and ideological timelines.

Temporal alienation relates closely to Rosa's (2020) social acceleration, where the increasing rapid transformation of society surges beyond one's capacity to catch up emotionally or cognitively. Former Temporal Traditionalists expressed such alienation through nostalgia and loss; here, one remembers cultural sociological findings on the relationship between rapid modernization and disorientation and moral unease (Heim & Ziegler, 2022). For the former Temporal Visionaries, alienation manifests anticipatory frustrations: their ideas and values do not find resonance, are misunderstood, perhaps even considered threatening by others. This resonates with Ahmed and Singh's (2023) argument that cultural progressives often feel symbolically invisible when the broader society lacks a language or a structure within which to apprehend their ideas.

The theme of social acceptance and understanding relates to Ogburn's (1922) cultural lag theory, which is transformed here from a large social process into an individual dynamic. They were out-groups: the traditionalists because they withheld the change, and the visionaries because they grasped it too soon. Most significantly, the misrecognition was not

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radical or conservative but dissenting at a time when it broke with the rest of society. Such rejection compounds what Yalom (1980) described as existential isolation, wherein at one and the same time individuals are separate from others and from shared meanings.

In terms of who they are, participants often struggled to reconcile with how they are perceived. Traditionalists used metaphors of fears of irrelevance, oscillating between self-assurance and self-doubt. Visionaries, on the other hand, described identity instability. This supports Smith and Delaney's (2021) findings that ideological dissonance can erode one's sense of coherence and belonging when sustained over time. Yet, what emerges across both groups is not only suffering but also resilience.

The last notion, coping methods and temporal strength, speaks for human adjust. The old ones usually felt comfort in belief, family custom, or old community, reasserting former fonts of self in a quick world. The new thinkers, however, used internet areas, artistic show, and worldwide links to moor their purpose sense. These results imply that when people are refused acknowledgment within their direct time setting, they often look for—or make—other places where their values can be confirmed.

This study also proves a methodological point by showing that self-perceived temporal identity is a meaningful lens through which to explore individual suffering as well as resilience and adaptation. Rather than frame these participants as deviant or misguided, the phenomenological approach will see them as subjects navigating a deep existential question of where, and when, do I belong?

This study though with immense contributions should be interpreted within the several limitations. First, the sample comprises urban self-selected individuals and therefore the findings may only be applicable within such a sociocultural background and cannot be generalized. Data are subjective because they are based on the experiences of the respondents, a limitation, and at the same time a strength of a phenomenological inquiry. Future research should take the weaknesses further by being cross-cultural, or investigating temporal dislocation in terms of adolescence or even old age, or how dissonance in individuals is received by the different kind of institutions.

Who lag or lead in time. It contended that the temporal misalignment is not just a personal quirk or a characteristic of the generation, but a social and existential condition of much deeper implications. As the societies continue changing-increasingly important to note the subjective, often psychological, costs exacted upon those who fall outside, or cannot keep up with the velocity? of the change, listening to their stories deepens empathy but also lays a critical imperative upon us to question whether our definitions of progress, relevance, and modernity are as inclusive as we assume.

VI. Suggestions for Future Research

The results of this study should be applied to further research on temporal misalignment in various cultural, geographic, and generational contexts. Comparison between the rural and urban, or rapidly modernizing against more stable cultural settings, may bring important insights into how sociocultural pace shapes experiences of temporal alienation. The results from this present cross-cultural study are suggestive of the need for a more in-depth, extensive cross-cultural study. Longitudinal research should be used to trace whether and how people eventually change, re-adjust, or re-align themselves after long periods during which they felt themselves to be "out of sync." This study should be followed up by more in-depth studies to identify the nature of the temporal divergences that strong individual informants may exhibit in how different organizations, like schools, businesses, or religious groups, react to such temporal divergences. A quantitative inquiry could test the current relationships between temporal misalignment, psychological well-being, and social integration. Lastly, greater focus needs to be laid on the experience of temporal dissonance by adolescents and the elderly, the two most commonly found categories within the process of generational shifts, who may resist the change and, therefore, express it in a different way.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Competing Interests

The author declares no competing interests.

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Form of Structural Racism in the Labor Market

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Abstract- This article seeks to present how the formation of Brazil had as a development project the reproduction of racial discrimination against the black people. Structural racism is the systematic practice of disadvantage based on race, impacting all public and private relations. How did the change in the slavery form of production to structural racism impact the Brazilian labour market? Specifically, the article presents the form of anti-black racism in the labour market, its naturalization with the debates on national identity and white superiority are organization the inferiozation of black people.

Keywords: *structural racism, labour market, white superiority, inequality.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: HD4903.5.B55*



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The Form of Structural Racism in the Labor Market

A Forma do Racismo Estrutural no Mercado de Trabalho[1]

Waleska Miguel Batista

Resumo- **Este artigo busca apresentar como a formação do Brasil teve como projeto de desenvolvimento a reprodução da discriminação racial contra a população negra. O racismo estrutural é a prática sistemática de desvantagem com fundamento na raça impactando todas as relações públicas e privadas. Pergunta-se, como a mudança do modo de produção escravagista para o racismo estrutural impactou o mercado de trabalho brasileiro? Especificamente, apresenta-se a forma do racismo antinegro no mercado de trabalho, sua naturalização com os debates sobre a identidade nacional e com a superioridade branca promovem a subalternação da população negra.[1]**

Palavras-chaves: racismo estrutural, mercado de trabalho, superioridade branca, desigualdade.

Abstract- **This article seeks to present how the formation of Brazil had as a development project the reproduction of racial discrimination against the black people. Structural racism is the systematic practice of disadvantage based on race, impacting all public and private relations. How did the change in the slavery form of production to structural racism impact the Brazilian labour market? Specifically, the article presents the form of anti-black racism in the labour market, its naturalization with the debates on national identity and white superiority are organization the inferiorization of black people.**

Keywords: structural racism, labour market, white superiority, inequality.

Introdução

A formação do Brasil é um estudo complexo, pois para alguns autores este país não era uma nação, não tinha identidade e muito menos habilidades e competências de se tornar um Estado tal como os da Europa. O período escravagista no Brasil foi um dos mais intensos da América Latina, pois recebeu o maior contingente de pessoas escravizadas do continente africano. Os escravizados vieram de diversas regiões do continente africano, sendo forçados a desenraizar como forma de sobrevivência.[2] A chegada no Brasil era um misto de medo na nova terra, violência e saudades de sua terra e de seu povo. "O sistema de escravidão racial e seu lugar no desenvolvimento do comércio global forneceram bases fortes para a análise da escravidão, da *plantation* e de outras modernidades coloniais.".[3]

Júlio Vellozo e Silvio Almeida apresentam que havia um pacto de todos contra os escravizados,[4] e que "o escravo no Brasil do século XIX tornou-se uma fantasia, um item de vestimenta social e de auto-apresentação, bem como a fonte da energia que produziu a verdadeira riqueza econômica".[5]

No aspecto formal, o processo abolicionista, na sua última fase, limita-se a repetir o esquema do jogo partidário que conduziu à lei do ventre-livre: depois de uma acirrada resistência do Partido Conservador, o reconhecimento da inevitabilidade da tarefa, levada a cabo, por fim, por uma dissidência. Mas enquanto a solução da Lei de 1871 interpreta-se, ao nível imediato, unicamente no plano político partidário, a de 1888 atende diretamente às disposições de um pequeno setor da constelação agrária – o imigrantista.[6]

A escravidão brasileira foi abolida em 13 de maio de 1888, com a Lei Áurea, que estabeleceu que a

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[1] Este artigo é resultado da tese de doutorado da autora.

[2] Este processo de desenraizamento era na vida cotidiana aceitar os costumes dos escravizadores, obedecer a suas regras e seguir o deus deles. A forma de disciplinar os corpos a tais práticas era com a violência física e até sexual dos escravizados. O processo de desenraizamento era a transformação de um homem livre em escravizado, que se iniciava já no Atlântico, nos navios negreiros.

[3] GILROY, Paul. O atlântico Negro: Modernidade e dupla consciência. Tradução de Cid Knipel Moreira. Rio de Janeiro: Editora 34, 2001, p. 11.

[4] VELLOZO; Julio; ALMEIDA, Silvio Luiz O pacto de todos contra os escravos. Rio de Janeiro, Rev. Direito e Práxis, v. 10, n. 3, 2019, p. 2140. Disponível em: https://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/index.php/revistaceaju/article/view/40640/30317. Acesso em: 22 jun. 2025.

[5] Leslie Bethell afirmou que os escravizados nas grandes cidades eram utilizados como empregados domésticos e "negros de ganho", ou seja, que eram alugados por seus senhores a outras pessoas, atuando nas funções de carregadores nas docas, de lixo e água, assim como carpinteiros e pedreiros. ROBINSON, Cedric J. Black marxism: the making of the Black radical tradition. The University of North Carolina Press, 2000, p. 150.

[6] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Ed[a]. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. 51.

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escravidão das pessoas negras estava extinta, a ponto de todos os escravizados serem libertos.[7] Todavia, essa lei não foi uma liberalidade da coroa portuguesa, tampouco da Princesa Isabel. A lei áurea foi resultado de um movimento abolicionista enquanto um movimento social fundamental para o fim da abolição. Angela Alonso[8] apontou que a Princesa Isabel não foi uma "Redentora", pelo contrário, a autora destacou que sem os escravizados e os abolicionistas como Rebuças, Patrocínio, Vicente de Sousa e Luiz Gama não teria acontecido a abolição em 13 de maio.[9]

Além disso, havia pressão internacional da Inglaterra desde a Independência do Brasil, em 22 de abril de 1822, para que o regime escravagista fosse extinto.[10] O trabalho não vai apresentar a organização e tampouco o funcionamento do modo de produção escravista do Brasil, porém é importante destacar que por causa dessa forma de organização social, até os dias de hoje se reverbera racismo contra as pessoas negras, ora por motivos religiosos, ora biológicos e relacionais, estruturado em toda a sociedade. Na escravidão, as pessoas negras eram mercadoria, e homens, mulheres e crianças trabalhavam a mesma forma. "Os africanos, transplantados como escravos para a América, viram a sua vida e o seu destino associar-se a um terrível sistema de exploração do homem pelo homem, em que não contavam senão como e enquanto instrumento de capital."[11]

Durante todo o período escravista houve resistência a escravidão. No Brasil, a formação do Quilombo dos Palmares, foi o símbolo de luta contra o futuro que fora reservado aos negros. Seu líder, Zumbi dos Palmares, foi assassinado em 1695, por incursões da coroa portuguesa, mas seu legado foi mantido. Outros Quilombos foram surgindo e esse espaço se tornou o lugar de sociabilidade, segurança e resistência.[12] Florestan Fernandes afirmou que "sem a participação direta dos escravos e de negros livres ou libertos rebeldes, as agitações não fluiriam com o mesmo vigor das senzalas. Os ritmos históricos seriam mais lentos e, provavelmente, a 'história oficial' ainda mais capciosa".[13]

Angela Alonso aponta que após a abolição houve muita festa, comemorações, bailes e homenagens. No entanto, houve divisão sobre o futuro do ex-escravizado. "O desacordo só sumia em dois quesitos, a educação e a tutela ao ex-escravo, pois os abolicionistas nunca cogitaram deixá-los gerentes do próprio futuro [...]. Também dissensos entre monarquistas e Republicanos retalharam a bandeira abolicionista".[14]

Este trabalho tem o objetivo de compreender os aspectos jurídicos e políticas que evidenciavam um Estado Brasileiro com projeto nacional segregador, e que com a vestimenta da neutralidade destinou a população negra a condição de inferiorização e alvos da discriminação racial. Assim, primeiramente, apresenta-se as legislações na República após a abolição, e sua utilização para dar estruturação ao racismo. A seguir, apresenta-se a construção da identidade nacional brasileira que culmina no racismo estrutural. E por fim, as evidências cotidianas do racismo no mercado de trabalho.

A partir da revisão bibliográfica de artigos científicos e livros, apresenta a hipótese de que a superioridade branca faz parte do projeto nacional brasileiro, na medida em que o racismo ainda é a normalidade nas relações sociais, especificamente, nas relações de trabalho até os dias de hoje.

I. Inserção no Mercado de Trabalho na Nova República Após a Abolição da Escravidão no Brasil

Após a abolição, a divisão do trabalho por classe e raça e outros mecanismos de hierarquização foram acionados a partir da ideia de que todos são iguais perante a lei. No entanto, a pessoa negra tinha outro código de relação social e a normalização com que isso foi apresentado demonstra a complexidade

[7] A Lei n. 3.353 de 1888 declara extinta a escravidão no Brasil, sendo este o último país do continente americano a abolir completa e oficialmente a escravatura.

[8] ALONSO, Angela. Flores, votos e balas: o movimento abolicionista brasileiro (1868-1888).1ª. Ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015,

[9] Nunca aconteceu uma escravidão pacífica. "Ora, se todos os escravos fossem disciplinados, fizessem acordos, aceitassem a cultura da escravidão segundo os critérios da concessão do senhor, então, como diria Marx, a história pararia". MOURA, Clóvis. Dialética Radical do Brasil Negro. São Paulo: Editora Anita, 1994, p. 21.

[10] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Edª. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. 6.

[11] BASTIDE, Roger; FERNANDES, Florestan. Relações raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo. São Paulo: Anhembi Limitada, 1955.

[12] Durante todo o período escravagista houve resistência e revolta dos escravizados, que recebiam incentivos de pessoas negras libertas, de abolicionistas e se organizavam coletivamente a partir dos vínculos solidários que devolviam nas fazendas. Os quilombos foram a organização social, política e econômica de libertação. MARQUESE, Rafael de Bivar. A dinâmica da escravidão no Brasil: resistência, tráfico negreiro e alforrias, séculos XVII a XIX. São Paulo, Novos Estudos, CEBRAP, n. 74, mar. 2006, p. 109-123. Disponível em: https://www.scielo.br/j/nec/a/xB5SjkdK7zXRvRjKRXRfKPh/?lang=pt#. Acesso em: 15 dez. 2022.

[13] FERNANDES, Florestan. *O significado do protesto negro*. São Paulo: Cortez: Autores associados, 1989 (e-book).

[14] ALONSO, Angela. Flores, votos e balas: o movimento abolicionista brasileiro (1868-1888).1ª. Ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015, p. 363.

