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Highlights

Human Trafficking and Prostitution

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Human Trafficking and Prostitution in Mozambique: The Mualy, Amalapos and the Police

By Judil Virgílio Marrupe, Jaime Luiz Cunha de Souza & Maria José da Silva Aquino Teisserenc

Federal University of Pará

Abstract- This article discusses processes of human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique. It begins by situating the African continent within the dynamics of globalization processes, associating human trafficking with poverty and discussing it as a profitable illegal activity conducted on a global scale. It continues by presenting the historical factors and economic constraints that put the Mozambican population in a vulnerable situation in relation to human trafficking and prostitution. The article then examines how the perceptions of police regarding women trafficked for prostitution are affected by the local institution referred to as Mualy. Quantitative data come from the Statistic Brain Research Institute, compiled from the following reports: UNAIDS, World Bank and Demographic Dividend for the period of 2010 to 2017. Qualitative data were collected through ten interviews with the Provincial Command Squads of the Police of the Mozambique Republic (PRM) of Nampula, a city located in northern Mozambique. Results show that cultural factors interfere with how Mozambican police perceive human trafficking for prostitution and that such interferences undermine authorities' strategies to combat this type of crime.

Keywords: *human trafficking; prostitution; mualy; amalapo; police.*

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE: THE MUALY, AMALAPÓS AND THE POLICE

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Human Trafficking and Prostitution in Mozambique: The Mualy, Amalapos and the Police

Judil Virgílio Marrupe^α, Jaime Luiz Cunha de Souza^σ & Maria José da Silva Aquino Teisserenc^ρ

Abstract- This article discusses processes of human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique. It begins by situating the African continent within the dynamics of globalization processes, associating human trafficking with poverty and discussing it as a profitable illegal activity conducted on a global scale. It continues by presenting the historical factors and economic constraints that put the Mozambican population in a vulnerable situation in relation to human trafficking and prostitution. The article then examines how the perceptions of police regarding women trafficked for prostitution are affected by the local institution referred to as Mualy. Quantitative data come from the Statistic Brain Research Institute, compiled from the following reports: UNAIDS, World Bank and Demographic Dividend for the period of 2010 to 2017. Qualitative data were collected through ten interviews with the Provincial Command Squads of the Police of the Mozambique Republic (PRM) of Nampula, a city located in northern Mozambique. Results show that cultural factors interfere with how Mozambican police perceive human trafficking for prostitution and that such interferences undermine authorities' strategies to combat this type of crime.

Keywords: *human trafficking; prostitution; mualy; amalapo; police.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking, or sale, is considered a violation of human rights by various international conventions and constitutes a criminal activity with transnational implications. It is, further, one of the most lucrative practices in the world. Networks constantly develop new routes and recruitment systems that attract victims from the peripheries of medium-sized and large cities and rural areas of poor and underdeveloped nations. Conditions of poverty are readily found in African countries, which have experienced war, social inequalities, poverty, government corruption, and above all, continue to be economically dependent on colonizing countries (Dias, Lucio and Coelho, 2015). Together these characteristics create a situation of social vulnerability, where individuals are more easily enticed by the possibility of

illegally immigrating to other African countries or to Europe. Criminals involved in human trafficking networks take advantage of vulnerable people, who at first intend to immigrate illegally, but are forced into sexual exploitation and forced labor.

Figures on human trafficking in Africa draw attention for their magnitude. However, the focus of this article is on the particularities of this phenomena in Mozambique, a country of Portuguese colonization located on the southwest coast of the African continent, surrounded by the Indian Ocean, in front of Madagascar. In 1975, after 10 years of war, Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal. Two years after independence, a civil war took hold of the country and Mozambique remained in this state until the early 1990s. More than three decades of war were extremely destructive, especially socially and politically; and, as is most relevant to our topic, have meant that institutional and political organizational efforts have not been sufficient to ensure that the Mozambican government satisfactorily enforces the requirements of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). While some incipient government efforts have been made to comply with this law, its effects are not yet clearly visible.

According to the *Statistic Brain Research Institute* 2018 crime report, which presents data on people trafficked for prostitution in Africa, trafficking routes traverse Mozambique and the country is, to a lesser degree, a destination for men, women, and children submitted to forced labor and sexual exploitation. Women from Mozambique are exploited as prostitutes in bars, roadside clubs, restaurants in frontier cities, and night stops along Mozambique's southern transport corridor towards South Africa. According to the report, child prostitution is prevalent in the cities of Maputo, Namula and Beira, and is also increasing in the cities of Chimoio and Nacala, both known for high population mobility and for hosting large numbers of truck drivers. Individual prostitution is not prohibited in Mozambique, but organized activities, such as running brothels, are illegal since such activities are not regulated.

To product this article we analyzed quantitative data provided by the *Statistic Brain Research Institute*, which are organized in the joint reports of the *United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS* (UNAIDS) and the World Bank (*Demographic Dividend*) and refer to the

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period of 2010 to 2017. Qualitative data on police officers' perceptions on human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique were collected through ten semi-structured interviews conducted with the commanders of the Provincial Command Squads of the Police of the Mozambique Republic (PRM) in Nampula, located in northern Mozambique. All interviewed police officers have more than 15 years of experience with the PRM. These officers were chosen based on their time in service and the fact that they belong to the Macua, the ethnic group of many victims. Thus, they share cultural values and practices and may have a particular vision regarding people trafficked for prostitution. In some cases, the people interviewed denied the existence of trafficking or attributed the responsibility of the crime to the victims themselves.

II. HUMAN TRAFFICKING: THE AFRICAN DIMENSION OF A GLOBAL PROBLEM

Human trafficking for prostitution in Africa is considered one of the undesirable consequences of communication and transportation technologies development and the circulation of goods related global capitalist expansion. Even though human trafficking has been present in Western history for a long time (Bullough and Bullough, 1987; Cohen, 1992), its contemporary form as a highly lucrative activity was boosted through legal and illegal international immigration (Ausserer, 2011; Carling, 2007; Thapisa, 2000).

Human trafficking is among one of the most lucrative illicit activities in the world. It has an especially concerning impact on the African continent due to the disadvantageous way in which global technological, social, and economic transformations are experienced by these countries. African nations suffer from grave structural deficiencies exacerbated by social inequalities and political instabilities, keeping them in a chronic state of poverty. For Bank (2010) and Aderinto (2015), the recent technological conquests related to the most recent phase of globalization, including the development of information and communication technologies (ICT), have had both negative and positive effects. On the one hand, they made it possible for citizens and public institutions to connect to other cultures; on the other hand, they failed to increase, and in some cases diminished, work opportunities. One of the consequences of the ambiguities of African globalization is that the productive gains of technological investments did not bring significant benefits to local populations, especially of poorer countries plagued by structural unemployment. These investments thus exacerbated existing conditions of social exclusion. According to Raimi (2012) and Bank (2010), the formation of regional economic blocks, such as Economic Community of West African States,

(ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and the New Alliance for African Development and the African Union (UA), encouraged the implementation of free trade and border liberalization. These changes occurred in the absence of policies protecting and promoting human rights. The authors clarify that the instability and continuing fragility of African national states creates fertile grounds for the expansion of illicit activities, including human trafficking.

With ECOWAS people were able to circulate more freely across borders, which resulted in the weakening of already precarious state measures controlling the flow of people, goods, and services within signatory countries. Geopolitical restructuring facilitated organized crime operations across borders because at the time of this re-organization African states were primarily concerned with economic problems – delegating the responsibility of controlling crime and human rights violations to local governments (Raimi, 2012).

Economic fragilities and technological possibilities spurred sex commerce, which came to play an important role in the survival strategies of young Africans (Lagunas, 2010). The recent increase in disorderly urbanization the transnational dimension of the tourist industry considerably stimulated activities related to trafficking of women for prostitution – such that trafficking of Africans to Europe and within Africa now have a significant economic and social impact. Carling (2007) demonstrated that some European countries appear quite attractive to young Africans who consider migration a means to escape war and economic difficulties in their countries of origin. Young people's desire to migrate illegally to Europe stimulated the formation of criminal groups who consider human trafficking an excellent opportunity to leverage profits. Some illegal immigrants reach destinations inside the African continent; their mobility is mediated by a network of traffickers responding to the demand for illegal workers to work as domestic servants and as miners in South African mines (Adepoju, 2000; Raime, 2012). Those involved in human trafficking partner with criminals from old and already consolidated contraband networks; through the use of these structures, they make human trafficking activities viable.

According to Adepoju (2000), 95% of illegal African immigrants arrived in Europe through the intermediation of traffickers. As immigrants without regular documentation they are more vulnerable to the enticement and grooming of actors involved in sexual exploitation networks. The journey to Europe is long and dangerous and involves staying for a relatively long time in North Africa, awaiting the opportunity to cross the Mediterranean Sea. As such, some women who exit sub-Saharan African countries wait months or even years to conclude their journeys to Europe. Barros et al. (2002) explains that a portion of migrants remain in

North African cities to work and save money to continue their trips. However, an increasing number of migrants are unable to go further and wind up establishing themselves in these cities, living and working precariously. For women, this state of invulnerability could eventually lead them to prostitution.

Table 1: Data on Forced Labor in Africa (2010-2017)

Annual profits from forced labor	US\$13,100,000,000
Average profits per victim of forced labor	US\$ 3,900
Number of forced labor victims at any given time	3.500.000
Percentage of victims used for sexual exploitation	52%
Percentage of victims used for forced labor	40%
Percentage of victims used for other types of exploitation	8%

Source: Statistic Brain Research Institute, 2018.

We observe here that the largest percentage of victims were trafficked for sexual exploitation; however, a significant percentage of people are also exploited as forced laborers. According to 2016 data from the International Labor Organization (ILO), many girls, women, and even young men who were victims of human trafficking had previously experienced some form of physical and sexual violence in their lifetimes or were neglected at home. Violence was cited as one of the reasons that these victims had wanted to take their chances and migrate illegally. Connelly and Sanders (2016), Sanders, O'Neill and Pitcher (2017) show that migration and eventual prostitution have become a perceived means of social mobility and satisfying basic needs. Young Africans may also decide to immigrate illegally to help families in their origin countries who live in extremely difficult economic conditions. Within this context, prostitution presents itself as an activity that allows for daily survival.

In sub-Saharan Africa, prostitution is associated with highway transportation corridors, which became extremely well-traveled with the opening of borders for the circulation of goods. With these shifts, clusters of road workers emerged, mainly drivers, along with the recruitment and exploitation of youth and children. Pateman (2016) shows that in urban environments, recruitment into prostitution is related to sexual tourism and human trafficking. This author states that sexual exploitation is part of an obscure yet fundamental part of the recreation industry – for which prostitution is one of the most lucrative illicit products. Bales and Friman (2002) commented that in most countries where tourism strongly contributes to the economy, consolidated structures that include prostitution networks exist and include children and adolescents of both sexes.

In addition to the macrostructural factors that make prostitution viable, the appeal of consumption also plays a role in this phenomenon. Traditional African communities are increasingly being co-opted by the consumerist logic that accompanies urbanization and its global connections (Roby, 2005). According to this

Table 1 shows the income levels associated with forced labor in its different modalities and the number of people victimized by criminal networks on the African continent.

author, many families are enticed by goods, money and promises of educational opportunities. These promises, which for many begin with illegal immigration, are likely to end in sexual exploitation and prostitution.

III. TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE

Human trafficking for prostitution in Mozambique is historically linked to the processes of human occupation and African colonization by European countries and extends beyond these countries' struggles for independence into the 20th century. According to Muianga (2009), during much of the colonial period, a system dedicated to recruiting prostitutes from countries such as Portugal, Italy and France to meet the demand of a mostly white Portuguese clientele operated in the city of Lourenço Marques (now Maputo city, capital from Mozambique). The period of European colonization, which lasted until 1975, imposed a domination over the diverse cultures in the territory that today constitutes Mozambique. In particular, colonial rule was marked by strict work regulations and rigid family and marital structures, upheld by the assumption that Europe had, relative to African nations, more civilized cultures and traditions (Alexandre, 2008). European values and constraints dictated by Christian doctrines played an important role in domination exercises (Langa, 1984; Lopes, 1972; Pereira, 2000). The imposition of European cultural standards on Mozambicans was accompanied by a growing demand for white prostitutes of European origin. Subsequently, after independence, the demand for young Mozambicans for this purpose also emerged (Alós, 2011; Pinho, 2015).

Muianga (2009) explains that during the colonial period, demand for European sex workers in the city of Lourenço Marques was related to the highly racialized Mozambican society, where native Mozambicans were relegated to a lower status on the social hierarchy. Slowly, Mozambicans were integrated into the prostitution market due to new laws in European

countries seeking to stop the flow of white women destined to the African colonies to be prostitutes. At the same time, young Mozambicans increasingly came to view prostitution as means to achieve social mobility and meet basic personal and family needs (Aderinto, 2015; Tamale, 2006).

Mozambique had two long wars, a war fought for independence from the Portuguese, followed by a civil war. The first began in 1964 and ended in 1975 with independence from the Portuguese and the coming to power of the guerilla group, the National Liberation Front of Mozambique National Liberation Front (*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Moçambique - Frelimo*). The second war, as previously mentioned above, began in 1977 and ended in 1992. During the second war period, government forces formed on the basis of Frelimo's cadre were opposed by the Mozambican National Resistance Movement - *Movimento de Resistência Nacional de Moçambique - Renamo* that initially emerged as a right-wing guerrilla group created to counter official socialist-oriented forces (Collier e Hoeffler, 1998; Collier and Sambanis, 2005).

When Frelimo was in power, they implemented a policy called "*Operação Produção*" (Production Operation), which consisted of barring rural people from moving to urban zones. The Frelimo government saw these rural-urban flows as responsible for the great numbers of people concentrated in urban areas, forming groups of beggars, prostitutes, unemployed and criminal masses. In addition to curbing the country-city flows, the program sought to relocate the poor to forested regions in northern Mozambique so that they could become "productive," producing foods for self-sustenance. This strategy considerably decreased prostitution in urban areas (Hamela, 2011; Muianga, 2009).

Although some efforts were made by the Frelimo socialist government towards gender equality in the domestic sphere, traditional notions of women being responsible for managing the family and home and restrictions on expressions of female sexual freedom remained (Arnfred, 2002). The Frelimo and Catholic Church's perspectives on this point were quite similar; both disapproved of women who engaged in sexual relations for commercial purposes or who expressed their sexuality in a way that diverged from traditionally accepted norms. In this way, the paradigm of women in charge of the home and responsible for her family, but passive in relation to men, was upheld.

After the civil war and the country's return to the market economy, a series of measures to expunge what was remaining of the colonial period were established. Mozambique's government, extremely fragile after years of war, attempted to recover its inflicted economy; yet, authorities found this an impossible task using its own resources alone. At this time, the government resorted to the international financial system, which according to

Leite (1999), opposed very strict adjustments on the country, including privatizations of state firms, which up to the reforms had been important job sources in Mozambique. As a result, unemployment increased in an economy where jobs were already scarce due to the devastating effects of war on the country's productive system. Structural adjustment and its effects hit the poorest sectors of the population the hardest; and the poorest and most marginalized people had little wherewithal to adapt to the newly imposed economic order.

Families' daily lives were also greatly affected. The social status of men and women, their roles, and society's expectations of both sexes were significantly redefined. For poor men, the negative consequences of losing their ability to provide for their families was exacerbated by changes in young women's expectations for futures and their social condition. According to Meneses (2008), the possibility of moving from rural areas to urban areas to find work, to study, or to meet a prospective partner who could provide a better life was increasingly appealing to young women. The opening of the economy resulted in the formation of an incipient middle class; individuals of this group were able to take advantage of the new economic moment of the country. Men also arrived from Europe and other parts of the world to work in the multinational companies. These men were considered "rich" compared to locals with lower purchasing power. Young poor men, principally from rural areas and the cities' peripheries, remained in an extremely disadvantaged position in relation to these groups and became less attractive to young women as potential partners (Fry, 2000).

