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Social Anomie and Suicide Phenomenon in Nigeria: Lending Credence to the Voiceless Phenomenon

By Kingsley Nnorom
Federal University Wukari

Abstract- Suicide, is one of the socially undesirable phenomena across the globe. As such, the United Nations via the World Health Organization has recognized suicide as one of the health issues, requiring serious attention globally and domestically. Although there are statistical evidences about the understanding of the phenomenon and its prevalence world over, especially among the developed nations, much is left to be desired for among the developing nations in the understanding of the social antecedence of suicide and the sustainable mechanism to the phenomenon. Since the fundamental theoretical concept by Emile Durkheim, which has triggered unprecedented research on suicide, classification and identification of the social phenomenon responsible for suicide thought and action, is yet to be given a crystal distillation among the developing nations such as Nigeria. There are social indices facilitating suicide thought and actions, which are domicile with these nations according to Durkheim's classifications.

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Social Anomie and Suicide Phenomenon in Nigeria: Lending Credence to the Voiceless Phenomenon

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Abstract- Suicide, is one of the socially undesirable phenomena across the globe. As such, the United Nations via the World Health Organization has recognized suicide as one of the health issues, requiring serious attention globally and domestically. Although there are statistical evidences about the understanding of the phenomenon and its prevalence world over, especially among the developed nations, much is left to be desired for among the developing nations in the understanding of the social antecedence of suicide and the sustainable mechanism to the phenomenon. Since the fundamental theoretical concept by Emile Durkheim, which has triggered unprecedented research on suicide, classification and identification of the social phenomenon responsible for suicide thought and action, is yet to be given a crystal distillation among the developing nations such as Nigeria. There are social indices facilitating suicide thought and actions, which are domicile with these nations according to Durkheim's classifications. However, little attempt has been made in theoretically capturing these social indices and their current and future implications to the nations involved. As a matter of fact, Nigerian government over the years has included suicide in principle, as one of the socio-health policy issue, requiring some level of emergency but lacks theoretically sound policy approach. Having identified the existence of lacuna between policy intention and the understanding of the socioeconomic and political elements inducing suicide as they are present in the country's atmosphere, the present paper deals with the capturing of these elements in Durkheimian suicidological perspective for clear view and knowledge informed policy strategy.

Keywords: suicide, egoistic suicide, altruistic suicide, anomic suicide, fatalistic suicide, social anomie.

I. Introduction

Over the centuries, the phenomenon of suicide has lived with man on the planet earth but with some other phenomenon supporting or triggering it. The phenomenon has gone unnoticed of centuries without intellectual conceptualization and capturing, for observation and control. With the emergence of social scientific discipline and precisely sociological discipline, the phenomenon appeared to the limelight of the intellectual community and social policy drivers atleast, in Europe and America as at the time of its observation.

Author: PhD Department of Sociology, Federal University Wukari, Wukari-Nigeria. e-mail: kingley71n@gmail.com

Suicide as a concept and phenomenon, was first given an intellectual attention by Durkheim who distinguished among four types of suicide, which anchor on two major phenomena of integration and regulation. While egoistic and altruistic suicide, are connected to the phenomenon of integration, anomic and fatalistic suicides were said to be connected to the phenomenon of regulation (Durkheim, 1951:151).

Across generations according to Durkheim, the phenomenon of suicide hovers around the aforementioned phenomena, making them more or less, the channel through which the phenomenon of suicide can be understood. Of course, both in the study of suicide by Durkheim and other scholars across generations (Durkheim, 1951; 1984; Graeff & Mehlkop, 2007; dos Santos et al., 2016; Scourfield et al., 2012; Coope et al, 2014), the basic interpretation of the phenomenon of suicide has not deviated from the aforementioned basic social phenomena by Durkheim.

Similarly, the phenomenon of suicide, social integration and social regulation are all anchored on the general situation of the society, a situation, which Durkheim (1984) refer to as social anomie. While social anomie is on the negative direction on the social scale of society healthiness, its implication on the general wellbeing of the members of the society is simply projected, through suicide and other similar indices of social disorderliness and discomfort.

Whatsoever, the phenomenon of suicide, which was captured by Emile Durkheim (1951), one of the founders of modern sociology, has been observed to be one of the most enduring social and health issues across time and regions of the world (WHO, 2012). More than one million people lose their lives through suicide every year according to the World Health Organization estimate (2012). Although there are data across the globe for the analysis of suicide trends across the globe, African continent in general and Nigeria in particular, lack reliable data for the understanding of suicide trend in the continent and the country.

Although lack of data due to some circumstances ranging from social stigma (Okafor, 2017) to unavailable classification mechanism (Mars et al, 2014), there is a need for comprehensive explanation of suicide for balanced view of the phenomenon especially in African continent. Many scholars have

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approached the issue of suicide in terms of explanation with available suicide data but in a somewhat fragmentation (Mars et al, 2014) requiring, a theoretical approach in the African and by implication Nigerian context. As such, the present paper is a scholarly effort to put in theoretical and sociological perspectives, the phenomenon of suicide in Nigeria and perhaps African continent using the dominant socioeconomic situation in the region.

II. The Concept of Suicide and Social Anomie

According to World Health Organization (2009a), suicide is an act deliberately initiated and performed by a person in the full knowledge or expectation of its fatal outcome. In specific terms, it is the accumulation of processes and actions leading to the extermination of one's life by himself or herself. Suicide has existed as long as man has lived in this planet earth making it, one of the social phenomenon, which has existed alongside human behavioural tendencies in all generations, race, creed and cultures.

As a social and health issue, suicide has warranted unprecedented efforts by the scholars across generations and regions for explanations and interpretations of its appearance, manifestation and antecedents among different groups and generations (Spates & Slatton, 2017; Barnes& Carl, 2003; Durkheim, 1951). The phenomenon of suicide has been connected to a whole lot of issues anchoring on behavioural tendencies in different settings. However, the work and perspective of Durkheim on suicide has endured over the time and even in the current historical epoch.

According to Durkheim, suicide cannot be removed from the social system, the social facts, which appear to be sui generi to even the human beings who are recruited into the system by birth and socializations. While suicide at the superficial level appear to be individual action against one's self (WHO, 2009a&b), the fact that the individual exists in a social system with the presence of the nonmaterial social facts cannot be denied (Greenwood, 2003). Again, the existence of the social facts is sui generi to the individual in the society (Durkheim, 1952).

According to Durkheim, suicide can be divided into four types with two major social phenomenon characterizing them. Equally, the two major social phenomenon are the product of the nonmaterial social fact. In Durkheim's classifications, there are *egoistic suicide, altruistic suicide, anomic suicide and fatalistic suicide.* Similarly, the two major social phenomenon characterized as having implication to suicide and types of suicide included, *social integration and social regulation.*

In Durkheimian classification, egoistic suicide appears to be the by-product of weak social integration, which affects the individual self-perception in the entire gamut of the social system and processes (Ritzer, 2011). Although Durkheim classified this with a form of society in which the individuals are not well connected to, or integrated with the larger social unit, the overall understanding of the concept of egoistic suicide can be appreciated by looking at the class of individuals who fall into such trap. According to Durkheim (1951), the larger social system provides us with the value system, morality and sense of purpose. This, can be found in almost all the modern societies, where our value is more appreciated in connection with the popular value system and achievements. By implication, what had been established by popular approval as benign, such as the value of life, patience and endurance as a means to social ladder, automatically, is expected to guide the behaviour and expectations of the strongly integrated members of the society. However, in the suicidological perspective of Durkheim, when an individual is not properly integrated into the social system for whatsoever reason, there is a tendency for one terminating his life in the presence of challenges and difficult time.

The altruistic suicide, which in Durkheim's classification falls in the category of social integration-induced-action, can be found in the societies, where the individuals are strongly attached to the social system. Altruistic suicide much as it sounds, is the manifestation of the individuals' selfless offer of themselves for the interest of the collective body in question courtesy of high integration into the social system. According to Durkheim (1951), when the social integration is too high, the individuals are literarily forced to commit suicide in the interest of the social group in question.

In the modern societies across the globe, although there are atoms of high level of individualism, this individualism is subjected to group interest where the interest of the individuals in question is attached to a particular group maintaining a sense of strong social cohesion. More specifically, in most of the developing nations, strong attachment to group interest is not strange especially in the matter of religion and belief system. By implication, Durkheim's concept of altruistic suicide finds fulfilment in both in the society of his days and that of the modern society. In sum, altruistic suicide as it appeared in Durkheim's sociological piece, captures the willingness to sacrifice one's life as a result of self-commitment to the collective interest of a social group whether small or big.

On the regulation aspect of the society and the individual members of the society, Durkheim maintained that high regulation in the society has its toll on the members of the society as well as weak regulation. Specifically, low regulation in the society is responsible for anomic suicide while the high regulation is responsible for fatalistic suicide.

Anomic suicide in the Durkheimian classification, is the type of suicide, which occur when

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the regulative power of the society is disrupted. When the regulative mechanism in the social system is disrupted, the individuals are left at the mercy of their excessive passions and ambitions, which mostly lead to unknown destination of suicide (Ritzer, 2011). More specifically, the individual members of the society, no matter the extent of civilization, is affected by hedonistic behaviours, which are mostly on the path of self-destruction. When these behaviours fail to receive a collectively approved control measure, they are bound to lead most people to suicide.

Fatalistic suicide according to Durkheim, occur in the presence of strong and high regulation in the society. While weak regulation makes the members of the society vulnerable to anomic suicide, strong regulation mechanism is responsible for fatalistic suicide. According to Durkheim, when there is excessive regulation in the society, some people become frustrated as a result of their ambition and life pursuits being blocked. Excessive regulative measure in the social system do raise some level of distress, melancholy and oppression, triggering self-dejection and high rate of fatalistic suicide in the society.

More than any of the concept related to suicide and suicide concept itself, Durkheim gave weightier attention to social anomie, which he defined to be the state of lawlessness among the members of the society. For Durkheim (1975), when the morality among the members of the society is winding down, the social restraint preventing the members of the society from falling into self-destruction is automatically being withdrawn and thereby making the members of the society vulnerable to self-destruction. Although Durkheim established his theoretical concept of suicide with the evidence of macro suicide study from European nations as at his own time, there are still some indications that anomic suicide more than any other type of suicide, dominated his time.

Social anomie more pronounced than any other social condition connected to suicide, is one of the dominant social condition even in the present epoch, that affects the rate of suicide in the society. Social anomie by its appearance according to Durkheimian sociological analysis, is partly connected with other social conditions that may likely induce suicide.

Social anomie in extension induce the state of lawlessness, which open opportunities for other extreme groups who in the long run make individual members of the society vulnerable to altruistic suicide. For instance, among the Islamic extremists, the members are automatically made vulnerable due to their membership; going back to the social conditions positively affecting the emergence of extremist groups, there are evidence of weak social regulations making some individual members of the society vulnerable to the recruitment of the extremist groups.

Similarly, lawlessness in the society, which Durkheim tends to project via the concept of social anomie, can equally cause the weak integration by the members of the society due to selfish interest and envisaged freedom to live as one pleases without bordering one's self with the unnecessary social cohesion requiring responsibilities especially, among the sub social groups in the society.

Nonetheless, social anomie can equally open the restricted process of socialization and social ladder of power acquisition for socially undesirable elements into the corridor of power, and grant them the opportunity for rule making process ignoring the genuine aspirations of many members of the society. When such a situation occurs, many members of the society are likely to be blocked in their aspirations as unrealizable as well as hopeless and by implication, trigger fatalistic suicide. In respect to Durkheim's theoretical classifications of suicide, all the four types of suicide and the social preconditions, are still relevant even in the current historical epoch.

III. Suicide Across Africa and the Problem of Misrepresentation of Data

Suicide across African continent is at least, reported mostly on individual bases by the researchers who scratch the available data through populations that lacks understanding of the implication of scientific evaluation of suicide phenomenon (Mars et al., 2014). From the scanty information on suicide across African continents by few scholars interested in the phenomenon, we can envisage the nature and appearance of suicide in the continent.

According to the study by Adinkrah (2011) in Ghana between 2006-2008, suicide rate appeared to be 0.1 per 100,000 with 10 males committing suicide against every 1 female. The study by Johnson et al. (2008), which focused on Liberia reviewed the prevalence suicide classified death to be 6.0% with male/female ratio of 0.7:1.

In morocco, Agoub Moussaoui & Kadri (2006) carried out a study in Casablanca, with focus on suicide related deaths and suicide prevalence, their findings revealed the Lifetime prevalence of suicide to be 2.1% with male/female ratio of 0.5:1.From Nigeria, the study by Gureje et al. (2007), involving sample from about 6 geopolitical regions reveal the incidence of suicide among the sampled population. Although the study focused on suicide behaviour with psychological wellbeing, the findings revealed the lifetime prevalence of suicide to be 0.7% with male/female ration of 1.0:1.

The study of Bekry (1999) focusing on Addis Ababa Ethiopia on suicide phenomenon between 198-1996 showed suicide rate among the population to be 49.8 per 100,000 with male/female ratio of 2.9:1.

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According to Dzamalala et al. (2006), suicide prevalence according to the sample from Blantyre Malawi between 2000-2003 was at 10.7 per 100,000 while the male/female ratio was 0.8:1. Similarly, the study by Ikealumba & Couper (2006) in Rehoboth Namibia in 2001, revealed the prevalence of suicide to be 100.0 per 100,000 with male/female ratio of 0.9:1.

As at the time 2002-2004, the study by Joeet al. (2008) involving a sampled from the whole of South Africa showed that the lifetime prevalence of suicide in the country was 2.9% with the male/female ratio of 0.3:1. A study in Kampala Uganda between Jan. 2002-Oct 2002 by Kinyanda, Hjelmeland & Musisi (2004) indicated the suicide prevalence of 10.1 per 100,000 and male/female ratio of 1.7:1. Equally, the study by Ndosi & Waziri (1997) in Dar es Salaam Tanzania between Jan 1991-June 1993 showed that the suicide prevalence among the population was 5.2 per 100,000 with male/female ratio of 0.5:1. According to the findings by Chibanda, Sebit & Acuda (2002), in Harare Zimbabwe the suicide prevalence among the population was found to be 49.9 per 100,000 with male/female ratio of 0.2:1.

As one of the social phenomenon with social stigma, death by suicide is not easily divulged among different societies in Africa. From the In-Depth analysis of the above studies, there are evidences that they were simply a scratch of the incidence of suicide across African continent with government objective publications on suicide rate across the continent.

While death is perceived as sacred requiring more secrecy in terms of who to tell among African nations (Nnamani, 2002), sudden death involving younger individuals such as death by suicide, is more demonic than open human behavioural disposition (Okafor, 2017).

Africa, if not the only continent, is one of the continents where data on suicide is very difficult. Challenges ranging from socio-cultural stigma to, government inability to standardize the phenomenon among population issues as raised by the World Health Organization over the decades.

IV. Suicide in Nigeria: Sociological Interpretation and Implications

Although the report of death in Nigeria is not properly handled let alone the causes that involved suicide, the incident of suicide remains a reality that exist as a social phenomenon. Across Nigerian history at least, from 1957, when the incidence of suicide in Nigeria began to receive minute research interest from the scholars, suicide has been recorded in Nigeria both formally and otherwise (Asuni, 1962). Complicated as it appeared to researchers, suicide in Nigeria though magnificent, is under reported and in some cases go unnoticed before the death statistics. Only on individual research documentations that, suicide had been given statistical attention mostly, with a sketchy data.

Most of the studies focusing on suicide phenomenon in Nigeria (Eferakeya, 1984; Asuni, 1962; Nwosu & Odesanmi, 2001; Uwakwe & Gureje, 2011; Uchendu, et al., 2019) usually, are either insignificantly representative or a proximity study without a clear data on the extent and rate of suicide. However, from the above studies and more, there are evidences that suicide is prevalent across the population of Nigeria.