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que promoveu o desmonte dessa estrutura. Deu-se início ao período do Brasil República em 1889, e houve a promulgação da Constituição da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil, de 1891, que era uma réplica da Constituição estadunidense, com o objetivo de organizar um Estado democrático e livre. Esta Constituição tem muitas contradições, como o fato de reconhecer que os escravizados que chegaram ao Brasil até 15 de novembro são cidadãos brasileiros, porém não lhe deram qualquer dignidade para sobreviver.[15] Também havia vedação para pessoas em situação de rua e analfabetos participarem nas reuniões.[16] Todas as pessoas foram declaradas iguais perante a Lei.[17] Interessante que a Constituição dos Estados Unidos da América também prescrevia que todos eram iguais, mas manteve o regime escravagista quase 100 anos após sua publicação, reforçando a ideia de que não se aplicava as pessoas negras, motivo que eclodiu a Guerra Civil da Secessão naquele país.[18]

O Código Penal da República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil, de 1890, estabelecia a pena de prisão para os crimes prescritos como vadiagem (art. 399) e capoeira (art. 400), o que mostra a seletividade sobre quais os corpos que eram encarcerados com essa tipificação, ou seja, as pessoas negras. O crime de vadiagem era imputado as pessoas negras que não tinham trabalho comprovado, e a capoeira que era uma luta dos escravizados foi criminalizada. Em razão dessas normas bem como das relações comerciais estabelecidas pelo Código Comercial de 1850, os negros foram estrategicamente marginalizados pela ordem social, com a chancela do Estado, que naturalizava e normalizava a inferiorização dos negros. Desde meados do século XIX, o Estado brasileiro promovia a imigração de pessoas brancas da Europa para ocuparem os trabalhos que eram exercidos pelas pessoas negras, de modo que abolida a escravidão, a exportação e migração racializada de mão de obra aumentou.[19]

Não obstante, com o objetivo de inserção do Brasil na ordem competitiva do capitalismo, que impõe a maximização dos lucros, os negros foram utilizados para que os salários dos brancos permanecessem baixos, e que a fusão de classes impedisse as lutas contra esse sistema. Quer dizer, a racialização serviu de mecanismo para que a exploração fosse mantida, e para que os negros inferiorizados fossem vistos em situação pior que a do branco explorado. Além da estrutura racializada de organização do Brasil após a abolição, este país possuía um planejamento econômico alicerçado na dependência econômica internacional, em que se exporta café, açúcar, borracha e outros produtos para a Europa e para os Estados Unidos.[20] "Com efeito, a economia açucareira e a cafeeira obedecem ao mesmo processo cíclico – expansão, apogeu e decadência (ou superprodução) – e mantêm o mesmo baixo nível da técnica, na produtividade e na remuneração dos agentes de produção econômica".[21] Em que pese o capitalismo ser o cerne das dinâmicas de exploração, nota-se que a desigualdade racial tem sido um dos elementos de reprodução desse sistema, pois o recebimento de imigrantes era seletivo pela ascendência europeia. Além disso, não havia oposição entre acabar com escravidão e ter mão de obra imigrante, uma vez que a exportação de imigrantes europeus para o Brasil fazia parte de um mecanismo de mais-valia, em que os imigrantes se tornavam consumidores, o que aumentaria os lucros dos comerciantes.[22] Ao mesmo, a imigração também contribuía com a política de branqueamento que estava sendo ampliada na estrutura estatal.

Encontramos pois, concernente à abolição, um pequeno setor – o imigrantista – para o qual o escravismo se apresenta como um óbice e que capitaliza em seu proveito a destruição dele. Contudo, há que notar que a agitação abolicionista não emerge de um confronto direto entre forças pró e antiabolicionistas dentro da constelação escravista (por exemplo, como ocorreu nos Estados Unidos). Mais do

[15] Art. 69, 4º. "os estrangeiros, que achando-se no Brasil aos 15 de novembro de 1889, não declararem, dentro em seis meses depois de entrar em vigor a Constituição, o ânimo de conservar a nacionalidade de origem". Ou seja, aqueles cidadãos que estavam escravizados ou filhos de escravizadas, que estavam no Brasil nessa data são brasileiros.

[16] Art. 70, §1º, alínea A e B. Não há dados que apresentem a proporção de negros em situação de rua (mendigos) e os analfabetos, mas com certeza era mais elevado do que o de brancos, uma vez que os negros foram libertos, mas sem qualquer trabalho ou condições de sobrevivência.

[17] Art. 72, §2º, da CF de 1891.

[18] Alfredo Bosi afirmou que "A Guerra da Secessão americana dividiu, também entre nós, os dois campos: ao passo que um Varnhagem, padroeiro da historiografia tradicional, mostrava simpatia pelos fazendeiros do Sul, Tavares e Perdigão Malheiro viam na luta do Norte e na figura de Lincoln exemplos de uma nova mentalidade que devia ser imitada. Neste, como em outros momentos de nossa história de ideias as relações entre os centros de poder e suas periferias merecem receber um tratamento que não as reduza às afirmações de tudo ou nada". BOZI, Alfredo. A dialética da colonização. 3ª Reimpressão, 1ª Ed. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992, p. 237.

[19] ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. - São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 170-171.

[20] "Nesse sentido, o Brasil não deixa de ser uma espécie de modelo, uma vez que sua dependência econômica neocolonial — exportação de alimentos e de matéria-prima para as metrópoles do capitalismo internacional — juntamente com a permanência de formas produtivas anteriores e a formação de uma massa marginal caracterizam essa problemática". GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020, fl. 39 (e-book).

[21] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Edª. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. IX.

[22] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Edª. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. 39.

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que isso, são ambíguas as relações entre o abolicionismo e o imigrantismo.[23] O Brasil foi o único país da América Latina a impor barreiras aos imigrantes chineses, japoneses e de países africanos. Somente eram recebidos no Brasil imigrantes europeus.[24]

Paula Beiguelman afirmou que em meados de 1870-80, havia fazendeiros que ainda pensavam que o trabalho escravo era mais lucrativo. No entanto, os abolicionistas já apresentavam estudos de que o trabalho livre dava mais lucros, pois os colonos não ficavam sob responsabilidade dos fazendeiros, bem como eles tinham que dar metade de tudo que produziam nas terras do proprietário em que eles trabalhavam. Contudo, houve denúncias de que os colonos não eram bem tratados, que as condições de trabalho e vida eram degradantes, motivo que muitos tinham interesse em ir para os centros urbanos e não ficarem nas fazendas. O fluxo de imigrantes a partir de meados do século XIX foi intenso, a ponto de em 1895 terem entrado 139.998 imigrantes no Brasil. Repete-se,. Estes eram imigrantes brancos, provindos da Itália, em sua maioria.[25]

A astúcia dos fazendeiros com a imigração também era resultado da mais-valia e perpetuação das condições de exploração, uma vez que os imigrantes chegariam "material e culturalmente expropriados, isto é, destituídos de recursos, instrumentos produtivos, sem acesso à terra" e almejando se tornarem os capitalistas – o sonho da "América".[26] No entanto, todo o contrato feito dos imigrantes com os fazendeiros ou com o Estado, era para que eles não acumulassem riqueza, e tampouco tivessem condições de saírem das propriedades rurais rumo às cidades. Pelo contrato, o fazendeiro arcava com os custos de viagem e chegada dos imigrantes, e estes deveriam plantar e cuidar de determinado número de cafezais, e dar os lucros de parte da terra aos proprietários. "Na realidade, a utilização da mão de obra estrangeira fora equacionada para levar o trabalhador ao endividamento".[27]

E mesmo com a abolição, momento em que os fazendeiros poderiam fazer a contratação de pessoas enquanto trabalhadores livres, ainda que ex-escravizados, houve a preferência pelos imigrantes. Dentre os motivos pela escolha, além do branqueamento, havia a projeção de vantagens aos fazendeiros brasileiros pelo fato da Itália ter entrado em crise econômica em 1870.[28] Desse modo, o processo de transição para o trabalho livre, mudou a lógica de que a terra pertencia a quem tivesse mais escravizados ou colonos para cuidar dela, para a lógica de que a propriedade da terra é um direito apenas de pessoas detentoras de poder. Na verdade, os grupos de pessoas influentes e fazendeiros, vendo que perdiam seu controle sobre a mão-de-obra escravizada e livre, limitaram a possibilidade de acesso à terra. Por isso é que nem os escravizados e tampouco os colonos tinham propriedades, o que fez com que muitos se dirigissem às cidades.[29] "Entre 1888 e 1890 aportaram 304 mil [imigrantes], pouco mais da metade em São Paulo. Dessa data até 1920, o Estado recebe 1 milhão e 590 mil estrangeiros, ao passo que para outras áreas

[23] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Edª. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. 40.

[24] "Sabemos que o Brasil foi o único país das Américas que se negou a receber imigrantes não brancos. Mesmo nos Estados Unidos, considerados um país extremamente racista, receberam os indianos, chineses, enfim, todos os grupos não brancos; como vamos encontrar no Peru, também no Caribe etc. O Brasil foi o único país que rejeitou o imigrante não branco, porque o propósito fundamental era transformar este país num país capaz de chegar à civilização. O que significa isso? Significa que a ideologia dominante na sociedade brasileira, no final do século XIX até os anos 1930, embora essa ideologia se perpetue até os dias de hoje, era justamente embranquecer a sociedade brasileira, dar uma injeção muito grande no sentido da transformação física da população brasileira". GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020, fl. 227 (e-book).

[25] BEIGUELMAN, Paula. A formação do povo no complexo cafeeiro: aspectos políticos. 2. Edª. Rev. E Ampl. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1977, p. 70-90. Sueli Carneiro afirmou em seu artigo que a valorização da imigração italiana recebe aplausos e tem suas contribuições destacadas, enquanto que os negros são destinados "a invisibilidade ou a visibilidade perversa, recheada de estereótipos". Esta autora relembra que a novela da Rede Globo, com transmissão nacional aberta, "Terra Nostra", ressaltou a discriminação contra os negros, afirmando que "Considerando que os personagens negros não têm relevância na trama, sua presença e a imagem negativa que veiculam prestam-se unicamente a ratificar a suposta superioridade branca", bem como que "a subserviência e o infantilismo dos personagens negros reiteram a visão preconceituosa de uma humanidade incompleta do negro, que se contrapõe à completude humana do branco, mesmo que sejam brancos de classes subalternas, como é o caso dos imigrantes de 'Terra Nostra'". CARNEIRO, Sueli. Escritos de uma vida. São Paulo: Jandaíra, 2020, p. 104.

[26] "A opção arquitetada pelo grande fazendeiro do café foi a importação em massa da mão de obra, que, empobrecida na Europa, não tinha outra alternativa senão a de vender, a preços aviltantes, sua força de trabalho". KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 75.

[27] KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 79.

[28] "Deve ser ressaltado que a crise econômica na qual a Itália mergulhou a partir de 1870 mostrar-se-ia ocasião altamente oportuna para trazer mão de obra abundante e barata, com a vantagem de que aportaria previamente expropriada e poderia, por conseguinte, ser automática e compensadoramente submetida ao processo produtivo: daí o problema da mão de obra ter sido encaminhado por intermédio da imigração subvencionada, arquitetada enquanto forma de promover uma ampla 'colonização' para o capital". KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 84. "o trabalhador estrangeiro, mais fácil e lucrativamente, poderia ser transformado, por meio da imigração subsidiada, em mercadoria para o capital". KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 85.

[29] A Lei de Terra de 1850 fez esse processo de autorizar que a propriedade de terras seria concedida a quem pagasse por ela. "Com esta finalidade foi promulgada a Lei de 1850, pela qual 'ficavam proibidas as aquisições de terras devolutas por outro título que não seja o de compra". KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 87.

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do país dirigiram-se pouco mais de 1 milhão de imigrantes".[30]

A superexploração do mercado de trabalho livre aconteceu com a injeção dos imigrantes nas áreas rurais e que aos poucos foi ampliando para os centros urbanos e indústrias que foram sendo construídas. Não se observa na formação brasileira o esquecimento do campesinato, mas sim sua articulação com os centros que surgiam e sua dependência do fluxo imigratório internacional. Outro fator interessante nesse período de transição para o trabalho livre e a imigração de pessoas brancas é que não teve a falta de trabalhadores na atividade cafeeira, o que permitiu que o custo da mão-de-obra fosse reduzido. Ou seja, a velha máxima de que o mercado de reserva amplo e crescente faz com que o custo do salário seja diminuído era uma verdade para os fazendeiros. Como havia muitas pessoas em busca de empregos, seja pela imigração ou pela natureza livre de seu status, e com o fim da abolição, a busca por trabalho cresceu.[31]

Na atividade cafeeira ocorreu a superexploração do trabalhador porque a abundância de mão de obra, predominantemente estrangeira em certas zonas e nacional em outras, possibilitou deteriorar os salários. Contudo, a acumulação capitalista iria também se beneficiar da desorganização dos trabalhadores rurais, desenvolvendo um conjunto de formas espoliativas que se dava em acréscimo à queda da remuneração do trabalho.[32]

Com certeza na era do trabalho livre, tanto imigrantes quanto outros trabalhadores livres que estavam nas fazendas tinham a opção de não estarem naqueles espaços e nem aceitarem a supressão de seus direitos. No entanto, no regime de acúmulo de capital, essas pessoas não são livres se em seu país faltava suprimentos básicos. Não tem como dizer que há liberdade quanto presente a iminência do risco de morte. O capitalismo se apropria da forma mercadoria, que dá força de trabalho, para garantir sua expansão no sistema fabril também.

> [...] A partir de 1904, quando se acelera a industrialização, a quantidade de imigrantes vindos com passagem subsidiada que aportaram em São Paulo – dessa data até 1918—foi de cerca de 265 mil para quase 695 mil. Ora, como se sabe que os não subsidiados, em relação aos que tinham o transporte gratuito, tendiam de forma mais acentuada a dirigir-se para outras atividades que não o café, o saldo de 430 mil serve de indicação para o número de pessoas que foram procurar emprego diretamente nas atividades urbano-industriais.[33]

Todo este fluxo migratório fez com que os donos das indústrias mantivessem um pacto de solidariedade nacional imigrante, em que os filhos dos imigrantes originarias, ou seja, brasileiros com descendentes imigrantes italianos, por exemplo, fossem os indicados preferencialmente às vagas nas indústrias.[34] O processo de industrialização foi distinto em cada região do Brasil. Todavia, São Paulo recebeu o maior número de imigrantes, diferente do Rio de Janeiro que já tinha fábricas para que os imigrantes e até alguns negros que trabalhassem. No Rio de Janeiro, havia mais negros livres, e eles foram inseridos nas indústrias desde cedo, vez que a maioria dos imigrantes iam para São Paulo. Porém, em São Paulo, os negros foram marginalizados, pois prescindidos pelos imigrantes.[35]

Para caracterizar essa situação em que as pessoas negras foram marginalizadas e inferiorizadas em todos os aspectos das relações sociais, particularmente no mercado de trabalho, Kowarick afirma que os nacionais (não-negros) foram importantes nessa fase de industrialização.[36]

O debate sobre a identidade brasileira, fruto de quatro séculos de escravização com estupros, violência e outras práticas devastadoras contra os escravizados, assim como com o incentivo da imigração branca, deu ao Brasil o caráter peculiar de que apenas os indígenas eram nacionais. A fim de estabelecer uma identidade brasileira, o povo originário indígena foi apresentado como nacional, e teve sua "elevação racial" com a mistura com a raça europeia.

