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Rural-Urban Female Migration in Bangladesh: Need for Information Support and Institutional Responses

By Mohammed Mamun Rashid

Abstract - This paper portrays lives and livelihoods scenario of female associated with rural-urban migration in Bangladesh. The techniques deployed are the interview and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) methods in collecting data. Internal migration of female has been increased with complexity. This micro level study finds that possible female migrants are enticed, in many cases, with promises of a better life and dream in cities due to lack of information. They are deprived from rights and entitlements; whatever engaged in formal or informal employment. But evidence pointing that voice of female workers is comparatively loud where protection framework exists. This paper urges to take collaborative initiative by stakeholders for developing and disseminating standardized information. Information will help female migrants to be informed and decision making. In concluding this paper, it is recommended that the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) should develop a comprehensive national policy immediately on rural-urban migration; and gradually include informal employment under protection framework.

Keywords : female, information, migration, protection framework, rights, well-beings.

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Keywords : female, information, migration, protection framework, rights, well-beings.

I. INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh has a land area of 147,570 square kilometers and a population of about 149, 772, 364; making it the most densely populated country in the world. It ranked 146th, out of 187 countries, of the UN Human Development Index and has been improving over the last decade (United Nations Development Programme 2013). World Bank (2013) finds that despite population growth, the population of poor households declined by 26 percent in 10 years. The number of extreme poor people also declined from 44 million in 2000 to 34.6 million in 2005, and down to 26 million in 2010 - a massive 41 percent decrease.

With a limited land area, the agrarian economy of Bangladesh is experiencing a very high rate of urbanization. Planning Commission of Bangladesh (2011) affirms that Bangladesh has been experiencing rapid increase in its urban population ever since its independence in 1971. Urban population as a

percentage of total population increased from around 8% to nearly 23% during 1974-2001 periods. By the year 2015 nearly one-third or 33% of the population of Bangladesh will be living in urban areas.

Migration from one area to another in search of improved livelihoods is a key feature of human history. Begum (1999) asserts that migration is not new to Bangladesh. In this country, large-scale movement of the population has been a feature for a very long time. Increasing population is not the only factor responsible for rural-urban migration in Bangladesh since evidence shows that the overall lack of opportunities, lack of development seems to be increasingly associated with the rural areas. Alam (1996) cites that,

The Government is aware of the fact each day a large number of poor, landless people are pouring into the cities because of their landlessness. However, no steps have been taken to rehabilitate these people. As a result, the big cities are becoming crowded and turning into big slums. Because the Government has not decided upon any specific policy, NGOs are not able to make any impact on this type of migration. Women have less difficulty in finding employment in the cities than men, because the Bangladeshi garments and textile industries are growing very fast and earning considerable export income. These industries employ mostly female labor.

Ready-Made Garments (RMG) factories are located mainly in three cities: the capital city Dhaka, the port city Chittagong and the industrial city Narayanganj. RMG sector creates jobs in complementary industries or services, such as accessories, packaging, toiletries, courier, finance, transport and telecommunication services, etc. Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (2013) refers that 4.00 million workers were employed at 5,700 factories in 2011-12 comparing with 0.04 million workers at 134 factories in 1983-84. Out of 4.00 million manpower employed in BGMEA member factories, 3.20 million are women (80%), majorities of them are disadvantaged and economically poverty stricken womenfolk. Export Promotion Bureau of Bangladesh (2012) assures that RMG sector contributed 19,089.69 million USD in 2011-12, that is, 78.60 percent of total export.

Though RMG sector contributes Bangladesh economy in a distinctive manner but several tragedies

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create gloomy image at home and abroad. As for example, a total of 1,131 people, mainly female garments workers, were killed on 24 April 2013 due to collapse of eight-storey building in Savar, Dhaka; known as Savar tragedy. Bangladesh Institute of Labour Studies (2013) indicates that 1,629 people were killed and 3,900 injured in workplace related accidents between January and June 2013. After Savar tragedy, Pope Francis condemned as 'slave labour' the working conditions of the Bangladesh garments workers who died in factory collapse (theguardian 2013). Moreover, the US government suspended Bangladesh from Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) facility for unknown time beings as a symbolic action due to poor working conditions. They want to see Bangladeshi workers in safe and appropriate working environment. European Union (EU), buyers, International Labour Organisation (ILO), humanitarian bodies, labour associations and civil society representatives are concern about labour rights, working conditions, safety & health at work, and responsible business conduct. They committed to stay and engaged with Bangladesh for improving labour standards. As a part of concerted advocacy efforts; Labour and Employment Minister of Bangladesh placed Labour Law (Amendment) -2013 bill at parliament on 15 July 2013, which was passed by voice votes by the treasury bench lawmakers in absence of the opposition Members of Parliament (MPs).