Whatever, the incidence of suicide in Nigeria apart from the other perspectives in explaining suicide using available sketchy, is captured in the framework of four-square social phenomenon within which the individuals in the society could be vulnerable to self-termination. This, is capture in the Durkheimian sociology of suicide.

Among other things, Durkheim divided the overwhelming social circumstances under which the individual members of the society could be vulnerable to suicide into two such as, social integration and social regulations with each, carrying a sub two units of suicide outcome (Ritzer, 2011). While the social integration on its part carries the egoistic and altruistic suicide, social regulation carries anomic and fatalistic suicide.

More than any other scholar interested in suicidology, Durkheim gave a blue print of ageless social circumstances, which can induce suicide as well as their inalienable presence in all societies. Specifically, Durkheim in his sociological analysis, captured the macro phenomenon of the social system, which trigger the incidence of suicide at the micro level of individual involvement.

In the case of suicide in Nigeria, going by the Durkheimian classification of suicide, each classification can be found in the Nigerian context. Much of these suicides though invisible in most cases, are indirectly or directly attached to the macro social phenomenon of Durkheimian suicidological analysis.

Egoistic suicide in Durkheim's framework, has been visible across the nation and the population. This, involves the youth as well as the elderly. While most youth are committing suicide especially, the recent saga among the students of higher institution of learning, on the platform of weak social integration, some elderly fellows, have taken their own lives, whether reported or not, on the account of the same issue. The weak social integration here includes religious groups, social activities and family life. At least, a number of suicide notes following some suicides that have taken place in a number of Nigerian universities such as University of Nigeria, Obafemi Awolowo University, Niger Delta University, Ahmadu Bello University and more, were carrying some indications of weak social ties ranging from family levels to the students' social activities on campus.

Similarly, a number of suicide incidents that have taken place this of recent, involving some secondary school teachers, artisans, civil servants and

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some unclassified occupations, through the circumstances surrounding the suicides, indicated the presence of weak social integration on the suicide of the diseased. The explanatory power of the Durkheimian concept of egoistic suicide and weak social integration can be appreciated, looking at the overwhelming power of emotional degeneration following ruptured relationship between the individuals and their families or the macrocosm of the society at large. This of course, builds a foundation of self-hatred and dejection of which the end result in most cases, is suicide thought, attempt and completed suicide (Uwakwe & Gureje, 2011).

Altruistic suicide in the Durkheimian framework of social integration induced suicide, equally takes place in Nigeria. The cases of boko haram, Shiite Muslim protests and IPOB protests, were all carrying the elements of altruistic suicide. While the bokoharam insurgency has groomed many youths to volunteer for suicide bombing and direct military confrontation with the knowledge of the possible fatalities, the protests by the Shiite Muslims and the IPOB were all having some indices of awareness of death before involvement by the members of the groups.

According to Durkheim, when there is a strong social integration as per individual attachment with the larger social group in the society or even the society at large, there is a tendency that the individuals will likely offer themselves in the interest of the group per adventure there is live threatening situation. This of course become in distinct classification of suicide, altruistic suicide.

In the case of boko haram in Nigeria, the indoctrination by the bokoharam elements, has reduced the lower members into object of field battle, which can be expended to sustain the existence of the group. More than two thousand members of boko haram have died in the cause of the war mostly in the trajectory of altruistic suicide. In the case of Shiite Muslim protests, there is every indication that the members of the group especially, the youths were prepared for death as a result of strong attachment with the group, courtesy of religious indoctrination and attachment. A good number of the group have died in confrontation with Nigerian army knowing fully well that such a fatal situation is imminent before it happened.

Similarly, the case of IPOB members equally displayed the indices of strong social integration leading to altruistic suicide. Before and after the proscription of the activities of the Indigenous People of Biafra, most of the protests and activities of the group have taken place in spite of grave warning from Nigerian police and army. As a matter of fact, most of these activities have ended with a significant loss of lives. Underneath of these protests, is the fact that the members of this group are aware that the loss of lives was imminent but because of strong attachment with the interest of the group and the group itself, the diseased ignore the signal of death before involvement with the group's activities.

In Durkheim's suicidological classification, anomic suicide shows the characteristics of weak regulation in the social system (Ritzer, 2011). When the regulatory system of the society becomes weak and ineffective, the individual members of the society are unconsciously made vulnerable to a form of suicide, which shows the incapability of man in controlling himself in the absence of social order. As a matter of fact, the individuals are left to the mercy of passions and inordinate ambitions capable of ruining their lives.

The current issues of drug addiction related deaths, money rituals involving soul trading and premature death, etc., among the Nigerian youth, displays the state of anomie in the social system. Due to poor regulatory measure, which at some point deter the members of the society from inordinate ambition capable of leading to death in installment, the members of the society especially the youth are cut off by the unnecessary excessiveness leading to their deaths. Equally, the issue of social anomie, appears in two dimensions according to Durkheim's further interpretation.

While on one aspect, social anomie allows the members of the society into the net of inordinate ambition capable of terminating their lives, it equally appear in the form of social system, lacking control measure over social economic activities. When the regulatory mechanism fails to ensure the continuity of the ongoing economic activities, the likelihood of business crumbling in different capacities appears and in the long rung make the members of the society vulnerable to self-destruction. At least since 2009 in the specific case of Nigeria, many businesses have crumbled in different parts of Nigeria leaving many without job. As a situation with ripple effect in Durkheimian analysis, the affected individuals in most cases have been caught up with suicidal thought, attempted suicide and even suicide in some cases.

At the fourth square of Durkheim's suicidological analysis is the fatalistic suicide. This form of suicide, contrary to the above mentioned anomic suicide, result from extreme social regulation. Human beings, in as much as they need social order for harmonious existence, are equally sensitive to a regulatory system capable of blocking people out of their genuine dreams and expectations from or within the social system. In essence, this situation causes some members of the society to take their own lives out of frustration and this what Durkheim called fatalistic suicide.

At least from 2015 to present, many businesses and other establishments have crumbled under the present government in Nigeria causing, the death of many individuals in the country. Most of these businesses and establishments crumbling, were as a

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result of extreme regulatory measures, which came into effect from 2015. In some cases, many genuine businesses have been permanently banned while many others are currently in bad shape, worse than permanent extermination. These were businesses and establishments, sustaining individuals and families in fact, the lives of the owners of these businesses were built around them that when they were frustrated, they were frustrated along the lives of the owners of these businesses.

In a sociological parlance, the current situation in Nigeria is a fertile ground for all kinds of suicide as long as things continue the way they are. Although in sociological distillation, social anomie is connected to a form of suicide, the concept of anomie, the way Durkheim presented it, equally capture a generic situation warranting the four suicide classifications.

Social anomie generally points to the weaken social system, which can lead to a whole lot of other things and situations warranting unnecessary deaths. To start with, egoistic suicide according to Durkheim's explanations, is found within the realm of weak social integration; this social integration is indirectly affected by the state of the general society. Specifically, when the social system is in a mess (social anomie), there is a tendency that the individual members of the society will likely resign to fate and as such, block every form of commitment and attachment with the larger social structure. In such a situation, emotional degeneration is bound to set in and in the long run, lead to egoistic suicide.

Altruistic suicide, which is equally found in the framework of social integration but in the direction of strong attachment, can result from the general state of the society (social anomie). Extremist groups such as the jihadists, always find the state of social anomie as the lucrative opportunity in recruiting members, who would latter die for the cause of the group. When there is degeneration of the social system, there is the tendency that some members of the society will see the superficial appearance of the extremist groups as an opportunity of having a fulfilled destiny in juxtaposition of the social system as a whole. When such happens, the possibility of altruistic suicide is present.

Finally, in the framework of social regulation and suicide, and in the perspective of social anomie, suicide can be found as the function of extreme regulation, which in itself is the function of weakened social system where few individuals' interests thrive at the expense of the majority members of the society. When the power acquisition system within the social system had been corrupted due to social anomie making a way, for uncivilized elements as power figures, there is the possibility of rulemaking against the genuine ambitions and expectations of some members of the society, which can lead to fatalistic suicide.

V. Conclusion

Suicide as a social phenomenon, is the product of the condition of the society, which makes some members of the society vulnerable to frustration and self-hatred. More than any other social condition affecting the majority of the members of the society, social anomie appear to have many chain reaction effects on the social system triggering individual and collective discontents, capable of leading to the major classified types of suicide. Durkheim as one of the eminent as well as founders of suicidology as a social ill demanding scholarship interest, classified suicide into four forms with four major social conditions inducing them. Egoistic suicide according to Durkheim, is induced by social integration issue specifically, weak social integration while, altruistic suicide on the other hand is induced by strong social integration. Similarly, fatalistic suicide is found on the extreme side of social regulation while anomic suicide is found on the weak side of social regulation. Although social anomie, appeared to be peculiar to anomic suicide, social anomie itself is found to be indirectly connected to other forms of suicide. In whichever direction, suicide is a social ill that has huge implication to the social system at large irrespective of the degree of involvement by the individual members of the society. In the case of Nigeria however, all forms of suicide according to Durkheim's classifications, are already ripe in the system as all social conditions encouraging them are equally domicile with Nigerian social system.

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Money: A General Purpose Social Utility

By Brian Ellis

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The anthropological evidence is that all human tribes, even the most primitive, have social structures that define the roles and responsibilities of their members. These structures generally aim to minimise conflict within, and promote the interests of the tribe or nation without. I call it the de facto social contract of the society.

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Money: A General Purpose Social Utility

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I. Introduction

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The anthropological evidence is that all human tribes, even the most primitive, have social structures that define the roles and responsibilities of their members. These structures generally aim to minimise conflict within, and promote the interests of the tribe or nation without. I call it the *de facto* social contract of the society.

The *de facto* social contract is not an agreement amongst the founding fathers, if there ever were any founding fathers. It is a current settlement of opinion amongst the mature-aged members (usually the elders) of the society about how it should be structured, how it should work, and how it should adapt to the changing circumstances in which the members have to live. Typically, there are certain ways in which rights, obligations, powers and responsibilities are distributed amongst the people, and the young are brought up to know how and upon whose authority they should act, and what their responsibilities will be. I postulated that the same must be true in all well-functioning societies. But, I thought that the complexities would naturally be very much greater in larger and more sophisticated ones. Presumably, the varieties of roles would be greater, the laws and customs much more carefully defined and specific, and I supposed that these societies would bevery highly adapted—in keeping with their complex structures and circumstances.

They are indeed very much more complicated than the mostly primitive tribes studied by social anthropologists. But this does not mean that no social contract exists. It just means that the social contract cannot be summarised briefly, as the social contracts of primitive societies can be. If a social anthropological study could ever adequately describe how a complex modern society works, it would presumably require a whole library of books dealing with all of the complex laws and customs that are in place, and all of the case studies upon which their interpretations depend. But it would still be a social contract that describes in detail how this complex structure works. Presumably one of these volumes would have to be taken up with the relevant parts of the de facto social contract of monetary transactions. There are grey areas here, just as there are in most other areas of the social contract, but the social markets could not function if there were no parts of the social contract dealing with how they are supposed to work.

II. The Social Contractual Sources of Value

I want to talk eventually about money. But first I need to say something about the relevant parts of the social contract, viz. about how we work, and how we customarily value things. The monetary social contract of every society will differ in different countries, and probably do so significantly within the regions of any given country. So it is very difficult to say exactly what money is. But money lending, mortgaging, investing, buying and selling, and so on, are all fairly well understood and well established practices in every society. So, the social contract for monetary dealings would, presumably, be a good place to start on the project of describing the social contract of a modern society. Tony Lawson, I am happy to say, has developed what he calls a 'social positioning theory of money' to capture the social role of money in modern capitalist societies. And the theory to be presented here is similar to his. For mine is a social contractual theory of money. The social positioning makes the point that the positions of power and responsibility may well emerge, or be contested in a modern society. And, presumably, the nature of the positions, and the details of how such positions become occupied would be different in different countries, or change over time. But, because trading has become so internationalised, we may have to think of money as part of an emerging global social contract, not just a national one.

In *Social Humanism*(2012, Part I), I argued for the need to work steadily towards developing a global social contract for the purpose of constructing a working social structure for all international dealings. For, as I see it, this is the way forward: to establish a global commercial system, and with it a global political system,

Author: *e-mail: brian.ellis8@bigpond.com*

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which will promote the interests of everyone within it, and help to deal with all of the emerging crises, such as those of global warming, overcrowding, and shortfalls in essential goods and services, which are now looming on the near horizon.

III. Goods and Services

Locally and individually, the things we strive for are the goods and services we seek. But let us, for the time being, distinguish between the acquisition of material goods, just for our own use or consumption, and the services of others to provide or help to provide what we usually want for other reasons. It is important to distinguish these two kinds of events, because we have a profound interest in the social roles of monetary transactions. The act of buying a meal to eat is, fundamentally, just a monetary transaction, whereas that of employing someone to cook a meal for a customer is a social one. And these two classes of actions require different analyses. The purchases we make, which do not require the services of others to complete, are normally purchases of what I would call our '*personal goods*'. They are, presumably, things we want as ends in themselves, and we buy them, or enjoy them, just for what they are.

But many, if not most, of the things we buy are not personal goods. Some are bought *in order to make* the things we want; i.e. they are our '*raw materials, tools or machines*'. And the values of such things lie, not in the personal satisfaction they provides (although it may well provide some of that), but in what they can be used to do, and how well they do their job. That is, its values are essentially their use-values. Such things normally have exchange-values, which is plausibly measured by what it would cost for someone to buy the object or material required. But the best tools and raw materials are not normally the most expensive. That is, their use values are greater than their exchange values. And, sometimes, they are very much greater. Consequently, well-designed machines these days can do the work that used to require the efforts of hundreds of people, and do a better job. valued for their exchange values (unless they are antiques, and so valued for their historic importance).

This development ought to have a huge influence on social and economic theory. For it implies that the social value of the goods and services produced in a society cannot be measured by its GDP, and its efficiency of production cannot reasonably be calculate as GDP per capita. For clearly, exchange value is not now the best, or even a very plausible, measure of value for things generally.

The digital revolution, in particular, has fundamentally changed the equation, and we must now value many of the things we use every day very differently. The power to do many of the things we now want to do, and consequently the range of things we are now able to do for ourselves, have increased enormously, and created many whole new dimensions of choice for millions of people around the world. Consider the i-phone. Its use-value today is incomparably greater than the use-values of the dozens of social and academic tools it has replaced. Indeed, its combined use-value is probably greater than the combined use-values of all of them put together, because nearly all of the information we would ever need for our daily lives and occupations are now readily to hand.

This change to the social value structure, which has occurred as a result of the digital revolution, has profound implications for economics and politics. For a workforce, which has all of the information it needs, and nearly all of the capacity it has ever had to make use of this information, implies that the social structure of the workforce in any modern society is hopelessly out of date. It is no longer necessary to employ armies of assistants, typists, clerks, and data processors to service the business community. Most of it can be done on computers, or at the instruction of computer operators.

The digital revolution has also changed the design of manufacturing plants. For the workforces that were once needed to do all of the work of processing the raw materials, making the parts, assembling the pieces, fixing them in place, securing the products, polishing, painting, labelling and packing them for transport can now be automated, and done by machines with enormously high use value. And, they can do all this work with just a few supervisors to monitor the whole process. Thus the digital revolution has transformed manufacturing industries around the world too.

The logical consequence of these changes is that industrial production is no longer dependent just upon the combined efforts of workers using hand-held or worker-driven machines. It is now dependent very largely upon the work that is done by automated machines, which have been pre-programmed by engineers for the specific purposes for which they are needed. There is still manual or routine work to be done, of course. And probably there always will be. But naturally, such work must increasingly become in short supply.