With the effects of economic adjustments imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) quickly worsening, and the government mainly concerned with this problem, poor communities had difficulty developing and implementing survival strategies. With few possibilities, prostitution and the networks supporting sex work strengthened and managed to recruit a growing number of young people, especially females, into their workings. Groes-Green (2011) states that at this moment, a cultural conflict settled upon Mozambican society. Specifically, we observe a divergence between those once inserted into prostitution, use the erotic and sexual knowledge transmitted by older female relatives and healers as a way to overcome economic fragilities, and those who saw this strategy as a violation and misuse of traditional teachings and values.

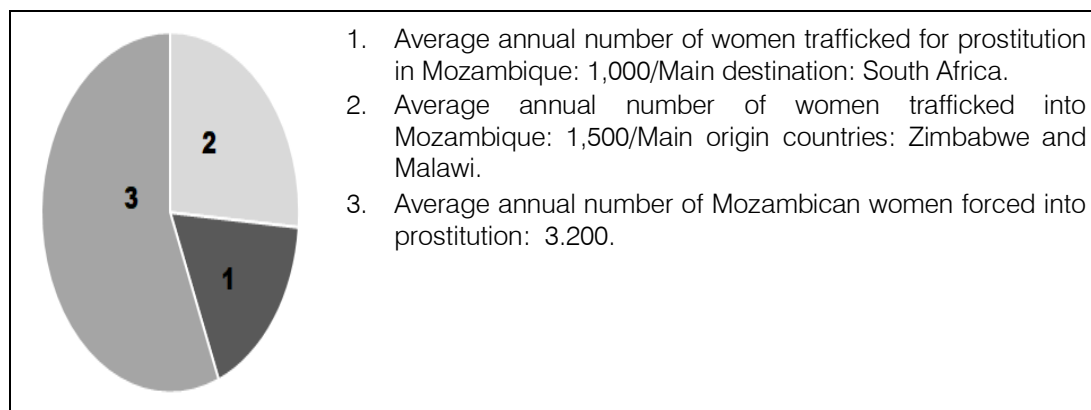
Despite these tensions, a lucrative sex industry formed in Maputo with direct links to human trafficking. At the same time, the recruitment of young people for labor exploitation and prostitution was being adjusted to smuggling and drug trafficking networks already in operation throughout sub-Saharan Africa. According to

Muianga (2009), the young Mozambicans recruited to work in mines, mainly migrated to South Africa – where important gold, graphite, diamond and other ores of high international value are found. Feliciano (1998) shows that parallel to these movements, Mozambicans have also travelled to work on large plantations.

Studies conducted by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF,

2012) show that in addition to migrating to work in mines and on plantations, there is an increase in flows of Mozambican children and women for sexual exploitation.

Data on Figure 1 show the annual averages of migration related to human trafficking both into and out of Mozambique.



Source: Statistic Brain Research Institute, 2018.

Figure 1: Data on human trafficking and forced labor in Mozambique (2010-2017)

The Mozambican government began to show interest in issues human trafficking and prostitution in the mid-1990s. The country's reconstruction and the degree of political stability achieved after the civil war influenced governmental attitudes in this sense. Concern with human trafficking as a political agenda was demonstrated by the participation of Mozambican representatives at the World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children held in

Stockholm in 1996. However, the protagonists came from international organizations with representation in Mozambique and civil society – from which the primary denouncements against criminal networks and ineffective government actions to curb their activities originated.

Table 2 demonstrates the financial resources involved in the different modalities that compose these criminal activities in Mozambique.

Table 2: Data on forced labor in Mozambique (2010-2017)

Annual profit from forced labor	US\$175,000,000
Average profit per forced labor victim	US\$4,200
Number of forced labor victims at any given time	29.000
Percentage of victims used for sexual exploitation	49%
Percentage of victims used for forced labor	36%
Percentage of victims used for other types of exploration	6%
Percentage of people involved in illegal migratory processes not destined for forced labor	9%

Source: Statistic Brain Research Institute, 2018.

As a result of their situation of greater vulnerability, women are the primary victims of both human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Women are more accessible to the criminal networks who prey upon their desires for a better life and/or the possibility of having earnings for themselves or for their families.

IV. POLICE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR PROSTITUTION

Mozambican governmental officials have recognized the issue of human trafficking since the 1990s, as Mozambique is a signatory country of international agreements and conventions against these

crimes. At the same time, however, authorities' inertia with regard to the issue is also clear. This inertia can be understood by considering two important variables: the first is a lack of institutional structure to effectively deal with the issue, an aspect that we will not dwell on; the second relates to the cultural factors (constraints) present in police institutions, which are responsible for a certain indifference to the problem. We will address this issue in the following sections.

The northern region of Mozambique is made up of several ethnic groups, including the five main ones: the Macuas, the Tongas, the Macondes, the Nhanjas and the Swahilis. The Macuas form the largest ethnic

group in the country. In addition to Mozambique, they can also be found in Tanzania, Malawi, Madagascar and the Seychelles. Nampula province, located in the northern region of the country, is predominantly inhabited by the Macua people. According to the National Research Institute of Mozambique (INE), this province has a population of approximately four million people, of which 98% belong to the Macua ethnic group.

The social life of the Macua is traditionally linked to certain rites of passage that incorporate, among other teachings, culturally legitimated ways of manifesting sexuality. Men and women, at a certain developmental stage should marry to affirm themselves as insiders within the group. Osório (2013) comments that these rituals aim to counteract fears of community instability if young people, especially women, do not opt to marry. Sexual relationships for Macua women are considered legitimate only in the case of marital relations. This stems from the fear that women who do not opt for marriage may possibly have sexual relations with married men. Not observing these precepts constitutes a rupture of community rules passed down to young Macua women through a ritual called "Mualy."

This ceremony is little known outside of Mozambique and consists of a rite of passage to which teenagers are subjected: men must go through this ritual once and women twice – one time in adolescence and once just before marriage. During this ceremony young people essentially learn what it means to behave properly as a man and as a woman and what their specific roles are. For men, this means becoming aware of his responsibilities related to food production system, and for women, it implies assuming the duties and skills to care for and sexually satisfy their husbands. This skill is acquired from older experienced/knowledgeable women in the family.

Knowledge gained through the Mualy should be assimilated by young people and after passing through the ritual, young people are separated from those whose behaviors are not in line with the Mualy. Those who display transgressive behavior in relation Mualy's teachings are called "Amalapos." Thus, any sexual behavior at odds with the teachings of Mualy is not recognized or respected by the community. In this way, Amalapos are a kind of undesirable outcast, from which all, especially young people, must seek to keep their distance. Among reprehensible behaviors is prostitution, which, regardless of the reasons why it is practiced, is considered abnormal behavior, and the person who sells sex is considered responsible for his/her actions.

Police officers share these traditional cultural values and practices in Mozambique. In general, these professionals see the behavior of female Amalapos as a threat to harmonious living within a community. For this reason, victims trafficked into prostitution are not considered victims. Police authorities may even deny

the existence of such a phenomenon. Expressions such as, "we have never heard of women trafficked for prostitution occurring here in Nampula, neither trafficked from here or this being a destination [...]". "We have also never received any complaints related to trafficking of women" represent this perception. Such ignorance, intentional or not, directly interferes with identifying and dealing with this type of crime and delays the promotion of preventive actions.

It is hard to believe that police officers are unaware of this phenomenon, especially in light of the data presented here and the fact that Mozambique is a signatory to the 2000 UN-sponsored Palermo Protocol criminalizing human trafficking, especially that of women and children. The definition of this type of crime in Mozambique's Law No. 6, decreed on July 9, 2008 was fully transposed from the definitions used in the Palermo Protocol. Police also seem to ignore data from the 2014 Attorney General's report, which highlights occurrences of women trafficked for different types of exploitation, including sexual exploitation for prostitution. In this report, the Nampula province is specifically referred to as a place where this type of crime occurs.

This indifference thus seems to stem from the fact that the victims are considered Amalapo. The police belong to the same culture that stigmatizes prostitution and construes female prostitutes as people who compromise the harmonious coexistence of their communities, and therefore do not deserve attention or consideration. Police say in regard to female prostitutes that "they do not respect themselves," implying that they are more concerned with protecting women who behave according to local standards of sexual behavior and that the condition of prostitution is an abnormality, and thus should not be one of their concerns.

One police officer's comment is particularly enlightening: "there are cases where women like to prostitute themselves or do so by their own will; in some cases, it is a bad spirit that enters the woman and induces her to practice this activity." Such a manifestation is profoundly imbedded with the sacred attributes of the Mualy, which makes the victim responsible for her condition as an Amalapo. Other officer commented: "times are different now; before the Mualy taught women to take care of the home and her husband; [today], after the teachings, many girls use these lessons in sexual practices linked to benefits earned from men." The words of another officer clarify this point: "we have received complaints from many prostitutes and it being our professional obligation to attend to citizens' concerns, we welcome them and their demands, and advise them to leave behind this type of life."

This type of attitude denies the problem even though in 2002, 52 children disappeared from the Nampula province – occurrences that gave rise to the first National Debate on Combating Trafficking of

Human Beings. Following this event, a National Human Rights Plan was approved. However, until 2006, there were no official record of how many people were trafficked for prostitution since no legal provision for such crimes existed. Only in 2008, were the first cases of women trafficked to South Africa officially recognized by Mozambican institutions. In 2009, a specialized government sector dedicated to violence against women was finally created, called the Department of Assistance for Families and Victims of Domestic Violence (*Departamento de Atendimento à Família Vítima de Violência Doméstica*).

Osório (2013)'s comments are clarifying when he affirms that representations of sexuality play an important role in subjects' experiences and the normative standards that traditionally regulate them. This is perhaps one factor underlying the social intolerance of Mozambicans regarding the sexual behavior of women categorized as Amalapo or prostitutes. It also explains the lack interest of law enforcement authorities in treating the trafficking of women for prostitution as a human rights violation – one that should be prevented and controlled.

V. CONCLUSION

In the 19th century, officials in Europe were concerned about the trafficking of women for prostitution. They focused essentially on preventing the trafficking of white women to African colonies and other continents. During the twentieth century, and especially in the early twenty-first century, concerns about prostitution were placed within a more complex framework of human trafficking connected to attempts of illegal immigration, forced labor, and sexual exploitation.

The African continent has historically been affected by trafficking – from the capture of people to be sold into slavery within the colonial economy since 15th century, to the latest forced migration flows induced by wars, political problems, ethnic persecution and financial hardships. It is in this context, that we can understand the trafficking of Mozambican men and women, but more prominently women, for prostitution.

The failure of the Mozambican authorities to fully implement international agreements, to which the country is a signatory, stems from the country's institutional limitations. These limitations, in turn, are related to the devastating effects of two wars – a war for independence and a civil war – from which the nation is still recovering. On the other hand, it is also linked to the traditional cultural configuration of Mozambican society, which as we presented above, constitute how police in the city of Nampula represent and perceive prostitution and the women involved in these activities.

Mualy's ritual institution gives legitimacy to the sexual practices of Macua women, while legitimizing the

stigmatization of those who display Amalapo behavior. Thus, the legal instruments that criminalize the trafficking of women for prostitution do not resonate with local police perceptions of this phenomenon. The officers interviewed for this study largely see Amalapo women as responsible for their own condition since prostitution violate the harmony of social life and threatens families; these types of women, in their view, should have married and prostitution should not exist.

These values, when present in Mozambican policemen's worldview, result in a certain indifference to the problems of human trafficking and prostitution. As a consequence, they can help us understand and explain the failures of governmental actions to curb these activities. Because prostitution is identified as a characteristic of Amalapos means these women are not seen as victims, and the legal resources available to protect victims and prevent and combat these crimes are not applied. Rather, this phenomenon is simply viewed as socially inappropriate behavior. Prostitutes are thought to be responsible for his/her involvement in the activity and its consequences. Thus, while the legal apparatus that corresponds to the national republican State may contemplate a social practice as a crime, and it is recognized as such by international human rights treaties, the behavior of public security and criminal justice authorities, based in traditional values and references, can contribute to the permanence and reproduction of harmful criminal activities, such as human trafficking.

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Desarrollo De Habilidades Sociales De Jóvenes Con Discapacidad Intelectual Frente A La Insercion Laboral

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Resumen- El estudio tiene como objetivo determinar el desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales de jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual que cursan talleres laborales en contexto educativo formal e informal de la Comuna Santiago, Chile. Se enmarca en el enfoque cuantitativo, descriptivo, transeccional, mediante la aplicación de cuestionarios de tipo Likert al profesor/a que se encuentra situados dentro de contexto de investigación, quien da a conocer su apreciación con respecto la frecuencia con la cual más suceden ciertas situaciones que se plantean en relación a su estudiante. Entre los primeros hallazgos se puede indicar que las personas en situación de discapacidad, presentan un mayor nivel de desarrollo en las dimensiones de habilidades sociales básicas y adelantadas, por sobre las habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación y con las emociones.

Palabras clave: *habilidades sociales, jóvenes, discapacidad intelectual, talleres laborales, inserción laboral.*

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Desarrollo De Habilidades Sociales De Jóvenes Con Discapacidad Intelectual Frente A La Insercion Laboral

Emilio Rodríguez Macayo ^α, Nicole Leyton Solís ^σ, Melanie Navarrete Valdés ^ρ, Camila Villarroel Caro ^ω
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Resumen- El estudio tiene como objetivo determinar el desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales de jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual que cursan talleres laborales en contexto educativo formal e informal de la Comuna Santiago, Chile. Se enmarca en el enfoque cuantitativo, descriptivo, transeccional, mediante la aplicación de cuestionarios de tipo Likert al profesor/a que se encuentra situado dentro de contexto de investigación, quien da a conocer su apreciación con respecto a la frecuencia con la cual más suceden ciertas situaciones que se plantean en relación a su estudiante. Entre los primeros hallazgos se puede indicar que las personas en situación de discapacidad, presentan un mayor nivel de desarrollo en las dimensiones de habilidades sociales básicas y adelantadas, por sobre las habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación y con las emociones.

Palabras Clave: habilidades sociales, jóvenes, discapacidad intelectual, talleres laborales, inserción laboral.

I. INTRODUCCIÓN

Actualmente en Chile, el proceso de la inserción laboral de las personas con discapacidad intelectual se ha convertido en un desafío debido a las características propias de las exigencias del mercado laboral, ya que por lo general la mayoría de estas personas no han logrado adquirir las Habilidades Sociales necesarias para poder realizar una labor específica.

El desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales estudiantiles con discapacidad intelectual que se encuentran en etapa de formación previa a la inserción

laboral les debiera permitir no solo ingresar al mundo laboral sino que también mantener su permanencia en el trabajo.

Según Chacón y Morales (2013) las Habilidades Sociales son un conjunto de hábitos en la conducta, pero también a nivel de pensamientos y emociones, que permiten mejorar relaciones interpersonales lo que hará que nos sintamos mejor y nos ayudará a conseguir nuestros objetivos. Estas dos autoras, en sus distintos trabajos, nos explican que una parte importante de las habilidades sociales son los pensamientos, conductas, autoestima y sentimientos que nos permiten relacionarnos con los demás, de manera satisfactoria y eficaz.

A modo particular se ha demostrado que entre los egresados de los establecimientos educacionales que forman laboralmente a los jóvenes que presentan discapacidad intelectual, la mayoría no logra insertarse adecuadamente al mercado laboral, y los empleadores, a su vez, no encuentran en los postulantes los perfiles de calificación requeridos. (Bravo D., Peirano, Sevilla y Weintraub, citado en Vidal y Cornejo, 2012. p.15).