II. A Identidade Brasileira: Do Racismo Científico Para o Racismo Estrutural

Sobre a identidade nacional brasileira, no começo do século XX, Gilberto Freyre é destacado por sua obra Casa Grande e Senzala, que com base no culturalismo, ou seja, na cultura de cada grupo racializado, apresenta que o Brasil foi constituído pelo "amalgama de todas as raças". Essa fusão de raças

[30] KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 89.

[31] Como apontado por Vellozo e Almeida, durante a escravidão, o status de livre era garantido com a propriedade de um escravizado. Agora, com a Abolição, foi necessário que esse homem livre encontrasse outra forma de renda, que era a inserção no mercado de trabalho, que já tinha sua massa de reserva.

[32] KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 102.

[33] KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 104

[34] KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 106.

[35] "Numa primeira etapa de expansão capitalista, a massa de imigrantes, em face das necessidades do sistema produtivo, foi suficientemente volumosa para criar o exército de trabalhadores ativos e sua própria reserva. Ao arquitetar o processo imigratório, o núcleo dinâmico do capitalismo no Brasil, o café, forjou as condições para superexplorar e espoliar a força de trabalho, basicamente então constituída de braços estrangeiros". KOWARICK, Lúcio. Trabalho e vadiagem: A origem do trabalho livre no Brasil. 3ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019, p. 109

[36] Os negros (ex-escravizados) não eram os nacionais. Os imigrantes que acabaram de chegar ao Brasil eram considerados os nacionais.

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originárias, que para ele é o indigena, africanos e brancos, deu origem ao nacional brasileiro. Freyre supera os argumentos do racismo científico, pois a partir desse momento ele diz que todas as raças foram fundamentais para a formação do Brasil. Gilberto Freyre apresenta a todos a singularidade que caracteriza o Brasil. A vida social do Brasil colônia havia dado ao mundo um povo novo, um povo mestiço, a partir do amalgamento do português, indígena e negro.[37]

> Híbrida desde o início, a sociedade brasileira é de todas da América a que se constituiu mais harmoniosamente quanto às relações de raça: dentro de um ambiente de quase reciprocidade cultural que resultou no máximo de aproveitamento dos valores e experiências dos povos atrasados pelo adiantado; no máximo de contemporização da cultura adventícia com a nativa, da do conquistador com a do conquistado. Organizou-se uma sociedade cristã na superestrutura, com a mulher indígena, recém-batizada, por esposa e mãe de família; e servindo-se em sua economia e vida doméstica de muitas das tradições, experiências e utensílios da gente autóctone.[38]

As ideias de Freyre foram coaptadas pelo Governo Vargas, e se estendem até os dias de hoje com o argumento de que o Brasil é uma harmonia racial, uma nação forjada da mistura de povos dos metais mais pesados—no caso, raças. Estes argumentos constituíram também o imaginário social que não via discriminação nas políticas da estrutura estatal que criminalizou os cultos religiosos e as danças dos negros; que dava preferência na contratação de brancos em vez de negros; e que dava acesso aos bens e equipamentos públicos de forma distinta.[39]

Roger Bastide e Florestan Fernandes foram convidados pela Unesco, diante da eclosão da Segunda Guerra mundial, com argumento de supremacia racial e extermínio das raças inferiorizadas, para contar ao mundo quais os motivos e como se dava as relações sociais entre as diversas raças na sociedade brasileira. Estes pesquisadores foram convidados para contar ao mundo como forjar uma sociedade tão harmônica. No entanto, eles denunciaram que a ideologia de harmonia entre as raças, de convívio justo era uma mentira.[40]

Florestan Fernandes, se opõe à ideia de Freyre, e diz que a sociedade é muito racista. Para ele os negros e os indígenas não foram incluídos na ordem de classe, e não prosperavam porque não houve a inclusão. A exclusão tinha dimensões culturais, econômicas, raça e classes, o que determinou a formação de castas.

"No Brasil, as tensões étnicas e raciais eram visíveis nos locais de trabalho, em confrontações em bares e nas esquinas das ruas e, ocasionalmente, em grandes tumultos".[41] Desta forma, Lélia Gonzalez afirmou que "É por aí que a gente deve entender que esse papo de que a miscigenação é prova da 'democracia racial' brasileira não está com nada".[42] Para Abdias do Nascimento, a democracia racial forjada no imaginário social é resultado da agregação de todas as pessoas a categoria de afrodescendentes, independentemente da cor de pele. O negro no Brasil é definido pela marca, quer dizer, por sua aparência, motivo pelo qual na "democracia racial", um grupo de pessoas que querem reproduzir sua dominação negando a realidade de que os negros são inferiorizados, aderiram a ideologia de que a pessoa negra é determinada pelo fato étnico/genético.

> Um brasileiro é designado preto, negro, moreno, mulato, crioulo, pardo, mestiço, cabra – ou qualquer outro eufemismo; e o que todo o mundo compreende imediatamente, sem possibilidade de dúvidas, é que se trata de um homem-de-cor, isto é, aquele assim chamado descende de africanos escravizados. Trata-se, portanto, de um negro, não importa a gradação da cor da sua pele.[43]

Os detentores do poder impedem que os negros marginalizados, despossuídos e discriminados

[37] FREYRE, Gilberto. Casa Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal. 48ª Ed. Global Editora, 2003 (e-book).

[38] FREYRE, Gilberto. Casa Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal. 48ª Ed. Global Editora, 2003 (e-book).

[39] A imagem racializada que os empregadores tinham dos negros era um dos fundamentos da discriminação. ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 178.

[40] Roger Bastide e sua equipe de trabalho na tarefa de apontar o relatório sobre as relações raciais no Brasil, concluiu que "desde o Brasil colônia, até os nossos dias, predominaram as relações de opressão, de hierarquia e de exploração (do trabalho e da sexualidade) do negro pelo branco. A ideologia da democracia racial brasileira, cultivada por Freyre e seus sucessores, encobria um conflito de raças e de classes que Florestan Fernandes denunciou em sua ampla pesquisa sobre A integração do negro na sociedade de classes (1966)". FREITAG, Barbara. Florestan Fernandes: revisitado. São Paulo, Estudos Avançados, v. 19, n. 55, 2005, p. 234. Disponível em: https://www.scielo.br/j/ea/a/rF3G3HgGH9YJ4cHqg5vZt4k/?format=pdf&lang=pt. Acesso em: 15 dez. 2022.

[41] ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 181.

[42] Esta autora afirma que a escravidão promoveu estupros, mortes e situações devastadoras na vida de milhões de escravizados. Nesse sentido, não teve nada de harmonia tampouco reconhecimento da população negra. "Na verdade, o grande contingente de brasileiros mestiços resultou de estupro, de violentação, de manipulação sexual da escrava. Por isso existem os preconceitos e os mitos relativos à mulher negra: de que ela é 'mulher fácil', de que é 'boa de cama' (mito da mulata) etc. e tal". GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020, fl. 39 (e-book).

[43] Abdias inclusive critica Freyre, dizendo que seu lusotropicalismo presta serviços a dominação europeia e aos portugueses. "A teoria *lusotropicalista* de Freyre, partindo da suposição de que a história registrava uma definitiva incapacidade dos seres humanos em erigir civilizações importantes nos trópicos (os "selvagens" da África, os índios do Brasil seriam documentos viventes desse fato), afirma que os portugueses obtiveram êxito em criar, não só uma altamente avançada civilização, mas de fato um paraíso racial nas terras por eles colonizadas, tanto na África como na América". NASCIMENTO, Abdias do. O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro: processo de um racismo mascarado. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2016, p. 37.

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em todos os âmbitos das relações sociais alcancem sua liberdade formal, material e cultural. Além disso, a organização do Brasil racializado em nenhum momento apontou pelos dominantes que eles também são racializados. Tanto o Brasil mestiço quanto o branco eram aceitáveis, mas à pessoa negra e à pessoa indígena ainda eram negadas todo o direito. A política de branqueamento que é resultado desses comportamentos. O ex-Presidente Getúlio Vargas, que integrou em sua política as ideias freyrianas, em seus discursos à população sempre tratava as pessoas como "povo" ou "trabalhadores", não fazendo referência as pessoas negras ou qualquer outro grupo pela cor.[44] Este é um termômetro para entendermos o motivo da naturalização e normalização da negação do racismo como prática sistemática de discriminação em todas as relações sociais. Apesar dessa postura, segundo Andrews, esse presidente teve grande aceitação entre as pessoas negras, porque era considerado pai dos pobres, e a pobreza tinha como destaque as pessoas de cor de pele negra.[45]

Além da opressão e da marginalização que todos os negros compartilhavam, Lélia Gonzalez afirmou que as mulheres negras estavam em situação ainda pior que a dos homens negros. Durante o período escravocrata, as mulheres trabalhavam igual a qualquer homem, e tinham seu valor medido pela força empenhada nas plantations e na satisfação de seus donos, seja a mulher, o senhor de engenho ou os filhos deles. Essa figura das mulheres que se sacrificam pelos outros também forjou o imaginário de que as mulheres negras teriam aptidão natural para o cuidado e que são fortes. Mais uma vez, foi Gilberto Freyre que cunhou no imaginário da sociedade brasileira com sua obra ao narrar que as mulheres tinham um papel específico e estereotipado: "Preta pra cozinhar, mulata pra fornicar e branca pra casar".[46] Ou seja, nem o valor de trabalhadora é atribuído às mulheres, muito menos às mulheres negras, que tem sua humanidade e capacidade de trocas afetivas negadas.

O acúmulo de opressões geradas por essa forma de organização do Brasil República atingiu as mulheres negras de modo mais devastador quanto a saúde econômica, política, social e cultural. A criação do imaginário sobre o papel da "mãe preta" foi reforçada por Freyre e por toda uma sociedade que colocou que as mulheres negras cuidam dos filhos das sinhás, os alimentam, e são seu entretenimento. Na verdade, a única coisa que os pais brancos fizeram foi dar à luz a essa criança. Toda educação não formal era realizada pela "mãe preta", ex-escravizada, que virou a empregada doméstica na sociedade de homens livres. Mesmo essas mulheres tendo ensinado as crianças brancas a falarem o "pretuguês", o apagamento sobre sua contribuição nacional permanecia omisso.

> O negro foi obrigado a disputar sua sobrevivência social, cultural e mesmo biológica em uma sociedade secularmente racista, na qual as técnicas de seleção profissional, cultural, política e étnica são feitas para que ele permaneça imobilizado nas camadas mais oprimidas, exploradas e subalternizadas.[47]

O Brasil é cindido pela barreira da linha de cor. Diferente dos Estados Unidos que se utiliza das forças policiais e que rejeita políticas de inclusão de não-brancos nas relações raciais, o Brasil apresenta a política do "amorenamento", "miscigenação" e "branqueamento" para definir sua identidade no aspecto formal.[48] Bell hooks assevera que o processo de formação inicia com o olhar atento as imagens que são apresentadas nas relações sociais, ainda mais para ver a organização dos sujeitos raciais. Descolonizar a mente é o processo que permite colocar um filtro e ao mesmo tempo fazer um *raio-x* para ver a sociedade que se apresenta.[49]

[44] ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 195.

[45] "Mas o cultivo por Vargas de sua imagem como 'o Pai dos Pobres', combinado com os benefícios concretos estendidos aos brasileiros de classe baixa pelas políticas de desenvolvimento econômico e provisão social de seus governos, mostrou-se particularmente eficiente com a população afro-brasileira". A filiação política também é interessante, pois diferente dos Estados Unidos que os negros não tinham o direito ao voto, no Brasil os negros podiam votar, e isso era expresso por sua preferência partidária ao Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB), que era o partido de Vargas. "Uma pesquisa realizada em 1960 no Rio de Janeiro descobriu que a fidelidade dos eleitores ao Partido Trabalhista era muito mais forte entre os negros do que entre os brancos. Até os membros da classe média negra preferiam o PTB por margens apenas ligeiramente mais baixas do que os trabalhadores negros e significativamente mais altas do que os trabalhadores brancos. Isto porque muitos desses eleitores negros de renda média só recentemente haviam passado da classe trabalhadora para a classe média, como um resultado direto e óbvio das políticas de Vargas". ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 195.

[46] FREYRE, Gilberto. Casa Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal. 48ª Ed. Global Editora, 2003 (e-book).

[47] MOURA, Clóvis. Dialética Radical do Brasil Negro. São Paulo: Editora Anita, 1994, p. 160.

[48] A palavra amorenamento foi utilizada por Andrews, para designar esse processo de que todas as pessoas não-brancas recebiam nomenclatura de diferentes nomes e que houve o nascimento de crianças mestiças. ANDREWS, George R. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007.

[49] Falando da realidade estadunidense, a autora quer mostrar que as imagens de controle, como nomeado por Patrícia Hill Colins forjam o imaginário de brancos e negros. "Ao abrir uma revista ou um livro, ligar a TV, assistir a um filme ou olhar fotografias em espaços públicos, é muito provável que vejamos imagens de pessoas negras que reforçam e reinstituem a supremacia branca. Essas imagens podem ser construídas por pessoas brancas que não se despiram do racismo, ou por pessoas não brancas ou negras que vejam o mundo pelas lentes da supremacia branca — o racismo internalizado. É claro, aqueles entre nós comprometidos com a luta da libertação dos negros, com a liberdade e a autonomia de todas as pessoas negras, precisam encarar todos os dias a realidade trágica de que,

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Para Florestan, as disparidades raciais, constatadas por dados, a desigualdade entre as classes sociais e o acesso às oportunidades são diferentes, ainda mais na relação do modo de trabalho, confirmando sua hipótese de que a democracia brasileira é peculiar no sentido de que não trata a todos com igualdade. Para ele, é preciso olhar como se constituem as classes brasileiras através de seu atravessamento racial.

No próximo item, segue-se o estudo de Florestan sobre as dinâmicas raciais na ordem competitiva do trabalho de uma sociedade que reproduz o racismo antinegro em todos os espaços, particularmente no ambiente de trabalho. Além disso, aponta-se que o capitalismo orienta as dinâmicas de inferiorização do negro com o objetivo de assegurar a maximização dos lucros.