IV. Recent Changes Affecting the Workforces of Western Societies

Meanwhile, in the period, roughly since the 1970s, when the digital revolution began, there have been at least two other very significant revolutions affecting the workforces of the industrialised world. The first was the feminist movement, which began in the 1960s with the development and widespread use of the

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contraceptive pill. It enabled women to take charge of their sex lives, and work towards their own goals in life, having children, if and when they wanted them, preparing themselves for careers independently of the motherhood and homemaking roles that had traditionally been theirs. And this, inevitably, changed the conception of the normal family in the First World nations of the West from that of a male breadwinner working full time to provide for his wife and children to that of a working family, in which a woman could, and would normally have, a substantial breadwinning role.

The second revolution was the economic one. The 1970s had been a decade of stagflation in the Western World, with persistent underemployment and rising inflation. This was, I believe, due primarily to the floating of the US dollar in 1971, which led rapidly to its devaluation relative to other currencies, and to the OPEC oil crisis in 1973, when the oil-producing nations in the Middle East collaborated to increase the price of crude oil by 400% overnight. These two events proved to be very disruptive to the economies of First World nations, because the inflation that was occurring was due to increased costs of production, not to increased demand. On the contrary, the increased prices of goods and services, were not only reducing effective demand for them, they were also increasing the cost of producing them. Hence the stagflation that was occurring. And the Keynesian remedy for this has to be some kind of war-time measure, such as wage restraint, price fixing, or rationing. So, naturally, the conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher in the UK, and Ronald Reagan in the US decided to blame the Trade Unions of their respective countries, and impose wage restraint; thus, effectively, declaring war on the Trade Union movement.

These events need not have led to the fifty years of wage restraint that has existed in the Western World ever since the 1970s. But the world's economists, led by Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, became convinced that Keynesianism was the root cause of the 1970s stagflation event. In response, they learnt to read neoclassical economics, not as a theory for the prediction of economic outcomes (as it had been throughout the post-war welfare state era), but as a model for the reconstruction of the nation state. It was not much good as a predictor of economic events anyway, because it had failed to predict the Great Depression. But neoclassical economics should, they argued, be read simply as a theory for social reconstruction.

The neoclassical economic theories of Leon Walras and Alfred Marshall were rationalist constructions, formally like systems of geometry, i.e. they were founded on sets of axioms, definitions and postulates, which were thought to be self-evidently true. In the social sciences, where the behaviour of the objects of study are subject to human control, theories of this kind can always be used in reverse mode. For societies are malleable, and are subject to human control. Therefore, if you happen like the theorems of your rationalist social theory better than you like its axioms, you can always use your axioms as templates for social reconstruction.

In the so-called physical sciences, axiomatic theories can only be used to anticipate nature, and hence to avoid making mistakes. But the role of a social axiomatic social theory, such neo-classical or Keynesian economics, can always be reversed. For the wealth generated by a nation state is not only a matter under state control, it is arguably one of the principal duties of governments to control the production of wealth in their communities to the best possible advantage of all. Therefore, if you happen like the theorems of your economic theory better than you like its axioms, you can always, quite legitimately, use its axioms in this idiosyncratic way, and claim that it is your duty to do so. And this is what happened in the 1970s, when the neoliberal era began.

The neoliberal argument was this: The economic success of a nation state is the measure of its prosperity. Prosperity is measured as GDP per capita. Therefore, a nation's economic success depends only upon its GDP per capita, not on how wealth is distributed. Neoliberals argue that nations never prosper just by redistributing wealth, or changing its structure; they prosper only by creating new wealth. Therefore, if you want to build an economically more successful nation, you must focus on wealth creation. And, this is what the classical economics of Adam Smith, and most of his nineteenth and twentieth century successors, has always been about.

But this argument is deeply flawed. Firstly, prosperity, as it is here defined, is not the only good. For the aim of a decent state must be to create not only the most prosperous nation state, but also the fairest; or if these are in conflict, which in fact they demonstrably are, then the government must aim to strike a balance between fairest and most prosperous, just as in the Brownlow Medal competition. For prosperity, as defined by GDP per capita, is not the only thing that matters. Nations can become prosperous on the backs of slaves. They can grow prosperous by conquest, and therefore at the expense of conquered nations. They can also grow prosperous overall, but do so from the top down, leaving the poor to sink or swim, which is demonstrably what has been happening in the Western world since the 1970s. Or they can grow prosperous, at the expense of future generations, (a) by amassing huge burdens of private indebtedness, which present generations have no hope of repaying, or (b) by leaving a greatly damaged world (climatically or otherwise) to our children or grandchildren. The only sensible and decent policy is to aim for the fairest, best, and most sustainable program of economic and social

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development that we can manage, and manage it at our own expense.

V. The Way Forward

The generations in power in the Western world in the Neoliberal Era have much to answer for. And the problems that face future generations are enormous. For many of the issues that we should have dealt with in the last fifty years have been left in the too-hard basket. And, the elephant in the room is the structures of the working lives of people in the kinds of societies that now exist in the Western world.

At present, the working week is geared to the social and family structures that have existed in the capitalist world since before the First World War. In Australia, for example, the Harvester judgement, which established the basic wage, defined this wage to be the minimum that would be required for a man to support his wife and two children under normal working class conditions. And this remains fairly accurately the conception today, more than a hundred years later. But today's workforce is made up of men and women in roughly equal proportions, and there are almost as many women in work as there are men. At the time of the Havester judgement, the working day was eight hours on weekdays, (but it was not unusual for workers in some industries to have to work on Saturday mornings). And, back then, workers mostly had tenured jobs, and job security was high. Today, it is still officially eight hours a day, but the conception of the working week has become greatly eroded.

Indeed, the whole structure of the workforce has become highly anachronous. Today, we need a workforce that (a) recognises the social equality of men and women, (b) allows families to share in the responsibilities of family life equally between, and at the same time provide adequately for their children's development and upbringing, (c) allows young people to achieve the high levels of education or training required for responsible positions in today's workforces, and to seek further education and training, as it will most likely be required, for them to maintain, and where possible develop, their chosen working careers.

Therefore, every worker requires work that allows them time and opportunity to educate and up skill their knowledge or talents, to share their work and home duties with their partners in life, to take on more or less work over time, without losing their positions or standing in the workforce, and to participate in the development and management of the business in which they are working for the benefit of all. To these ends, worker/boss relationships needs to be overhauled. It needs to be reconceived as a collaborative activity, more like that of the players in the team than that of a servant in the manor house. For example, the workers should be given as much responsibility for the businesses in which they are engaged as they are capable of exercising, and the managers should be willing to take on as many of the jobs they are capable of doing themselves in the business at hand. That is, the worker/manager distinction must be dissolved into a worker/manager team, in which every worker is a manager of something, and every manager is a worker managing something else. And, of course, there needs to be a third category, viz. that of a coach, and a chair of the board of management. And these roles should roles should eventually be occupied by members of the worker/manager team, who have had wide experience, and developed the knowledge and skills that would be required.

To make all this possible, I think we must, to begin with, seek to provide for the partners in any marriage to be able to work half time, for about 19 or 20 hours a week, so that each can take mornings or afternoons off on weekdays to care of preschool children, or spend their time studying, or upgrading their skills or qualifications. For the demands on the workforce these days are very different from those of a century ago. Today, workers need to be skilled in all sorts of ways, understand the machines they are operating with, and be knowledgeable about how they might be used to greater advantage. Young people, in particular, need to be able to divide their time between work and study, and between child-care, housekeeping, delivery and pick-up duty. And, everyone needs a permanent place to live, preferably one that they can call their own. So, if I were in politics today, I should be arguing for a working week of not more than 20 hours for a student or for a married man or woman, in recognition of the fact that a married couple can easily work for 40 hours a week between them, and that a young person needs to study for at least half of his/her time to keep up with advancing technology, and for work and remuneration to be spread around much more equally, in full recognition of the huge productivity and efficiency gains that have occurred since the Harvester judgement of 1907.

VI. The Counter-Revolution in Economic Management

The Western World has clearly undergone a major revolution in digital technology, which is at least as significant in its impact as electric power generation in the nineteenth century. And there have, in consequence, been massive changes in the structure of, and requirements upon, the workforces of the world. But at the same time the Western World has undergone what I can only call a counter-revolution in economic management. For the world's dependence now on pre-Keynesian economics is a backward step scientifically. Keynesian economic theory may not be scientifically the best theory to use for economic management, because

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there is no reason to think there is an underlying structure of the kind that rationalist theorisers (including Keynes) were seeking. But Keynes's methodology in theoretical economics was correct. And Keynes's theory was probably the best theory of its kind that could have been constructed. For Keynes did the right thing, from a scientific point of view. He looked carefully at the axioms of neoclassical theory, and rejected those he thought to be at fault. Among the axioms he rejected was the Neutral Money Hypothesis, which, he argued, did not give an adequate explanation of the extraordinary economic power and desirability of having money, other than other kinds of assets.

The Keynesian theory, which was a monetary one, was undoubtedly a very successful theory for economic management. It helped to finance the Western World in its fight against fascism, and deal with the massive problem of social reconstruction, which inevitably would have to follow this fight. Moreover, it built the prosperous and socially equitable, and economically more egalitarian, welfare states of Europe and the British Commonwealth. The post-war period was marked by very low unemployment. In fact unemployment was almost non-existent in the post-war reconstruction period (1945-1955), and remained that way until the early 1970s. And when Keynes's economic strategy was found wanting in the 1970s by Hayek and Friedman, it had all of the hallmarks of an act of revenge. For, Hayek and Keynes had been great rivals in the 1930s, and had offered very different diagnoses of the causes of the Great Depression. Hayek and Friedman were both unrepentant neoclassical economists. And both jumped gleefully upon the bandwagon, which was blaming Keynes's theory of economic management for the stagflation that that was plaguing the Western World. In my view, it was 'cost-push inflation' caused by the floating of the US dollar and the OPEC crisis that were the true causes of the stagflation event which followed later in the 1970s. Nor do I doubt that Keynes, had he been alive, would have recommended a wage freeze to deal with the problem of stagflation. I also see no reason why he would not have proposed monetarism as a strategy for economic recovery. For Keynes would probably have agreed that monetarism, or supply-side economics, was good for business, good for increasing productivity in the Cold War period, and good for defeating the USSR in its economic power struggle with the West. And, probably they were all right about these things.

But nothing justified persisting with these Cold War measures after the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. For there was, by then, still no return to full employment in the West, current account deficits were, at this stage, beginning to run very high, and there was a rapidly increasing level of private debt nearly everywhere in the Western World. In Australia, the level of private debt went a bit into reverse, in the 'recession we had to have' of 1991-2 (See Graphics 1 below). But it picked up quickly after the recession, and private debt resumed its inexorable growth to the dizzy heights of 2008, when the Global Financial Crisis greatly reduced the demand for investment credit, and brought on an extended period of economic stagnation in the Western World—a situation which still exists.

VII. The Destruction of the Welfare State

One might have expected that the two major revolutions that have occurred since the 1970s, in technology, and in culture, and the counter-revolution that has occurred in economic management, would have had some progressive impact on the social relationships between employers and employees. These changes benefited the employers, and changed the structure of the workforce. Also, the business community have been flourishing for the last forty years, and so can afford to be much more generous. But no. Globalisation has greatly increased competition for markets, and the deregulation of industrial relationships has allowed businesses to exploit workers in ways they have not been exploited since the nineteenth century. The business community has thus been forced to cut corners on wages and conditions wherever they can. It is no fault of the business community that this has happened. The increased competition faced by businesses in the now global markets for goods and services in which they trade have forced their hands. And, because of these forces, the employers have never been in a stronger position to negotiate workplace agreements.

Their employees are on the defensive because: (a) their trade unions have been discredited and weakened, (b) workers have been deprived of any of the profits their employers have been raking in for forty years or more, and (c) workers are too frightened to defend themselves, or even protest, at the gross exploitation they have suffered. Indeed, social relationships between employers and employees have undergone a counter-revolution too, even more severe than the one that occurred in the theory of economic management. For it seems to be a throw-back to the conditions that existed in Western nations in the first half of the nineteenth century; i.e. to the sorts of social relations that existed between workers and their bosses, when Karl Marx was writing his *Communist Manifesto*.

Why this should be so, I do not know. Probably, the history and theory of communism, and the scare campaigns that this history (and its theoretical endorsement of revolutionary tactics), has effectively justified the suppression of movements for social reform. But the vehemence of the scare campaigns to suppress movements for greater social justice have had an even greater impact than anything that could have

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been anticipated. One might have expected that the tacit commitments, both of which existed in the welfare state era, to:

(a) Real full employment (with unemployment averaging about 2.0%), and
(b) Keeping a lock-step bond between productivity and take-home wages,

Would have been maintained.

But neither has been. In fact,

(a) Unemployment in Australia since the welfare state era has averaged about 6.0% (and has never been less than 4.0%), and
(b) The wages/productivity linkage was abandoned in the year 2,000.

And, Australia is reckoned to be one of the least seriously affected countries of the Western world, having avoided recession as a consequence of the GFC.

Consequently, workers have, on average, enjoyed very little of the benefits of the increases in productivity that have occurred since the 1970s; not only in Australia, but throughout the Western world. They have, it is true, benefited from the huge increases in the use-values of digitally programmed devices, especially those that are capable of accessing the social media (and the relative stability of their exchange values), much as everyone else has. And, perhaps this explains why the *laissez faire* capitalist states of the Western world have not exploded in revolution.

Writing in the *London Review of Books* in July 2018, John Lanchester wrote that the period from the mid-seventies to the present is the longest period in recorded economic history in which real incomes in the UK have declined.

> 'Recorded economic history', he says, means 'as far back as current techniques can reach, which is back to the end of the Napoleonic Wars. [The decline is] worse than the decades that followed the Napoleonic Wars, worse than the crises that followed them, worse than the financial crises that inspired Marx, worse than the Depression, worse than both world wars. That is a truly stupendous statistic, and if you knew nothing about the economy, sociology or politics of a country, and were told that single fact about it—that real incomes had been falling for the longest period ever—you would expect serious convulsions in the national life.'

He goes on to say that the US has fared no better.

> '… the real median hourly income in the US is [now] about the same as it was in 1971. Anyone time-travelling back to the early 1970s would have great difficulty in explaining why the richest and most powerful country in the history of the world had four and a half decades without pandemics, country-wide disaster or world war, accompanied by unprecedented growth in corporate profits, and yet ordinary people's pay remained the same.'

But economic history has been written as the history of exchange-value, not that of use-value. And the depressed workers of 2019 are really not as alienated from mainstream society as those of the Great Depression were. Their degree of exploitation may be, but they are not cut off almost entirely from the social world in which they live, as they would have been in the 1930s. On the contrary, many of them remain highly connected socially, and this degree of connectivity gives them some (probably false) degree of confidence that the present crisis in confidence can be overcome, and the economy recover from its present malaise.

Secure work opportunities are hard to find now, and permanent jobs are even harder to get. Consequently, many of those who are counted as employed today are in fact employed only in the sense that workers were in the Great Depression—as casual workers doing odd-jobs—were employed. But modern workers doing odd-jobs are not just wandering the countryside, as they were back then, humping their swags (or 'blueys', as they were commonly known), and finding work wherever they could get it. It is true that many people are homeless, and that homelessness is increasingly becoming a big problem in the major cities. But mostly they are not itinerant workers, and there is no mood yet for them to throw off their shackles, and really start demanding a better deal. But, surely the day will come, when they will be asking for more, and putting real pressure on our backward-looking governments and media barons. One would hope so. Retired older workers, and the young people of the next generation, all deserve much better than what they are getting.