Lo anterior se evidencia en el segundo estudio nacional de la discapacidad en Chile (ENDISC-CIF 2015) donde se señala que, en el país, el 20% de las personas de 18 años o más (2.606.914) se encuentran en alguna situación de discapacidad. De este total se desprende que el 21,5% corresponde a niños, niñas y jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual en edad escolar. Otro dato relevante es que el 58,2% de las personas con discapacidad se encuentran inactivos, sin trabajo y solo el 39% se encuentran ocupados. Y de estos últimos un alto porcentaje lo hace en trabajos no remunerados.

Por otro lado, existen decretos reglamentarios en materia de discapacidad enmarcada en la reforma educacional chilena, que brindan apoyos y acompañamiento a los jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual en su trayectoria educativa previa a su inserción laboral. De ellos destaca el Decreto N°86./1990 del Ministerio de Educación (MINEDUC), el cual se refiere a los objetivos generales del nivel laboral, a saber:

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- Promover conductas y actitudes adecuadas para lograr un buen desempeño laboral.
- Favorecer la adquisición de aprendizajes que posibiliten la formación del joven para incorporarse a la vida laboral.
- Colaborar con el grupo familiar en la búsqueda de alternativas laborales acordes a las características del estudiante.

Dicho esto se esperaría que durante la etapa escolar, los estudiantes con discapacidad intelectual no solo adquieran competencias disciplinares sino también competencias transversales prácticas dentro de ellas las Habilidades Sociales, pieza clave para favorecer su futura inserción laboral.

Según lo anterior nos surge la necesidad de indagar en torno al nivel de desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales de los jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual que se encuentran en etapa educativa formal o informar previa a la inserción laboral dentro de la Comuna de Santiago, Chile. De este modo dar cuenta de cual es la o las habilidades que más predominan así como aquellas en las que hay que prestar una mayor atención.

II. FUNDAMENTACIÓN

Una de las mayores deudas que actualmente se mantienen para con las personas con discapacidad intelectual da cuenta del descuido con respecto a su formación en habilidades propias de la conducta adaptativa. Chile no está ajena a esta realidad y como plantean Montero y Lagos (2011) no solo obedece a los profesionales que actualmente están en ejercicio docente sino que cómo se integra con constructo en la formación profesional brindada en el Chile por las instituciones de educación superior.

Conforme a Dressler, Perelli, Feucht y Bargagna (2010) la conducta adaptativa se entiende como "ejecución de las actividades de cada día que se requieren para valerse en la actividad personal y social; o bien, como la eficiencia con la que un individuo afronta las exigencias naturales y sociales en su ambiente".

Cabe señalar que conducta adaptativa según Montero (2005) refiere a un conjunto de habilidades de autonomía personal necesarias para satisfacer las necesidades más básicas tales como, comida, higiene personal, vestido, entre otras. Junto con lo anterior destaca involucra el desarrollo de destrezas necesarias para ser miembro de la sociedad, esto es, capacidad para viajar independientemente, manejar dinero, expresarse mediante un lenguaje, aprender destrezas precisas para desempeñarse en un trabajo. Y finalmente mantener relaciones sociales responsables.

Esta claro que con el desarrollo de la conducta adaptativa se busca que las personas con discapacidad intelectual ganen en autonomía e

independencia en todas las acciones que ejecutan de forma diaria, lo que incluye las relaciones interpersonales y responsabilidad social.

Por otro lado Montero et al (2015) indican que la conducta adaptativa es el aspecto reversible de la discapacidad intelectual por lo que las Habilidades Sociales serían un aporte a la consecución de esta reversión, elevando indirectamente sus niveles de calidad de vida.

Tal y como afirma Leland (citado en Montero, 2006) la conducta adaptativa es el aspecto reversible de la discapacidad intelectual. Por consiguiente, una mejor conceptualización y medida de la misma podría contribuir significativamente en los actuales esfuerzos dirigidos mejorar la calidad de vida de las personas con discapacidad intelectual. Desde aquí, Barraca (2014) la modificación de conducta se puede definir como la aplicación sistemática de principios de aprendizaje y de la psicología experimental con el objetivo de eliminar, disminuir o cambiar conductas que no son adaptativas.

En la construcción colectiva del concepto de Habilidades Sociales existen muchas definiciones, sin embargo todas ellas coinciden en que el desarrollo de las Habilidades Sociales.

Ocurren en entornos y contextos específico y en determinadas personas, entre amigos, entre personas de diferentes sexo, entre la familia y sus relaciones más estrecha (padres, madres, hermanos y otros), en el trabajo (autoridad, compañeros del trabajo del mismo sexo y otros), en el jardín infantil, en la escuela, en liceo, en la universidad, en los lugares de diversión y de ocio". (Buela-Casal, Caballo y Sierra, 1996; Caballo, 2007; Campos y Martínez, 2009, en Rodríguez, Vidal y Cossio, 2018).

Por su parte Roca la define como

Un conjunto de hábitos que permiten a las personas relacionarse de manera eficaz y satisfactoria, a la vez que les permiten sentirse bien y lograr nuestras metas y objetivos sin que nadie lo pueda impedir. Esta autora apunta que el desarrollo de las habilidades sociales es un tema importante para todos, ya que muchos de nuestros problemas se deben a relaciones interpersonales complicadas; por ello expone que cualquier paso positivo en esta actitud supondría una mejoría en nuestro bienestar y calidad de vida. (2014).

Delgado, por su parte las considera como

Un conjunto de hábitos en la conducta, pero también a nivel de pensamientos y emociones, que nos permiten mejorar nuestras relaciones interpersonales lo que hará que nos sintamos mejor y nos ayudará a conseguir nuestros objetivos. Estas tres autoras, en sus distintas investigaciones nos explican que una parte importante de las

habilidades sociales son los pensamientos, conductas, autoestima y sentimientos que nos permiten relacionarnos con los demás, de manera satisfactoria y eficaz". (2017).

Autores como Garcíavincula las Habilidades Sociales con la discapacidad y manifiesta que:

"Aunque las habilidades sociales son aprendidas, en el caso de personas con discapacidad no hemos de dar nada por supuesto en cuanto a su conocimiento y en su manera de adquirirlo, ya que sus limitaciones les impiden alcanzar habilidades que otros niños adquieren espontáneamente. Hemos de enseñarles cada habilidad dejando que los alumnos la practiquen y no darla por aprendida hasta que demuestren que sean capaces de hacerlo y que lo hacen habitualmente en distintos entornos sociales". (2011)

Respecto de lo anterior, es posible señalar que las Habilidades Sociales constituyen un conjunto de complejos comportamientos interpersonales acompañados a factores de aprendizajes. Conforman la capacidad de la ejecución de conductas de intercambio con resultados favorables que permitan interactuar con sus pares y en entorno de manera socialmente aceptable: Saludar, sonreír, hacer y pedir favores, iniciar y mantener una conversación, evitar y manejar un agresión. Son comportamientos o pensamientos absolutamente instrumentales al desarrollo de la vida, que constituyen condiciones transversales para resolver conflictos en situaciones cotidianas. Al respecto, contemplan tres componentes: El logro de los objetivos cotidianos, mejorar situaciones de contexto y mantener una autoestima lo que implica manejarse desde una dimensión conductual, una dimensión personal y una dimensión situacional.

Acorde a lo anterior, Ruíz y Jaramillo (2010), señalan que las habilidades sociales constituyen un conjunto complejo de comportamiento interpersonal que dependen, en gran medida, de factores de aprendizajes. Los mismos autores consideran que implican las capacidades para organizar cogniciones y conductas en un trayecto de acciones dirigido hacia el logro de metas sociales. En este contexto se debe tener en cuenta los contextos enmarcados en los aspectos sociales, culturales y familiares desde una mirada de los procesos de la comunicación.

Rivas (2012) por su parte determina que las Habilidades Sociales son el repertorio de comportamiento que adquiere una persona para interactuar y relacionarse con sus iguales de forma efectiva.

Iruarrizaga, Gómez, Criado, Zuazo y Sastre (1997); Campos y Martínez (2009) se alinean con la definición de Caballo quien determina que las Habilidades Sociales son:

El conjunto de conductas emitidas por un individuo en un contexto interpersonal que expresa los sentimientos, actitudes, deseos, opiniones o derechos de ese individuo de un modo adecuado a la situación inmediata, respetando esas conductas en los demás, y que generalmente resuelve los problemas inmediatos de la situación mientras minimiza probabilidad de futuros problemas (1993).

Las Habilidades Sociales no hay que verlas como un todo más bien se debe atender a el conjunto de distintos hábitos frente a distintas situaciones. Desde acá según Morales, Benítez y Agustín (2013) discrimina entre Habilidades Sociales Básicas que hacen relación con la atención que se le presta a la persona, el como iniciar una conversación y mantenerla, el conversar con otro, el expresar agradecimientos, el presentar a nuevas personas con otras y decir lo que gusta de ellos; Habilidades Sociales Avanzadas, serían aquellas que consisten en pedir ayuda cuando se necesita, integrarse a un grupo en alguna actividad y pedir disculpas; Habilidades Relacionadas con las Emociones que implican comprender y reconocer las emociones que experimentan.

En la misma línea los autores también identifican Habilidades relacionadas con los Pares que consisten en ayudar a quien lo necesita, compartir las cosas, buscar llegar a acuerdos, utilizar diversas formas de resolver situaciones difíciles, entre otras. Suman aquellas Habilidades relacionadas con la Provocación que engloba acciones como hablar claro, escuchar y responder adecuadamente, planear cómo dar a conocer una opinión y decidir lo que se quiere sin que otras personas influyan. Las habilidades de Planificación que representan actividades alternas ante una situación molesta, tomar decisiones realistas de cómo se quiere realizar una tarea, determinar cuál de los numerosos problemas es el más importante.

Finalmente las Habilidades Sociales de Autodeterminación se relacionan según Wehmeyer y Schalock(2001) con la independencia funcional, autocontrol o autosuficiencia; capacidad y posibilidad de hacer elecciones, alude igualmente a las oportunidades, opciones, preferencias o prioridades; finalmente guarda relación con deseos y aspiraciones de la persona, expectativas, creencias, intereses o empoderamiento.

Las Habilidades Sociales se caracterizan según García (2012) y González (2013) por que:

- Van en función del contexto cambiante, en función de las distintas circunstancias, momentos y lugares en los que una persona se interrelaciona con otra. En cuanto a las personas con discapacidad intelectual tienen una dificultad mayor para saber adecuar su conducta a cada situación.
- Se deben considerar dentro de un marco cultural determinado, es decir, las habilidades sociales son

el resultado de la normativa social que hay en cada cultura. Por ejemplo, la comunicación varía según la cultura, incluso dentro de la misma ésta varía cuando tratamos con personas de diferente clase social, sexo, edad, etc. Independientemente de esto, toda persona de una misma cultura, incluidas obviamente personas con discapacidad, han de conocer y actuar bajo los patrones de esa normativa social.

- Varían a lo largo del tiempo. Todos debemos adaptarnos a las variaciones temporales que se producen. Por ejemplo, debemos tener en cuenta a la hora de comunicarnos a quién nos estamos dirigiendo, y dejar atrás el hablarle a una persona con discapacidad como si de un niño se tratara. Debemos tratar a los demás adecuándonos a la edad, independientemente de las necesidades y limitaciones que presente, lo que les ayudará a sentirse mejor y aceptarse ellos mismos.
- Deben adecuarse a lo que se desea lograr, es decir, es importante la existencia de metas, objetivos y motivación; eso sí, teniendo en cuenta que una conducta social adecuada en una situación, puede no ser la apropiada en otra. Esto, sobre todo, a personas con discapacidad intelectual se le hace más complicado, por lo cual es importante establecer unas normas básicas que sean útiles para un gran número de situaciones y que les sirvan a la hora de actuar.
- Se pueden adquirir, es decir, las conductas no son rasgos de la personalidad; por lo que se pueden adquirir a través del aprendizaje, se pueden cambiar y/o mejorar.

Es importante señalar que no hay características establecidas, no obstante existe claridad de que cuando una persona se comporta de forma adecuada o no frente a una determinada situación.

III. METODOLOGÍA

La investigación se realizó bajo el paradigma positivista. Corriente que asume que es posible desarrollar una investigación libre de valores. En donde la realidad es única y puede ser fragmentada para su análisis y las partes pueden ser manipuladas independientemente. La investigación positivista tiene un enfoque metodológico predominantemente cuantitativo. Esta corriente de pensamiento no admite como válidos otros conocimientos sino los que proceden de las ciencias empíricas. Para Kolakowski (1988) el positivismo es un conjunto de reglamentaciones que rigen el saber humano y que tiende a reservar el nombre de ciencia a las operaciones observables.

En cuanto al diseño este es de tipo estudio descriptivo- survey, transversal-transeccional, no experimental.

La población se constituyó por todos los estudiantes que cursan talleres laborales en contexto educativo formal e informal de la Comuna de Santiago, Chile.

La determinación específica del número de elementos a estudiar (unidades de análisis) fue por conveniencia. La muestra es de tipo probabilístico por conveniencia lo que indica que los participantes fueron intencionados de acuerdo a su disponibilidad obteniéndose un muestra final de 128 estudiantes con discapacidad intelectual.

Para la recolección de los datos se empleó como instrumento un cuestionario de escala tipo Likert diseñado a partir de la Escala de Habilidades Sociales de Goldstein, & col. (1987) traducido y adaptado en su lenguaje en Chile al Cuestionario para evaluar el nivel de habilidades sociales de personas en situación de discapacidad para la inserción laboral por Vidal, Cossío, Rodríguez, y Ruay, (2017), adaptado en su contenido y sometido a validación de juicio experto por Leyton, Navarrete, Rodríguez, y Villarroel, (2109).

El cuestionario (en anexo) consta de dos partes, la primera recoge información de los antecedentes generales de cada estudiante (Nombre, escuela, género, diagnóstico, edad, etc.). Mientras que en la segunda parte se compone de 43 ítems, según se observa en la tabla 1, agrupados en 6 dimensiones diferentes y el formato de respuesta es tipo likert con 5 opciones que van de las opciones nunca sucede a sucede siempre. (Ver tabla 1)

Tabla 1: Dimensiones del Cuestionario con sus ítems.

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Dimensiones	Ítem
Habilidades Sociales Básicas	1 al 7
Habilidades Sociales Adelantadas	8 al 15
Habilidades Sociales Relacionadas con las Emociones	16 al 23
Habilidades Sociales Relacionadas con la Provocación	24 al 31
Habilidades Sociales Relacionadas con los Pares	32 al 37
Habilidades Sociales Relacionadas con la Autodeterminación	38 al 43

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Para la validez interna y externa se utilizó inicialmente, la validación por juicio de expertos. Para ello se realiza un análisis del instrumento Cuestionario para evaluar el nivel de habilidades sociales de personas en situación de discapacidad para la inserción laboral por Vidal, Cossío, Rodríguez y Ruay, (2017) decidiendo como equipo efectuar algunas adecuaciones en la redacción y posteriormente someterlo a validación de juicio experto, dando como resultado un cuestionario de 43 ítems agrupados en 6 dimensiones de los 50 ítems originales.

Cabe destacar que la consistencia interna del instrumento se determinó mediante el cálculo del coeficiente Alfa de Cronbach obteniendo un valor de 0,95 lo que supone un excelente grado de confiabilidad del mismo

La aplicación fue de tipo tradicional, lápiz y papel, siendo los docentes responsables de cada estudiante quienes responden el cuestionario reflejando su opinión o valoración respecto a cada una de las afirmaciones expresadas en el cada ítem del cuestionario. Cada docente recibe un consentimiento informado y un cuestionario.

Una vez recolectados los datos proporcionados por el instrumento, se procedió al análisis estadístico respectivo. Se aplica estadígrafos, análisis de frecuencias, presentación de figuras y tablas con sus respectivos comentarios. Entre las medidas de tendencia central se aplican mediana, promedios y porcentajes. En cuanto a las medidas de dispersión se realiza mediante desviación estándar y análisis de varianza. Toda la información se procesó mediante paquete estadístico para las Ciencias Sociales (SSPS) Versión 20.