III. A Superioridade Branca no Mercado de Trabalho

O Brasil se constituiu a partir das contribuições de africanos, indígenas e portugueses e outros europeus em menor proporção, de modo que a cor das pessoas era branca, negra e mestiça (pardo). Estes que são frutos de brancos e negros, ou brancos e indígenas. Como mencionado por Lélia Gonzalez, durante o sistema escravocrata, as crianças mestiças que nasciam eram fruto de estupros das escravizadas. Após a abolição, o nascimento de pessoas mestiças foi resultado de uma política de branqueamento que valorizava as famílias que iam embranquecendo a partir do relacionamento entre pessoas cada vez mais com a cor de pele mais clara.[50]

Florestan Fernandes apresenta que as diversas classes na sociedade brasileira têm um componente fundamental para manutenção do racismo, que para ele se evidencia na inferiorização dos negros em todos os setores. O autor afirma que depois de o debate a respeito se os negros eram brasileiros ou não, tendo-se reconhecido que os africanos eram os negros brasileiros e de que essa sociedade fora constituída pelo "caldeamento" de diversos povos, a solução para o Brasil que se industrializava era fazer com que tivesse estabilidade política capaz de absorver os avanços da modernização, industrialização e da formação do Estado.

A partir de 1930 a urbanização e industrialização fizeram com que o Sul e Sudeste tivessem rápido crescimento, fazendo com que além dos imigrantes, os nordestinos e mineiros se deslocassem para as principais capitais como São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro e Curitiba. Contudo, ainda havia preferência pela contratação dos brancos, e as discriminações antes destinadas aos negros e mulatos, passou para uma nova seção, que discriminava os negros também por serem baianos, nordestinos, mineiros, entre outros.[51] E isso fez como que se consolidasse a ideia de que essas denominações fossem dar enraizamento a uma identidade cultural. Todavia, esta era a justificativa para persistirem as discriminações.[52]

A hierarquia quanto à cor foi um fator importante para a disseminação dos ideais de embranquecimento, que nos anos 60 já não estava ligado de forma direta a termos biológicos, mas a relação social. "Haveria uma tendência dos negros e mulatos em ascensão social para se transformarem em socialmente brancos, já que a 'cor' significava mais que simples pigmentação".[53]

Florestan Fernandes destacou que em São Paulo "o afã do lucro e ambição do poder pela riqueza" fizeram com que nela se estabelecesse o primeiro centro urbano burguês, como se isso fosse garantir o reconhecimento de Brasil mais civilizado e capaz de envolvimento com as negociações econômicas com outros países.[54]

Os negros não tinham como cumular patrimônio e nem propriedade, ao passo que os brancos tinham oportunidades econômicas. "[...] O branco da camada dominante conseguia proteger e até melhorar sua posição na estrutura de poder econômico, social e político da cidade [...]".[55]Por oposto, os negros foram excluídos do processo de "expansão do capitalismo", visto que as camadas dominantes e com a visão eurocêntrica de construção da sociedade brasileira buscava o branqueamento do país. Interessante que essa exclusão é em comparação com as condições destinadas aos brancos, ainda que integrantes da mesma classe social, já que os negros tinham o papel de integrarem a classe pauperizada[56] para retroalimentar o modo de produção emergente.[57]

coletivamente, realizamos poucas revoluções em termos de representação racial — se é que fizemos alguma". hooks, bell. Olhares negros: raça e representação. Tradução de Stephanie Borges. São Paulo: Elefante, 2019, fl. 27 (e-book).

[50] Relacionamentos inter-raciais era mais uma forma de aceitação social. GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020 (e-book).

[51] A discriminação regional é a xenofobia, que Florestan Fernandes também denunciou, vez que eram pessoas que ele tinha contato desde de sua infância em São Paulo.

[52] GUIMARÃES, Antônio Sérgio Alfredo. Classes, raças e democracia. 2.Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2012, p. 122.

[53] GUIMARÃES, Antônio Sérgio Alfredo. Racismo e Antirracismo no Brasil. 3ªed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2009, p. 110.

[54] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 63.

[55] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 69.

[56] A organização da classes sociais a partir da colocação do negro será apresentada no próximo tópico.

[57] "O que há de essencial, para a análise da posição do negro e do mulato na ordem econômica e social emergente, é que eles foram excluídos, como categoria social, das tendências modernas de

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Apenas esporadicamente que os negros conseguiram espaço para concorrer ativamente em algumas atividades, mas isso acontecia porque uma família de brancos apoiava essa empreitada.[58]

Alguns brancos justificavam que os negros não conseguiam espaço da ordem econômica e social emergente porque lhes "faltava ambição", diferente dos imigrantes europeus que chegavam ao Brasil, pois eles aceitavam qualquer situação para sobreviver na "nova pátria". Para alguns indivíduos brancos, a condição dos negros não se revela "um mínimo de sincronização entre as tendências e os produtos de 'urbanização', da 'mobilidade social' e da 'secularização da cultura'".[59]

Segundo Florestan Fernandes, as justificativas encontradas sobre as pessoas negras seja para incluir ou para não as incluir na sociedade de classes já é um posicionamento sobre como a sociedade tinha se organizado. O autor evidencia que os negros tinham o papel de garantir que a sociedade de classes dava a cada pessoa o que merecia, de modo que os brancos bacharéis e controladores das decisões do Estado, da indústria e da agricultura se esforçaram tendo conhecimento para gerir seus negócios. Ao mesmo tempo, os brancos que eram inseridos como trabalhadores em indústrias e comércio eram trabalhadores que podiam ter ascensão social se tivessem dedicação as atividades, ou seja, a classe de trabalhadores brancos além da respeitabilidade, confiança e dedicação que transparecia a seus empregadores brancos, também faziam com que na ordem social competitiva os negros fossem o excedente de mão-de-obra e se estabelece uma hierarquização das pessoas na classe de trabalhadores. Ora, a desunião dessa classe de trabalhadores era/ é fundamental para a garantia do sistema capitalista e a base da forma trabalho.

A organização do trabalho após a abolição estava estruturada com o trabalhador rural, braçal, sendo que ele tinha um baixo nível de vida, o que o obriga a ir para as cidades tentar condições melhores. Esta faixa de trabalhadores é integrada por ex-escravizados e trabalhadores livres. A classe intermediária é composta por meeiros e pequenos proprietários de bangue, composta por pessoas brancas, alguns ex- senhores de engenho. E no topo da estrutura está o grupo de usineiros, formado pela antiga aristocracia banquezeira e capitalistas do açúcar.[60]

Os espaços de trabalho mais qualificados eram sempre ocupados por imigrantes europeus, e isso não era em razão da ausência de qualificação, mas por causa das imagens racializadas que foram construídas de que as pessoas negras não são confiáveis e responsáveis como os imigrantes brancos.

Dentre diversos argumentos que reproduziam o pensamento negativo sobre os negros e que justificava sua ausência no mercado de trabalho, era o de que os negros não teriam autodisciplina, e que qualquer palavra que lhes direcionam eles se ofendiam e até abandonavam o trabalho, como se não fossem pessoas de confiança. Para alguns, os negros sequer eram considerados seres humanos. Isso mostra como eram construído o imaginário falacioso sobre os negros. Desse modo, como havia o incentivo a integração dos imigrantes brancos, facilmente, os negros foram excluídos ou destinados a lutarem, tão somente, "na orla das ocupações indesejáveis ou insignificantes".[61]

A partir das entrevistas realizadas, Florestan afirma que as pessoas negras não estavam na condição de escolher sua ocupação funcional, pelo contrário, elas tinham que "aceitar o que aparecesse", como "servir de carregador, aceitar serviços de limpeza das casas, entregar folhetos ou transportar cartazes, trabalhar nas cavalariças, como serviçais nas pensões ou como ajudantes de pedreiros, de carpinteiros, de pintores etc". Todas estas funções eram com baixíssima remuneração.[62]

As demais atividades comerciais como a de feirante, a de peixeiro e a de jornaleiro eram ocupadas massivamente por italianos, que até aceitavam empregados negros, mas os exploravam como se fossem escravizados, e muitas vezes esperavam a prestação de serviços gratuita.

A situação das mulheres e das crianças nessa sociedade de classes também é apresentada por Florestan Fernandes, ao evidenciar que as mulheres negras tinham de carregar o fardo de ser o sustento de suas famílias, já que os homens negros não tinham sequer espaço no mercado de trabalho. Este autor aponta que as mulheres negras eram destinadas para atividades domésticas, motivo pelo qual a transição do sistema escravista para modo de produção do trabalho assalariado/livre foi mais fácil às mulheres, já que elas tinham rendimento e os homens não.

expansão do capitalismo em São Paulo". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 93.

[58] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 93.

[59] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p.104.

[60] CARONE, Edgard. A república Velha: I instituições e classes sociais (1889-1930). Rio de Janeiro: Difel/ Difusão editorial S.A, 1978, p. 61-62.

[61] "Como existia a alternativa de substituí-los, pois os imigrantes eram numerosos e tidos como 'poderosos e inteligentes trabalhadores', as fricções engendradas pela persistência daquelas três constelações psicossociais eram fatais ao negro e ao mulato. Eles não só perdiam terreno na competição ocupacional e econômica. Passavam a ser vistos sob um prisma em que o 'escravo' desqualificava o 'liberto', como se fossem, de fato, substancialmente 'vagabundos', 'irresponsáveis' e inúteis". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ª Ed. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 106-107.

[62] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ª Ed. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 107-108.

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Por causa de sua integração à rede de serviços urbanos, é a mulher (e não o homem) que vai contar como agente de trabalho privilegiado no sentido de achar um aproveitamento ideal ou decididamente compensador, mas por ser a única a contar com ocupações persistentes e, enfim, *com um meio de vida*. Se lembrarmos que o "elemento negro" saía da escravidão sem formas de vida social organizada, temos aí um sistema de referência suficientemente amplo para indicar o que iria ser, para ele, *a vida na cidade*.[63]

Por causa do racismo, a internalização das opressões sofridas pelos negros, ainda no início do século XX, fez com que muitos negros se retraíssem no momento de buscar oportunidades de emprego, de modo que se candidatavam as vagas que o grupo dominante estabeleceu como de negros.[64] Como consequência dessa realidade de ausência de remuneração e condições de sustento próprio e dos familiares, as pessoas negras começavam a trabalhar na mais tenra idade em serviços que aparecessem, de modo que "trabalhavam duramente até o fim da vida, mal ganhando para o próprio sustento e a alimentação dos filhos".[65]

O chefe da casa muitas vezes não tem só um emprego; dedica-se a um, a dois ou a três, acrescenta-lhes ainda alguns biscates e extraordinários, com o fito de incrementar seu ganho. Apesar disso, a renda obtida era insuficiente para manter a todos em um nível de vida inferior, geralmente, ao da mera subsistência! Então surge o imperativo do trabalho prematuro do menor e a cooperação forçada da mãe.[66]

Nesse sentido, os rendimentos das pessoas negras são ainda mais mitigados, pois na concepção do "dever de cuidar dos familiares que precisam", os negros nunca acumularam dinheiro. Essa situação social é apontada como indisciplina dos negros na organização financeira, como se gastassem demais. Porém, na verdade, essa é uma colisão com o individualismo que o capitalismo reproduz nas relações sociais. Florestan Fernandes nomeia essa relação dos negros com os seus pares como "solidariedade tribal", e afirma que isso faz com que os negros que a observam sejam condenados a "um tributo fatal", pois "mesmo que tudo corresse bem, ela introduzia uma desvantagem brutal na competição do 'negro' com o 'branco', principalmente com o 'estrangeiro'.[67]

Dentro dessa sociedade que valorizava o trabalho, e marginalizava aqueles que não estivessem trabalhando ou explorando a mão-de-obra de outrem, o emprego, para o negro, constitui-se como essencial para sua sobrevivência, não apenas quando ao sustento alimentar, mas a própria vida e segurança, visto que, pessoas, especialmente, negros, poderiam ser abordados por policiais e se não comprovassem que prestavam serviços eram acusados de "desajustados", "desordeiros" e até "criminoso".

Torna-se evidente a partir da leitura de Florestan Fernandes que a forma mercado de trabalho foi imposta como a maneira de inclusão do negro na sociedade de classes, ainda que como um elemento inferiorizado.[68] Por oposto, o desemprego ou a desocupação "é mais perniciosa, pela maior gravidade de seus efeitos imediatos".[69] Não obstante, o Estado, pela força de polícia, acaba reprimindo os negros para terem qualquer tipo de registro na carteira de trabalho, a fim de provar sua idoneidade, ao para garantir segurança de não sofrer arbitrariedade policial.[70]

Houve uma acomodação racial que adquiriu a integração do negro em uma classe de trabalhadores rigidamente hierarquizada, a tal ponto que mantinha na condição dos padrões tradicionais anteriores a Abolição da escravidão. Importante mencionar que Florestan apresenta sua tese de que o capitalismo é a desigualdade, de modo que a integração dos negros também é parte dessa reposição de desigualdades, ou seja, não se idealiza que o negro seria integrado dentro desse modo de produção em igualdade com o branco. O autor mostra que nunca teve um plano efetivo de democracia racial, pois a discriminação que promovia a manutenção da estrutura capitalista organizava as relações sociais. Se não fosse a desigualdade racial,

[63] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ª Ed. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 101.

[64] "Quanto ao mercado de trabalho livre, também vimos como ele foi desfavorável aos elementos egressos da escravidão ou do trabalho livre associado ao regime servil. Poucos conseguiram se classificar como 'operários', seja porque se temia a sua falta de preparo técnico, seja porque se valorizava preferencialmente o 'trabalhador estrangeiro', seja enfim porque os próprios 'negros' e 'mulatos' se retraíam, candidatando-se de preferência às oportunidades de trabalho que lhes eram mais acessíveis". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ª Ed. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 164.

[65] "Os filhos auxiliavam o orçamento doméstico como podiam; 'nós negrinhos, éramos todos chamados de moleques. As famílias gostavam de nos ter para recados e entregas'". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6ª Ed. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 169. Nota-se a hipocrisia dessa sociedade, em que as crianças negras podem deixar de ir à escola e estudar para trabalhar, enquanto que as crianças brancas dedicavam-se aos estudos para assumir os "negócios da família".

[66] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 185.

[67] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 187.

[68] "Também se procurava ridicularizar os traços negroides, estigmatizando-se seus portadores. 'Cabelo de negro' ou 'pixaim de negro', 'beiço rombudo', 'negro beiçudo', catinga de negro', 'sujo que nem negro', 'negro porco', 'feder que nem negro', 'coçar atrás da orelha' ou 'acho que fulano coça atrás da orelha, coçando que nem bode' etc." FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 325.

[69] O desemprego nessa sociedade é um problema social. FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 188.

[70] GONZALEZ, Lelia; HASENBALG, Carlos. Lugar de negro. Rio de Janeiro: Marco Zero, 1982, p. 16.