VIII. The Power of Money

The expenditure of money is the underlying means of achieving social change in all modern economies. Logically, to have money is to have a general purpose power that all socially responsible people or institutions, (and many that are not socially responsible) may employ, in order to buy what they want to own, cancel the debts that they have incurred, or obtain the services that they need or want to have. And the quantity of money that is (designated in some particular currency) that a given person or institution commands is the measure (exchange value) of that power in any society that operates with that currency.

For those who have very little money, the money they have is needed for what they cannot live with dignity and social moral purpose without. They may be able to survive on borrowed money, or as slaves, thieves, or as unwilling prostitutes. But these are not ways of living with dignity or social moral purpose in any society. It is important, therefore, that everyone should be guaranteed a basic wage for the society in which

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they find themselves. I do not mean a UBI (universal basic income). I mean a basic wage in the sense of being a wage that is sufficient for an adult person, and any dependents they may have, *to live with dignity and social moral purpose in their own society*.

The argument for such a guarantee is so powerful, and so morally persuasive, that I believe a basic wage, defined in this way, should be counted as a fundamental human right. And, I use the term 'human right' here quite advisedly. For the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was firmly based upon this general moral principle, which all governments are now required to honour to the best of their ability. It was the guiding moral principle in the sense that every human right that is listed in the declaration, which was endorsed without dissent by the founding members of the United Nations in 1948, is an expression of some aspect of this universal right.

If the possession of money is indeed the general purpose power upon which every civilised society depends for the dignity of its people, then it is no wonder that money is, in itself, a desirable thing to own. For, without access to money of the local currency in a given country, one cannot participate, either legally or with social moral purpose, in the life of that country, or prosper there as a citizen. The neutral money hypothesis of neoclassical economics is therefore plainly false, and Keynes was right to reject it.

The so-called 'Neutral Money' hypothesis is part of the old logical positivists' analysis of monetary transactions, which most neoclassical theorists would certainly have endorsed. According to the positivists, there are no such things as a causal powers in nature. There are social practices, they would have said, in which people may hand over bills of exchange to buy things. But these social practices, they would have said, are just ritual performances—like witchcraft. They may signify a change of ownership, which is an exchange of the social roles of the original and the new owners vis-à-vis the thing purchased. But there is no causation involved here, they would have said, because there is no necessitation involved in the process. The alleged cause is not necessarily connected with the alleged effect.

These same theorists would have said, as Hume clearly believed, that there is no such thing as gravity. There are the phenomena of the planets orbiting the sun, with the sun being in one focus, and of their planetary motions sweeping out equal areas in equal times. But these are the only realities, Hume said, or at least implied. And they are just regularities, and indeed, the only realities to be discovered here. The neoclassical economists thought similarly about the power of money, and denied that such a causal power existed. But such reductionism, as I argued in *Rationalism: A Critique of Pure Theory*, is out of place in scientific the orising. If Newton had had this attitude to gravity, he could not have derived his law of gravitation. For this derivation was based on Newton's axioms of dynamics (which he thought were self-evident), and his basic question was: With what force must the sun act upon the planets to draw them inwards towards the sun as they rotate around it? And. his answer was, in fact, inconsistent with Kepler's laws being precisely true. For, according to Newtonian theory: (a) the planets must interact with each other, and (b) they must also interact with the sun, causing it to wobble as they orbit. Moreover, Newton's theory was not just a localised theory. It was supposed to apply universally to all material things in the universe. No wonder he was such an inspiration to so many in the Enlightenment period.

John Maynard Keynes, I hasten to say, was not tarred with the Human brush. For Keynes rejected the Neutral Money Hypothesis. But this does not remove the principal objection that I have to present-day economic theory. For Keynes's theory, while better than that of Alfred Marshall, was still a rationalist theory. It is just that Keynes had a better (empirically superior) set of axioms. It is better science. But it is, nevertheless, not scientifically realistic. A scientifically realistic theory of economics would take account of all of the social forces acting to determine economic outcomes. Keynes's theory, like the neoclassical one is still only a theory of how exchange values are determined by individual human and corporate decision-making practices in capitalist societies. What is needed is a theory that is capable of being fine-tuned to deal with different social histories, different forms of government, different geographic circumstances, and different states of progress. The very idea that local social or economic problems can all be solved by nation-wide or global strategies must be rejected. Governments must be able to choose, when, where, and for whose benefit, money should be spent or withdrawn, i.e. how to balance supply and demand locally. But no economic theory that I know does that.

To deal adequately with the economic problems that afflict localities, nation states, and the world more generally, we need economic maps, so the growth, employment opportunities, technical assistance, and so on, can all be targeted.

IX. Money as a General-Purpose Utility

The acknowledged general-purpose goods are all substances that are useful for driving any of a wide range of social utilities. So, it is interesting, and revealing, that basis for money was originally a substance, namely gold, which could be used as currency for purchasing things. And, things of various intrinsic value could all be bought with gold if one had enough of it. For gold is a substance, which is fairly rare in nature, and has very high intrinsic value. So, gold was a natural choice as a general purpose good for the purpose of buying other sorts of goods. But currencies

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are not substances any more. They are the social constructs of civilised societies created by their social contracts. But the question now arises: If the currencies of nations were once defined by the gold standard, how is it now defined. And how can individuals or organisations get enough of it to survive or flourish. Perhaps we can learn something by considering the history of electricity.

In the nineteenth century, scientific research on electric power (by Michael Faraday and others) established a connection to magnetism. It was established that an electric current generates a magnetic field, which acts clockwise around the then supposed direction of electrical flow. And, conversely, a rotating magnetic field generates an electric current in a wire that runs through its centre. Thus, the discovery was made that electric power could be generated mechanically. And in the history of technology, this proved to be a monumental discovery. For it enable the construction of the world's first steam turbine, enabling electrical power to replace steam power as a motivator of machinery. The solar panel on our roof, for example, is a multi-purpose utility for the generation of electrical power. We need it for lighting, heating, computing, and so on. Such a utility is a generic social utility. A power point within the house, is more specific, but it is still a generic social utility. It enables us to plug in most of the kinds of electrical equipment we happen to possess, such as irons, heaters and vacuum cleaners. And, our irons, heaters and vacuum cleaners are themselves generic social utilities, although they are even more limited in what they can do. An electric iron can be used for ironing our clothes, or any other things that we may wish to iron.

At the other end of the spectrum of the goods that may be used or enjoyed in a modern society there is the money that the society has created to make all but the most basic of our personal goods achievable. For in the context of any modern society, the money owned by any given social agent is the measure of his, her or its purchasing power. It measures the quantity and/or quality of the social and personal goods purchasable by the agent in that society.

In this sense, money is certainly a good. But it is a special kind of good, because the acquisition of money is not ordinarily an end in itself. Money is a 'social good', in that its primary value lies, as we have seen, in its usefulness as a tool for purchasing what we want. It has what we might call a use-value. The use-value of money depends upon the conventions of the society in which it exists. For money cannot be used buy anything except in a society that is said to have 'a monetary economy'. The kinds of economies that existed in societies before the invention of money were barter economies, or societies in which a great many goods were held as tribal possessions. And, in such economies, goods could only be acquired from others by loan, gift, force, or exchange. But the invention of money made the acquisition of the goods by such crude means very much easier than it had been—and much more civil. For it facilitatecd the processes of peaceful exchange, and thus created what we now call 'a market' for goods and services.

Money too is a social utility. And the more of it one has, the greater its utility is. For, if you have enough of it, you can buy almost anything that you might ever want to consume, do, or pay to have done for you. Indeed, if you are very rich, there is almost no limit to what you can own, consume or have done for you. Every kind of social utility that is commercially available to anyone in a given society, is available to anyone who is rich enough to pay for it. Money is therefore a sort of *all-purpose social utility*— almost magical in its properties. The more of it one has, the more freedom one has to do, have, or have done whatever one wants. In principle, it enables one to buy every sort of commercially available utility that anyone might ever want to consume, possess, or realise. It even has properties that are almost like those of the magic pudding,[1] because rich people can always afford to wait for a better opportunity to buy or sell. So, the more money one has, the easier it is to make more money, as Per Molander (2017) has convincingly demonstrated.

Money is a numerically quantitative entity in the sense that it is designated as so many units of the community's currency, where all units are accepted as having the same purchasing power. The community's currency is the kind of money that operates in that community to enable people (or other social agents, such as firms or government agencies) to purchase goods or services, or to repay debts. Different communities may have different currencies. But in every society, money is a meta-utility; it exists only for the purpose of acquiring social utilities, no matter how specific or general-purpose they may be. But it cannot be consumed, in any of the ways in which goods or services are. Its use-value is that if any social agent possesses it in sufficient quantity in the relevant community, then it will enable that agent to settle a debt of any magnitude to any other member of that community, or to purchase any other utility that is legally available to be purchased, no matter how specific or general-purpose it may be.

The quantity of money possessed at a given time by a social agent in any given society is simply the value of the goods or services expressed in the currency of that society that the agent is capable of buying. Or, equivalently, it is the magnitude of the monetary debt it is sufficient to settle. Thus, the quantity of money possessed by a social agent at a given time is plausibly

[1] I refer, of course, to Norman Lindsay's hilarious children's novel *The Magic Pudding*, first published in 1918.

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an exact measure of the agent's economic power at that time.

The quantity of money a person has at a given time is, however, not a good measure of his or her wealth. For an agent who owns property, or has other capital assets, or is owed money by other social agents, may also have some reserve economic powers. For example, one may be able to sell or mortgage some or all of these assets and thus increase one's purchasing power. But one's commercial wealth is not necessarily the same as one's absolute wealth. The absolute wealth of the Queen, for example, is enormously greater than her commercial wealth. Her reserve economic powers are certainly very great, but I doubt whether she could, legally or constitutionally, ever mortgage the Crown Jewels. For, presumably, she would be impeached, and immediately be dethroned by the British Parliament, if she were to try.

X. The Social Positioning Theory of Money

In his excellent book *The Nature of Social Reality; Issues in Social Ontology*, Tony Lawson has argued for a similar view of the nature of money, which he calls 'the social positioning theory'. Lawson argues for the intriguing theory that everyone's social position is hedged around by what one owes or is owed, by whom or to whom it is owed, and for what purpose this arrangement has been made. He notes that all such agreements are specific social contractual arrangements that occur within the framework of a much more general social contractual system that defines the parameters of these agreements. That is, it defines the kinds of agreements involving monetary commitments that can legally be made, the manner in which they are expected to be carried out, how, and by whom the payments must be made, and the kinds of consequences that must be expected if they are not carried out, or not carried out sufficiently well.

If I understand Lawson properly, the amount of money that an individual or collective agent owns at a given time is defined by the extent of the set monetary commitments that the agent can undertake legally at that time, without incurring any further debts. Thus understood, the money a social agent owns is to be understood as the measure of that agent's socially defined quantity of purchasing power.

If this is right, then there is no gap between Lawson's position and mine.

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Art, Cinema and Society: Sociological Perspectives

By Jonas do Nascimento

Abstract- How can cinema be used to understand our society? Different sociologists asked throughout history this question. Generally, they assume that since all subjects act within social institutions, films necessarily tell us something about aspects of life in society. Besides, their "visual power," and their narratives, would be even able to shape our expectations in unconscious ways. That's because the “social life” is presented to us as orderly, where people accept prescribed roles that they find satisfactory or unsatisfactory. Some of them portray alienation and despair, as well as a series of ways in which people face their social conditions and the challenges that life imposes on them. In this sense, watching a film becomes a sociologically significant event as its experience affects us emotionally, psychologically, and pedagogically. Based on this, the paper aims to discuss some sociological perspectives on the relationship between art, cinema, and society.

Keywords: cinema, society, sociological theory, culture, artwork.

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I. Introduction

> "…narratives are socially organized phenomena which, accordingly, reflect the cultural and structural features of their production... as socially organized phenomena, narratives are implicated in both the production of social meanings and the power relations expressed by and sustaining those meanings." (EWICK and SILBEY, 1995, p.200).

What we classify as a 'narrative' has a significant influence on our lives. For example, it is the narrative that usually fills the gap between daily 'social interaction' and 'social structures.' Not coincidentally, the "stories we listen," or "watch," often reflect and sustain institutional and cultural arrangements — while promoting many of our actions in the world. However, if narratives may 'reveal truths' about the social life, where those 'truths' are reproduced, flattened or silenced, in the second case, they also may help to destabilize instituted powers. Notably, thinking about the 'social meaning' of narratives implies, therefore, recognizing that they are constructed or given within 'social contexts.' In this situation, we can use them as a 'sociological concept' to describe the processes through which social actors construct and communicate their visions of the world.

In our society, films can provide, for instance, the 'images' (or 'narratives') of appropriate expectations about the course of life, and the ways how people move within the social, political, professional, educational, and familiar environment. Thus, given the power of cinema to create meanings and to export (and hide) various 'realities,' how can sociology use it to understand the social life? In other words, how can sociology deal with an artistic language, a 'non-real' world, to understand the 'true reality'? Sociologists have not yet fully systematized the answers to these questions. As we will see, although one of the most important and, at the same time, the most widely consumed art forms in the world, cinema, as they draw our attention Heinze, Moebius and Reicher (2012, p.7): "both theoretical, methodical and empirically [it can hardly be said that] has any tradition as a sociological object". Indeed, the institutionalization of a 'cinematic sociology' as special sociology within general sociology (or sociology of culture), has never happened. Which is to say the least curious - given the increasingly central place that images occupy in social and cultural life as a socializing force and of considerable impact on the mobilization of the 'social imaginary.'

On the basis thereof, I seek to present below the theoretical-methodological challenges that sociology has faced in film analysis – both as an 'artistic' and 'social practice.' From a literature review, I consider the debate about 'art objects' through a brief presentation of the possibilities opened in the field of sociological analysis of art and, from there, I present some theoretical attempts towards a sociology of cinema/film as a subfield within general sociology.

II. Art and Sociocultural Life

"Art is notoriously hard to talk about." It is with this phrase that Clifford Geertz begins the fifth chapter of the classic "Local Knowledge" (1983). And, when made of "pigment, sound, stone," or without any clear reference to the "figurative world," what we named 'art' seems "to exist in a world of its own, beyond the reach of discourse." Of course, it is not difficult to talk about art, but in everyone's eyes, "it seems unnecessary to do so." For many, art "speaks, as we say, by itself: a poem must not mean but be; if you have to ask what jazz is, you will never get to know." (GEERTZ, 1983, p. 94). Thus, we often learn to 'feel' rather than 'think' about those thought-provoking songs, or those impressive paintings, or those films that thrill us whenever we remember them. As Geertz remind, Picasso used to say that wanting to understand art, would be like trying to

Author: Ph.D. in Sociology. e-mail: jonas.anasc@gmail.com

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understand ‘bird song.’ Nevertheless something that has ‘meaning to us’ can hardly be felt only in its ‘pure meaning.’ Inevitably, we describe, analyze, compare, judge, and classify everything we see, hear, and feel. Despite this, whenever we talk about art, the ‘excess’ of what we have seen, or imagined we have seen, always appears once again vast and inaccurate, or something empty and false. In fact, “Sociology and art do not make a good match,” said Pierre Bourdieu in “Sociology Issues” (1983). According to him,

> “the universe of art is a universe of belief, belief in the gift, the uniqueness of the uncreated creator, and the outburst of the sociologist who wants to understand, explain, make comprehensible, causes scandal” (BOURDIEU, 1983, p. 162-163).