Según se destaca en la tabla 2 y en función de la variable "Género" es posible señalar que en la categoría "Masculino" hay una presencia de 76 unidades de análisis, lo que supone un 59,4 % por bajo la categoría "Femenino" con una presencia de 52 lo que implica un 40,6 %. En la función de la variable "Edad" es posible señalar que 38 unidades se ubican en una categoría de "Entre 17 y 19 años 11 meses de edad" lo que supone un 29,7%. Le sigue la categoría "Entre 20 y 22 años 11 meses de edad" con 36 unidades que equivalen a 28,1%. La categoría de "Entre 23 y 26 años y 11 meses de edad" sigue con 26 unidades lo que hace un 20,3%. Con 24 unidades y un 18,8% la categoría de "Mas de 26 años" y finalmente la categoría "Entre 14 a 16 años y 11 meses de edad" con 4 unidades y un 3,1%. Llama la atención que 75 son estudiantes de escuelas de carácter Público lo que hace un 58,6 % mientras que 42 acuden a escuelas de carácter Privado, es decir un 32,8 % y solo 11 de ellos,

un 8,6 lo hacen en escuelas de carácter Subvencionado. (Ver tabla 2)

Tabla 2: Características de los estudiantes estudiados en función del Género, Edad y Tipo de Establecimiento al que asisten (N= 128)

		fi	%
Género			
	Femenino	52	40,6
	Masculino	76	59,4
		128	100,0
Edad			
	Entre 14 y 16 a 11m	04	3,1
	Entre 17 y 19 a 11m	38	29,7
	Entre 20 y 22 a 11m	36	28,1
	Entre 23 y 26 a	26	20,3
	Más de 26 a	24	18,8
		128	100,0
Tipo de Escuela			
	Municipal	75	58,6
	Sudvencionado	11	8,6
	Particular	42	32,8
		128	100,0

Fuente: Elaboración propia

IV. ANÁLISIS DE RESULTADOS

A continuación, se presenta el análisis de resultados, en donde en la Tabla 3, muestra el promedio y porcentaje obtenido en cada una de las Dimensiones que constituyen el cuestionario. Al respecto señalar que los mayores niveles de desarrollo de las Habilidades Sociales se encuentran en aquellos que dicen relación con las Habilidades Sociales Básicas con un promedio de 4,1 junto con las Habilidades Adelantadas con un promedio de 4,0. Les siguen las que hacen relación con la Provocación y las relacionadas con los Pares con un promedio de 3,9. Por debajo de ellas se sitúan las relacionadas con las Emociones 3,6 y como mas descendidas las relacionadas con la Autodeterminación con un promedio de 3,5. (Ver tabla 3).

Tabla 3: Promedio y Porcentaje por Dimensiones de Estudio.

	X	%	DS
Habilidades sociales básicas	4,1	81,43	1,03
Habilidades sociales adelantadas	4,0	79,49	0,99
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con las emociones	3,6	72,13	1,02
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la provocación	3,9	77,68	1,01
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con los pares	3,9	78,49	1,06
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación	3,5	70,55	1,01
	3,8	76,55	1,02

Fuente: Elaboración Propia

Según se observa en la tabla 4 es posible señalar, a modo general, que hay un desempeño parejo de las Habilidades Sociales en ambas categorías promedio 3,8. De la tabla se desprende que el nivel de desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales relacionadas con la Autodeterminación en la categoría "Masculino" es la más descendida con un promedio 3,5 equivalente a un 69,61%, siendo las Habilidades Sociales Básicas con un mayor nivel de desarrollo con un promedio 4,1 equivalente a un 81,24%. Llama la atención que los

resultados o desempeños de la categoría "Masculino" en el nivel de desarrollo señalado son muy similares a los apreciados en la categoría "Femenino". Por su parte, en la categoría "Femenino", los niveles de desarrollo más descendidos corresponden a aquellas relacionadas con la Autodeterminación con un promedio de 3,5 equivalente a un 70,83%. En la misma categoría las Habilidades Sociales Básicas presentan el mayor nivel de desarrollo con un 4,1 de promedio correspondiente al 81,70%. (ver tabla 4).

Tabla 4: Niveles de desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales en cuanto al Género.

	Masculino		Femenino		Total	
	X	%	X	%	X	%
Habilidades sociales básicas	4,1	81,24	4,1	81,70	4,1	81,43
Habilidades sociales adelantadas	4,0	79,74	4,0	79,13	4,0	79,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con las emociones	3,6	71,91	3,6	72,45	3,6	72,13
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la provocación	3,8	77,63	3,6	77,76	3,9	77,68
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con los pares	3,9	78,95	3,9	77,82	3,9	78,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación	3,5	69,61	3,5	70,83	3,5	70,10
Total	3,8	76,51	3,8	76,62	3,8	76,55

Fuente: Elaboración Propia

Entre la variable Edad y sus diferentes distribuciones es posible señalar que el desarrollo relacionado con Autodeterminación se advierte como el más descendido con un promedio de 3,5 con un porcentaje del 70,10%, en especial en la categoría "Entre 23 a 26 años" con un promedio de 3,3 con un porcentaje del 65,77%. De mismo modo el mayor nivel de desarrollo de las Habilidades Sociales se observa en la dimensión relacionada Habilidades Sociales Básicas obteniendo un promedio de 4.0 con un 81,43%. De la tabla se desprende que los resultados o comportamientos en la categoría "Entre 14 y 16.11

años" la dimensión Habilidades Sociales relacionada con los Pares aparece con un desarrollo mayor al resto con un promedio de 4,0 lo que equivale a un 79,17%, siendo la más descendida la dimensión Habilidades Sociales relacionadas con las Emociones con un promedio 3,5 equivalente a un 70,63%. Lo anterior es coincidente con la categoría "Entre 17y 20.11 años". Mención especial refiere la categoría "Más de 26 años" donde las dimensiones Habilidades Sociales relacionadas con los Pares aparece como la más descendida con un promedio de 3,6 equivalente a un 72,08%. (ver tabla 5)

Tabla 5: Niveles de desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales en cuanto a la Edad.

	Entre 14 y 16. 11m		Entre 17 y 20. 11m		Entre 21 y 22. 11m		Entre 23 y 36		Más de 26		Total	
	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%
Habilidades sociales básicas	3,6	71,43	4,0	79,85	4,2	84,44	4,0	80,66	4,1	81,90	4,0	81,43
Habilidades sociales adelantadas	3,7	74,38	3,9	78,22	4,1	81,67	3,8	76,54	4,1	82,29	3,9	79,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con las emociones	3,5	70,63	3,6	72,57	3,7	73,33	3,5	69,42	3,6	72,81	3,6	72,13
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la provocación	3,6	72,14	3,8	76,88	4,0	79,54	3,8	75,54	4,0	79,00	3,9	77,68
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con los pares	4,0	79,17	4,1	81,49	4,0	79,54	3,9	78,46	3,6	72,08	3,9	79,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación	3,6	71,67	3,6	71,75	3,5	69,26	3,3	65,77	3,7	73,19	3,5	70,10
	3,6	73,23	3,8	76,79	3,8	78,01	3,7	74,19	3,5	76,80	3,7	76,55

Fuente: Elaboración Propia

Respectivamente de la variable "Tipo de Escuela" y sus diferentes categorías es posible señalar que el nivel de desarrollo de las habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación se advierte como la más descendida en todos sus promedios, presentado un promedio general de 3,5 lo que equivale a un 70,10%. Del mismo modo es posible señalar que el mejor nivel de desarrollo lo encontramos en aquellas habilidades que hacen relación con habilidades sociales básicas con un promedio de 4,1 con un porcentaje del 81,43% junto con aquellas que hacen

relación con las habilidades sociales adelantadas al con un promedio de 4,0 y un porcentaje equivalente al 79,49%. Es importante advertir que los estudiantes que acceden a escuelas de carácter subvencionados presentan un desempeño significativamente por sobre el promedio en todas las categorías, esto se grafica en un promedio de 4,3 lo que hace un porcentaje del 86,66%, destacando el desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales Básicas con un promedio 4,6 equivalentes a un 92,47%. (Ver tabla 6)

Tabla 6: Niveles de desarrollo de Habilidades Sociales en cuanto al Tipo de Escuela.

	Municipal		Subvencionado		Particular		Total	
	X	%	X	%	X	%	X	%
Habilidades sociales básicas	4,0	80,84	4,6	92,47	4,0	79,59	4,1	81,43
Habilidades sociales adelantadas	4,0	80,20	4,5	89,32	3,8	75,65	4,0	79,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con las emociones	3,6	72,90	4,1	88,64	3,4	67,74	3,6	72,13
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la provocación	3,8	77,98	4,1	88,64	3,7	74,33	3,9	77,68
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con los pares	4,0	80,36	4,2	88,7	3,7	73,65	3,9	78,49
Habilidades sociales relacionadas con la autodeterminación	3,6	72,04	4,1	88,64	3,2	63,57	3,5	70,10
	3,8	77,39	4,3	86,66	3,6	72,42	3,9	76,55

Fuente: Elaboración Propia

V. CONCLUSIONES

El objetivo de este estudio buscó determinar el desarrollo de habilidades sociales de jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual que cursan talleres laborales en contexto educativo formal e informal de la Comuna Santiago de Chile. Para tal efecto se aplicó un cuestionario de habilidades sociales con seis dimensiones y 43 preguntas.

Entre los resultados obtenidos es posible señalar, a modo general, que todos los estudiantes presentan un aceptable nivel de desarrollo de habilidades sociales salvo en aquellas relacionadas con la autodeterminación y las emociones.

Lo anterior es coincidente con que actualmente en Chile, en la mayoría de los casos, los apoyos a jóvenes con discapacidad intelectual no contemplan acciones vinculadas con la autodeterminación, partiendo del hecho que no existen instrumentos de evaluación que permitan levantar información de las necesidades en este aspecto.

Debido del papel significativo que juega la Autodeterminación en los niveles de Calidad de Vida de las personas con discapacidad intelectual, este hallazgo supone la necesidad de que los estudiantes sean apoyados en aspectos tales como independencia funcional, autocontrol, capacidad de hacer elecciones,

preferencias e intereses, aspiraciones y deseos personales.

De igual manera también hay que prestar atención a las habilidades relacionadas con las Emociones lo que implica que los estudiantes sean apoyados con acciones propias para conocer sus emociones, tomar iniciativas, conocer y enfrentar las emociones de los demás y resolver problemas de desconfianza.

Finalmente señalar que se anexa el cuestionario quedando a disposición de quién quisiera aplicarlo enviando los datos al correo del autor principal erodriguez@ucsh.cl.

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ANEXO

CUESTIONARIO DE HABILIDADES SOCIALES DE PERSONAS EN SITUACIÓN DE DISCAPACIDAD PARA LA INSERCIÓN LABORAL.

(Vidal-Espinoza, R.; Cossío-Bolaños, M.; Rodríguez-Macayo, E.; Ruay-Garcés, R.)

(Adaptado por Leyton-Solís, A.; Navarrete-Valdés, M.; Rodríguez-Macayo, E.; Villarroel-Caro, C.)

Con el presente cuestionario se pretende evaluar el nivel de desarrollo de las habilidades sociales en estudiantes en situación de discapacidad para su ingreso al trabajo. En esta escala no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, solamente respuestas que reflejan la opinión o valoración que usted realiza respecto a la afirmación expresada en cada ítem.

Por favor, responde con sinceridad a todos los ítems; se trata de un cuestionario totalmente anónimo y confidencial. ¡Muchas gracias por su colaboración!!

DATOS SOCIODEMOGRÁFICOS

Género : M ___ F ___ Edad: ___ años ___ meses.	Escuela : <input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> Particular <input type="checkbox"/> Subvencionada Comuna: _____
Diagnóstico: _____ Año de Ingreso a la escuela _____ Nivel que cursa en la escuela _____	Ha asistido a pasantía laboral en la comunidad: SI ___ NO ___ Ha participado en algún trabajo remunerado: SI ___ NO ___

A continuación, marca con una X para indicar la frecuencia con la cual más sucede

- (1) Nunca Sucede (3) Sucede algunas veces (5) Sucede siempre
(2) Sucede muy pocas veces (4) Sucede bastantes veces

HABILIDADES SOCIALES BÁSICAS						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
1	Escucha atentamente a quien le habla e interactúa en señal de comprensión					
2	Acepta una sugerencia con relación a lo que está haciendo					
3	Inicia una conversación					
4	Mantiene una conversación sin perder el tema central					
5	Hace preguntas cuando tiene desconocimiento sobre lo que está realizando					
6	Agradece cuando se le ayuda o hace un favor					
7	Es capaz de presentarse diciendo su nombre y función					
HABILIDADES SOCIALES ADELANTADAS						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
8	Solicita ayuda cuando la requiere					
9	Entrega ayuda cuando se le solicita					

10	Participa con sus pares en tareas de colaboración					
11	Sigue una instrucción correctamente o se autocorrige					
12	Entrega instrucciones claras					
13	Pide disculpas frente a una falta					
14	Es capaz de dirigirse a un superior					
15	Solicita una información relevante para la realización de una tarea					
HABILIDADES SOCIALES RELACIONADAS CON LAS EMOCIONES						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
16	Conoce sus propias emociones.					
17	expresa sus emociones					
18	Toma una iniciativa frente a una situación que requiere cambios o innovación					
19	Conoce las emociones o sentimientos de otros					
20	Se enfrenta al enojo de otros					
21	Expresa simpatía					
22	Maneja sus impulsos en forma adecuada					
23	Reconoce y maneja su frustración					
HABILIDADES SOCIALES RELACIONADAS CON LA PROVOCACIÓN						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
24	Pide permiso a la persona y en el momento indicado					
25	Apoya a otros que lo necesitan o requieren					
26	Defiende sus derechos					
27	Reconoce una broma					
28	Evita los conflictos					
29	No reacciona de manera agresiva ante una agresión (verbal, física)					
30	Responde a una acusación					
31	Enfrenta las presiones del grupo					
HABILIDADES SOCIALES RELACIONADAS CON LOS PARES						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
32	Racionaliza su tiempo de ocio equilibrando con sus tareas y funciones					
33	Tiene amigos con quien compartir					
34	Es capaz de establecer relaciones con otras personas					
35	Con frecuencia sale a lugares de ocio					
36	Demuestra interés en compartir sin temor al rechazo					
37	Manifiesta capacidad para trabajar en equipo					
HABILIDADES SOCIALES RELACIONADAS CON LA AUTODETERMINACIÓN.						
N°	INDICADORES	1	2	3	4	5
38	Muestra capacidad para tomar decisiones realistas					
39	Sus decisiones son en función de sus intereses					
40	Sus decisiones son en función de sus capacidades					
41	Su toma de decisiones son reflexivas					
42	Toma decisiones sobre situaciones de la vida diaria					
43	Toma decisiones en función de situaciones de la vida laboral					



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Dehumanizing the Indian Labor Forces in the Arab Gulf Countries: When the Voiced is Silenced

By Mr. Mansour Ali Mohammad Almaswari

Dr. B.A.M University

Abstract- Around the globe, among every six people, one is Indian. India famously refers to as the "Incredible cradle of civilization." It is the home place of diversity, multiculturalism, integrity, and peace. For thousands of years, Indian people have nonviolently struggled a lot for equality, freedom and justice; and portrayed a positive image of good human beings both nationally, and supranationally. On the international level, India has historically maintained close and friendly relations with many Arab and Islamic countries where many Indian migrants head for in search of a living. The Indian Diaspora is dominant in today's world of migration. In the Gulf Arab States, for example, the Indian community represents the salient number of expatriate residents. They have been playing pivotal roles in the development and progress of the Gulf States. Yet, many of them lack the fundamental human rights. Their contribution is undervalued and unseen by the egoism of the Gulf native residents.