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inclusive a revolução burguesa brasileira seria forjada em moldes diferentes da superioridade branca.

Quando a divisão da sociedade em classes mudou para receber os negros libertos, Florestan aponta que eles foram integrados para serem os subalternos nessa classe política e econômica que o Brasil estava se constituindo.

Para esse negro subir de vida era-lhe imposto um branqueamento social, ou seja, comportar-se e viver como brancos. O branqueamento social, "entendido como democratização perfeita das 'prerrogativas' sociais' a que o 'negro' tem direito na sociedade de classes", era a forma de pensar que a cor de pele negra seria vista com neutralidade na relação social. Mas, no Brasil, isso nunca funcionou. A exploração nas relações de trabalho se utilizava do racismo para promover a disparidade nas remunerações, nas ocupações e no poder.

Lélia Gonzalez e Florestan Fernandes compartilham a mesma perspectiva de que na realidade da sociedade brasileira, as contradições evidenciam que para os negros não adiantam ter "boa educação", "ser inteligente", "ter carácter" e "possuir posição social", pois sua africanidade lhe colocava num lugar de subalternação. [71] As mulheres negras com formação em ensino superior tem mais dificuldade de acesso ao mercado de trabalho de sua área de formação, pois por questões de aparência, "das empresárias e das administradoras, a presença da mulher negra é quase de invisibilidade: 2,5% para 8,8%.".[72]

Ora, o problema negro foi construído pelo branco, uma vez que os negros nunca demonstraram poder suficiente para "ameaçar seja a posição do 'homem branco' na estrutura de poder da sociedade inclusiva, seja a respeitabilidade e exclusividade de se estilo de vida".[73] O paradigma de o Brasil representar uma democracia racial foi importante para consagrar a superioridade da raça branca, visto que conseguiu omitir o tratamento paupérrimo destinado aos negros.[74] Sob o manto da lei havia uma igualdade jurídica formal que só fortalecia a hegemonia das "pessoas brancas".[75]

Os negros que estão no mercado de trabalho adotam a postura do perfeccionismo que lhes é imposto pelo branco, como se pelo fato deles terem o "privilégio" de estarem trabalhando devesse ter como contraprestação um trabalho irrepreensível, de tal sorte que o erro dos negros sequer era tolerado. O "caprichar" no trabalho é uma das.

Alessandra Devulsky apresenta em sua obra *Colorismo* que no Brasil para fins metodológicos e comprovando a articulação do Estado na reprodução e garantia da superioridade branca, "traça um elo racial e político entre pretos e pardos, indicando a sua posição àquilo que se convencionou chamar de branco".[76] A autora afirma que "o pardo insere-se na estrutura racial que infere da sua identidade negra as características negativas atribuídas à africanidade desde o processo da escravidão", porém, no Brasil, a condição mestiça, acaba o beneficiando.[77] Andrews também apresenta que o pardo é ter um privilégio na sociedade brasileira, que aceita as pessoas mais próximas da brancura. "A cor 'parda' é uma categoria racial nascida da mistura de raças e, como uma categoria social intermediária entre a negritude e a brancura, como têm notado muitos observadores, pode servir como um meio para escapar da negritude".[78]

Devulsky afirma em sua obra que a estratégia de hierarquizar a cor negra também é para servir ao sistema capitalista, tanto na organização do mercado de trabalho, quanto na oferta e procura de produtos para consumo como maquiagens, penteados e outros atrelado ao padrão de beleza. [79]

[71] "Um advogado 'preto' pode ser tomado por um contínuo ou, mesmo, barrado na porta de uma boate, apesar de ter dinheiro de apresentar-se bem-vestido e de estar em companhia de 'brancos respeitáveis'". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 641-642. "Melhor exemplo disso são os casos de discriminação de mulheres negras da classe média, cada vez mais crescentes. Não adianta serem "educadas" ou estarem "bem vestidas" (afinal, "boa aparência", como vemos nos anúncios de emprego, é uma categoria "branca", unicamente atribuível a "brancas" ou "clarinhas")". GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020, fl. 73 (e-book).

[72] GONZALEZ, Lélia. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano: ensaios, intervenções e diálogos. Org. Flávia Rios e Márcia Lima. São Paulo: Zahar, 2020, fl. 88 (e-book).

[73] FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 271. O autor narra sobre o mito da democracia racial, pois o Brasil nunca foi democrático, tampouco com os negros. "[...]Opunham-se a manifestações de solidariedade para com o 'negro' que escapassem ao paternalismo tradicionalista, o qual protegia o indivíduo ou grupos restritos, resguardando a superioridade e as posições de mando do 'branco'". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 273.

[74] A democracia racial estava difundida no tecido social nos anos de1950 e 1960, a tal ponto que os negros e mulatos ao sentir discriminação, normalizavam o comportamento de que esta se devia a classe social. GUIMARÃES, Antônio Sérgio Alfredo. Classes, raças e democracia. 2.Ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2012, p. 83.

[75] "Infelizmente, como no passado a igualdade perante *Deus* não proscrevia a escravidão, no presente, a igualdade perante a *Lei* só iria fortalecer a hegemonia do 'homem branco'". FERNANDES, Florestan. A integração do negro na sociedade de classes. 6 ªEd. São Paulo: Contracorrente, 2021, p. 275.

[76] DEVULSKY, Alessandra. Colorismo. São Paulo: Jandaíra, 2021, p. 23.

[77] DEVULSKY, Alessandra. Colorismo. São Paulo: Jandaíra, 2021, p. 24

[78] ANDREWS, George Reid. América Afro-Latina, 1800-2000. Tradução de Magda Lopes. - São Carlos: EdUFSCar, 2007, p. 191.

[79] Alessandra Devulsky aponta que a fruição de direitos e certas vantagens sociais, ainda afastam os negros do mercado econômico do afeto e de trabalho também. "O fator predominante na escala racial discriminatória permanece sendo o da cor. É a quantidade de

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A articulação de espaços sociais, espaços de trabalho, espaços de poder com base na raça é uma "operação político-econômica que demanda poderes institucionais, controle político e interesses econômicos que ultrapassam a esfera individual".[80] No mesmo sentido, Silvio Luiz de Almeida afirma que o racismo tem a função de fragmentar e estabelecer distinções entre as pessoas, a tal ponto de definir os bons e os maus, quem pode viver e quem pode morrer, e inclusive, quem pode acumular riqueza e quem não pode, sempre mantendo o poder nas mãos dos brancos.[81]-[82]

IV. Conclusão

O presente artigo contextualizou os aspectos de estruturação das relações raciais no Brasil após a abolição da escravidão em 13 de maio de 1888, evidenciando que o projeto nacional brasileiro iniciou com a ideia de colocar a raça branca como padrão universal para organização social.

Não houve o reconhecimento inicial das contribuições que os negros escravizados e depois livres, bem como os povos originários indígenas tiveram para a formação do Brasil. As técnicas, saberes medicinais e cultura negra e indígena não foram reconhecidas. Pelo contrário, a diretriz do Estado era pelo apagamento desses povos na sociedade brasileira, a ponto de incentivarem a imigração de pessoas brancas.

A sociedade foi forjada com o imaginário da superioridade branca, que era referência intelectual e racial, tanto que o processo de branqueamento era uma estratégia para que a nação brasileira fosse se tornando branca. Essa construção social impactou as relações de trabalho, pois, os negros, especialmente, eram destinados à condição de subalternidade.

Ainda, que as leis brasileiras trouxessem a igualdade de todas as pessoas, havia um pacto social que naturalizava e normalizava o exercício profissional para brancos e para negros, como consequência, com boa e baixa remuneração, respectivamente. A evidência dessa realidade impedia a ascensão profissional.

Da escravidão passou-se para o modo de produção capitalista que se utilizou do racismo contra os negros para organizar a seletividade no mercado de trabalho, e impedir que a população negra tenha qualquer mobilidade social. Evidências do estigma colocado repercutem até os dias de hoje, quando os dados apresentam que a população negra é sub-representada em cargos políticos e de gerência e gestão.

As leis trabalhistas brasileira não permitem a discriminação no acesso ao mercado de trabalho, pelo contrário, incentiva a implementação de ações afirmativas para que as empresas públicas e privadas tenham diversidade étnico-racial em seus espaços. O Brasil adotou o Objetivo para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável 18 que estabelece a Igualdade Étnico-Racial, que apresenta como meta a ampliação da representatividade de pessoas negras em cargos de gestão.

As relações sociais no mercado de trabalho são reproduções da sociedade que ainda tem o racismo como normal e natural. Combater essas práticas cotidianas de discriminação faz parte da materialização do Estado Democrático de Direito e que prescreve em sua Constituição Federal o repúdio ao racismo.

melanina na epiderme de um homem ou de uma mulher, na maior parte das vezes, o que ressalta de modo mais arguto qual será o local predeterminado na economia dos afetos e na distribuição de riquezas". DEVULSKY, Alessandra. Colorismo. São Paulo: Jandaíra, 2021, p. 49.

[80] DEVULSKY, Alessandra. Colorismo. São Paulo: Jandaíra, 2021, p. 157.

[81] ALMEIDA, Silvio Luiz de. O que é Racismo estrutural? Belo horizonte: Letramento, 2018, p. 88-89.

[82] O capitalismo racial elucida como o capitalismo funciona por meio de uma lógica de exploração do trabalho assalariado, ao mesmo tempo que se baseia em lógicas de raça, etnia e de gênero para expropriação, que vão desde a tomada de terras indígenas e quilombolas até o que chamamos de trabalho escravo ou trabalho reprodutivo de gênero. BENTO, Cida. O Pacto da Branquitude. 1ª Ed. São Paulo: Companhia das letras, 2022, p. 41.

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Nature versus Nurture

By Volker W. Thürey

Abstract- In the first chapter, titled “Genes or Environment”, I explore the question of whether the environment can influence certain human traits. I demonstrate that two common arguments put forward by sociologists and psychologists are flawed.

The second chapter, titled “Sociology and Psychology are Not Sciences”, claims that neither sociology nor psychology is qualified for true sciences. I attempt to justify this.

I also discuss the question of why homosexuals exist at all, even though they do not reproduce..

Keywords and Phrases: *genes, sociology, psychology, nurture.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: BF713, HM1106*



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Nature versus Nurture

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Abstract

In the first chapter, titled “Genes or Environment”, I explore the question of whether the environment can influence certain human traits. I demonstrate that two common arguments put forward by sociologists and psychologists are flawed.

The second chapter, titled “Sociology and Psychology are Not Sciences”, claims that neither sociology nor psychology is qualified for true sciences. I attempt to justify this.

I also discuss the question of why homosexuals exist at all, even though they do not reproduce.

Keywords and Phrases: genes, sociology, psychology, nurture.

I. Genes or Environment

There are two common arguments to ‘prove’ that the environment influences people. Both are incorrect.

The first argument is that some traits in identical twins differ, for instance, one twin is heterosexual, and the other is homosexual. This is taken as ‘proof’ that the environment has an effect. However, it is not necessarily true since there is another possible explanation.

Before I go further, I want to make a brief digression. I say something about the idea of a proof, which once I have read somewhere. A valid proof of anything requires showing that only one possibility remains. This is why proofs are rare in the real world. Just because someone believes that there are no other possibilities doesn’t mean there aren’t any.

Proofs are generally made in a mathematical context.

For example, the ancient Greek mathematician Euclid wrote a proof showing that the set of prime numbers is infinite. To prove this, he assumed the opposite, that the set of prime numbers is finite. Then he derived a contradiction. As a result, it remains only one possibility, i.e. the set of prime numbers is infinite.

Back to identical twins.

I have to show that there is another explanation for their differences. It may be that certain traits seemingly appear to result from happenstance. This idea is not just theoretical; for instance, the sex of a child is determined by chance.

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The apparent randomness of some traits could be caused by the complex interactions of many genes.

If genes operate in this way that is, if they involve some element of chance, then it is highly probabil that identical twins have differences. The environment does not need to be involved to explain this.

The second argument for the influence of the enviroment is based on the fact that some physical changes at someone’s body arises later in life. Sometimes, years may pass before these changes occur. For instance, a boy typically begins to grow a beard at the age of 14 or 15. This is genetically determined. Nobody claims it can be prevented. The idea of a newborn baby with a fully grown beard would be terrifying!

If certain traits or physical characteristics change, some take this as a ‘proof’ for the influence of the environment. This is more a sign that some sociologists and psychologists are not actual scientists.

The traits of a living being are determined by its genes. For me, it seems impossible that the environment can change them. So far, there is no proof that one can change the behavior; and there is not a single exampel. The change of someone’s behavior can always be explained by the individual’s own will.

Scientists have coined the term ‘epigenetics’ to study the potential influence of the environment on genes, but the invention of a word alone proves nothing.

We are products of evolution. Therefore, ‘everything’ has to be compatible with Darwin’s theory. I do not see how evolution would have created a mechanism through which the environment can directly alter the genes.

Someone’s character is determined exclusively by the genes; i.e. it is fixed. The subsequent activities of a person depend only on their will.

A catchy slogan is: “Some are born as murderers”.

Of course, training and exercise can result in changes. There is an Irish proverb: “Even if you train a pig to run fast, perhaps it will become the fastest pig in the world, but it will never be a racehorse”.

Indeed, the environment has some influence on animals; for example, researchers have discovered that the sex of sea turtles depends on the temperature of the sand. But even this can ultimately be regulated by the genes, too.

Also, human beings learn a great deal from others. The best example is the language. Children up

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to about the age of ten learn a language perfectly, even if it is very complicated, without knowing any grammatical rules. Unfortunately, this ability tends to diminish in adulthood. The Germans have a fitting word: 'Muttersprache' (mother language). The English refer to someone who has learned a language from early childhood as a 'native speaker'.

At the end of the second world war, it sometimes happened that children were seperated from their parents. They were called "Wolfskinder" (wolf's children). (It is only a name since wolves, like all mammals, are very caring animals). Even though none of the 'wolf's children' ever actually lived with wolves, this group serves to draw attention to certain other individuals. In very rare cases, it does happen that children are raised by animals. Some survive, but not without suffering heavy mental damage.

Young wolves learn all what they need as a wolf. But for humans, it is not enough. For instance, children who are raised by animals do not learn how to speak. They remain mental cripples.

II. Sociology and Psychology are not Sciences

In this chapter, I justify the claim that sociology and psychology are not true sciences at all. Setting aside the arguments in the first chapter, I pose a rhetorical question: How it is possible that someone who has neither studied sociology or psychology, nor has read a single book on either subject (I am referring to myself) could publish in a professional journal of sociology or psychology? This would be unthinkable in mathematics, a field in which I have a profound knowledge.

In the following argument, I assume that humans have developed through evolution, that is, I assume that Darwin's theory is true, although it is not provable in a strict sense.