“Who creates the 'creator'?”, this becomes a fundamental question for many sociologists. Regarding this, we should emphasize a core point: depending on whether studies of art objects are allied with disciplines such as aesthetics and criticism, they depart from different premises than those whose fields are part of the social sciences. For many art critics and aesthetic theorists, for example, works of art are often conceived of as 'miraculous revelations' typical of a historical moment. With such thinking, many of these critics and aesthetes imply that the central mystery of the work of art must be ‘left unsolved,’ either because it would lead to its ‘emptying of meaning,’ or because it would be impossible, or even useless, to want to ‘access’ it. Also, in many cases, the artwork tends to be “considered as spontaneous expressions of individual genius” (ZOLBERG, 1990, p. 6). However, this perspective is totally at odds with the project of ‘social analysis of art,’ for which the artwork would have little 'mystery.' Social Scientists will, therefore, seek to analyze the social construction of ‘aesthetic ideas’ and the ‘social values’ embedded in them.

a) The Artwork as Social Process

Not apart from society, art production, as well as other modes of social activity, incorporates the texture of a standard of living. It means that there is no ex nihilo creation. From a sociological perspective, art objects move in a specific social context. Under these circumstances, art inexorably express his condition, implicitly or explicitly, either to affirm it or to deny it. In this sense, we can take artwork as a ‘social phenomenon,’ that is, an 'artistic fact' - such as a 'social fact.' As far as their constitution or cultural complexion, but also in their ‘transpersonal’ dimension. This way of ‘reading’ art then makes possible their sociological analysis.

Thereby, sociology of ‘art objects’ must comprehensively understand artistic phenomena, starting from their connections with other aspects of social reality. From this point of view, does not exist ‘art’ if we separate it from a ‘horizon of expectations’ (Erwartungshorizont). Recognized as 'social phenomenon,' the artwork becomes the product of individuals with demarcated intentions that allows them to establish bridges between what we consider 'reality' and their 'symbolic systems.' However, this kind of sociological approach often faces resistance in various intellectual circles. Given sociology's refusal - at least its traditional version - to address 'art itself,' it could not come to recognize the specificity of the 'artistic object.' Some authors describe this as an opposition between 'studying the art object sociologically' and 'the art object as a social process' (ZOLBERG, 1990; HENNION and GRENIER, 2000).

We can then divide sociological studies of art into 1) those who seek an understanding of the 'historical-social conditions' that explain the creation of artwork (aimed at revealing its social determination), 2) those who, without wishing to make statements about aesthetic experience, proceeds through a thorough reconstitution of the 'collective action' necessary to produce and consume art, and 3) those who propose a synthetic approach in which both external issues (social, economic and political factors), as well as internal issues (aesthetic aspects) of art are analyzed as an ‘integrated system.’ Thus, the sociology of art objects would be a genuine interconnection between the field of 'general sociology,' 'sociological aesthetics,' and 'social history of art' - as truly twinned disciplines (FURIÓ, 2000).

For example, German sociologist and musician Alphons Silbermann (1971) argued that the aim of 'sociology of art' should be the analysis of a 'continuous social process.' This process would reveal the interdependent relationship established between artist, artwork, and society, which would force us to consider an interaction between various elements. Based on this idea, the sociology of art would find a series of study possibilities: the relationship and interdependence of the artist and the audience; the social origin of some categories of artists and their social context; the social effect of the artwork; the public that receives and reacts to the works, etc.

Silbermann claimed a universally intelligible, convincing, and valid approach to the art objects, to reveal how things became what they are, and clarify their present and past transformations. By not separating 'art' from its 'social reality,' the observation of 'artistic facts' gave to the sociology of art the character of an autonomous discipline. However, the artwork itself remained a marginal position in their analysis, which pays more attention to the social environment that allowed its genesis. Thus 'external conditions' appear as their main analytical focus. Zolberg (1990, p.54) points out that,

> “because of sociologists' concern with the social, the artworks themselves become lost in the search for understanding society, ending up as virtual byproducts.”

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Here we have a second important point. If the idea of the 'enlightened' artist, acting on his own, and disintegrated from social relations is, from a sociological point of view, clearly questionable, on the other hand, the sociological analysis of art cannot forget individual treatment, or personal, 'artistic creativity.' Although bound to a context, the one who produces a 'work of art' is someone who has an imagination (creativity) and personality, and who embodies a 'worldview' that turns out to be personal (his/her impressions) - not always objective.

Although 'artistic experience' is nourished by the constitutive elements of the 'social landscape,' in a substantial part of cases, it signifies an ever new and unique appropriation. In part, this explains those cases where the same 'social causes' do not have the same 'aesthetic' and 'political' effects, as individuals react differently to them. In other words, this means that in 'artistic terms,' not everything can be entirely explained in 'sociological terms' (GONÇALVES, 2010). That is to say, if the 'social approach' of the arts seeks especially a sociological understanding of the 'artistic phenomenon', and in so doing not only attempts to analyze the work itself but focuses its attention more on the 'socio-artistic action' - the set of relations that art maintains with society, and with the individuals that compose it. On the other side, the 'sociological analysis' cannot lose sight of what is the artwork per se. In its validity and autonomy, in its 'symbolic corporeality.' In short, we should not refuse to examine art too in its own “image, vision and imagination” (FRANCASTEL, 1987), in its always “singular reality” (ADORNO, 2003).

This perspective also implies admitting that it is not only the configuration of a society that produces a particular artwork or artistic expression but also that the artistic work itself can contribute to creating other possible social configurations, more or less vigorous and with a greater or lesser impact on societies. That is, a ‘work of art’ can generate new tastes, ideas, attitudes, and cultural movements.

b) ‘New Realities’ Through Art

If 'sociological analysis' of artistic practices can be useful in understanding 'social reality,' there are some authors, however, who will question the very 'causal logic' that takes society as the fundamental productive basis of epiphenomenal characteristics. These authors will analyze how art itself fundamentally structures the constitution of society. Sometimes, by rethinking the relationship between the study of art and the study of sociology, as pointed out by John Clammer in “Vision and Society” (2014). Few attempts have been made to investigate the possibility, not of a new sociology of art, but sociology from art:

> “given the ubiquity, persistence and apparent universality of artistic production, does that fact tell us something about the nature of society, rather than the nature of society (in so far as we actually understand it) telling us something about the nature of art?” (CLAMMER, 2014, p.3).

By asking this question, Clammer seeks to bring the arts back to a central position about 'social causality,' and this has a profound theoretical-methodological impact. For this proposal not only suggests a new way of looking at society but, above all, places the 'imagination' back at the center of the production of what we mean by 'social reality.' Thus, some contemporary theorists will assume that cultural practices represent an 'independent variable' — a complex of emotions, desires, eroticism, responses to nature, and other human beings that are embodied in 'material' and 'performative' forms (ROTHENBERG, 2011). That is, in the development of human societies, the arts would play a generative role, not just a derivative one (DUTTON, 2010).

Authors such as Clammer (2014), de La Fuente (2007), DeNora (2003), Gablik (2002) and Dutton (2010), understand that the arts are not only a peripheral leisure activity but mechanisms that generate many other forms of social and cultural behavior, being present in areas as diverse as fashion, ritual, religion, sport, social protest, and ‘images’ of the ideal society. According to Tia DeNora (2003), art (and music in particular) would be an 'active' and 'encouraging' force in society. Art would then have structuring qualities in many contexts of everyday life. 'Music' and 'society’, for example, would be co-produced entities. In this sense, art becomes a meaningful heuristic source in the understanding of society, due to its ability to generate perceptions, images, landscapes, and objects. In other words, it represents “the major way in which cultures communicate with each other and through which ideas, beliefs, possibilities, and ideals travel” (CLAMMER, 2014, p.8-9). Finally, it means that social agents not only produce art; artwork are themselves also agents in our world (DE LA FUENTE, 2010). The sociology of art should then involve the study of social relations from the objects that mediate social agency in an 'artistic' manner. However, when these authors claim that art has an 'active character', it does not mean that it is an 'uncaused cause' (CLAMMER, 2014), but rather a dialectical relationship with social and historical factors - together, co-producing aesthetic pleasure and imaginaries, identities, and subjectivities - both individually and collectively.

III. Framing Society: The Social Meaning of Films

> “When the image is new, the world is new.” - (Bachelard, 2003, p.63).

As we have seen, while social scientists belie the notion of the 'artist' as a 'lone genius', the artist, and in particular the art per se, "is not merely the end

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product of a series of causal determinations" (TANNER, 2010, p.242), and for this reason, she still has vital power to create, shape, reinforce or weaken the 'emotional structures' of society. Not by chance 'social imagination', in practice, arises from the invention of utopias, futurisms, fictions and various other 'creative activities' that are not taken very seriously by 'mainstream sociology.' The real reason for this 'disregard' for artistic objects is linked to the fact that the 'poetic' is a mode of expression, a form of truth and knowledge, that clashes with technical-scientific rationality. According to Heidegger (2002), in an increasingly 'poor-in-thought' world, the 'poetic' (as meditating thought) presents itself as the central means of preparing the emergence of a new 'way of being' and a future beyond the self-destructive civilization of consumption and technology (as calculating thought).

Both 'types of thinking' are necessary to human existence. But each represents a particular way of 'interpreting' the world. According to Adorno (2003, p.37-38), for example, "in aesthetic appearance, the work of art takes a stand before reality, which denies it, by becoming a sui generis reality. Art protests against reality through its objectification". With this, the German sociologist admits that 'art' is not to be confused with reality (of the world), but it assumes a particular reality, or its reality - materialized in work, in 'aesthetic language.' Perhaps one of the reasons that prevented sociology from systematically devoting itself to cinema, in addition to the 'anti-aesthetic attitude' mentioned by Eßbach (2001), was, according to Markus Schroer (2012), that it does not see cinema as a 'Useful source' of research, but rather as a 'competitor', as they both address the same subject: society.

Taking the argument further, Schroer (2012) will state that in the few sociological works on cinema, much attention has never been paid to the structural similarities between the development of sociology and cinema. However, in their efforts to explore society, 'sociology' and 'cinema' cannot be equated. Despite their similarities, they differ fundamentally on the following point:

> "films thematize, visualize and condense social issues and problems, but do not provide a comprehensive theory about the functioning and structure of society and do not want it at all" (SCHROER, 2012, p.21).

With a generative capacity, films can represent some 'social trends' and provide a 'valid picture' of contemporary social relations and customs. Thus, we can assume that not only the 'analysis of films' represents an 'analysis of society,' but the films themselves operate a 'social analysis'. This view suggests, therefore, that cinema is also capable of 'creating thoughts' and 'imaginaries.' In a kind of 'philosophical experimentation,' as Alain Badiou also points out (2010, p.339):

> "Cinema speaks of courage, speaks of justice, speaks of passion, speaks of betrayal. The great genres of cinema, the most codified genres, such as melodrama, the Western, are precisely ethical genres, that is, genres that address humanity to propose moral mythologies".

In these terms, cinema, similar to sociology, is regularly expanding the 'visible zone,' making the invisible visible, making the unimaginable imaginable. While the film takes on this task with the help of the 'camera,' sociology creates a whole range of 'theories' and 'empirical methods' - interviews, participant observations, etc. - to address social reality and thereby transcend the boundaries of what was considered reasonable until then. Thus, much of what we know about the society we live in, we know from the films and the 'second life' they offer us on screen.

a) Cinema and 'moral standards'

Despite this not easy relationship, some sociologists have seriously devoted themselves to the study of cinema as a 'social practice' of enormous sociological and aesthetic value in our society, in order to understand how this 'factory of illusions' or 'means of enculturation', as suggest Manfred Mai and Rainer Winter (2006), informs us about who we are and who we want to be, how we feel, what we have been dreaming of, or what we should dream of. One of the first approaches to a 'sociological study of cinema' came from the pioneer work "Sociology of film" (1946) by German sociologist Jacob Peter Mayer. In this book, Mayer attempted to lay the foundations of what he conceived as the 'sociological assumptions' of an analysis of the film as a 'social phenomenon'. However, his interest in cinema arose specifically after another study entitled "Max Weber and German Politics" (1944), from which Mayer would suspect films' ability to shape 'political opinions.' His longing was especially to understand the 'emotional' and 'moral' impacts of films on his audience.

Thus, the 'sociology of film' proposed by Mayer goes in the direction of the sociology of film as a 'study of reception.' In such a way, he sought to answer: 1) which 'ethical values' films teach and how these values pattern relate to the 'real norms' according to which people live and 2) what is the relationship of both 'norms of films' and 'real norms' in the construction of 'absolute value' standards. Mayer concludes that it is impossible to provide entertainment divorced from 'moral norms.' Even if it is purely entertainment, the power of visualization creates 'values.' That is why 'films' and 'moral standards' would be inseparable:

> "The example of pre-Nazi Germany made me inclined to believe that even so-called non-political films can become an instrument for shaping political opinions. Consequently, I am less interested in the intricate psychological mechanisms which seem to underlie film reactions than in those structural features which may help

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us to explain the sociological implications of films" (MAYER, 1946, p.267).

The 'cinema experience' would then turn out to be a 'ritualistic experience' in which the 'myth' (of the fictional world) would not merely be a 'story told on-screen,' but also a 'lived reality.' According to Mayer, that would explain the contemporary yearning for films: "since the traditional structures of life are uprooted and about to disappear altogether, the modern moviegoer seeks mystical participation in screen events" (MAYER, 1946, p.19). It is through the films that the public would find the 'totality' of an 'apparent life' in which traditional institutions seem no longer able to offer. However, and here seems to be the essential point of author's contribution, although the film is presented indiscriminately to all members of the audience, the subjects operate the viewing mechanism (Vorstellung) and perception (Wahrnehmung) individually.

What is "watched" is the same for each individual, although what is 'visualized' (through 'imagination') is unique to each one. How then to explain their different impacts on them? According to Mayer, 'memory' would play a central role in this process. Indeed, only a 'study of memory' and 'things remembered' in a film could give stimulating indications of the 'effects of cinema' and the 'role' it plays in the lives of the public. Although we have here the appeal of the 'fantasy of the past,' it is nonetheless a fantasy that has a deep 'real feeling.' That is why the relationship between 'real' and 'fantasy' in cinema cannot be simplistically analyzed. For, according to Mayer, to the extent that we all have 'ideas' we live generally in a 'fantasy world' where the "ideal" is a goal for which we engage in everyday life. In this way, the "ideals" and the "fantasies" - often presented in the movies - are closely related to life, and therefore are a necessary stimulus to action, providing a broader horizon of experience, conceptions of life and behavior. An example of would be the spontaneous reactions to certain movies: how to have nightmares and fear of sleeping alone. Or, nowadays, the many cases of actors assaulted on the street for being confused with the characters they play (MENEZES, 2017). What this seems to show us is that despite its 'fictional' character in content, we often experience the fiction as 'real' in form.

Thus, in addition to having a significant influence on personal and collective 'emotions' and 'behavior', cinema can also be a determining factor in creating one's individual 'outlook' on life - his plans for the future, his ideas about what kind of life is best, and his conception of the ways in which people from different backgrounds of his conduct behave. In many cases, films even portray a type of society with which the viewer is unfamiliar, and about which he often lacks many other sources of information. Like this,

> "Whatever views he may have on these alien modes of existence will be based on what he has seen in the cinema. It may happen, moreover, that he is led to compare the life depicted on the screen with his own life, to the disadvantage of the latter, and the result may be dissatisfaction, unrest, aspirations, ambition, and so on" (MAYER, 1946, p.169).

In this sense, the thesis of cinema as a mere 'reflection of society,' and of its 'mentality,' seems to maintain a simplistic and mechanical relationship between 'reality' and 'fiction.' However, the film representation, when making use of reality (itself already processed and organized), imposes its visualization on a theme in a concentrated and precise manner. In doing this, films return to reality, providing 'interpretative patterns' that can serve to process and classify this same theme. Thus, not only derive from a lived world, but films also play a generative role, influencing our ideas about what it was like in the past and what it is today. The most sociologically relevant question here, it seems to me, this one that seeks to know: Who can see what? What can be shown? What hasn't the viewer seen yet? How far can he go? What is seen and shown and what remains hidden and contained is how 'power' flows through images and their 'dreams.'