Keywords: *Dehumanization, Sponsorship System, Exploitation, Bonded Labor System, Indian Community, Arab Gulf States, Objectification, Dignity, and Human Being Trafficking.*

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Abstract- Around the globe, among every six people, one is Indian. India famously refers to as the "Incredible cradle of civilization." It is the home place of diversity, multiculturalism, integrity, and peace. For thousands of years, Indian people have nonviolently struggled a lot for equality, freedom and justice; and portrayed a positive image of good human beings both nationally, and supranationally. On the international level, India has historically maintained close and friendly relations with many Arab and Islamic countries where many Indian migrants head for in search of a living. The Indian Diaspora is dominant in today's world of migration. In the Gulf Arab States, for example, the Indian community represents the salient number of expatriate residents. They have been playing pivotal roles in the development and progress of the Gulf States. Yet, many of them lack the fundamental human rights. Their contribution is undervalued and unseen by the egoism of the Gulf native residents. Large numbers of the Indian expatriates are objectified. They voicelessly experience degradation, underestimation, and cruelty; and feel that they are unfairly treated and degraded. This paper, thus, sets out to painstakingly examine the exploitation and cruel destiny the Indian workforce encounters in the Arab Gulf States, unearths the actual darkness of the Indian community in the KSA & UAE; and brings into light Indian expatriates contribution to the progress and luxurious life in the Gulf States; and at the same time how these communities vilify the Indian working force based on ethnic and religious standards.

Keywords: *Dehumanization, Sponsorship System, Exploitation, Bonded Labor System, Indian Community, Arab Gulf States, Objectification, Dignity, and Human Being Trafficking.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, the Gulf Cooperation Council States (GCC) of the KSA, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and UAE in the Arabic Peninsula have constituted a chief destination for global labor force migration. Due to the increasing demand of oil industry, dynamic global marketing and capitalism, the flow of foreign migrants to these oil-rich states have recorded the highest ratio in the world. Many work power migrants from non-Gulf Arabs, Asians, Africans Europeans, and the entire globe make the Arab Gulf

states their preferred destination for mainly two considerations; "Firstly, the regions intrinsic position at the heart of the world's reliance on fossil fuels and secondly, the region's extrinsic dependence on the world for its manpower needs"¹ (Cyrill 40).

However, South Asian migrants from the Indian subcontinent constitute the largest non-national community in the GCC states, and Indian workforces have the lion's share of the human capital in the oil-rich countries. They occupy the highest number of man force. Indian workers "Have proven to be less of an ideological threat to the host states as they largely refrain from participating in any organized protests or anti-regime activities. They generally tolerate lower wages and tend to migrate without their families... easier to segregate, easier to lay off and are considered to be more efficient and easier to manage. They usually do not interact much with the local population, do not make claims upon the state for benefits and may be expelled from the country with far fewer political repercussions (43)"² Besides, the Indian working community's presence is crystal clear in the Arabic Peninsula. It is in a constant state of flow because of the scarcity of better working opportunities in their own country and the proximity of the oil-rich region to India.

The potent presence of the Indians laborers in the Gulf States, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, is confronted with many challenges and obstacles, almost the same way any other workforce form non-Gulf Arabs, Africans, and Asians encounter. But the ill-treatment Indian workers perceive is a general tendency and a social phenomenon in the Gulf societies. This negative phenomenon of badly treating the workers in the GCC states can better be understood in the way the Indian workers are humiliated, exploited and challenged in dignity and denied in their characters. In countries like Oman and Bahrain, the ill-treatment is less because the social gap between citizens and expatriates is narrower due to the active participation of the native citizens, active working mechanisms through

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¹ Cyrill, Melissa Marilyn. *The Impact of Work forces Nationalisations on Indian Expatriates in the GCC States: A Case study of the U.A.E.* New Delhi: Centre for Western Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2015, p. 40 M A Thesis

² Ibid, p. 43

which the worker- sponsor relationship is vividly stated and the lower percentage of expatriates in these countries in comparison with the original people. In Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE, “where the percentage of migrant workers accounts for more than half the total population” structural violence reports against the outside workers are high because the “sponsorship system is not just one institution among others; it is the central institution, one that defines identities, rights, and obligations.”³ (Longava 22) Though positive initiatives have been taken to make working laws more flexible to protect the workers’ rights, still Gulf Countries are so late in issues of outside workers’ rights and protection, if compared to other hosting countries in Europe or America. Expatriate workers in the Gulf States are dependent on the sponsors, media sponsors, or the hosting states misreport their tragedy.

In this research, however, dehumanization and exploitation as a phenomenon will be confined and critically verbalized to the Indian working community in the KSA and UAE as both countries host the highest number of Indian laboring community.

II. THE STATUS OF INDIAN WORKFORCES IN THE KSA & UAE: A SWIFT OUTLOOK

Like any migrant workers from all walks of life, the Indian working laborers migrate in search of better opportunities they did not find in their homelands. They anticipate to make a better life for their children, families; and to secure their future too. Yet, many of their dreams shatter as the glittering image media portrays in their minds of better chances abroad, particularly in the Gulf States are, in fact, a matter of luck because the reality contradicts that image. Many obstacles hinder their stability and unsecure their rights, starting from the visa grant until their journey of hardships in the host countries. Sponsorship problems, migration policies, mobility restrictions, bonded labor works, exploitation, abuse, and freedom and rights confiscation are examples of the hardships many unskilled Indian workers confront in the Gulf countries they work.

While migrant labors’ exploitation, abuse, and victimization are universal phenomena, the scope of dehumanization and violation in the Gulf Arab countries is incomparable. Tracing the reports and researches in this regard dreads the hearts. There, “oil and money can do whatever those people want without consideration to human dignity, rights, or personal freedom. Oil is thicker than outsiders’ blood, and money is more important

than the laborers’ dignity. Common humanity is an absent concept, and self centricity domains the psyche of most of these [Saudi] people. Citizenship is the only criterion of justice, mercy, dignity, and freedom.”⁴ Dr. Mohammed Ansari comments. Many reports record the highest number of abuse and humiliation in these two countries on the regional and global levels.

As almost all the non-European or American expatriates, many of the Indian laborers daily and recurrently experience different types of segregation, humiliation, and injustice. Dr. Shamlan Yousef, an Arab intellectual, clearly acknowledged that “No one can deny the fact that policies of discrimination and oppression are being practiced in the Gulf countries against the foreign workforces in terms of low salaries, long working hours and absence of rights.”⁵ Indian workers find themselves subjected to abuse that amount to a force labor and are perceived as objects or properties by many people of the KSA and UAE. Thus, exploitation of the Indian workforce is marked in the way many workers are requested to forcefully work beyond the conditions of the bond of the sponsors. Many sponsors fully exploit their workers because none can question them in their homelands or so they think. They make use of the laborers for whatever they want, and in case the workers refuse, they are easily kicked out; their stay visas are cancelled and in many cases, they are beaten and sent behind bars.

The subject-object boundary between the sponsors and Indian workers in the Arab Gulf countries widens due to the sponsors’ ego culture of objectification. The self-centric culture of some sponsors leads to an ethical gap that violates the migrant workers’ freedom and confiscates their rights. Some Sponsors consider themselves as masters who possess workers like any object. The problem of ego objectification is well represented and well seen by the eyes of the ill-treated and victimized people. In this particular point, John Rector remarks, “It is often difficult for those who are oriented toward the having mode to understand or appreciate the lives of those who live more according to being. They often accuse such individuals of “doing nothing,” or at least, of not doing anything productive”⁶ (Rector 124).

Additionally, many Gulf People, like their ruling elites, sum themselves up in terms of what they possess to prove that they weight in their societies as individuals.

³ Anh Nga, Longva. Keeping Migrant Workers in Check: The Kafala System in the Gulf. Middle East Report, No. 211, Trafficking and Transiting: New Perspectives on Labor Migration (Summer, 1999), pp. 20-22. Middle East Research and Information Project, Inc. (MERIP), P. 22

⁴ Dr. Mohammed Shaukat Ansari, is an Associate Professor in English, M. L.S. M. College, Darbhanga, Bihar, India. He has been to Saudi Arabia for a couple of years as an Academician and a Former Professor of English in the MOHE, Saudi Arabia. [Personal Interview at Osmania University Centre for International Programs ‘OUCIP’, Osmania University, Hyderabad-India. Friday, January 19th, 2018 at 5:15 Pm.

⁵ <http://www.mei.edu/content/migration-and-human-rights-gulf>

⁶ Rector John M. *The Objectification Spectrum: Understanding and Transcending our Diminishment and Dehumanization of Others*. Oxford University Press, p. 124. Print.

Their psyches have been systemized in a way that would articulate what Eckhart Tolle once said, "I have. Therefore I am, and the more I have, the more I am"⁷ (Tolle 45). In contrast, John M. Rector in *The Objectification Spectrum: Understanding and Transcending our Diminishment and Dehumanization of Others* rebukes the 'Having Mode' that many Gulf people think and act. He rather asserts the 'Being Mode' as a lifestyle for the well educated and cultured communities. He further points out:

*The being mode of existence grounds life on the authenticity, aliveness, or quality of experience. In this mode, we are not oriented toward having, nor do we crave any specific possessions, but nonetheless, we are peaceful and have access to a full range of physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual/intuitive faculties, which we utilize productively. In the being mode, we feel "at one" with the world. The having and being modes have straightforward implications on our tendencies to objectify others. They represent opposing ends of spectrum typifying our fundamental orientation to the world. Both are firmly rooted in human experience; we all live in both modes to one degree or another*⁸ (Rector 120)

As a result of the 'Having Mode' sense, many Gulf people have become less kind-hearted, and their behaviors and treatment with the expatriates became intolerable. Indian working class, unfortunately, has been victimized variously as an outcome of such an egoistic culture. The following sections depict some of the challenges the Indian workmen community undergoes in the above-mentioned countries.

III. SPONSORSHIP SYSTEM IN THE GCC: THE EMBODIMENT OF MODERN-DAY SLAVERY

The Arabic term *Kafala*, which means guardianship or sponsorship, is a rule in force and a strict system implemented by the Gulf States to organize and monitor the migrant labor force flow in the region. It is a structure that is planned to ensure full structural dependency on the sponsor. Due to the absence of a free and transparent labor market in the Gulf countries, "The kafala system, which has been described as modern-day slavery, leaves migrant laborers vulnerable to human trafficking and forced labor practices, and has resulted in gross human rights abuses. The system is described as a form of 'structural violence' by which employers confiscate passports and report "absconding" workers to authorities to avoid punishment themselves"⁹ (Sevil Sonmez, etal 19).The

Kafala system gives the sponsors almost full control over sponsored migrants' salary, living conditions, mobility, working hours, the ability to work elsewhere, or even leaving the host country back home.

Dehumanizing labor forces in the Gulf States in the name of sponsorship is a prominent feature and a daily incident. It has been institutionalized in the name of guardianship, a slave-like system that grants sponsor or guarantor an absolute authority on the guarantee. Many international human rights organizations repeatedly condemn the pathetic conditions of the over-crowded accommodations, the deprivation of health insurance, irregular payments of wages and salaries, and the increasing working hours with lower wages. Human Rights Watch reports sound horrible for the condition of the laborers in these countries. "Many [migrant workers] suffer abuses and exploitation, sometimes amounting to conditions of forced labor"¹⁰ Sponsor and labor agencies and companies deal with labors as objects and working machines with no regard for human life. Moral consciousness has no place in the guarantors' dictionary.

Expulsion without reason is a further violation worth mentioning. International laws and conventions on the migrants' rights are ignored by the Gulf countries and their labor laws do not meet the lowest standards of protection for migrants. "The culture of rights is weak in our societies; unless we enhance this culture at the regional level, migrant workers will continue to be exploited and their rights would be abused"¹¹ Khowla Mattar, a senior specialist on workers' rights at the ILO's regional office for Arab states, said. She also noted that "Gulf States habitually deny the problem of human trafficking and human rights abuses towards migrant workers...The labor laws in the Gulf are not compatible with international conventions. Rather, companies continue to prosper at the expense of poor workers."¹²

In the UAE, for example, where reports clarify that the foreigners' percentage accounts for more than eighty-five percent of the total population; sponsorship is a central system that defines rights, obligations and migrants' identities. Sponsors whether institutions, individuals, or agents address many workers including the Indians very cruelly; challenge their freedom and forcefully mute their voices. Indian workers are to be deported if they accept working with another sponsor without the consent of the original guarantor. Sponsors set unfair labor contracts that mislead random wage rates, long working hours, very pathetic conditions of

⁷ Qt in Rector John M. *The Objectification Spectrum .Understanding and Transcending our Diminishment and Dehumanization of Others*. Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 120

⁸ Rector, M. John. *The Objectification Spectrum: Understanding and Transcending our Diminishment and Dehumanization of Others*. Oxford University Press, p. 120. Print

⁹ Sönmez, Sevil, ApostolopoulosYorghos, Tran Diane and Rentrope Shantyanana. "Human Rights and Health Disparities for Migrant Workers

in the UAE." The President and Fellows of Harvard College: Center for Health and Human Rights Stable: Health and Human Rights, Vol. 13, No. 2, December 2011, P. 19 Accessed: 05-01-2018

¹⁰ Indian Maids in Saudi Arabia, T.V repot shown on RT Channel and discusses the Slave in Saudi Arabia https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQNWX_a533M

¹¹ <http://www.mei.edu/content/migration-and-human-rights-gulf>

¹² <http://www.mei.edu/content/migration-and-human-rights-gulf>

overcrowded accommodation and a total absence of health insurance.

Sponsored workers remain dependent on the mercy and goodwill of the sponsor to stay in the host country. These things form the most violating and abusing aspects of the region's labor regulating system, and this rule "hampers both the migrant's freedom of movement and the free functioning of labor market. The mobility of labor that markets require is hindered by sponsorship legislation"¹³ (Fargues, BelAir, and Shah: 3).

IV. DEHUMANIZING AND EXPLOITING THE INDIAN LABOR FORCES IN THE KSA

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is, undoubtedly, the largest economy in the Arab region. More than any other country in the GCC States, Saudi Arabia has been seen as a haven for Indian subcontinent job seekers as it hosts the largest number of expatriate working force in varied sectors, particularly in the construction, cleanliness, domestic jobs and oil industry. For the Indian workers, the KSA is a favored destination with almost 3.5 million workers in many sectors and constitutes the major number of expatriates. Tracing their conditions, many Indian laborers find themselves trapped on false promises to work there with agent companies and sponsors. Some agents exploit the Indian workers, charging them lakhs of rupees for visa issuance in false commitments of granting them getting high rate wages. Agents sign contacts with them to work in specific companies and specific workplaces with 'a bonded labor system', and when they start working, workers are blackmailed by their companies for extra working hours, overloaded works, and fewer wages than stated in the contracts. They became twice scapegoats of the agents' exploitation and companies' blackmailing. Many Indian workers have the belief that these present-day gulf Arab people are the epitome of evil. Marcus Düwell, in his book entitled *Humiliation, Degradation, and Dehumanization-Human Dignity Violated* describes the pathetic conditions, abuse and segregation bonded labor system workers are exposed to as follows:

The conditions of subjugation within bonded labor relations with regard to the laborers' experiences of deprivation, degradation, and annihilation, and the violations of dignity that may result. It is argued that seemingly comparable humiliating conditions may be processed and dealt with differently by different bonded laborers... Once we stop reducing bonded laborers to their bondage and pay attention to their collective and individual identities, their social practices and social spaces, we may not only be in a position to grasp the extent of violations

*suffered individually but also to identify the resources that may allow for the limiting, negating or negotiating of those violations*¹⁴ (p. 191).

Another example of the Indian workforce ordeal and segregation is the tragedy of thousands of the destitute Indian laborers who were stranded in the KSA due to the oil price slumps and financial bankruptcy of some Saudi companies in the last five years. They were in turmoil after losing their jobs in their companies and, their salaries were denied for a couple of months. They could neither afford home nor even afford to buy food to survive. Only the Indian government interfered and sent them food and urgent aids to the KSA to save their lives after their plight became known to the world. Otherwise, they would strive without any grain of mercy from their sponsors or hosting country, i.e., the KSA.