In nearly all human societies, homosexuality exists.

A legitimate question arises: Why do homosexual people exist at all, given that they do not reproduce? The answer is that human communities are more stable and peaceful if some members are homosexual. For a heterosexual man, a homosexual man poses no threat since he knows that the other man is not interested in his wife. The same logic applies among women. Life during the Stone Age was so tricky that reproduction only occured within a coperative group. Children require a stable community to grow up in, which means that social behavior was essentiel. It was important to see others as allies and not as rivals. Rituals such as common dancing or making music together helped to foster this sense of unity. A book worth reading that addresses this topic is [1].

I assume that the genes which are responsible for homosexuality are not only at the homosexual persons, but also at other members of the group.

The above argument is not originally mine; I read it somewhere.

Now I will attempt to justify that homosexuality cannot be developed through education. The key insight is that any kind of sexuality is a highly complex behavior, and therefore, it has to be fixed in the genes. There must have been a point in the past when the development of homosexuality was beginning to emerge. For 'homosexual genes' to form, the carriers of these genes would have had to be prevented from passing them on if they were not homosexual. This seems to be nearly impossible.

Another possibility is that these genes arise of their own volition. This would only happen if it provides an advantage in the struggle for survival.

All statements here are subjective; they represent my personal opinions.

Acknowledgements

I thank Lydia Ramachandran for a careful reading of the paper, and David Searle and Rolf Baumgart for support.

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Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 25 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
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Voices of the Folk: Exploring Life and Culture through Dinajpur's Palatiya Drama Narratives

By Md. Habibul Haque

Abstract- Palatiya, a traditional Bengali folk drama form, serves as both a source of entertainment and a repository of community heritage. This paper examines the life and culture of the Palatiya community through two narratives—*Hadangkali Biswadhagri* and *Dhakoshori*—to understand how they portray rural hardships, resilience, and cultural identity. The study employs an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on literary analysis, anthropology, and performance studies, and uses qualitative methods with data from drama texts, interviews, observations, photographs, and relevant literature. Findings show that both plays center on two women, Bishobala and Dhakoshori, who embody the working-class struggle against poverty and injustice while reflecting the community's traditions, values, and resistance to oppression. These works not only preserve Bengali folk culture but also function as social documents of rural life. The research contributes to folk and performance studies by highlighting Palatiya's role as a medium of cultural continuity and a voice for marginalized communities, and calls for further study of ethnic cultural forms in contemporary contexts.

Keywords: dinajpur, folk culture, folk drama, folk tradition, khon, palatiya, rural entertainment, cultural heritage, social protest, bengali performance arts.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: GR350.8.D56



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Voices of the Folk: Exploring Life and Culture through Dinajpur's Palatiya Drama Narratives

Md. Habibul Haque

Abstract- Palatiya, a traditional Bengali folk drama form, serves as both a source of entertainment and a repository of community heritage. This paper examines the life and culture of the Palatiya community through two narratives—*Hadangkali Biswadhagri* and *Dhakoshori*—to understand how they portray rural hardships, resilience, and cultural identity. The study employs an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on literary analysis, anthropology, and performance studies, and uses qualitative methods with data from drama texts, interviews, observations, photographs, and relevant literature. Findings show that both plays center on two women, Bishobala and Dhakoshori, who embody the working-class struggle against poverty and injustice while reflecting the community's traditions, values, and resistance to oppression. These works not only preserve Bengali folk culture but also function as social documents of rural life. The research contributes to folk and performance studies by highlighting Palatiya's role as a medium of cultural continuity and a voice for marginalized communities, and calls for further study of ethnic cultural forms in contemporary contexts.

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I. Introduction

a) Dinajpur's Cultural Context

The Dinajpur district stands out from other regions of Bengal for its distinct geographical, ethnographic, and cultural features. Archaeological and historical evidence indicates that human settlement in this area dates back to ancient times. Over the centuries, the growth of civilisation, cultural practices, and political structures has shaped Dinajpur into a region of considerable historical and cultural importance.

b) Defining Folk Culture

Sarkar (Sarker 12) describes "folk" in the context of folk culture as referring to a predominantly rural, agricultural population that depends on close-knit social networks and subsistence-based exchange. Culture, in this sense, encompasses the collective body of knowledge, beliefs, arts, values, and skills shared by these communities. Dr. Ashutosh Bhattacharya further defines folk drama as creative expressions rooted in rural public life, often transmitted orally and shaped by religious and communal traditions (Hoq 28).

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c) Introducing Palatiya

Palatiya is a distinctive folk theatre form native to Dinajpur. It integrates folk songs, dances, short dialogues, and traditional instruments to narrate drama-like stories about rural life. More than just entertainment, Palatiya preserves local memory, showcases the rhythms of agrarian life, and embodies community values. Yet, despite its cultural richness, this tradition is gradually disappearing under the pressures of modernisation and cultural homogenisation.

d) Research Aim and Gap

While Bengali folk theatre has been the subject of significant scholarly attention, Palatiya remains understudied in both regional and comparative contexts. This paper addresses this gap by examining how Palatiya reflects Dinajpur's rural realities, functions as a cultural archive, and differs from other folk theatrical forms in Bengal and South Asia. It also considers the challenges of sustaining Palatiya in the contemporary era.

e) Looking Ahead

In later sections, this study incorporates visual ethnographic documentation—performance images, scripts, and stage layouts—to deepen understanding of Palatiya's performative elements. The research also proposes future directions, such as interactive community mapping of related forms like Khon, as part of a broader digital humanities initiative for cultural preservation.

f) About Dinajpur in Brief

When discussing Dinajpur's folk culture, it is vital to consider the area's geography, population, and natural environment.

Dinajpur is the last district in northwest Bangladesh. (Bangladesh District Gazetteers, P. 1) This district belongs to the Rajshahi division. West Dinajpur (India) and Bogura districts to the south; Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in West Bengal to the north; Purnia and West Dinajpur districts to the west; Rangpur and Bogura districts to the east. (Bangladesh District Gazetteer, P. 1).

There is no accurate history about the naming of Dinajpur. However, according to Buchanan Hamilton, the name Dinajpur originated from the title of King Ganesha, Dhanujmardandev. However, there is no reliable data behind this opinion. (*Sarkar 1*)

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Most of the rivers in Dinajpur district flow from north to south, and their final destination is the Ganga, or the Yamuna River. Dinajpur district is located in the foothills of the Himalayas. Although the ethnic traits of the population in Dinajpur district, located on Bangladesh's northern border, generally align with the broader national pattern, there are certain unique and diverse features that set it apart.

The naming of the common languages of the northern area has given rise to many opinions. George Grierson referred to this language as the "Rajbanshi Dialect" due to the high concentration of the Rajbanshi community residing in the area. After re-examining the language samples of the region, he identified the language of the region as "Northern Bengali.". Sunidhi Kumar Chattopadhyay (ODBL) and Sukumar Sen call it "Kamrupi Dialect." Some scholars name it "Kamta Bihari" because of the medieval kingdom boundaries without identifying it with ethnically narrow terminology.

Professor Munir Chowdhury, adopting the opinion of Sir George Grierson, identifies the language prevalent in this region as belonging to North Bengal, said to be the "North Bengal Dialect." (*Sarkar 205)*

As stated by Hoq (*Hoq 23*), the folk culture of this area has evolved from the emotions and experiences—joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments—of rural people who rely on agriculture and have historically lacked access to education. The folk culture of this region encompasses various forms such as feminine songs, Bhawaiya, Kabigan, Pala-Kirtan, Punthipath, Shiklidhal dance, Karam dance, Kaicha dance, Yugi dance, Mansar Bhasan Pala, Bhasan dance, Chokra dance, Palatiya, and others.

g) Khon and Palatiya

When exploring the meaning of "Khon," it is found to refer to various concepts such as a moment, the sound of a metal instrument, digging, or an auspicious time. Reverend Gananendramohan Das wrote in the *Dictionary of the Bangala Language* that the word "Khon" means moment. In *Brajabuli*, the word "Khon" means soft form.

Different people have interpreted Khon with different meanings. However, it is ceucial to remember that Khon is a traditional folk drama native to Dinajpur. For example, Khongan is known as "Charyagan," "Khanajatra," and "Lilagan" in Kantanagar, Birol Thana, and Rangamati regions, respectively (Bangladesh State). "Khongan" in the Balurghat area of South Dinajpur district and "Debkoti Khan" in the Gangarampur area. Khongan is known as "Khissa" or "Khon" in Kaliaganj, Hemtabad, Raiganj, and Itahar regions of Banshihari, Kushmandi, Harirampur, and Uttar Dinajpur districts. Even though Khongan goes by various names in various parts of the larger district, the tradition, customs, mannerisms, or performance of the song remain unchanged, meaning that neither the context nor the meaning has changed. Khongan is again known as Palatiya, Khaspachali, and Rangpachali in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Bihar districts, respectively. (*Roy 10*). In Dinajpur (Bangladesh), people generally call it "Palatiya" instead of "Khon."

h) Types of Palatiya

According to the classification of drama, there are two types of Palatiya:

A. Formal (Bondhupucha, Bondhuwala, Halua-Haluani, Notua, etc.)
B. Informal (Dhakoshori, Mayyabondhoki, Hokchairman etc.)

There is another type of Palatiya in the Informal Section:

"Khon-khissa"

Without a doubt, the lifestyle and culture of the Palatiya community in Dinajpur will be reflected in all Palatiya dramas.

II. Literature Review

a) Definitions and Forms of Folk Theatre

Scholars agree that folk theatre in Bengal is deeply rooted in rural, agrarian communities whose social life, economy, and traditions shape its artistic forms. Dey (1–3, 11) defines folk culture as a body of beliefs, customs, and practices maintained primarily by rural, often illiterate, populations. Folk songs such as *Bhatiyali*, sung by boatmen, exemplify this close link between performance and everyday life. Bhattacharya (Hoq 28) describes folk dramas as oral, community-based compositions that draw on rural experience and religious themes.

Within this broader frame, Palatiya emerges as a regional folk theatre tradition of Dinajpur, North Bengal. It blends song, dance, brief dialogues, and traditional instruments such as the harmonium, dotara, and bamboo flute to narrate stories of rural life (Tito 2019). Comparable forms exist under different names—e.g., *Khongaan*, *Khaspachali*, and *Rongpachali* in Jalpaiguri and Kochbihar (Roy 10)—but the Dinajpur variant retains distinctive linguistic, performative, and musical features.

b) Cultural Context of Palatiya

Dinajpur's geographic and ethnographic distinctiveness provides fertile ground for Palatiya's development. Sen ("Khon: Lyrical Folk Drama") frames it as a community-based performance historically linked to agricultural cycles and often considered "low culture" in mainstream theatrical discourse. Tito (2019) situates Palatiya within the changing social and economic landscape of Dinajpur, noting that shifts in agriculture, urbanisation, and local economies have altered its form and function. Kamat (2019) emphasises the role of such performances in disseminating local knowledge and

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communicating social messages in accessible language.

c) Modern Transformations

While earlier performances were primarily night-time events catering to rural audiences, modern Palatiya is increasingly staged during the day, adapted for urban audiences, and sometimes condensed for quicker consumption. Scripts, costumes, props, and even musical arrangements are being updated to maintain relevance. The spread of digital recording and social media has further expanded the audience base beyond local communities. Scholars such as Bose (60) suggest that historically, rulers used Palatiya to alleviate monotony among subjects; today, its function has shifted towards both entertainment and cultural preservation in a commercialised context.

d) Convergences and Divergences in Scholarship

Most existing studies (Sen; Tito; Roy) agree on Palatiya's rural origins, its close link to agricultural life, and its community-based performance style. However, they differ in emphasis:

- *Sen* highlights its marginalisation within the hierarchy of theatrical forms.
- *Tito* stresses the adaptive transformations under social and economic pressures.
- *Roy* traces its regional variations and nomenclature.

Few works systematically integrate these perspectives to address both performance practice and the lived realities of the Palatiya community.

e) Gaps in Existing Literature

The literature largely focuses on describing Palatiya's structure, historical background, or thematic content. There is a lack of sustained analysis of:

- How Palatiya reflects and negotiates the changing lifestyle and cultural identity of its practitioners.
- The impact of audience diversification (rural–urban, local–global) on performance content and form.
- The intersection of economic change and cultural preservation strategies within the Palatiya community.

Addressing these gaps requires integrating ethnographic study of performers' lives with textual and performance analysis.

III. Methodology

a) Data Sources

This research adopted a qualitative approach, relying on both primary and secondary data. Primary data were gathered through interviews, field observations, and photographic documentation. Secondary data were obtained from books, academic journals, research papers, and credible online resources. Sources included the researcher's personal library, Dinajpur Public Library, and Dinajpur Government College Library. Materials in Bengali were translated into English by the researcher for analytical purposes.

b) Participant Selection

Participants were selected using *purposive sampling,* a method suited to ethnographic research as it prioritizes information-rich cases over random selection. The sample included key informants such as Palatiya performers, community elders, and audience members with deep cultural knowledge. Initially, two core participants were interviewed, and additional contacts were identified through *snowball sampling* to capture broader perspectives.

c) Interview Design

Interviews were semi-structured, comprising 19 questions (Appendix A) that were both open- and closed-ended, ensuring flexibility while maintaining focus. No double-barreled questions were included. Interviews were conducted in Bengali, recorded with informed consent, and later translated into English. Translation integrity was maintained through *peer review by bilingual scholars* and, where necessary, *back-translation* to verify accuracy.

d) Fieldwork and Observation

The researcher conducted field visits to Birgonj, Birol, Kaharol, Khansama, and other Upazilas where Palatiya performances were staged. Immersive observation included attending performances, conversing informally with participants, and staying for two nights within the community. Field notes documented performance details, audience engagement, and cultural nuances.

e) Data Analysis

Interview transcripts and field notes were *thematically coded* to identify recurring patterns related to cultural heritage, rural hardship, and gendered experiences. Coding was conducted manually following Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis framework. This iterative process involved generating initial codes, collating them into themes, and refining these themes for interpretative depth. Analytical rigor was maintained through triangulation of interview, observation, and secondary data.

f) Ethical Considerations

Participants' identities were kept confidential, and pseudonyms were assigned in all documentation. Informed consent was obtained verbally and in writing before data collection. The research adhered to ethical guidelines for social science fieldwork, ensuring respect for participants' autonomy and cultural norms.

g) Researcher Positionality

The researcher shares a regional familiarity with the Palatiya context but is not a member of the community. This *outsider-with-insider-access* position

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enabled both cultural sensitivity and a critical lens, allowing for reflexive engagement throughout the research process.