However, if Mayer acknowledged that "what is really important to the sociologist is the discovery and isolation of the implicit attitudes of a film, the general assumptions on which the conduct of the characters is based and the treatment of plot situations" (MAYER, 1946, p. 170), there is very little space in the 'sociology of film' which he proposed for the film itself as 'art'. It offers us nothing about the study of 'character conduct,' and the 'film language' is not considered at any point in the book. Thus, Mayer does not present an 'interpretative basis of the film' as a finished work of art, but is limited to the study of the impact of particular films on their audiences - and their 'moral standards.' Within the jargon I expounded above, we might say that Mayer then takes an 'externalist approach' in his 'sociology of film,' in which the work of art in its aesthetic configuration is, to some extent, set aside.

b) *Institutional analysis*

Another influential sociological approach to the study of cinema came in 1970 with the publication of the book "Towards a Sociology of the Cinema" by English sociologist Ian Charles Jarvie. In this study, the author proposed an essay on the structure and operation of cinema as a 'entertainment industry.' Thus, he sought to answer questions such as 1) who makes movies, how and why?; 2) who watches films and why?; and 3) How do we learn and evaluate a film? In this sense, he anchored his proposal on three main bases: industry, audience and values in the content of film experience. In seeking to think of cinema as "one social institution among many others" (JARVIE, 2013, p. Xiv), the concern related to the exclusively aesthetic criterion became then secondary. Consequently, this allowed sociology to

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involve in its studies not only the so-called 'good film' but, above all, those films considered 'trash' because,

> "The cinema is – sociologically, at least – a mass art; and it would be silly to pretend that mass taste is very high, or that the average product reaches above mass taste to any high standard of excellence. Thus, my defense in discussing trash is complete: chiefly, I am doing sociology. Yet I wish to defend my study aesthetically too: although I confess to highbrow biases, I am critical of the view that the average good entertainment movie ('trash', in the broadest sense) is of no aesthetic interest; it is one of the most pleasurable entertainments I know and, loathe though I am to say this, occasionally it even satisfies highbrow criteria: it can be informative, well done, sophisticated. It is snobbish, then, to ignore mass cinema either as a sociological or as an aesthetic phenomenon" (2013, p.xv).

Jarvie's proposal has helped point out the shortcomings of some authors more concerned with 'elevation' than with 'understanding' of the cinematic phenomenon as a 'social phenomenon.' Thus, by considering, in the apprehension of the cinema, its involving "virtues," but also its admitted "failures," he believed to assume the position of a 'participating observer.' Whatever the use of critical language, analysts should not judge a film image for 'moral reasons.' In this way, Jarvie sought to restore its status as a 'social art' by analyzing how 'social character' can affect cinematic art and how its 'artistic effects' can affect society.

By assuming cinema is as an art, and the function of art is to enrich our experience through entertainment, like it or not, there are a variety of ways of entertaining - although not all of them can be considered art. However, the assumption that cinema needs an 'intellectual justification' would insult the medium and reflect a lack of confidence in its value and importance. Jarvie also wants to denounce the view that the attitudes, values, and interests of their creators are conditioned by the social context in which they live and work. This experience leads us to 'label' certain types of films, and since all labels can be understood as 'statements,' in the latter circumstance they can also be evaluated in terms of 'true' or 'false.' The greatest absurdity this reading can lead us to is to judge the merits of films in 'moral terms,' or from a judgment of whether or not they lack a greater 'sense of reality.'

For example, this discussion can be contemporized and seems useful to understand contemporary African film productions, in their 'new forms and aesthetics,' as Manthia Diawara (2010) points out. The emergence in recent years of a popular and mainstream language in mainland cinematography, especially in the wake of low-cost Nollywood productions, as popular video production in Nigeria is known, challenges the idea that African cinema should be "committed," "serious" and with substantial "critical" and social content. However, what productions such as those of Nollywood denounce are a profound and inevitable transnationalization of cinema, as well as African cultural and social diversity. Although considered of 'less aesthetic value' by many critics, such productions carry importance that must be underlined, because, despite their lack of 'seriousness' and 'political engagement', according to Noah Tsika (2015, p.10-11):"Nollywood films tend to unravel a multidimensional and heterogeneous landscape of Africa, far from the Hollywood model that portrays a mixture of relentless sameness". Besides, these most popular types of movies also serve to raise, according to Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike (2014, p.xv), "a series of questions about production values, artistic and aesthetic trends, formidable challenges for viewer issues and broader perspectives for reading films."

Admittedly, the purpose of Jarvie's approach is to map an 'institution' that materializes in the 'film industry' and nourishes the needs of a particular 'audience.' His attempt to find out how this 'social valuation' of cinema takes place is, therefore, by the 'institutional analysis' that follows "progress chronologically through the manufacture of a film from conception and production, to sales, to distribution, to viewing and experience, to evaluation" (JARVIE, 2013, p.14, our translation). Only from this mapping, it is possible to identify the relative position of films concerning other social regularities in a given society. Thus, in Jarvie's view, cinema would be both a 'social occasion' and an 'aesthetic occasion,' and these two aspects would be interconnected.

c) *Structural Conditions*

From a different perspective, German sociologist Dieter Prokop, in "Soziologie des Films" (1982), will make a direct critique of the 'functionalist' postulates in film studies, specifically his sense that the 'film industry' is a "neutral medium" in shaping public preferences; and the thesis that the public stands as 'unitary' in front of a mass directed by a 'collective unconscious.' About this last idea, Prokop sought to belie what, for many theorists, would represent the essence of cinema: an appeal to the 'collective soul' of a society. This idea was associated with the 'mirror metaphor' propagated especially by another German theorist, Siegfried Kracauer (1966), for whom films from a nation would reflect its 'mindset' more directly than other artistic media. First, because the film production unit would incorporate a kind of 'mix of interests' and 'heterogeneous tendencies,' excluding arbitrary material handling and suppressing individual peculiarities. And secondly, because the films would be directed and interested in an 'anonymous crowd', fulfilling their 'unconscious desires,'. Therefore,

> "What films reflect are not so much explicit credos as psychological dispositions those deep layers of collective mentality which extend more or less below the dimension

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of consciousness [...] In recording the visible world whether current reality or an imaginary universe films therefore provide clues to hidden mental processes" (KRACAUER, 1966, p.6-7).

With that, Kracauer made a very tempting invitation: since the films 'reflect reality', we should look into this 'mirror.' For Prokop, however, sociologists who follow such an invitation would be unaware of its implications. Especially assuming the 'collective unconscious' as an absolute conditioner of film productions, they would reproduce nothing more, nothing less than the 'self-image' that the film industry provides about itself according to its discourses and principles. It would have been the case for many readings that attempted to explain the success of US films, considered in some of these analyzes to be a product of the co-elaboration of them by the public. In this way, the success of the films was simplistically explained by somehow manifesting the 'character' of the American public. It was from this social unconscious that its success and acceptance by society would come. For, according to the supporters of this kind of thinking, "the film would be a collective work for the totality of the people" (PROKOP, 1986, p. 44).

Thus, both the American 'functionalists' and the Kracauerian 'German school' were characterized by excluding 'structural factors' from their analysis of film productions. And, as far as the representatives of the latter current are concerned, along with the conception that the film would be a 'mirror of the collective unconscious,' there was also a critique of the 'ideology of the masses', which brought new critical-cultural implications to the debate. As also signaled by Jarvie, there is often a tendency to want to condemn mass culture as 'reality falsifier'. Thus, for some authors of this current, the 'unmasking' of the ideologies behind the films would become a task of the analyst - an attitude that approached, in some respects, the 'orthodox Marxist' current.

The objective of the Kracauerian school was to applaud films that were 'free of ideology', as he believed to have been 'Italian neorealism,' without realizing that this cinematic movement also had certain socio-economic and ideological assumptions. According to Prokop, for example, Italian neorealism, recognized for its critique and social documentation, had the following assumptions 1) It was a group of filmmakers formed during the period of fascism, oriented towards criticism and social denunciation, in a political context which, despite their regrets, guaranteed relative freedom of expression for these artists; 2) the polyphonic structure of the film industry, dominated by small producers, not an oligopolistic industry. It was this context, therefore, that had allowed the 'emergence' of the so-called 'neorealism' and it would be his change, in turn, that would also make this cinematic trend end.

In that sense, what explained the emergence and decline of neorealism was not the 'collective soul' of society, but the political, economic, and social development of the Italian film industry itself. Thus, Prokop guided the analytical axis of his study into three fundamental aspects: production, consumption, and analysis of the final product (the film). About 'production', he analyzes what he called the 'structural conditions' of film production - the film industry itself. In the 'consumption' aspect, he considers complementary elements to the process of film production, focusing on the historical development of the sale of 'film merchandise.' In relation to 'product analysis', he seeks to perform a process of 'film interpretation.' Therefore, his 'analytical scheme' was intended to move from the most general to the most particular level of analysis.

Dieter Prokop's sociology of the film is an influential contribution to the development of an analysis of the structural conditions of cinema, as it attempts to account for the socio-historical structures that promote the rise and decline of certain film tendencies without falling into idealism and functionalist thinking. However, as regards the interpretation of the "cinematic object," we should some limitations on its proposal. Since, while sometimes privileging 'film analysis,' its 'methods' of analysis are underdeveloped and still quite incipient, it is not clear exactly what their 'interpretative bases' are about 'what' we should analyze, 'why' and 'how' in films.

d) Interpretative Analysis

Unlike the authors cited above, French sociologist Pierre Sorlin will propose, in his book "Sociologie du Cinéma" (1985), a "method of interpretation" of films that attempts to account for the symbolic possibilities that this form of art, and entertainment, provides us - and that can also serve us as a source of understanding of social history. Thus, in Sorlin's methodology, it is assumed that films are never the substitute or reflection of the society that gave rise to them, but in themselves, the thing both meaningful and meaningful - respecting, thus, the autonomy of the artistic object (the film) in its own 'materiality.' It means that, for Sorlin, a film would not be a "record" of social reality, nor would it be a "mirror" of a "collective soul" - a vague term used by Kracauer and other authors. Instead, films would operate an 'imaginary retranslation' of a particular social formation, or of a specific historical period.

Sorlin believed that films could be 'revealing' of the social world, but he did not want to incur in his analysis in a 'social determinism.' That is why, for him, the film, as 'social staging' rather than 'reflex,' would be the result of 1) a selection (what is shown and what is hidden) and 2) a redistribution (how the story is structured). If the 'context', in some interpretations, would always come from the analysis of the 'social conditions' of the constitution of works of art, actors,

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production, structures, etc., in his scheme, the social meaning it is understood as inherent in the 'work's discourse', being sought and reconstructed from the work itself, as he clarifies in this passage:

> “We have to take the film itself, dedicate ourselves to discovering in the combinations of images, words and sounds the most clues to be able to follow some: precisely those that allow us to return to the historical moment by clarifying the exterior (social exchanges) by the interior (the micro-universe of the film)” (SORLIN, 1985, p.38)

Accordingly, Sorlin argues that films would not be able to "open" a window to the world. Rather, they would filter, reinterpret, and redistribute some of their aspects into the inner universe of their stories. And this would happen for a simple reason: if what is called the "outside world" were determinant, the study of films would become useless, because knowing this "world" would be enough to comprehend what films perform. However, just as in a structural arrangement, not everyone occupies the same place, or is bound by the same factors, films would surpass their “outside world”, their “social context” and the “reality itself” in which they arise, insofar as it transcribes, modifies, denies, or confesses it. Thus, instead of mere “copies,” films would represent, in short, a set of propositions about a given social formation. It would then be up to the analyst to identify how these propositions are “put on the scene” through codifications proper to film language.

However, obstacles begin to arise when asking 'from what angle' to focus and analyze a film. According to Sorlin, the analyst will inevitably have to deal with some reading difficulties. First, because there is a weight of affectivity. Although the 'readings' of the films are rarely absolutely false, we tend to be most sensitive to what we already know and, therefore, are fixated on 'small points' when it comes to a domain that is familiar to us. That is because, "in most cases, the reception given to a film, at least in its first view, is governed by fundamentally affective reactions" (SORLIN, 1985, p.32). In this sense, all those later interventions to what was seen look to want to find, in some way, 'justifications' for the emotion initially felt.

A second difficulty would be associated with false evidence of the images. It is well known that images, in comparison with the written text, seem to have among us a kind of fetishized 'authority.' As they say, image 'speaks for itself', it 'shows', and that is enough. However, this profound reverence for what is 'visible,' and even more so for what 'moves,' only “convinces us because it conforms to a prior knowledge that somehow comes to authenticate” (SORLIN, 1985, p.33). Thus, the 'informative value' often attributed to images depends less on their 'content' than on a 'particular attitude' toward iconographic material. In other words, the temptation to want to see 'the truth' in images would overshadow the fact that they are not 'neutral images.' We have then faced with two extreme ways 1) the one that seeks in the film what is purely 'documentary'; and 2) the one that considers them as a 'set of signs,' in which the insertion of each element imposes new meanings.

It is now clear that instead of being the film something to be confused with the 'real', what is at stake in Sorlin's proposal is the understanding of the 'constructive character' of his images, as this will allow us to understand the 'value foundations' that govern the constitution of their narratives, the choices, and positions of their characters, their place in the cinematic space and the unfolding of the plot. In this movement, cinema no longer appears to be a 'unified set' and opens the possibility of thinking society in what it reveals, but only in a partial way. Thus, we should analyze a film, first leaving aside what we know about it, its 'other discourses,' to always evaluate it in its particularities. Acting in this way, it would be possible to arrive at a ‘thick interpretation’ of the films, not to 'fit' them into a 'prior knowledge', but to understand, by their peculiar and unique characteristics, how the codifications (of the social world) are reconstituted in the construction of their senses.

Regarding the narrative aspect, Sorlin identifies an elementary texture that permeates, with some variants and unfoldings, the vast majority of films. Firstly, its system would involve 'struggles' and 'challenges,' inscribed in a temporality oriented between a 'beginning' and an 'end'. In the fight, there would be an obstacle to be overcome, in the 'challenge' an absence to be supplied. And between the ‘obstacle’ or ‘absence’ and its ‘resolution’, there would be a lapse, a 'beginning' and an 'end.' Besides, the narrative film necessarily has 'identifiable characters', which can be individuals, but also entire groups and communities. However, the specificity of the film lies in the use of different means of expression to tell its stories. For example, sounds intervene as signs; music indicates repetition, an accompaniment of a situation; Silence can help to underline a crucial moment, and it may also happen that the film builds its aesthetic conventions. It is these elements, therefore, that, in an orchestrated manner, channel and guides their message to the viewer.

Based on this, the film, as we imagine it, only exists in the 'act of reading,' in the process of enjoyment, in the confrontation with our 'hypotheses.' There would be no predetermined 'meaning,' but multiple possible lines of meaning. That is why reading a single movie may be different for each individual in each specific context. This idea leads us to an important conclusion: that we do not see the world (and the movie) 'as it is' but as we 'are.' In Sorlin's words (1985, p.58), “we perceive beings and objects through our habits, our hopes, our mentality, that is, through the ways our environment structures the essential (what is essential for us), about the accessory”. We can then say that what is (and the

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way it is) 'visible' to everyone at one time is nothing random. What is 'seen' or 'hidden' in the background would respond to a need, or rejection, of social formation. In this interpretation, we see only what we are 'capable' or 'can' (we are 'authorized' to) see. And cinema, in turn, would function as a 'repertoire' and 'producer' of these 'authorized' or 'forbidden' images. In other words, showing, on the one hand, fragments of the 'real' (of the 'perceived' and 'reconstituted' life of those who produce the films), that the public 'accepts' and 'recognizes', and, on the other hand, helping to extend the 'domain of the visible' or to impose 'new images' on the iconographic panorama of a society (SORLIN, 1985, p.60).