Sexual abuse and physical exploitation are also amongst the many challenges the Indian laboring forces, particularly domestic maids, encounter in the KSA. Many testimonies disclose the dreadful conditions of many Indian maids and the ill-treatment they were being treated with, beaten, and forcefully exploited for sexual pleasures of the sponsors or employers. Noorjahan Akbar Husen, from Ahmadabad, India, narrates her nightmarish life in Saudi Arabia when she was offered a domestic job as a maid there in KSA. She tearfully asserts,

*The owners of the house where I had worked for treated me very badly. They used to beat me every day, harass and torture me. When I inform the Indian embassy people, they told me to continue working in the house. They said if I complain, the owner will make a false complaint against me and the local government may put me and my husband in jail... my owner prevented me from leaving the country by using his influence in the embassy. Many owners in Dammam are in contact with the Indian embassy people, so they bribe them and prevent maids like me from leaving the country [KSA]. In Dammam alone, I saw around two hundred girls like me. They torture them too. The owners use their maids however they want.*¹⁵

Without a shadow of a doubt, domestic abuses are tolerated in the KSA as in the rest of the Gulf States because the strict sponsorship laws restrict and confiscate the laborers' rights and dignity as well. Indian workers, particularly domestic workers and maids, are challenged in their characters and honor. Daily abuses are legal for the guardian sponsors as the kafala system has been legislatively institutionalized to a new slave-like system where workers are bound to their guardians stripped of their passports upon arrival. They are forced to work under different circumstances, even when they are ill or injured. Maids work continuously for long hours

¹³ Philippe Fargues, Françoise De Bel-Air, Nasra M. Shah. "Addressing Irregular Migration in the Gulf States." Gulf Research Centre: GLMM Policy Brief - No. 1/2015 p. 3.

¹⁴ Düwell, Marcus (Ed). *Humiliation, Degradation and Dehumanization-Human Dignity Violated*. NL: Utrecht University, Springer, 2011, P. 191

¹⁵ Indian Maids in Saudi Arabia. TV Report was shown on RT Channel and discusses the Slave in Saudi Arabia https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQNWX_a533M

with no rest, and are denied fair payment. Noor Jahan Hussein, a former Indian maid in Saudi Arabia, further advice all Indian females not to go for working in the KSA. "I would say to all those who want to go to KSA to work, dreaming of becoming rich is all false. It is all a lie. The people who go there got tortured, abused and sexually exploited. I spent more money in returning to India than my earning in Saudi. All women should avoid going to KSA and repeating the mistake I made. I saw a horrible life in KSA"¹⁶, she concludes. S. Cavell, an author of *Exporting Made in America Democracy*, reported. "The practice of sexual slavery is able to continue in the KSA because of the structure of the regime in. It's a corrupt regime run by the house of Saud, a family dynasty that is unelected and rules with an armed force"¹⁷."

V. SEGREGATION AND EXPLOITATION IN THE UAE

Segregation and racial discrimination in the UAE are vivid practices marked in the way the Indian laboring community is exploited for more work and less payment, and in the way Indian community is deprived of the same rights the western or Europeans enjoy in the same hosting country and for the same working efforts. "Indians, along with other migrants from lower-paid national groups, tend to segregate in tightly bound and densely populated geographic spaces. Western expatriates on the other hand, are provided assistance at most levels of the migration process such as housing, moving costs, schooling, transportation allowances, healthcare, and visa fees, and these are included within their employment packages... This has set up a highly stratified racial, ethnic and class system in the UAE, which has spilled into the social and cultural lives of Indian migrants"¹⁸ (Melissa Cyrill: 170).

Another phase of exploitation is that of Indian female workforces. Many female workers are subjected to daily physical and verbal abuse and sexual exploitation. Being misled when coming to the country to work, they find themselves forced to work against their wills in many cases, for flesh business and sex rackets. In Dubai alone, which is the destination of sex tourism and the capital of prostitution in the Middle East region, many females find it difficult to disobeying the sponsors' orders of whatever they are asked to do. In their research paper entitled "Human rights and health disparities for migrant workers in the UAE", Sevil Sonmez et al assert that "Economic growth has led also

to a boom in the UAE's sex trade; women and girls are trafficked into the country, while others come voluntarily to make money—as a result, the UAE (Dubai in particular) has become known as "the 'center for prostitution' in the Middle East (17)."¹⁹

Furthermore, the Indian women's labor community confronts ruthless treatment by the work laws or sponsors. Many Indians, however, "On arrival in the fairytale land of Dubai, their dreams often turn into a nightmare of bare survival. These girls become the slaves of the 21st century, and there is no escape. Abused in a country where they have no voice and no alternatives, many see suicide as the only way out. A few dares to flee, wandering the streets of Dubai or finding temporary refuge in one of the few, overfilled emergency shelters in the city."²⁰ Indian laborers, as others too, believe that they pay money to buy slavery in the KSA and UAE. For them, today's slavery in UAE, KSA, and the other Gulf States as well is worse than the pre-Islam slavery system because the pre-Islam slave masters used to buy slaves for themselves while today slave masters are paid off to have slave-like workers. The relationship between sponsor and worker is as humiliating as was the master-slave relationship pre-Islam.

VI. DUBAI: A GLITTERING APPEARANCE OF A FALSE REALITY

The global picture of Dubai and the UAE, in general, is that of skyscrapers, the tallest luxurious hotels and tree islands. Yet, the reality of Dubai is entirely opposite. False appearance of the city presents it to the world as a mere skeleton without any sense of humanity. "As a result of lenient laws and entertainment not easily found in neighboring countries, Dubai has become a sex tourism destination. Prostitution is not new to Dubai; in fact it has been viewed as another act of commerce since the 1970s—if not earlier—and has been regulated for health purposes. While illegal, prostitution may represent 30 percent of Dubai's economy. Commercial sex workers operate out of apartment brothels and hotels, walk the streets, and work in clubs. Many sex workers in the UAE have been trafficked into the country for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation and labor to meet increased demand. Foreign women are reportedly recruited under the guise of work as secretaries, waitresses, or hotel

¹⁶ Indian Maids in Saudi Arabia. TV Report shown on RT Channel and discusses the Slave in Saudi Arabia https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQNWX_a533M

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Cyrill, Melissa Marilyn. The Impact of Workforces Nationalisation on Indian expatriates in the GCC states: a case study of the U.A.E. New Delhi: Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2015. M.A Thesis. p. 170

¹⁹ Sevil Sönmez, Yorghos Apostolopoulos, Diane Tran and Shantyana Rentrop. "Human rights and health disparities for migrant workers in the UAE." Health and Human Rights, Vol. 13, No. 2 (December 2011), pp. 17-35 The President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of Harvard School of Public Health/François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights Stabl, p. 17

²⁰ <http://www.etete.orgeteteverein>. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NgPnsid4r5s>Published on Jan 25, 2011.

workers by third-country recruiters and coerced into prostitution upon arrival (Sonmez et al. 23-4).²¹

Besides, many people know Dubai for its massive skyscrapers and luxurious hotels, but few know that the city was built through modern-day slavery. Dubai, "The fairytale in the Middle East of the twenty-first century is built by slaves and bonded labors...The story of the migrant workers is the dark side of Dubai. The side which annual 1.1 million British visitors to this country never see"²². Ben Anderson, BBC reporter, narrates after an on-site visit to the workers' camps and workplaces in Dubai for making documentary.

Another testimonial account is of an Indian agent, namely Almass Pardiwala, who reports the unbearable conditions of the Indian laborers in Dubai. She was stunned and aggravated by what she found. She states, "Right now, I seriously wish the world would wake up and look beyond the glitter to the actual darkness which is there behind. I seriously don't think there is a lot of moral consciousness amongst the employers [sponsors] over here. And I would not say just one of the companies. Most of the companies have no regard for human life or the human element of this job. That does not [INAUDIBLE]. Absolutely no regard"²³, Almass concludes.

VII. INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE GULF STATES: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE

Like other expatriates in the KSA, UAE, and the rest of the Gulf countries, Indians contribute to the diversity, progress, and prosperity of the Saudi and Emirati communities. The luxurious life the Gulf peoples enjoy has been on the cost of the expatriates who spend day and night making a better life for the national citizens. Nevertheless, the foreign citizens in general and Indians in particular, find it difficult to be socially and culturally amalgamated to the Gulf Arab culture because of the racist looks these communities treat the non-Gulf people. They undervalue the working forces and put a socio-cultural boundary between them and the migrating communities. Their ethnocentric and conservative nature hinders the socio-cultural assimilation and coexistence as well. Most of the working forces usually live in separate areas, live their own life and do their practices without overtaking the socio-cultural norms of the hosting country. "While the

Gulf countries are, in per capita terms, the top recipients of global migrants, their laws bar the door of citizenship against not only migrants but also those born to migrants and still living in the country. Close to 50 percent of the 50 million residents in the Gulf are non-citizens. Not only do non-citizens have fewer rights than citizens, but their very presence must be negotiated — and can be questioned — at any moment (Philippe Fargues, et al. 3).²⁴

Many of the Indian working communities have been staying in the KSA and UAE for decades, and sometimes for second-generation Indians were born and grew up in the Gulf States and know no other home than their hosting countries. Yet, they are perceived as foreign workers, who are restricted to their work and culture. They are not considered as part of these communities, at least culturally to add uniqueness and diversity to the Gulf communities. Many Gulf people look and treat Indian community inferiorly and make funny remarks about the Indian working community. This is common to all, and social media is full of such black comedy. Thus, the Indians form their own community abroad and live in groups, enjoy their way of cooking, living, and enjoy their simple life away of the arrogance and the complexity of superiority of the Gulf societies.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Many reports have disclosed the fact that many unskilled Indian workers in the GCC countries, like many workers from other Asian and African nationalities, are abused and mistreated simply because they belong to the third world and less economic rank countries. Their significant role in the development of those countries is unappreciated. Not only that, but they are also separated socially and culturally in the Gulf countries; and forced into leading their closed way of living. Keeping expatriates in such pathetic conditions strips them of their dignity in the hosting countries. Many Gulf people need to reconsider their attitudes towards foreign workforces, taking into consideration that we are in the twenty-first century, and it will be impossible to continue hiding the workers' trauma perpetually. The sponsorship system in the Gulf countries needs to be modified, and is to be replaced with a free labor market system that ensures maximum rights and brings justice for all expatriates who are, in the end, human beings. Amendments in the field of labor systems are required to meet the international standards of labor laws.

Exploitation with fewer salaries and more working hours is also a noticeable phenomenon and general tendency in the Gulf States, which violates rights and tolerates injustice. Despite the financial profits, workers gain in the hosting states reflected in the direct

²¹ Sevil Sönmez, Yorghos Apostolopoulos, Diane Tran and Shantiana Rentrop. "Human rights and health disparities for migrant workers in the UAE". *Health and Human Rights*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (December 2011), pp. 17-35 The President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of Harvard School of Public Health/François-Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights Stable,p.23-4

²² Ben Anderson. *Slaves of Dubai*, Vice News. A Documentary Report on Exploitation prepared by Ben Anderson and Shown on BBC Channel on August 8, 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gMh-vlQwrmU>. Accessed 22/01/2018

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Philippe Fargues, Françoise De Bel-Air, Nasra M. Shah. "Addressing Irregular Migration in the Gulf States." *Gulf Research Centre: Gulf Labour Market and Migration GLMM Policy Brief - No. 1/2015*, p. 3

and indirect remittances they remit to their families and country, still unjust payment is a challenge for many of the Indian workers. The failure of fixing the working hours and ensuring the freedom of mobility are other barriers that hinder the security of the labor forces in these countries, and raises the concerns of the international organizations related to the labor laws and rights.

The Gulf States failed, to some extent, at creating a safe working atmosphere that assures the workers' respect and dignity. These states have, undoubtedly, established labor laws that intend to regulate the worker-employer relationship; but failed to regulate the worker-sponsor relationship, and this gap needs reassessment to ensure a better life for the outsiders. Many Gulf sponsors, having the money power, decide the destiny of the poor laborers and treat them so brutally. Gulf societies and sponsors need to perceive their workforces as workers, not slaves, because it's their destiny to go and work to feed their own families properly. It is not their fault to be in need. Therefore, it is inhuman to use and enslave them, not to use their power and skills.

The sudden materialistic progress in infrastructure and development in the Gulf countries would make sense if, and only if, it is paralleled or balanced with intellectual advancement, moral consciousness, and ethic conscience. The GCC communities need to leave Plato's cave and see the reality as it is, not the shadow of the reality their tyrannic regimes portray, and overtake the traditional methods of treating the expatriates, including the Indian expatriates. Malpractices and categorizing people based on what they have is a short materialistic vision that results from capitalism. Humanity is the criterion of the nations' progress. In a nutshell, if the people are backward in the human sense, they remain backward in everything else because prosperity at the expense of humanity is not prosperity.

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Theatrical Confrontation: Social Confrontation

By Regina Claudia Garcia Oliveira De Sousa

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Abstract- This paper intends, by establishing connexion between the tragic form and the destiny of the African descendant in Brazil, to show that this is not the so-called country of racial democracy. For this, the relations between society and the Brazilian theater will be observed, presenting aspects of the foundation and the importance of the genre. The discussion will be illustrated with the capital speech of the central character of Antonio Callado's play *A Revolta da Cachaça* (1982). He is Ambrósio, black actor to whom they only support supporting roles. Ill, he goes to meet Vito, friend and playwright, to seek the play promised for years and which would be the protagonist. The play is still unfinished and Ambrósio decides that he will not leave until the work is completed. With the negative of Vito, the confrontation is established.

Keywords: *brazilian theatre – racism – antonio callado – a revolta da cachaça.*

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Theatrical Confrontation: Social Confrontation

Confronto Teatral: Confronto Social

Regina Claudia Garcia Oliveira De Sousa

Resumo- Este artigo tem a intenção de, estabelecendo uma relação entre a forma trágica e o destino do afrodescendente no Brasil, mostrar que este não é o chamado país da democracia racial. Para isso serão observadas as relações entre a sociedade e o teatro brasileiro, apresentando aspectos da fundação e da importância do gênero. A discussão será ilustrada com a fala capital do personagem central da peça *A Revolta da Cachaça* (1982), de Antonio Callado. Trata-se de Ambrósio, ator negro a quem destinam apenas papéis de coadjuvante. Doente, ele vai ao encontro de Vito, amigo e dramaturgo, buscar a peça há anos prometida e da qual seria o protagonista. A peça continua inacabada e Ambrósio decide que só irá embora quando a obra estiver pronta. Com a negativa de Vito, estabelece-se o confronto.

Palavras-Chave: teatro brasileiro – racismo – antonio callado – a revolta da cachaça.

Abstract- This paper intends, by establishing connexion between the tragic form and the destiny of the African descendant in Brazil, to show that this is not the so-called country of racial democracy. For this, the relations between society and the Brazilian theater will be observed, presenting aspects of the foundation and the importance of the genre. The discussion will be illustrated with the capital speech of the central character of Antonio Callado's play *A Revolta da Cachaça* (1982). He is Ambrósio, black actor to whom they only support supporting roles. Ill, he goes to meet Vito, friend and playwright, to seek the play promised for years and which would be the protagonist. The play is still unfinished and Ambrósio decides that he will not leave until the work is completed. With the negative of Vito, the confrontation is established.

Keywords: brazilian theatre – racism – antonio callado – a revolta da cachaça.