IV. Results

a) Heritage and Legacy

All participants highlighted the intergenerational nature of Palatiya involvement. Participant A, a 45-year-old male artist, stated, *"Palatiya is our heritage. To keep the legacy, I practice it,"* noting that his father had also been a performer. Participant C, a 30-year-old female artist, similarly credited her father as her inspiration. However, Participant B, a 21-year-old newcomer, joined out of personal passion rather than family tradition—indicating a generational shift from inheritance-driven to interest-driven participation.

b) Social Transformation

Participants observed significant changes in the Palatiya community and rural life more broadly. Participant A noted improvements in *"education, agriculture, and transportation,"* emphasizing that increased educational opportunities, especially for girls, have reduced the number of Palatiya practitioners. Participant B described a thematic shift in performances toward contemporary social issues such as child marriage, HIV/AIDS, COVID-19, women's empowerment, superstition, and sanitation—reflecting Palatiya's evolving role as a medium for rural awareness.

c) Gender Dynamics

While Participant C affirmed that women have long been part of Palatiya, she acknowledged ongoing challenges. She recounted instances where *"male artists are prioritized"* in both role distribution and payment, and noted that female performers are sometimes objectified. This contrasts with Participant A's and B's accounts, which did not address gender bias, suggesting gendered differences in lived experience.

d) Performance Evolution

Performance styles and content have adapted to changing audiences. Participant A mentioned the incorporation of English words into scripts, while Participant B explained that although overnight performances remain common, shorter, commercially motivated shows are becoming more frequent. Costumes, according to Participant A, vary by story rather than following a strict traditional style.

e) Economic Shifts

Economic factors also influence participation. Participant C now dedicates less time to Palatiya due to her small business, funded through a local NGO loan. This shift illustrates how economic diversification can reduce time available for traditional cultural activities, particularly for women balancing multiple roles.

f) Audience Engagement

When discussing why audiences continue to watch Palatiya, Participant C emphasized cultural resonance: *"When rural audiences watch Palatiya, they can easily connect the stories to their own."* This highlights the enduring relevance of Palatiya despite the availability of alternative entertainment.

Field Work Data

The following are the six photographs that were taken during the fieldwork for this study:



Photo1: Palatiya, being performed on an open stage. 25 of December 2023, Dinajpur, Bangladesh 19

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Photo 2: *Lalon*, informing the importance of reading book as well as education, *Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar,* 25 of December 2023, Dinajpur, Bangladesh



Photo 3: People of all ages are gathered in an ordinary place in order to enjoy Palatiya show, *Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar,* December 25, 2023, in Dinajpur, Bangladesh 20

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Photo 4: Modern Costumes are used in contemporary Palatiya,*Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar,* 25 of December, Dinajpur, Bangladesh



Photo 5: Musicians are accompanying a Palatiya Artist while performing. *Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar,* 25 of December, Dinajpur, Bangladesh 21

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Photo 6: Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, in great conflict. *Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar,* 25 of December, Dinajpur, Bangladesh 22

V. Discussion

a) Cultural Transmission and Heritage Decline

Dinajpur, located in northern Bangladesh, is rich in agricultural products (e.g., Chinigura rice, sweet mangoes, lychees) and folk traditions such as Bhawaiya songs, Kantajir Shobhajatra festival, and the Palatiya drama form. Historically, Palatiya has been sustained by rural, working-class communities whose lives it depicts (Tito, 2013).

However, both literature and interviews indicate a decline in intergenerational transmission. As artist Jaga Baishyo observed, the "overall form and modalities" of Khon/Palatiya are changing, with oral traditions now partially documented for preservation (Sen, 2020). This aligns with broader studies on folk theatre in South Asia, where modernization and shifting livelihoods reduce younger generations' participation (e.g., Hansen, 2011; Sarkar, 2019).

"Palatiya is our heritage. To keep the legacy, I practice it," said Participant A, whose father was also an artist. In contrast, Participant B, a 21-year-old performer, joined out of personal interest, suggesting a shift from inheritance-based to voluntary engagement.

b) Gender Inclusion and Inequality

While women have long participated in Palatiya, gender disparities persist. Participant C reported that male artists are still prioritized in both casting and payment, and female performers are sometimes objectified. This echoes findings from Rahman (2018), who documented similar patterns of gendered marginalization in rural theatre groups across Bangladesh.

Palatiya's narratives often center on women's struggles, as in *Hadangkali Biswadhagri* and *Dhakoshori*, yet backstage realities reveal inequalities that challenge the plays' thematic emphasis on justice and dignity.

c) Modernization vs. Traditional Art Forms

Palatiya performances have adapted to new audience expectations. Sen (2020) notes that form and structure are evolving to attract broader, even urban, audiences. Interview data supports this: Participant A mentioned incorporating English words into dialogue, while Participant B noted shifts toward contemporary topics—child marriage, HIV/AIDS, COVID-19, women's empowerment, superstition, and sanitation.

This reflects what Bharucha (2000) describes as "cultural negotiation," where traditional performance must mediate between heritage preservation and social relevance.

Participant C remarked: "When rural audiences watch Palatiya, they can easily connect the stories to their own." This suggests that modernization, when contextually grounded, can sustain audience engagement rather than erode it.

d) Economic Factors and Artistic Sustainability

Economic pressures influence both participation and practice. Historically, related folk trades such as pottery thrived in Dinajpur but declined sharply with the introduction of plastic goods, harming

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artisan livelihoods. Similar dynamics now affect Palatiya artists, whose earnings are inconsistent and often insufficient.

Participant C reduced her Palatiya work after starting a small business with NGO support, reflecting broader trends where alternative income sources compete with time for traditional arts. This mirrors studies from rural India and Nepal (Kale, 2017; Tamang, 2021) showing that artistic sustainability is often contingent on economic diversification.

e) Research Contribution

This study extends existing literature on South Asian folk performance by:

- Documenting *gendered experiences* within Palatiya, a dimension often overlooked in regional theatre scholarship.
- Tracing *modernization's impact* on performance content, language, and audience reach in a rural Bangladeshi context.
- Providing a *localized ethnographic account* of how agricultural communities negotiate cultural heritage and economic survival.

f) Discussion of Interview

i. *Changes in Palatiya Community: Contemporary Life*

The increase in Dinajpur's population had an impact on the way of life of the Palatiya community. Due to the constant rise in population and the scarcity of land, the Palatiya people are being compelled to change careers to increase their income. Some are relocating to Dhaka. There was a time when there was enough land in proportion to the population, and people did not have to worry about their livelihoods. At the time, the Palatiya community wrote, produced, and performed Palatiya with dedication. However, they are now required to consider finances. For the price increase, simply performing Palatiya is insufficient; it does not generate enough money.

ii. *Educational Advancements*

From the conversation of *Participant "A",* it is found that the Palatiya community's way of life has evolved due to educational advancements. The reason I mention this is that, due to improvements in education, children in the Palatiya community are now enrolling in educational institutions at a greater rate than before. So, their primary focus will be on obtaining an education and finding a suitable job. Their parents also value this, having experienced many difficulties themselves due to their own lack of education. Girls in the Palatiya community are receiving the same education as boys. Girls in the Palatiya community were once neglected and thought to be only suitable for domestic work. In Palatiya society, this is unquestionably a positive development. This development is appreciative and helpful for the Palatiya community. However, the risk of the Palatiya culture disappearing is growing, which is truly alarming.

iii. *Changes in Family Structure*

Based on Participant "A"'s remarks, shifts in the family structure within the Palatiya community have been noticed. The author noticed a tendency toward joint family living within the Palatiya community. Nowadays, joint families are beginning to fragment. For this reason, it means that the united effort of every member involved in Palatiya performance is missing. As a result, the Palatiya's performances are losing their perfection.

iv. *Impact of NGO*

Participant "C"'s conversation clearly shows that NGOs in Dinajpur have a significant impact on the lives of the Palatiya community. According to the researcher, Palatiya artists lack financial stability. So, they have the pressure of becoming solvent. From this perspective, they seek guidance and financial help from local NGOs. In addition to taking initiative, they are getting training from those NGOs. As a result, most women in the Palatiya community are changing their lifestyles. In certain respects, it is commendable, but it is also concerning. Because the NGOs are making the village people consumers. Culture survives through its practices. Palatiya also needs nourishment. Regular performances keep Palatiya culture alive. The involvement of Palatiya artists in outside works will impede this art.

v. *Impact of British Culture*

In the narrative of *Participant "A,"* it is found that they dress according to the story of the drama. According to the history of the people of Palatiya, it is observed that there were no fixed costumes for Palatiya. However, the idea of costume in Palatiya developed following the colonial influence of English culture. They started wearing English dresses (coats, pants, and ties) according to the character's demand. Moreover, it is observed that there was no use of makeup. Later, influenced by British culture, Palatiya artists began incorporating makeup into their performances.

vi. *Use of English Words*

Usually, contemporary English words are not used in traditional Palatiya. Following the conversation of *Participant "A,"* a lot of contemporary English words are being used in present times, Palatiyas. Numerous catchy English words are being used as the titles of contemporary Palatiya dramas. The paper's author observed a Palatiya performance titled *Smart Koinna Digital Bangla Bhatar*. By doing so, the Palatiya community is attempting to adhere to contemporary standards while also expanding its area.

vii. *Women's Empowerment in Palatiya*

According to the conversation of *Participant "C,"* women's empowerment and acceptance have increased in the Palatiya community. Now, women are playing

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female characters. That is why it does not only mean that they are participants only; rather, they are standing beside males and being an equal part of a society. This is an excellent example of women's empowerment.

viii. *Breaking Traditional Structure: Time and Duration*

Generally, Palatiya is performed all night. It begins at noon and ends at midnight. It lasts five to six hours. Palatiya's performance has been observed to change in time and duration. Participant "B" mentioned that palatiyas are staged during the daytime on special occasions or events. Furthermore, the palatiyas held during the daytime are brief. These are the breaks in Palatiya culture's traditions.

Despite all these changes and alterations, Palatiya continues to preserve the heritage of the Palatiya community. Hopefully, this legacy will be continued. Of course, there are good and bad sides to a change. The audience should embrace the positive aspects and steer clear of the negative ones. So, the culture never loses its flow.

ix. *Social Issues Reflected in Palatiya*

Based on Participant B's account, modern Palatiya dramas focus on social issues such as child marriage, HIV/AIDS, COVID-19, women's rights and empowerment, the value of education, superstitions, hygiene, and self-employment. These issues are chosen for Palatiya dramas because they are the main problems in the rural areas of North Bengal. To educate local people about these social problems, Palatiya writers chose them. This subject selection has become a tradition from decade to decade. For instance, in *Hadangkali Biswadhagri* and *Dhakoshori*, similar themes are portrayed, such as women's empowerment, their freedom, social position, child marriage, and related issues. In these lines of *Hadangkali Biswadhagri* depicts women's empowerment by the lead character "Bishobala":

"Hajar pachek taka de mok mui kor bebsa
sokal bikal paan khowaim tok mosolla dia.
Somonde Tui Holurevai para-porsha
bautar daray bapdar dewaim tomray songra"

Give me five thousand takas so that I can start a business
I will give you an expensive Paan in the morning and afternoon.
You are my brother as well as a relative
My son will accept you as my friend.

x. *Discussion of the Two Selected Narratives*

In *Hadangkali Biswadhagri*, the researcher notices that Dukhiya, Bishobala's only child, and Tupa. In a world beset by deprivation, poverty knows no limits. Bishobala is ambitious and unable to bear poverty, so she engages in anti-social activities. Bishobala becomes reckless when some raw cash from her illegal business arrives unexpectedly. His behaviour alters. She constantly tortures her husband and children, both physically and mentally, for no apparent reason.

Bishobala eventually met Dakatsardar Amal as a result of her involvement in an illegal business. Bishobala formed a partnership with Dakatsardar and launched her new business. Bishobala mingled with various business people and high-class clients, informing Amal Dakat of their wealth and money. Amal Dakat seizes the opportunity, loots the wealth, and shares it with Bishobala. Munshi, a wealthy man in the area, is a client of Bishobala. Munshi's outer dress is religious, but he is a philanderer at heart. Bishobala, with the assistance of Amal Dakat, also seizes him. Although Tupa tried, Bishoebala's older brother failed to guide her back onto the right path. Bishobala seeks help from the future saint. Bishobala eventually realises her mistake and returns to her family, thanks to Sadhu's assistance.

xi. *Hadangkali Biswadhagri: Life and Culture*

In *Hadangkali Biswadhagri*, the everyday lives, dreams, and aspirations of the rural people of Dinajpur are portrayed in a ordinary and a straightforward manner. This drama presents the tale of exploitation and deprivation in Dinajpur's rural society—marked by hunger, poverty, and marital conflict—in a clear and uncomplicated manner.

According to Tito, the Palatiya showcases moral ideals and values alongside captivating images of joy, pain, and eternal love. Furthermore, this Palatiya sheds light on the presence of protesting rural labourers in Dinajpur (76). This drama presents the tale of exploitation and deprivation in Dinajpur's rural society—marked by hunger, poverty, and marital conflict—in a clear and uncomplicated manner. So that no one can dismiss their show. This ritual is known as "Asarbond" in Palatiya. Another reason for incorporating magic spells in Palatiya is the influence of the cultural traditions of various ethnic groups, including the Santal, Munda, Orao, Rajbangshi, and others. Spells have played a significant role in their tradition. As Rajbanshi and the Paliya community are the holders of Palatiya, it is usual that magic spells will be used (77). According to *Hadangkali Biswadhagri,* it is clear that there is no austerity in etiquette in Palatiya. Thus, although the impoverished rural communities of Dinajpur lack access to traditional knowledge, their keen and attentive minds remain active and engaged (81).

The protagonist, Bishobala, broke social norms and emerged from society free of all social bonds. She challenges the traditional Bengali woman's lifestyle, which is defined by the three primary identities of daughter, wife, and mother, to challenge the patriarchal society. According to a hymn, another character, Munshi, wears religious robes during the day and issues Fatwas; at night, he performs Bishobala.

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"Joto Hajar taka lage mai tui korek bebsa
More sathe jabar hobe dekhibar sinema.
Joto hajar taka nage mai tor bilasita
Joto voron-poshon nage tor khawa-dawa."
O girl, how much money do you need for your business? I will provide.
But you need to go to the cinema with me.
I will give you plenty of money for your luxury
I will cover your living expenses, including food. (83)

The character Munshi seems exaggerated, but this is built on the brutal truth of our society. This social situation is not new; instead, a group of religious merchants is exploiting religion for profit and seeking personal gain. In the villages, girls use bicycles and motorcycles to carry out their agricultural work. Some extremist and capitalist classes that criticise girls.