Finally, there could not be a 'film study' other than an investigation of its 'construction'. That is, an analysis of the arrangement of the various visual and sound materials that shape the plot and from which we can interrogate cinema as an 'ideological expression.' Its definition of ideology here encompasses a set of explanations, beliefs and values accepted and employed by a given 'social formation.' However, in the same 'social formation', 'ideological expressions' develop that may be concordant, parallel, or contradictory. Thus, Sorlin believed that ideology functioned as a 'guiding force,' but at the same time would be filtered and reinterpreted by different social groups. It is these 'negotiations' and 'filters' that are interesting to analyze in the 'structuring' of films, in order to identify the 'lines of force' that cross the different 'social formations' at a given time - in the struggle to define what it can be 'visible' or perceptually 'real' in our eyes.

IV. Conclusion

Throughout this paper, it has been possible, albeit briefly, to explore a range of ways in which analysis of arts and cinema can provide insights into social processes. Besides, it has also become clear how sociological orientation helps us indicate to what extent films can exercise some 'hegemony' in society by providing existing, central and 'meaning patterns,' 'moral values,' and reinforcing ideologies, exclude opposites or marginalize them. Thus, when we talk about 'sociology of film,' we want to reinforce the idea that it is not an 'aesthetic appropriation' but, in fact, an analysis of the 'social dimension' of this captivating artwork.

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An Obscure Perception of Transgender in Islam: A Case of Hijra in Bangladesh

By Rezwana Karim Snigdha
Auckland University of Technology

Abstract- Religion-related stigma and discrimination towards transgender are common phenomena in the current world. Despite the legal recognition of hijra, those people were denied basic civil and human rights such as marriage or inherent property rights. Like many colonized countries, Bangladesh legal system has its roots in British colonial legacy. But, in case of marriage or inherent property law, Bangladesh follows the religious law of Islam. The Quran or Hadith do not have a specific guideline concerning transgender, and the Muslim countries do not follow any homogenous law due to the contextual cultural construction. This paper argues, without addressing the cultural practices of Islam, the proper conceptualization of transgender identity is not possible. Although it is also the case, only the Islamic perspective, will give us a narrow understanding of hijras who are one of the transgender communities in Bangladesh. To do so, this paper will analyze the dynamic relation between Islam and transgenderism in Bangladesh with a special reference to sharia law and explore the asymmetrical power relations to construct the reality of the 'Trans' as well as the cultural perception of the hijra in Bangladesh.

Keywords: hijra, islam, sharia law, transgenderism in muslim world, bangladesh.

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ANOBSCUREPERCEPTIONOFTRANSGENDERINISLAMACASEOFHIJRAINBANGLADESH

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An Obscure Perception of Transgender in Islam: A Case of Hijra in Bangladesh

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Abstract- Religion-related stigma and discrimination towards transgender are common phenomena in the current world. Despite the legal recognition of hijra, those people were denied basic civil and human rights such as marriage or inherent property rights. Like many colonized countries, Bangladesh legal system has its roots in British colonial legacy. But, in case of marriage or inherent property law, Bangladesh follows the religious law of Islam. The Quran or Hadith do not have a specific guideline concerning transgender, and the Muslim countries do not follow any homogenous law due to the contextual cultural construction. This paper argues, without addressing the cultural practices of Islam, the proper conceptualization of transgender identity is not possible. Although it is also the case, only the Islamic perspective, will give us a narrow understanding of hijras who are one of the transgender communities in Bangladesh. To do so, this paper will analyze the dynamic relation between Islam and transgenderism in Bangladesh with a special reference to sharia law and explore the asymmetrical power relations to construct the reality of the 'Trans' as well as the cultural perception of the hijra in Bangladesh.

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I. Introduction

Often religion has been used to legitimise the ostracism of trans-individuals. Stigma and discrimination against transgender by religious practices have been documented on many occasions. A range of factors contribute to this stigmatisation and accompanying discrimination, including religious beliefs and societal values and norms, which together shape people's attitudes and behaviours toward sexuality and sexual relationships (Ngcobo, 2007; Aggleton, 2009). According to James Beckford (2001: 233), 'religion is less as a social institution and more as a cultural resource susceptible to many different users. Religion is a cultural universal with both positive and negative influences on the course of human behaviour (Paloutzian & Park, 2005). It is one of the fundamental aspects of human experience which constructing and guiding the human behaviour across the globe. Religion may have no importance for some individuals and, for others, may be a source of agony or may complicate their sense of personal identity (Furness & Gilligan, 2010). Moreover, religion-related stigma and discrimination towards transgender are common phenomena in the current world. The spotlight on religion and homophobia as well as on Islam and violent radicalism has been a continuous issue in the transgender discussion (Shah, 2016). Also, the scholarship on how Trans-individuals conceptualize or enact religiosity and Islam is very limited. This paper will analyze the dynamic relation between Islam and transgenderism with a special reference to sharia law. Islam doesn't have a clear law for transgender. Consequently, Muslim countries do not follow any homogenous law, rather the national culture and politics influence the transgender legal system in the Islamic world. This article will explore the dynamic aspect of sharia law about transgenderism with a focus on hijra in Bangladesh. Hijra is identified as transgender individuals in Bangladesh. Hijra refers to the non-gender conforming individuals who are typically born as male or intersex and tend to perform, what is considered to be femininity. This article will also address the asymmetrical power relations to construct the reality of the 'Trans' as well as the cultural perception of hijra in Bangladesh.

a) *Data collection, analysis and research ethics*

All the research data has been collected from one-year long ethnographic field research among the hijra in Dhaka city, as a part of researcher's PhD project. Multiple qualitative tools and techniques have been used for data collection, including participant observation; narratives inquiry; in-depth interviews about the religious practices of hijra in Dhaka city. Data that has been collected by in-depth interview has been analysed by a six steps thematic analysis method. Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee reviewed the study proposal and gave permission for its implementation and all the participants signed an informed consent form. All information that may have revealed the identity of participants was changed.

Except for the introduction and conclusion part, this paper roughly sketched in four different sections. In the first section of this paper, it would give a short introduction to the relationship between Islam and transgenderism, in the second part of the discussion, the theoretical dilemma of religion and transgenderism would be addressed. The third section would be concentrated on the discussion of transgenderism in the Islamic world. And, finally, the fourth section would present the religious practice of hijra in Bangladesh.

Author: PhD candidate, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.
e-mail: sksnigdha@gmail.com

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II. Islam and Transgender

In the Islamic theology, the heteronormative conception of gender, i.e. male and female, has been classified as a 'dimorphic gender classification' (Sachedina, 2009: 191). Islamic theology has been given high importance to the intention of Allah. According to this tradition, Muslims must be satisfied with all form of human being which has been created by Allah even if it deviates from heteronormative sex. Moreover, any attempt to alter the physical form is considered as contempt of Allah's will. That is why; both *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* (the proverbs, practices, and lessons of the Prophet Mohammed) acknowledge the existence of transsexuals and characterize this category as intersex (Ishak & Haneef, 2012).

According to the Sunnah, intersex was defined by the prophet Muhammad while he was determining the sex of a child who was born with two different sex organs. Based on the organs for urinates, Muhammad came to the verdict that the child was Intersex, which is known as *khuntha* (hermaphrodite) in Arabic (Abu Dawud (n.d), Vol. 4: 228). On the other hand, the asexual male attendants who are free of sexual desires classified as *mukhannath* (effeminates men). *Mukhannath* refers to a man whose voice tone resembles woman's voice (Ibn Manzur (n.d), Vol. 2: 145). Based on the Islamic ethos, Hanafis and Hanbalis, two sects of the Islam, think *mukhannath* are two kinds. The first kind has no feelings or desire toward women. The *Qur'an* ordains them to guard their chastity from all males except those within the lawful family circle (*Qur'an* 24: 31). Also, they can freely enter women's quarter as they have no desire toward women and if they are not involved in any anti-social behavior. Though the second kind is physically same as the first kind, they are morally corrupted (*fasiq*), and thus, should be barred from interaction with women (Al-Sarakhsi,1986, Vol. 12: 382).

Nevertheless, Islamic tradition also noted 'Allah cursed the males who appear like females and the females who appear like males' (Karim, 1994, Vol. 1: 613). Therefore, Islam does not condemn all type of *mukhannath* and it is flexible while dealing with the biological type of transsexuals. Ibn Hajar (1372- 1449), a medieval Sunni scholar, explains this issue further. He said the prophetic tradition's condemnation is restricted to those who consciously depart from the norm of their set genders with which they are born, and it does not encompass cross dressing or so-called behavioral abnormality. Rather, they need to be supported to re-adjusts themselves to their assigned gender roles (Ibn Hajar, 1985, Vol. 10: 332).

III. Theoretical Framework

Religion has an authoritative encouragement over various aspects of our sexual and the private life. Sexuality and sexual practices have always been one of the religion's most significant areas of influences (Olson & Cadge, 2002; Petersen & Donnenwerth, 1998). Religion and religious doctrines construct the social norms regarding what constitutes ideal patterns of sexual intimacy and these ideological systems also outline the sexual custom which constitutes an appropriate sexual partner. Trans individual's choices partner, affection, intimacy and sexual identities challenge conventional norms. Religion and religious communities often have been hostile spaces, and their efforts to integrate religion and sexuality are often shaped by conflict (Greenberg and Bystryn, 1982; Goodwill 2000; Schuck and Liddle, 2001; Rodriguez and Oullette, 2000; Sullivan-Blum, 2004).

In the study of sexuality, institutional influence and control over sexual behaviour is a long- running theme (D'Emilio and Freedman, 1988; Laumann et al. 2004). On the contrary, scholarship emphasises the existence of rigorous institutional control over sexuality and religious institution forces whose mechanisms work to uphold particular configurations of power (Foucault, 1978; D'Emilio, 1983; Chauncey, 1994). This control continues in incidental ways, as the individual internalizes values and self-regulates to conform to normative, institutionally- sanctioned behaviour. Other scholars argue for the futility of institutional rules and emphasise the evasion or transgression of them through history, as well as the continued flagging of their socialisation powers in monitoring sexual behavior (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988; Joyner and Laumann 2001). According to Laumann and colleagues (2004) institutions such as religion is related to social networks, space and sex culture – that structure norms and regulate behaviour and sexuality is not the primary concern of religion or any other institution. It is policed only when it threatens to disturb the institutional order. This paper will follow Laumann's argument to explore the impact of socialisation, social network, space and culture in the religious practice of hijra in Bangladesh.

IV. Transgeder in Islamic World

Religion and religious ideologies perform a significant role in forming the self-identity of trans individuals. The heteronormative conception of gender is compatible with all major religions. Any nonconformity from the heteronormative conception of gender usually causes marginalization of that person or community, whereas any religion and religious ideologies should have played an important role 'innaturalizingnot-heteronormative' (Alipour, 2015). This marginalization process is not confined in religious spheres only. It also marginalizes them in social, cultural and employment spheres too. Like the government of many western countries and predominant Muslim countries also playing an important role in naturalising the trans person. Their understanding and policies are diverse. In

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this section, I will attempt to explore the identity crisis and religious predicament of the Trans individuals posed by legal system and culture with a particular reference to Iran, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

a) Influence of Byzantine, Persian and Mughal Norm and Culture

In many ways, Byzantine, Persian and Mughal empires perception of transgender have influenced modern day Iran, Pakistan and Bangladesh. These empires have not only acknowledged transgender, but also, they have given a unique role for transgender in a society which has a profound influence in the Indian subcontinent. Abu Dawud's account state that Muhammad has acknowledged the intersex. It is difficult to have a complete picture of transgender's life in Islamic rule. Nevertheless, different sources confirm that Byzantine Empire, possibly most earliest, has not only acknowledged transgender but also, they have employed them. Byzantines appointed Mamluk, a group of transgenders, as guards of their *Herem khana* (Ishak & Haneef, 2014). These guards of *Herem khana* were called 'Khawaja Sara'. Peter and Gotz (1990), have mentioned that Mamluk was appointed in administrative and legal positions too. To clarify, the transgenders who changed their gender identity through sex reassignment surgery and believed that they feel trapped in the body of the opposite sex are called 'mukhannath' (Ishak & Haneef, 2014).

Similar information we find from the Mughal and Persian history. The Mughal rulers employed 'eunuchs' as the guard of their harems, and royal palaces that played a significant role in the social reorganisation of transgender (Nanda, 1999: 23). Jaffery (1997) thinks the Hindu transgender castration process spread across the region during the Mughal rule. It is to be noted that in the Indian subcontinent for much transgender community castrations play a significant role in the process of their identity formation and this is also the case for Bangladesh and Pakistan.

b) Sharia Law

Sharia means "path" in Arabic and generally, sharia law conduct all the aspects of Muslim life, including life style, sexual orientation, conjugal relations and religious practices (Johnson & Lauren, 2014). It is primarily originated from the Quran and the Sunnah. Sharia law is also used to address new issues. Islamic Sharia does not function equally in all the regions; rather different sects of Islamic have various types of practices in acknowledging the transgenders (Jami, 2005). The Sunni believes that it is illegal for a man to dress like a woman (Sahi Bukhari, 1986). Furthermore, they also believe Muhammad had forbidden man to castrate (Sahi Bukhari, 1986). On the other hand, the Shias are more liberal in the case of castration and sex reassignment surgery. Their understandings in such matters are different from that of the Sunnis. Iran is a Shia majority country, and in their sharia law, the heteronormative conception of gender is dominant. A trans person has to identify himself/herself as a male or female. Because of this reason, the state offers free castration surgery for the transperson (Najmabadi, 2011). On the contrary, Bangladesh and Pakistan are Sunni majority countries and their governments have acknowledged transperson as the third gender. However, transpersons are not allowed to castrate by Pakistani State policy and Islamic Sharia law (Jami, 2005; Najmabadi, 2011). Bangladesh does not have a specific law regarding castration surgery. We should also bear in our mind that even though Pakistan and Iran are two neighbouring countries, but their laws are not only different for sectarian reason, but there is also a social and cultural reason. Social, cultural and legal system impacts dramatically in the formation of transgender social and sexual identity. That is why, the experience and situation of every transgender are not a homogeneous throughout Islamic world rather it depends on regional, cultural and historical contexts (Coway, 2002).

Besides Islamic Sharia, patriarchy also affects the identity formation of the transgenders. Patriarchy defines the male and female identities regarding some "norms" where the physical attributes, characteristics, and roles are fixed (Shams, 2000; Winter, 2002). Considering all these, a transperson always has to undergo dialectics in his/her identity formation (Shah, 2016). When a transperson beholds both 'Muslim' and 'transgender' identities, s/he is being marginalized through inter sectionality in social and sexual scopes, as well as in religious sphere (Crenshaw, 1993; Schnoor, 2006). Even though the transgenders always desire to form self-identity by involving themselves with social and religious ideologies but in reality, they become alienated from mainstream culture and religion. Such a marginalisation process usually causes a further struggle for the transgender (Alipour, 2015). Dante (2015) has pointed out that in contemporary social structure religions are supposed to be a protective factor rather those institutions becoming a hindrance for the transgender.