I. INTRODUÇÃO

Não é fácil entender as relações raciais no Brasil. A abolição da escravatura deu-se (teoricamente) a 13 de maio de 1888 e até hoje os negros têm de enfrentar lutas diárias para conseguir estudar, conseguir uma vaga de trabalho, conseguir andar nas ruas sem ser abordado violentamente pela polícia, conseguir um papel importante na TV, no cinema, no teatro. Lutadores resistentes¹ e incansáveis, sua única saída é resistir,

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¹ No início deste ano soube da história de um homem que foi visitar o acampamento montado na cidade de Curitiba como forma de resistência à prisão do ex-presidente do Brasil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. Ao chegar lá, diante da pessoa responsável por receber os

como resiste até onde pode o protagonista de *A Revolta da Cachaça* (1982), de Antonio Callado, peça que ilustra e apoia a presente discussão cujo objetivo é estabelecer uma relação entre os conflitos enfrentados pelo negro no teatro (e na sociedade) e – levando em conta as ideias de Raymond Williams sobre a tragédia moderna –, um destino trágico enfrentado por ele na sociedade brasileira.

Trata-se, como é sabido, de um destino herdado de um passado escravagista que, ao ser extinto, não apenas não incluiu o negro na sociedade – como atestam estudos importantes como o realizado por Florestan Fernandes e Andreas Hofbauer, por exemplo – mas relegou a ele os lugares mais baixos da escala social, obrigando-o a enfrentar uma realidade marcada pelo racismo e pelo preconceito. Faremos isso observando especialmente a cena capital da peça de Callado, pois ela discute a essência da formação brasileira e mostra claramente a resistência que o negro tem de ter para lutar contra o racismo.

No Brasil, nega-se veementemente a existência do preconceito e do racismo, defendendo-se a ideia de que aqui estaríamos no paraíso da democracia racial. Assim, quando um negro diz que está sendo vítima de racismo, diz-se que não, que o Brasil é um país miscigenado, resultado da união de três etnias – o branco, o negro e o índio – o que torna impossível sermos racistas. Isso se torna um problema porque, se não existe o racismo, não há contra o quê lutar. Desse modo, homens negros e mulheres negras têm de ouvir que tudo o que vivenciam cotidianamente seria apenas uma impressão. Assim, a abordagem violenta da política é, para a sociedade, uma imagem deturpada da realidade, fruto de um sentimento de vitimização dos negros. No entanto, fatos ratificam a realidade constantemente denunciada por eles. Como exemplo, é possível citar as mortes do motoboy Alexandre Menezes dos Santos e do aposentado Domingos Conceição dos Santos, ocorridas em 2010. O primeiro, mesmo estando desarmado, morreu na porta de casa após apanhar de policiais militares; o segundo levou um tiro na cabeça quando tentava passar pela porta giratória de uma agência bancária, pois a segurança não acreditou que

visitantes, ele disse: “vim buscar um bocadinho de esperança” e recebeu a seguinte resposta: “aqui não tem esperança. Aqui tem resistência”. Acho que essa fala resume a condição do negro brasileiro hoje e, talvez, possamos avançar um pouco mais: essa é a condição do brasileiro que hoje defende a democracia.

ele usava um marca-passo e que era esse aparelho que impedia a abertura da porta².

As questões que envolvem a integração do negro na sociedade brasileira objeto de estudo de um dos mais importantes sociólogos brasileiros.

No passado, o conflito insanável entre os fundamentos jurídicos da escravidão e os mores cristãos não obsteu que se tratasse o escravo como coisa e, ao mesmo tempo, se pintasse a sua condição como se fosse “humana”. No presente, o contraste entre a ordem jurídica e a situação real da “população de cor” também não obstruiria uma representação ilusória, que iria conferir à cidade de São Paulo o caráter lisonjeiro de paradigma de democracia racial. [...]. Infelizmente, como no passado a igualdade perante Deus não proscovia a escravidão, no presente, a igualdade perante a Lei só iria fortalecer a hegemonia do “homem branco”. (FERNANDES, vol. 1, 1965, p. 198)

Se em 1964, data de publicação da obra, ele mostrou uma situação de exclusão, os dados atuais não revelam grande diferença. Podemos ver na última edição do *Atlas da Violência*, lançada em junho de 2019, o resultado da análise do banco de dados do Ministério da Saúde relativos a 2017. Ele atesta que 75,5% das vítimas de assassinato em 2017 eram indivíduos negros. “É uma realidade que a gente já conhece. É um dado estarrecedor, que mostra como somos uma nação que convive com o racismo e que não consegue tirar da vulnerabilidade metade da sua população, que é negra”, afirma Samira Bueno, uma das pesquisadoras do Atlas da Violência e diretora executiva do Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública³.

II. A TRAGÉDIA E A TRAGÉDIA COTIDIANA

Antes de iniciarmos a observação mais detida da peça de Antonio Callado, é preciso apresentar, ainda que brevemente, duas questões importantes. A primeira é a ideia de tragédia aqui considerada. A segunda é o espaço ocupado no palco pelo negro no palco brasileiro, algo que apresenta dois aspectos: o personagem e o ator.

Tradicionalmente, a tragédia é definida como uma “peça que representa uma ação humana funesta muitas vezes terminada em morte” (PAVIS, 1999, p. 415). No entanto, esse conceito mudou ao longo do tempo. Aristotelicamente, a tragédia é definida como “a imitação de uma ação de caráter elevado e completo, de uma certa extensão, numa linguagem temperada com condimentos de uma espécie particular conforme

as diversas partes”. Essa imitação “é feita por personagens em ação e não por meio de uma narrativa, e que, provocando piedade e temor, opera a purgação própria de semelhantes emoções” (*apud* PAVIS, 1999, p. 415). É também determinante dela a regra que diz que a ação representada deve ser a ação de um nobre, especialmente porque estabelece o distanciamento capaz de levar à catarse. Esse ponto de vista – e isso é importante para nós – começa a ser questionado no século XVII por Corneille que, como explica Hubert, estava “persuadido de que os infortúnios do homem comum nos tocariam mais do que os que advêm aos reis ou aos deuses” (HUBERT, 2013, p. 111). Para o francês, os outros homens teriam “seu lugar no teatro se lhes sucedessem infortúnios ilustres e extraordinários o bastante para merecê-lo, e se a história se preocupasse o bastante com eles para trazê-los ao nosso conhecimento” (CORNEILLE, *apud* HUBERT, 2013, p. 111). George Lillo seguiu uma trilha semelhante ao afirmar que não há necessidade de confinar a tragédia aos personagens de posição elevada. Para ele, “os contos morais da vida privada’, tratando de situações familiares às suas plateias, são mais aptos a concretizar a instrução moral almejada” (CARLSON, 1997, p. 127-128). Denis Diderot deu forma a essa ideia ao abolir a cláusula dos estados e, admitindo protagonistas não nobres, deu origem ao drama burguês

Além da estética trágica, interessa-nos comentar, ainda que sucintamente, a ideia do trágico. Não vamos aqui fazer um histórico do processo de formação dela, mas sim observar ideias que nos ajudam a perceber como a ideia do trágico vai se transformando e se aproximando da vida cotidiana do homem comum. Para Goethe, por exemplo, o conflito trágico “não permite nenhuma solução” (SZONDI, 2004, p. 48), desaparecendo quando a reconciliação surge ou se torna possível. A dialética trágica, “mostra-se no próprio homem, em quem o dever e querer tendem a se afastar e ameaçam romper a unidade de seu Eu” (*idem*, p. 49), o que não é, em si, trágico. A tragédia está “na cegueira com que ele, ludibriado acerca da meta do seu dever, precisa querer o que não tem direito de querer”. Szondi explica que “Goethe experimentava profunda e dolorosamente o trágico nos acontecimentos da vida real” (*idem*, p. 50). O escritor, percebeu a estrutura dialética do ato de partir e o considerava como motivação de todas as situações trágicas. A partir disso, deslocou o fator trágico “da morte do herói trágico [...] para a despedida de uma pessoa amada, ou para o abandono de uma situação amada” (*idem*, p. 50-51).

Leon Trotski sintetizou de modo produtivo a mudança dos temas da tragédia. De acordo com a exposição de Carlson, na tragédia antiga, afirma o escritor russo, o tema “era o desamparo do homem em face da natureza, expressa como destino”. Já o

² Cf. <http://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,morte-de-motoboy-derruba-comando-da-policia-militar-na-zona-sul-de-sp-imp-,550039> e <http://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,aposentado-baleado-na-cabeça-em-banco-tem-morte-cerebral,550122>.

³ Cf. <https://www.almapreta.com/editorias/realidade/atlas-da-violencia-2019-75-5-das-vitimas-de-homicidio-no-brasil-sao-negras>

“Renascimento concentrou-se no indivíduo e na paixão individual”. Em Shakespeare, continua o autor, isso “é levado a um grau de tensão tão alto que excede o indivíduo, torna-se superpessoal e é transformado em certo tipo de destino”. Na expressão dos românticos, o caráter tornou-se destino. “As contradições internas da sociedade burguesa”, ele escreve, “corroeram gradualmente o sonho da emancipação individual e despertou o homem para a percepção de que enquanto ele não se assenhorear de sua organização social o caráter “pairará sobre ele como sua sina”. Assim, finaliza, “a tragédia moderna reside no conflito entre o individual e o coletivo, ou no conflito entre dois coletivos hostis no mesmo indivíduo” (CARLSON, 1997, p. 347).

Essa ideia de que a tragédia moderna reside no conflito entre o individual e o coletivo abre caminho para o pensamento de que o homem negro está em conflito com uma sociedade que não o abriga. Essa sociedade, ao negar a existência do preconceito e do racismo, dificulta a luta coletiva na medida em que não haveria contra o que lutar. Se não há racismo, se não há preconceito, contra o que o negro luta? De algum modo, há um conflito individual – o ser negro em uma sociedade racista – em confronto com o coletivo que é essa sociedade que não se assume preconceituosa, mas que segrega o afrodescendente.

Eugene O'Neill afirmou que “a tragédia era a consequência natural da condição humana: a própria existência é trágica; a angústia, o castigo do homem por sua consciência” (CARLSON, 1997, p. 350). E por que a ideia de que a própria existência é trágica é um tanto comum? Em primeiro lugar, penso que há um conteúdo religioso – especialmente das religiões monoteístas – que perpassa a condição humana em que o indivíduo deve ter plena consciência de sua insignificância diante de um Deus infinitamente poderoso, exigência que, a despeito de sua verdade, permite que a Igreja exerça o controle sobre o comportamento humano. Em segundo lugar porque é fato que viver coloca o indivíduo em contato com outros indivíduos, cujos interesses, crenças e ideias não são necessariamente compartilhados e cada um defenderá o que lhe é mais caro. Entram, então, em choque com um mundo que parecerá cruel a todos, pois que todos, em algum tempo, em maior ou menor grau, terão seus desejos negados. Torna-se a existência um fato trágico, o que nos conduz, finalmente, a Raymond Williams.

Para esse autor, a tragédia “não é meramente morte e sofrimento e com certeza não é acidente”, tampouco, diz, “qualquer reação à morte ou ao sofrimento. Ela é, antes, um tipo específico de acontecimento e de reação que são genuinamente trágicos e que a longa tradição incorpora” (WILLIAMS, 2002, p. 30-31).

Williams duvida radicalmente do argumento que nega o sentido trágico significativo na tragédia do

dia a dia. Para ele, trata-se de uma alegação baseada nas crenças de que “o acontecimento em si não é trágico por meio de reações convencionadas” e “de que uma reação significativa depende da capacidade de conectar o evento a um conjunto de fatos mais geral, de modo que ele não seja mero acidente, mostrando-se capaz de carregar um sentido universal” (idem, p. 71). O autor não acredita que seja possível distinguir um acontecimento da reação que ele provoca. Veja-se:

É obviamente possível dizer que *nós* não reagimos a certo acontecimento, mas isso não quer dizer que a reação esteja ausente. Podemos ver com exatidão a diferença entre uma reação que tenha sido colocada em uma forma comunicável e uma reação que não tenha sofrido esse tratamento, e isso será relevante. Mas no caso de morte e sofrimento comuns, quando vemos luto e lamento, quando vemos homens e mulheres sucumbindo à perda – dizer que não estamos na presença da tragédia é, no mínimo, uma afirmação questionável. (WILLIAMS, 2002, p. 71).

Williams, explica Carlson, rejeita a teoria de que a nossa época não pode criar tragédia porque a visão da ordem e da desordem não é definida em termos religiosos ou institucionais. “Cada época expressa essa preocupação⁴ à sua maneira”, lembrando que “nossas crenças e medos não são os de outros tempos, mas se prestam igualmente ao tratamento trágico” (CARLSON, 1997, p. 452).

A moderna preocupação com a desordem social e a violência é trágica em suas origens, pois comove e envolve a humanidade inteira; e é trágico em sua ação, que coloca o homem não contra deuses ou instituições, mas contra seus semelhantes. (CARLSON, 1997, p. 452-453).

III. O TEATRO E O NEGRO NO TEATRO

A análise da condição da representação (ou apresentação) do negro na literatura brasileira revela as marcas profundas de um passado escravagista. O povo mestiço que constituímos é muitas vezes enaltecido como prova de uma sociedade racialmente democrática. No entanto, a imagem do brasileiro como exemplo de uma sociedade integrada é falsa na medida em que nos lugares mais baixos da escala social, de modo geral, ainda estão os afrodescendentes. Do mesmo modo que não estão democraticamente integrados na sociedade, o negro também foi excluído da literatura, fato que pode ser constatado quando vemos o número reduzido de obras cujos personagens principais são negros.

⁴ Ele se refere à preocupação humana com a ordem e a desordem, expressa pelos temas contemporâneos da confusão social, da guerra e da revolução.

No romance, eles ganharam relevo somente no século XX, especialmente na obra de Jorge Amado, por exemplo. Mesmo assim, como esclarece Regina Dalcastagnè:

A personagem do romance brasileiro contemporâneo é branca. Os brancos somam quase quatro quintos das personagens, com uma frequência mais de dez vezes maior do que a categoria seguinte (negros). Em 56,6% dos romances, não há nenhuma personagem não-branca importante. Em apenas 1,6%, não há nenhuma personagem branca. (DALCASTAGNÈ, 2005, p. 32).

Na verdade, o negro foi excluído da nossa literatura desde seu processo de fundação. Nesse sentido, devemos pensar no projeto literário de José de Alencar, do qual o romance *O Guarani* é uma de suas obras decisivas. Nele, o autor faz uma espécie de gênese do Brasil e do romance brasileiro⁵. Para construir a imagem do brasileiro criou o índio Peri e, como uma nação mestiça “por natureza” exigia um casal, Alencar o uniu à branca Ceci, mestiçagem considerada ideal, em oposição à união do branco com o negro.

Ao não incluir o negro nesse ideal de miscigenação, Alencar, de alguma forma, o excluiu da formação do Brasil e ocultou o problema da escravidão, resolvendo o impasse da elite brasileira, cuja identidade não poderia ser vinculada nem à de um cativo, nem relacionada ao trabalho.

Isso tudo está na origem de nossos distúrbios sociais. No Brasil, problema das relações raciais pode ser constatado observando-se a posição do negro na escala social e no quanto se nega a existência do preconceito em nossa sociedade, fato que pode ser verificado, por exemplo, quando se discute a questão das cotas raciais nas universidades públicas⁶. Há sempre a tentativa de mostrar que aqui todos são iguais e têm os mesmos direitos, sem passar por uma discussão profunda a respeito de um problema histórico muito difícil de ser enfrentado. No entanto, é fato que o negro não tem as mesmas condições que o branco, o que é confirmado de diferentes formas, entre elas a própria necessidade de se criar as cotas raciais.

Artisticamente, o negro também não tem o mesmo espaço que o branco, questão frequentemente discutida quando se compara a quantidade de bons papéis destinados aos negros na televisão, por

exemplo. A título de ilustração cito o artigo “O negro na dramaturgia um caso exemplar da decadência do mito da democracia racial brasileira”, de Joel Zito Araújo. Publicado em 2008, ele atesta que o negro não está devidamente representado. Na literatura isso também se repete de modo acentuado como atesta e ratifica o trabalho, já mencionado, de Regina Dalcastagnè.