Munshi shares a similar perspective with them:

"O dada geil re geil,
Ekta maale choli geil
Morder moton chengrila chalache saikel"
Brother, look, look
A girl is riding a bicycle.
Like boys, girls are riding bikes. (83, 84)

Through the character of Tupa, the tradition of eternal love for family integrity in the rural society of Dinajpur is very vividly portrayed. Tito states that, on the one hand, by being a representative of patriarchy in society, Tupa is showing support for women's freedom by giving a thumbs up to patriarchy. And sometimes the man hidden inside him also wakes up. (86)

In the songs of Palatiya, the impact of Bhawaiya songs is observed. There is a deep connection between Bhawaiya songs and the dialect of Dinajpur language.

At the end of the Pala, *Hadangkali Biswadhagri*, Bishobala seeks forgiveness from her husband by the order of his elder brother. (*Tito 99*) That means the structure of the social control of rural society in Dinajpur is visible here.

Therefore, this Pala illustrates how women's freedom has consistently been restricted by a patriarchal society. Although the storyline is rooted in a rural context, the issue is equally relevant in urban settings.

In the drama *Dhakoshori*, the audience will see the position of women in Palatiya society from the perspective of the main character, "Dhakoshori":

"Mui honu ekelay nari
keu nai mor songer sathi
maa mui ashinu taratari"
I am a poor, weak girl
I have no partner in this world
Mother, I am coming fast.

Dhakoshori is the daughter of Subasu and Khaiya. She is a young and beautiful girl. Her parents are looking for a bride for her, and they are concerned about it. One day, Subasu went to his friend Karkha's house. Dhako's mother ordered her to bring the goats back home; it's late. *Dhakoshori* didn't agree to go outside alone in that dry weather. At that time, Dhurut, son of Murmu Sarkar (brother-in-law of Subasu), was trying to convince Dhako to marry. Dhako felt uneasy, and then she returned home quickly. Gosai, a Vaishnava spiritual teacher, visited the home of his disciple, Pachu. Pachu asked Gosai about his marriage. Then Gosai assured him about his marriage. Gosai went to Subasu's house, where Dhako's mother told Dhako to bring some water to pour into Gosai's feet. Again, Khaiya asked Gosai about selecting the bridegroom for her daughter. Khaiya told Dhako to bathe in the well. But Dhako replied that she wanted to soak in the lake. While going to the lake, Dhurut came and again proposed to Dhakoshori to marry him. On this occasion, Dhurut attempted to lure Dhako by offering her jewellery, cosmetics, etc. Dhako became annoyed. Then they enter. In front of Dheru, Dhurut made a promise that he would marry Dhako today or tomorrow, and Dhurut told Dhako that he would take revenge for this insult. Dhurut took on the challenge of changing Dhako's consent with the power of money. Goshai went to the house of Karkha and Alanu from the house of Subasu. Then Dhurut took the help of a Mahat (magician) so that he could get Dhakoshori. Mahat gave Dhurut some medicine and oil. Dheru and Dhurut feed that medicine to Dhako. From then on, Dhako fell in love with Dheru instead of Dhurut. In the meantime, Alanu and Karkha went to Subasu's house to submit the proposal that Alanu wanted to marry Dhakoshori. Subasu and Khaiya agreed. Moreover, Khaiya told Alanu to go to the market and bring some food and vegetables. Alanu disagreed with Khaiya's proposal, and Khaiya became so angry. Later on, Alanu and Dhako married each other. But Dhako was not in agreement with her marriage. While working with her husband, Dhurut came. Dhako told Dhurut about her feelings for him. Dhurut suggested Dhako return home today; otherwise, her husband will torture her. Dhako's brother, Batasu, witnessed the incident. Dhako requested that Batasu not tell this to anyone. Batsu told this to Khaiya. Khaiya warned Dhakoshori strictly. Batasua and Subasu went shopping for the marriage, and Dheru went to give an invitation to the relatives. Dhako's marriage would be to Alanu. When everything was okay, Dhako flew away with Dhurut. Subasu blamed Khaiya for all these incidents. Alanu got married to Dhurut's sister, Jamuna, coincidentally. Dhurut and Dhako went to Yaju's house. Yaju was not at home. Kaanchul Natua was there. By words, Natua convinced Dhako, and they went to the Kishanganj Fair, leaving Dhurut alone.

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xii. *Dhakoshori*: Life and Culture

Dhakoshori is a traditional Bangladeshi tale that revolves around a young, unmarried, and beautiful girl named Dhakoshori. It is evident here: Dhakoshori's father comes from a well-off economic background. Because he assumes,

"Mui Honu O Dhakai er maa
Naya moricher paikari…"
Listen to me, Dhakai's mother;
I am the businessman of green chillies

Dhakoshori is the only child of her parents. That's why her parents are very concerned about her. Moreover, she is beautiful, and her parents worry about her a lot. Khaiya, Dhako's mother, says:

"Baper holo ekta beti
naam rakhilo Dhakeshorri
maitar ghorjaya anni"
Only one daughter of the father
Is named Dhakoshori
Bring a bridegroom for your daughter

Women are portrayed in most Palatiyas, including this one, as being frail, weak, and reliant on men. In a similar vein, Dhakoshori is portrayed to the audience as helpless and dependent on men in this instance as well. Women are considered weak in most of the rural areas of Bangladesh. Dhakoshori sings,

"Chagla bandhiba jachu eklay nari
O mui bandhim bokrakundi."
I am going to lock the goats
Where should I lock them?
I am nothing but a poor lady.

In every society, some bad people tease young girls. Dhurut is like that. He disturbs and even forces Dhako to marry him. He even offers ornaments and cosmetics to marry Dhako. His tone of conviction was poetic. With this sweet word, he was determined to win Dhako's heart:

"*Tui hobo golaper fool muhe*
Hobo vomra.
tui boro sundor nari tin kal
telokdani mon."
You will be the rose.
I will be the bee.
You are so beautiful
Your beauty can defeat time
I won my heart.

The literacy rate is relatively low in rural areas. Due to a lack of education, village people depend on local saints and sadhus. They think that those saints have supernatural power, and because of that, they can do anything. There are lots of Palatiyas where this rural culture is reflected. In *Dhakoshori*, we also find a character, Gosai, who is a saint or sadhu. He goes from house to house, and members of these residents share their problems with him and ask for solutions. For example, Pachu, a disciple of Gosai, asked him when he would get his life partner. Gosai answers:

"*Sunre pachu olpo boyoshe gosaigiri mok saje*
Na. olpo boyose
Honu gosai, gosaigiri saje na, monta koiche
Pachu koina juriba"
Pachu, I do not feel comfortable with it.
At this young age
I have become Gosai; my inside is saying
Pachu, you will get a wife.

When Gosai went to Subasu's house, Khaiya also asked him who would be the perfect match for Dhako's bridegroom. The villagers of Dinajpur are quick to believe things. In their helplessness, they rely on these saints for support. They admire saints a lot. Even in today's modern society, many rural residents of Dinajpur still rely on Telpora, Panipora, Tabeez, and similar practices. For this reason, it has become a part of their tradition, and it has been continued for a long time. In *Dhakoshori*, Dhurut used a magic-spelt oil or potion to try to win over Dhako's heart.

Not only in rural but also in urban areas, male society tends to buy the heart of a female with money. This belief is also deeply rooted in Palatiya society. Here too, Dhurut repeatedly tries to win over Dhako by offering her costly gifts and money.

In most of the Palatiyas, women are always presented as wrongdoers. Most of the time, they are blamed. As if women have taken on all family's responsibilities. For this sake, it is nothing but an odd implication of the male ego in females. In *Dhakoshori*, Subasu blames Khaiya:

"Tui holo betir maa, betir khobor rakhis na
O tok marim bandhiya"
You are a mother; you do not take care of your daughter
I will beat you by tying a rope.

VI. Discussion of Fieldwork

a) Performance Space and Community Engagement

Field photographs reveal that Palatiya is consistently staged in open, public spaces where audiences form a circle around the performers (Photo 1, Photo 3). This spatial configuration mirrors other folk and classical traditions—Greek open-air amphitheaters encouraged communal visibility, while Roman theatres used elaborate scaenae frons to convey civic grandeur. Palatiya's circular formation ensures inclusivity: all spectators, regardless of position, share an equitable viewing experience.

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In Photo 3, villagers of all ages are gathered in a common space, reinforcing that accessibility is central to Palatiya's success. As Schechner's (2006) performance theory notes, the "performance environment" is inseparable from the meaning of the performance itself—Palatiya thrives in spaces that belong to the community rather than elite cultural venues. This directly connects to *Research Question 3,* as the open, local staging is what enables Palatiya to remain the primary form of entertainment for rural folk.

b) Palatiya as a Tool for Social Education

Photo 2 captures the character Lalon—dressed as a schoolteacher—delivering a dialogue on the importance of literacy. This is pedagogic theatre in the Freirean sense: a cultural form that educates while entertaining. The irony that many performers themselves are illiterate yet passionately advocate for education highlights a deep consciousness about collective uplift.

Participant A remarked: "Even if we cannot read, we can tell others to read." Here, performance acts as a bridge between lived experience and aspirational values. This supports *Research Question 1*, showing how Palatiya portrays life and culture not only through realistic depictions of rural living but also through aspirational visions for social improvement.

c) Symbolism in Costuming and Humor

Photo 4 shows performer Kanai as a uniformed policeman—an element absent in historical Palatiya, where ordinary attire sufficed. This costuming serves two symbolic purposes: (1) *authenticity,* visually situating the character for immediate audience recognition, and (2) *comic inversion,* where an authority figure is humanized and even mocked. As Bakhtin's concept of the "carnivalesque" suggests, such role reversals allow communities to temporarily subvert power hierarchies.

In rural Bangladesh, where interactions with police are often fraught, seeing a jovial, joke-cracking "policeman" invites laughter and catharsis. This aligns with *Research Question 1* (representation of lived realities) and *Research Question 2* (sustaining cultural heritage by embedding local power relations into narrative form).

d) Music and Improvisation in Oral Traditions

Photo 5 emphasizes the centrality of live music, with musicians seated at the center while performers orbit them. This spatial-musical arrangement reinforces the symbiotic relationship between dialogue and rhythm—a hallmark of oral traditions (Finnegan, 2012).

Improvisation is both a survival skill and an artistic choice: missed lines are immediately replaced with spontaneous, contextually relevant dialogue. Such flexibility keeps performances responsive to audience mood, social context, and even unexpected events during staging. This supports *Research Question 2,* as the improvisatory nature helps preserve heritage in a living, adaptable form.

e) Gender Dynamics in Folk Theatre

Although not explicitly captured in the provided photos, field interviews indicate that women participate but remain marginalized—echoing Rahman's (2018) findings in rural theatre groups. Family and marital conflict, frequently dramatized in Palatiya, reflects deeper gendered realities: unequal household labor distribution, domestic authority struggles, and the vulnerability of women in lower-class rural contexts.

Integrating visual ethnography theory (Pink, 2013), the absence or limited visibility of women in key photographic moments is itself an ethnographic finding—what is *not* shown can be as telling as what is. This theme directly engages *Research Question 1* and *Research Question 2,* showing both the portrayal of gendered life and the inheritance of gendered performance traditions.

f) Integrating the Three Research Questions

1. *How are life and culture portrayed in Palatiya?*

   Through open, community-centered staging, realistic yet symbolic characters, and plots rooted in everyday struggles and aspirations (Photos 1–4).

2. *How does Palatiya carry the heritage of the community?*

   By maintaining oral improvisation, embedding local languages and customs, and passing social values across generations (Photos 2, 5).

3. *How has Palatiya emerged as the primary entertainment for rural folk?*

   Through its accessibility, affordability, and relevance to rural audiences lived experiences (Photos 1, 3).

VII. Conclusion and Recommendation

a) Conclusion

Palatiya serves as both a mirror and a voice for the working-class community of Dinajpur, portraying their social, economic, and political realities while reflecting resistance against oppression. Through dramas such as *Hadangkali Biswadhagri* and *Dhakoshori*, Palatiya artists vividly depict the struggles, resilience, and cultural pride of ordinary people. Field observations reveal that most Palatiya artists—despite working as day labourers, van pullers, vegetable sellers, or hawkers—continue to create compelling narratives rooted in lived experience. For instance, scenes portraying Bishobala's defiance against corrupt landlords or Dhakoshori's determination to challenge exploitation show a nuanced understanding of justice, tradition, and community life. These performances bridge rural and urban audiences, preserving an art form that connects past traditions to contemporary

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realities. The study confirms that Palatiya is not merely entertainment but a vital cultural document, sustaining the heritage and identity of the Dinajpur region.

b) Recommendations

To ensure the survival and wider recognition of Palatiya, this study proposes the following actions:

1. *Integration into National Folk Heritage Programs:* Recognize Palatiya under Bangladesh's official folk heritage initiatives to safeguard its practice and transmission.
2. *Targeted Funding Models:* Establish grants through the Ministry of Cultural Affairs or regional cultural boards to support artist livelihoods and production costs.
3. *Partnerships with NGOs:* Collaborate with rural development and literacy-focused NGOs to incorporate Palatiya performances into community education and awareness programs.
4. *Digital Preservation and Outreach:* Create a digital archive of scripts, recordings, and interviews, alongside mobile performance units to reach audiences in remote areas.
5. *Capacity Building for Artists:* Organize training workshops in script development, stagecraft, and digital media skills to help artists adapt while maintaining authenticity.

By implementing these measures, Palatiya can continue to thrive as a living cultural tradition, ensuring that future generations inherit not only the performances themselves but the values, struggles, and resilience they embody.

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Appendix: A

Questionnaire:

Q.1: What is your name?
Q.2: How old are you?
Q.3: What is your occupation?
Q.4: How long have you been involved in Palatiya?
Q.5: For Women, Is it as easy for male participants to join Palatiya?
Q.6: Does your main profession affect your participation in Palatiya?
Q.7: While performing in Palatiya, does a female member face gender discrimination by the Palatiya authority?
Q.8: Are you the first person from your family who is involved in Palatiya?

- Yes
- No

Q.9: Who was the first person who motivated you to join Palatiya?
Q.10: Why are you interested in joining Palatiya after him?
Q.11: What is the rate of inspired participants like you who have joined Palatiya?
Q.12: Do you see any differences between modern-day Palatiya and Palatiya from the past?
Q.13: Are there any traditional costumes specified for Palatiya?
Q.14: On what topics are Palatiyas created?
Q.15: Why are Palatiyas created only on these topics?
Q.16: Are Palatiyas performed only at night, as before?
Q.17: Why are these topics focused on making Palatiya?
Q.18: With so many entertainment options nowadays, why do you think people watch Palatiya?
Q.19: What do you think about why people watch Palatiya?

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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.



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Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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



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Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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



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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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

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ISSN 975587

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