Religious ideologies, state policies, law, social and religious institutions like schools, colleges, mosques, prayer halls, etc. influence and control the identity formation of transgender. But, legal system plays a vital role in acknowledging transgender's sexual orientation and gender identity, providing protection against hostility. However, in the Islamic world, Sharia law plays a significant role to construct the transgender identity and the following section covers the versatile practices of Sharia law among the Islamic countries in reference to Iran, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

i) Acknowledgement as Third/Other Gender

Sharia law of Iran does not recognize transgender as a separate gender, but both Bangladesh

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and Pakistan acknowledged transgender as 'other' or 'third' respectively whereas, transgender has not been acknowledging till today. In 2012, Supreme Court of Pakistan had declared transperson as 'third gender. That was a result of a long legal battle to include the third gender identity option on national identity cards. 11thNovember 2013 Bangladeshi cabinet passed a law which declared hijra, local term for transgender, as separate gender by following the other countries of south-east Asia. Nepal and India have given legal recognition to transgender before Pakistan. Pakistani Supreme Court has acknowledged transperson as 'third gender' on human rights ground thus the decision has not been given based on Sharia law. It is also true for Bangladesh. The state religion of Bangladesh is Islam, but Bangladesh government's decision to acknowledge transgender as 'other' gender is not based on Quran or Hadith. Rather, government has justified their decision by citing universal human rights principles.

ii) Inherited Property Rights

Islamic Property law has been followed by Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran. According to the Quran, female gets half of male sibling of the inheritance property. Quran states-

> Allah chargeth you concerning (the provision for) your children: to the male the equivalent of the portion of two females, and if there be women more than two, then theirs is two-thirds of the inheritance, and if there be one (only) then the half. Quran, 4:11

Both Bangladesh and Iran are regulated by this principle. There are many cases in Bangladesh which show that the transgender are deprived of their inheritance property. Contrary to this, Pakistani Supreme Court has also declared the equal right to inheritance property for transgender. Meanwhile in Bangladesh, a war starts among the siblings for property. Hijras claim to have the portion of a son as they are born as men. On the other hand, all the male siblings are entirely against of this. Property creates a huge rift among the siblings. The flowing case might relevant to explain the fact. During my field work, I met with Sweety Hijra, (pseudo name), (50) who has filed a case on Human Rights Commission by demanding the portion of a son from her father's property as she was born as a male.

> Sweety (pseudo name) was born as a male. She went under a surgery and changed her identity. Everything was going alright in her life, but the problem arisen after mother's death. Her mother made a will where she divided her properties among her nine children, five sons and four daughters. She declared Sweety as her son and willed to give her the property portion of a son. But her brothers are against this will. They want to give Sweety, the property portion as a daughter to deprive her. The siblings started quarrelling and fighting. And then, Sweety filed an appeal on Human Rights Commission claiming the portion of a son as her mother willed before her death. According to her, 'I was born as a boy, my mother made her will claiming me as a boy, then why should I take less than I deserve? Why should I accept the portion of a daughter?' The case is still on process.

c) Right to marriage as Transgender

Like property law, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran are regulated by Islamic marriage law. Islamic marriage prohibits marriage between other than male and female. This law is still in practice among the Muslim countries. The state, according to religious views, promotes "normative belief" systems, where non-heterosexual conducts are considered as 'sins' and 'non-compatible' (Burke, 2016; Piller, 2016). Nevertheless, the state differs to some extent from religious ideologies in different contexts. Even if the state doesn't declare non-heterosexuality as sins, in its policy, it does not find such conducts acceptable. Hence, different Muslim states consider that homosexuality does not compatible with Sharia law, but they accept the situation and lifestyle of transgenders.

However, a group of Islamic clerics, named Tanzeem Ittihad-i-Ummat, declared that any act intended to "humiliate, insult or tease" transgender individuals should be considered a crime under Islam. Furthermore, they also noted-any transgender with "visible signs of being a male" can marry a nontransgender woman or a transgender woman with "visible signs of being a female." But a transgender person with "visible signs of both genders" cannot marry anyone, the fatwa stipulated (Solanki, 2016; Sahi, 2016). Although Pakistan is not regulated by fatwa, fatwa usually plays an important role in making public acceptance.

However, this situation is different in Bangladesh and any type of religious fatwa does not have any influence in the legal system. There is nothing written about the transgender marriage system in the constitution. Therefore, trans woman can get married with another man as a woman. And, the religious practice is comparatively unbound in the case of trans marriage.

d) Access to Religious Institutions

Religious ideology also influences the experience of a transgender about his/her self-identity and the formation of it (Shah, 2016). Even if a Trans person is a believer of Islam but various countries declines to accept their identity in the name of Islam. Trans persons are not allowed to enter into the mosques and other religious institutions with their actual gender identity. Although, it should be mentioned here that *Ibn-Rushd-Goethe-Mosque* in Berlin has opened their door for transgender, gay and lesbian over recently (Kinkartz, 2017). This is the very first mosque that allowed Trans person to enter and to pray. But this is not a common picture. Transgender activists in Islamabad, Pakistan are planning to build a new mosque which will welcome people regardless of their gender or sexual identity

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(Beirut, 2016). Whereas in Bangladesh, despite acknowledging transgender as the third gender, no such plan has announced or taken for hijras. Therefore, transgenders are forced to perform religious rituals in personal place, because the collective performance of religious rituals is limited for them by different religious rules (Dante, 2015). Hence, the transpersons feel separated from religious institutions, and such separateness reproduces their social inferiority, as well as alienates them from mainstream religious practice and in many ways forces them to practice personal religion (Pitts, Smith & Mitchel, 2008).

However, during the fieldwork, I have found many hijras to perform their prayer in their own place and they usually do not go to the mosque. However, some hijras go to the mosque by hiding their hijra identity in Friday to take the Jumma prayer. In Bangladesh, Muslim males are regularly going to mosque for their prayer. There are few mosques for women and only during the Eid celebration; the number of Muslim women goes to the mosque for their prayer. Moreover, no Muslim women are allowed to go to the regular mosque. But, in the case of a Tran's person, it seems very fluid and it depends on personal relations, network and the dress-up, rather than the sexual identity. To explain the facts, the following case might useful.

> Shimla (Pseudonym) is a self-declared hijra guru, she is 32 years old and she has many hijra dispels. She was born in old Dhaka city and she used to live in the area, where she was born as a boy and now she is a hijra as she has not had the penis anymore. She cut off her penis and imposes a silicon boob for being a hijra. The local folk used to know her as boy ten years ago, and now all of the people accept her as a hijra. She has a good connection with the local folk and the council members. All of her relatives are very influential in the area; she goes to the regular mosque by wearing a male dress and takes her *"namaj"* prayer with the other males regularly. No one has any objection for her presence in the mosque. She said, "This is all about the dress, each dress and get up has a particular meaning, when I will go for a dance program, I will not wear a casual dress. And, when I am going to sleep, I will not wear a party dress, so obviously, when I am going to take my *"namaj",* I will dress like a man as I born as a male. Even, I will cover my silicon boobs, and take my prayers like a man. So, we could stand in the front raw to perform our prayer beside a man. And, during the praying time, I would wear pyjama-Panjab and put on a turban. So, no one would raise a voice about my presence in the mosque. If we consider ourselves in *"sadrali"* (When a hijra use to wear a male dress is called sadrali") during the "*namaj"* and Hajj period, we can easily maintain our religious life"
>
> She also continued, "if I can manage a certain amount of money, I would perform the Hajj because we hijra has a dream to perform the Hajj in our life time to shift our identity from a hijra to a haji. And, during the Hajj time, hijras perform the Hajj like a man not as a woman, because Allah created hijra as a man and all the muslim hijra breaking Allah's rules by changing the gender identity. Therefore, in the Hajj, a hijra always beg for his forgiveness for changing her congenital gender identity with a belief that he will give her the mercy. And, therefore, during the hajj time, we should perform the Hajj like a man because we are born as a man. Why do we act or dress like a hijra while performing Hajj? We would never be going to perform Hajj like a hijra. Rather; we would act and dress like a man at that time by shaving our head and wearing the male cloths. All of us know that every task demands individual cloths. For an instance, the dancers use dancing costumes while he/she is performing only but never wears the same dress on his or her date. Likewise, if we want to perform Hajj, we have to perform it like a man to get an access to that sacred place. For me, it is all about the dress to be with Islam, nothing else".

Shimla also state that, In 'Hijragiri', the title 'Hajji' is of high reverence, for an example, when Shima hijra (Pseudonym) becomes Shima Hajji, she gets respect and honor. Whenever any Hijra performs Hajj, he becomes very popular among the Hijras. Performing Hajj makes the hijra leader more powerful. Also, in our hijra profession, we used to perform Hajj to achieve dignity among the other hijras. Everyone admires her. For this reason, sometimes, non-Muslims like Hindus even prefer to perform Hajj. In Bangladesh, there are few hijras, who took birth in a Hindu family but performing Hajj to get the dignity among the other hijra. And they are doing so just to be considered as Hajji. Being a hajji increases their importance amidst people the mainstream society gives respect to the hijra as well.

V. The Religious Practices of Transgender in Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, Trans woman are generally known as a "hijra". Hijra refers to the non-gender conforming individuals who are typically born as male or intersex and tend to perform, what is considered to be femininity and hijra is one of the sexual minority groups who are treated as a taboo. They are socially stigmatized in their everyday life. The majority numbers of citizen in Bangladesh are Muslims. And, Bangladeshi society does not stigmatized hijra because of religious ideology rather the male-female regulative gender norms create a boundary between the society and hijra. However, religious identity and religious practices sometimes create an access to enter them into the mainstream society. The following case study might help us to analysis the fact; how religious practices can be helpful for the Trans person to have access in the mainstream society.

> Priya (Pseudonym), 26 years old hijra, who ran away from her home because of the torture of her family. She was born as a boy but at the time of her adolescence period, both she and her family noticed the changing behavior of Priya. She was not like the other boy and used to love to wear and groom herself as a girl. And, like the other

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families, her own family treated her as a curse and she left her family and came to Dhaka city to join the hijra community. She has been living with the hijra community since last seven years. And, as she never considered herself as man, she went for emasculation and did her sexual reassignment surgery. While she was talking about her religious practices, she shared her following experience.

Once, while she was fasting during the Ramadan, she was waiting in the traffic signal to cross the road. As hijra used to collect money from market and traffic signal, one of a police surgeons thought, she was there to seek money from the passerby. Suddenly, one of the gangers reported the surgeon that his mobile phone was stolen and without wasting any time, the surgeon comes to Priya and started to check her body and told her to open her skirt. He suspected that Priya might keep the mobile under her skirt. She requested him not to pull her dress in front the public and the surgeon replied her "you, hijra, always put off your clothes and try to scare people to seek the levy and now you are doing a drama. You must have hidden the mobile under your skirt." And he forced her to pull off her skirt. After searching, he did not find any mobile over there.

Priya feel embarrassed and angry with the surgeon and loudly said that, "I am a Muslim and I was performing my fasting, as you made me pull off my skirt during the Ajan time, you broke my fasting and Allah will not forgive you ever for doing this sin" Priya's speech made the sergeant shocked and replied her "Are you a Muslim? Are you fasting? Please forgive me. I was doing my duty, but I should not forget my religious identity. A Muslim cannot treat another Muslim like the way I did. It was my fault; Ii admire that, I committed a sin and treat you like the other hijra who pull off their clothes for few amounts of money. You are a true Muslim, I am a Muslim too, and it was my duty to help you to continue the fasting. But I did a sin. I never thought a hijra can do fasting. You have changed my view about hijra from today. Accept my apology, please forgive me, I will not forgive me ever if you do not allow me to have a dinner with me. Priya was happy for the changing behavior of the surgeon and after that incident the surgeon also help her to take a prayer into the central mosque which she was never imagine in her life. Priya said that, "this is the religion which can give us the opportunity to live under a same roof. I have been always live a disrespectful life and by performing this religious ritual, and for the incident, I got some respect ever in my life from others.

a) *Alternative religious Practice*

In Bangladesh, hijra also performed some different alternative religious practices. Most of the hijra use to visit the shrines, performing all the shrines rituals and give charity among the poor and helpless in the name of certain pirs. There are various shrines of different Pirs in Bangladesh. And, hijra become the disciples of any of these pirs. Specifically, they become the disciples of the 'Ahmed Ullah Maizbhandari' of Chattagram and Hazrat Shah Ali of Mirpur, Dhaka. They organize different kinds of Islamic programs, one of them is known as 'Orosh'. They donate money as much they can. They spend a lot on these purposes. They believe that through this charity, they can seek forgiveness to Allah. Many hijra consider themselves as sinners as they did the sexual reassignment surgery and do not follow their birth assign gender role. One of my participants Mahi (Pseudo name), 40 years, said, "To peruse this hijra life against the wish of Allah and it must be a sin. So the question is that will Allah forgive them ever for this sin? It is a common feeling among the hijras in Bangladesh and therefore, I have found many hijras uses to take dispel ship of certain pirs. Hijra has a belief that, to be a follower and dispel of such a powerful and spiritualistic Sufis, they can be righteous and ensure the heaven after their death. In this occasion, the following case might give us some lights of the alternative religious practices of hijra in Bangladesh.

Sumi (pseudo name) is 35 years old hijra. She was born as a man. After realizing the truth about herself, she went to India for her reassignment surgery. According to her, as a Muslim, she should not have gone through the surgery. She believes that, Allah will not forgive her ever for her sin. She has gone against Allah's will. As she is not allowed to enter into the mosque, she has become a disciple of a Hajrat Shah Ali. She said, 'All the hijra went against Allah's will as he has created us as a man. And, we hijra lived like a woman. All the hijra are sinner in this sense.My life is also like a sin. Allah has made me a man, but I have gone against his rule. I went against his order and will. A huge punishment is waiting for me after my death. There is no such reason for Allah to forgive me. That's why I became a disciple of Shah Ali. And, I belief, he will beg forgiveness to Allah on behalf of me and it will be the only way of my redemption of this impious life. And, I have seen when I donate money by the name of Allah, help the poor, I got respect and you might wonder, how many people like me. This religious practice gives me the opportunity to incorporate myself with the mass people whereas exclusion is an obvious part of a hijra life. I can still remember that day, when I first try to enter into the local mosque; many Muslims do not allow me to take my prayers in the mosque as I am a hijra. But now things have been changed, I use to go to the shrine and I took my prayers in the front line with others. When I went to the shrine, all the people, the shoppers, the beggars, the Clarks who work in the shrine welcomed me and showed their respect. I got that respect in the shrine, which you might not get over there. Because shrine is open for all, but the mosque is not.'

VI. Conclusion

To conclude, even though the gender roles of men and women are clearly stated in Islam, the role of transgenders are not defined at all. Byzantine, Persian and Mughal empires have influenced Iran, Pakistan and Bangladeshis perception of transgender. These empires have not only acknowledged transgender, but also, they have given a unique role for transgender in a society, which has a profound influence in the Indian

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subcontinent. But the sharia law is different from each other in those countries. Different states have different ways of addressing transgenders. In Iran bio medicine and sex change surgery are allowed for a transgender to choose to take either of male or female identity where as Bangladesh and Pakistan acknowledge transgender as third or other sex. The social and cultural factors also influence the identity of a transgender. Patriarchy also affects a transgender, and thus controls and defines a transperson's gender identity. So, it is impossible to study the status of the transgenders by only basing on the legal system, but it is true that it plays an important role in the formation of identity. Moreover, the discursive practice of Islam about the transgender and the religious practice of hijra are not homogenous and absolute. Therefore, Hijras in Bangladesh can able to capitalize the Islam and Islamic religious practice to eradicate their stigmatization sometimes. In consequence, the religious fluidity, Islamis religious rituals like Hajj, Ramadan and alternative religious practices can able to create an access for hijra to be a part of a mainstream society.

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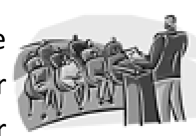

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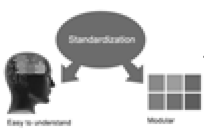

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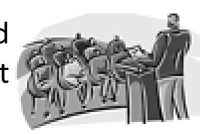

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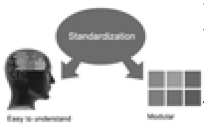

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4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

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Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

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

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

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

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

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

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

Structure and Format of Manuscript

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

A research paper must include:

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

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

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

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

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

Format Structure

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

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

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

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

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

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

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

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

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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

Figures

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

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

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

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

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

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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

Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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