Ao nos debruçarmos sobre o teatro, deparamo-nos com um fato muito curioso: quando se fala em teatro, não se pensa no negro, tanto que ele precisou de um teatro próprio, um teatro negro, que tratasse de suas questões, como se elas não fizessem parte das questões brasileiras gerais, com a fundação do TEN – Teatro Experimental do Negro, por Abdias do Nascimento, em 1944. Para termos uma noção mais clara do que acontece hoje, façamos um breve histórico do gênero no país.

O teatro é um espaço cuja importância tem aspectos muito particulares no Brasil e pode ser vista desde sua fundação. Em 1859, o escritor Machado de Assis declarou que era preciso educar o público, “demonstrar aos iniciados as verdades e concepções da arte; e conduzir os espíritos flutuantes e contraídos da plateia à esfera dessas concepções e dessas verdades” (ASSIS, 1953, p. 11). José de Alencar, além do projeto de fundar a literatura, também planejava fundar o teatro brasileiro “pelo exemplo, pela lição, pela propaganda” (ALENCAR, 2003, p. 31).

Vê-se que, não à toa, esses dois grandes escritores do seu tempo – e da literatura brasileira – elegeram o teatro como lugar para defender ideias, pois, no século XIX, lembra Elizabeth R. Azevedo, o teatro representava “o único veículo de comunicação de massas existente” (2000, p. 20). Para autores brasileiros, o teatro importava mais como veículo de comunicação do que como gênero de arte, já que o objetivo era usá-lo como meio de propaganda das ideias consideradas importantes para a educação do brasileiro. Nesse sentido, é preciso lembrar que grande parte da população era analfabeta e que ir ao teatro, como explica Silvia Cristina Martins de Souza, não custava muito dinheiro, pois o preço dos lugares mais baratos era mil réis⁷ (2002, p. 63).

É preciso também destacar o papel político desempenhado pelo teatro, como podemos constatar retomando um evento ocorrido em setembro de 1831, quando um motim levou ao fechamento do Constitucional Fluminense. Segundo Souza, relatos da época dão conta de que “tudo começou quando um espectador gritou ‘Viva a República!’, logo repetido por várias vozes. Em resposta, ouviram-se gritos de ‘Viva

⁵ A base das observações referentes ao romance *O guarani*, de Alencar, advém das ideias expostas no curso “Romantismo” (Literatura Brasileira III), ministrado pelo professor José Antonio Pasta Jr., na FFLCH/USP, no primeiro semestre de 1999.

⁶ Cf. SEGATO, Rita Laura, “Cotas, por que reagimos?”, in: *Revista USP*, nº 68, 2006; SANTOS, Jocélio Teles dos; QUEIROZ, Delcele Mascarenhas, “Vestibular com cotas: análise em uma instituição pública federal”, in: *Revista USP*, nº 68, 2006 e MAGGIE, Yvonne; FRY, Peter, “A reserva de vagas para negros nas universidades brasileiras”, in: *Estudos Avançados* 18 (50), 2004.

⁷ A autora explica o que significava o valor de mil réis: “(...) na ocasião um mestre-de-obras recebia 3.500 réis por dia; um mestre carpinteiro, 3 mil réis por dia; feitores de escravos, de 1.200 a 1.800 réis por dia; um carroceiro, 1.120 réis; e um carpinteiro 500 réis. Vê-se, assim, que mil réis não era um preço proibitivo às parcelas mais humildes da sociedade” (SOUZA, 2002, p. 128, nota nº 68).

dom Pedro III!” (idem, p. 32-33). A autora cita o relato de Carl Seidler, um “‘civilizado’ europeu” diante de “um tumulto daquela ordem no interior de um teatro”, dando conta da particularidade de um momento no qual a politização do campo artístico era algo exacerbado. O teatro assumiu, então, “o papel de arena em que se altercava sobre política, digladiavam-se partidos e emitiam-se gritos sediciosos”, tornando-se motivo de inquietação para os poderes instituídos” (idem, p. 33). Após esse evento, as plateias passaram a “defrontar-se com dispositivos legais⁸ cerceadores, baixados por autoridades temerosas das consequências que as sensações rápidas, ardentes e unânimes poderiam provocar em centenas de pessoas reunidas nos teatros”. O motim, ela diz, poderia ser interpretado como “um marco para o desenvolvimento de uma concepção sobre o teatro baseada na noção de que aquele era um lugar altamente perigoso, na medida em que propiciava a expressão da opinião pública, e, portanto, necessitava ser controlado” (idem, p. 34). Isso tudo ratifica a importância do teatro para além do entretenimento e faz dele um espaço importante para a discussão de importantes problemas brasileiros, como o preconceito limitador da integração do negro na sociedade.

No teatro brasileiro, os personagens negros começaram a aparecer no século XIX. No entanto, quando dotados de importância, eles costumavam ser configurados ou como figurações do mal, uma ameaça à sociedade, ou, se dotados de valores como honra, inteligência e bondade, eram embranquecidos.

Assim como esses personagens, o ator negro também não teve – e ainda hoje não tem – espaço significativo. Na origem do gênero, ele esteve no palco durante pouco tempo quando a profissão de ator não era considerada importante e, na verdade, ela era marginalizada. Passados alguns anos, a profissão conquistou uma imagem mais positiva e o ator negro perdeu o lugar. A partir de então, atores brancos desempenhavam inclusive os papéis dos poucos personagens negros (nesse caso, o rosto deles era pintado de preto⁹). Foi somente em meados do século

XX que se começou a incluir nas peças personagens negros não embranquecidos cujas características também apresentavam traços de uma herança africana. Tal demora é indício de que o descendente africano, lembrando Florestan Fernandes, não estava (e ainda não está) integrado na sociedade de classes.

Isso se deve, em grande parte, ao fato de que, extinta a escravidão, era preciso desenvolver outra forma de trabalho, da qual o negro foi excluído, pois, como bem verificou Florestan Fernandes, em nosso país, o processo de transição do trabalho escravo para o trabalho livre não se orientou no sentido de transformar o escravo em trabalhador livre, mas em “mudar a organização do trabalho para permitir a substituição do negro pelo branco” (FERNANDES, 1965, p.19). O sociólogo destaca que a intenção da elite brasileira, o que inclui os governantes do país, não foi sequer sustentar uma condição desigual, mas eliminar qualquer possibilidade de competição entre brancos e negros. Esse fato é decisivo e resultou na não integração do negro na sociedade na medida em que ele não goza dos mesmos direitos que o branco, sendo ainda preterido em situações de competição profissional, por exemplo. Além disso, vítimas de preconceito e racismo, o negro e o mulato frequentemente são suspeitos em situações de violência, como atestam os fatos anteriormente mencionados. Esses fatos e inúmeros estudos de autores como Frantz Fanon, Octavio Ianni, Roger Bastide, Celia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, Sidney Chalhoub, Andreas Hofbauer, Antonio Sérgio Guimarães, Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, Achille Mbembe e Kabengele Munanga sustentam essa afirmação e ratificam uma situação limite muitas vezes discutida através da literatura, como veremos a partir de agora e da discussão sobre aquela que considero a cena capital de *A Revolta da Cachaça*¹⁰. Trata-se da fala de Ambrósio, ator negro a quem reservam sempre os papéis de personagens coadjuvantes. A peça mostra o reencontro dele com Vito, dramaturgo, e Dadinha, mulher de Vito quando ele vai a Petrópolis buscar a peça prometida por Vito há dez anos.

Escrita especialmente para ele, a peça – também intitulada *A revolta da cachaça* – teria Ambrósio no papel do protagonista João Angola, nome importante no evento histórico ocorrido no século XVII, entre 1660 e 1661, no Rio de Janeiro. Vito promete começar a reescrevê-la em 15 dias. Cansado das promessas, Ambrósio afirma que só sairá de lá com a

centro do palco e que isso, na verdade, é apenas o reflexo da situação que ele enfrenta na vida. O negro tornou-se protagonista da peça de Callado, a peça concluída, cujo final ratifica a posição da qual Ambrósio ambicionava sair.

¹⁰ *A Revolta da Cachaça*, peça escrita por Callado em 1982 e que, em conjunto com *Pedro Mico* (1957), *O tesouro de Chica da Silva* (1958) e *Uma rede para Iemanjá* (1961), compõe o chamado teatro negro de Antonio Callado.

⁸ Em 29 de novembro de 1831, dois meses após o fechamento do Constitucional Fluminense, baixou-se um decreto determinando que “ninguém dentro do teatro poderá dirigir em vozes altas palavras ou gritos, a quem quer que for, exceto aos atores os de – bravo, *caput* ou fora –, e nesse mesmo caso poderá o juiz impor silêncio, quando seja perturbada a tranquilidade do espetáculo ou os infratores serão multados em 6 a 10\$000, penas impostas no art. 7º da lei de 26 de outubro do corrente, contra os que fizeram o motim, assuada ou tumulto, quando a desordem chegar a tomar esse caráter” (*Coleção das leis do Império apud* SOUZA, 2002, p. 33-34).

⁹ A título de ilustração, cito o fato de que Callado escreveu *A revolta da cachaça* depois de ter escrito *Pedro Mico* (1957). Nesta, o personagem principal deveria ser interpretado por um ator negro, mas quem desempenhou o papel foi o ator Milton Moraes pintado de preto. Isso nos permite afirmar que *A revolta da cachaça* apresenta um fato real não porque se refere a um fato histórico, mas porque discute uma realidade social, a de que o ator negro não tem lugar no

peça pronta, aponta um revólver para Vito, que não muda de posição e, aproveitando um instante de distração de Ambrósio, atira-se sobre ele, tentando segurar o braço dele, mas o revólver dispara e Vito é atingido de raspão. Somem ambos e Dadinha conversa com os policiais que chegaram. Vito é encontrado dentro do tonel de cachaça que Ambrósio havia enviado e que marca o início da peça. Ambrósio morre ao que tudo indica porque sofre um ataque do coração.

IV. CONFRONTO EM CENA

Eu sei que vocês gostam de teatro sofisticado, moderno. Eu também gosto, mas não tenho papel nele. E dramalhão também tem hora. Acontece por aí. Onde a gente está. Mesmo que seja Petrópolis. (sério, apontando a arma firme em direção a Vito) Não tenho outro recurso, Vito. Desculpe o mau jeito. Tentei fazer você compreender, ou reconhecer, o que você sabe melhor que todo mundo. Estou de saco cheio de fazer papel de marginal, o cara que fica na praia espiando barco, no meio-fio olhando automóvel, sempre na beira, na margem. Vim aqui cobrar a fama que você me deve. Vim pra morar, pra morrer. Mas no meio do rio ou da rua. Chega de margem. (CALLADO, 2010, p. 450).

Depois de tentar, sem resultado, o diálogo amigável, Ambrósio não vê outra saída senão enfrentar, no palco, o confronto enfrentado na vida e que, entre outras coisas, o obriga a constantemente provar que não é um criminoso, como explica:

Eu procuro sempre andar meio almofadinha, como se dizia antigamente. Crioulo tem que andar com ar de quem é troço na vida, de quem tem grana no banco e erva viva no bolso. Se ele não se enfeita e de repente pinta uma cana – quem é o primeiro a entrar no camburão? Até o negro se explicar... (CALLADO, 2010, p. 426).

Essa luta constante na vida levou ao choque entre ator e dramaturgo e, do mesmo modo que na sociedade, onde quem morre é o negro, teve como desfecho a morte de Ambrósio. A batalha para sair de uma condição social estabelecida não deu resultado. Ele continuou sem o papel de protagonista da peça (que continuou inacabada), e da própria vida porque, ao tentar assumir o controle do seu destino – nesse caso determinado pela sociedade –, saiu perdendo. Vito não se sensibilizou a ponto de decidir terminar de escrever a peça. Ambrósio tanto lutou, literalmente, para sair da margem que terminou nela, como um marginal, negro, que atirou em um homem e morreu na luta e a quem, depois de morto, restou ser conduzido impessoalmente, diretamente para o necrotério, como mostra o excerto abaixo:

POLICIAL 3 – E o crioulo?...

POLICIAL 1 (*tira capacete, coça a cabeça*) – Bom, a gente espera um pouco. Vem aí a ambulância, com o médico. (*franco*) Mas acho que o crioulo podia ir direto pro necrotério. (*para Dadinha*) A senhora, o que é que acha?

DADINHA – Acho isso mesmo. Levem o morto. (CALLADO, 2010, p. 455).

A fala de Dadinha mostra como os afetos se desfazem até chegar à indiferença, como se nunca houvesse existido qualquer proximidade entre ela, Vito e Ambrósio. Assim, o amigo terminou por ser mais um negro à margem da sociedade. É nisso que reside a tragédia, não na morte de Ambrósio (o que em si também é trágico), mas no fato de que a morte dele nada representa para os amigos ou para a sociedade. Aqui, a morte do herói assinala a falta de perspectiva e a desesperança para o destino do negro na sociedade brasileira. Ambrósio luta sozinho em uma sociedade que não lhe dá chance. É um homem isolado mesmo entre aqueles considerados antigos companheiros: Dadinha e Vito não se sensibilizam diante de tudo o que o amigo lhes coloca como problema.

A situação ficou insustentável para Ambrósio porque ele sabe que não tem saída, fato que se torna especialmente marcante quando lembramos que nas peças de Callado – cujo teatro inclui, além das citadas anteriormente, *O fígado de Prometeu* (1951), *A cidade assassinada* (1954), *Frankel* (1954), *O colar de coral* (1957) e *Forró no Engenho Cananeia* (1964) – o fato de que, quando tudo sucumbe ao desastre inevitável, algo sobrevive marcando a continuidade da vida, mas para Ambrósio, de *A revolta da cachaça*, nada resta. É, assim, trágico o fato de que a morte também não é uma saída. Se antes, no Romantismo, por exemplo, morrer podia transformar o herói em mártir, hoje já não representa nada e é no sentido da banalização da morte, em especial da morte do negro, que considero residir a verdadeira tragédia do Homem.

Não se trata de despertar piedade, mas apontar a chaga a fim de que não haja outra possibilidade senão encará-la. Penso que o mascaramento da realidade acontece porque as pessoas que assumem o poder – em geral brancas – ainda mantêm o mesmo desejo dos tempos da colonização, ao menos no Brasil (embora as manifestações racistas possam ser vistas em diferentes partes do mundo), o que remete ao título do livro de Celia Maria Marinho de Azevedo, *Onda negra, medo branco*: o negro no imaginário das elites – século XIX. Parece-me que brancos temem a perda de um lugar que julgam ser apenas seu e, inseguros da própria capacidade de mantê-lo, não ousam concorrer com um negro seja dentro da sociedade, seja, artisticamente (o que também é um problema social). Não é sem razão que atores e atrizes negros e negras reivindicam

constantemente seu lugar na cena brasileira. Uma exceção a esse cenário talvez possa ser vista em Salvador, capital da Bahia. Lá, onde é sediado, o Bando de Teatro Olodum, fundado em 1990 e ainda em atividade constante no Brasil, tem assumido o protagonismo, mas ainda é muito pouco para um país de dimensão continental.

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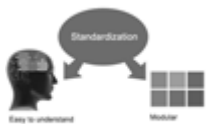
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Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society (USA) - OARS (USA)

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The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

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The Global Journals Incorporation (USA) at its discretion can also refer double blind peer reviewed paper at their end to the board for the verification and to get recommendation for final stage of acceptance of publication.



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After nomination of your institution as “Institutional Fellow” and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf. The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

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- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10% discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
- The Fellow can organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and he/she can also attend the same organized by other institutes on behalf of Global Journals.
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- The Fellow can earn 60% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.
- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in-depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

Note :

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- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of “Difference of Opinion [if any]” among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone.

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Acknowledgments

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

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- 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.



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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.

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TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

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

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

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

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

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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.

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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.

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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 through 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.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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



Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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



Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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



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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

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BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	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
<i>Introduction</i>	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
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	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
<i>Result</i>	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
<i>Discussion</i>	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
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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