Bangladesh revised and adopted National Labour Policy in 2012. This policy committed: (a) to eliminate all forms of forced or compulsory labour, (b) to eliminate discrimination in respect of employment and occupation, (c) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the rights to collective bargaining, and (d) effective abolition of child labour. Along with other issues and concerns, this policy acknowledges that a bulk number of total labour forces are employed in informal sectors like, but not limited to, brickfield, *chatal* (rice processing mill), construction site, garage, house, poultry-farm, saw-mill, restaurant, and transportation. This policy also emphasizes to take initiatives for making law, if necessary, for well-beings of such labour.

Against this background, this paper takes a closer look on migration and urbanization, in nutshell, and the changing causes of female migration within Bangladesh. In general, there is lack of comprehensive national data, union or sub-district based accurate figure and exact trends regarding rural-urban migration in Bangladesh. Despite having shortage of reliable data on male and female migration from rural areas separately but it has been observed that more female are migrating now and not just as accompanying spouses. Based on primary research done by the author, this paper insights on pains and pleasures of female migrants, their problems in formal and informal sectors, and advocating with policymakers for developing protection framework. This paper also

depicts role of respective actors for awareness building of females with information support which will help them to be informed, appropriate decision making, and protect themselves. A set of recommendations raised by respondents is given for future interventions.

a) *Objective of the Paper*

This paper aims to describe lives and livelihoods conditions of female migrants & returnees and aspiration of possible migrants. It also devises how supportive information and its strategic sharing contribute for safe migration. Specific objectives are-

- A. To find out risks connected in migration process from locality to destination.
- B. To depict different nature of works done by female migrants; particularly working conditions in RMG factories, construction sites, houses, and *chatal*s.
- C. To depict risks encountered in the place of residence and surroundings of female migrants.
- D. To provide recommendations for improvement of safe female migration.

II. METHODS AND MATERIALS

This research adopts a mixed method, applying both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in collecting, assessing and analysis data. In qualitative studies, through which respondents' observation, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and Key Informant Interview (KII) were conducted.

A total of 11 FGDs were conducted at several locations with attendance of diversified occupational groups. Total 102 females (migrants, possible migrants, and returnees) participated in selected FGDs. Table 1 shows participants and sites of FGD.

Table 1 : Participants and sites of FGD

Nature	Participant	FGD	Place
Possible migrant and returnee	36	4	Barisal and Kurigram
RMG worker	19	2	Arshad Nagor, Tongi, Dhaka
Construction labour	10	1	Mohammadia Slum, Dhaka
Domestic worker	18	2	Rayerbazar Slum, Dhaka
<i>Chatal</i> labour	19	2	Barisal and Dhamrai, Dhaka

A total of 25 KIIs were conducted. Table 2 shows categories of key informant and place of interview.

Table 2 : Key informant and place of interview

Key Informant	No. of Interview	Place
Government officials	5	Barisal, Chittagong, Dhaka
Women member of Union Parishad (UP)	2	Barisal and Kurigram
Secretary of Union Parishad (UP)	2	Barisal and Kurigram
Information unit of Union Parishad (UP)	2	Goronadi, Barisal
Women leader	1	Mirpur, Dhaka
NGO activist	1	Nagershori, Kurigram
Executive Director of NGO	2	Barisal and Dhaka
Supervisor of RMG worker	4	Tongi, Dhaka
Leader of RMG association	1	Tongi, Dhaka
Middleman of construction labour	1	Mohammadia Slum, Dhaka
Middleman of domestic worker	2	Rayerbazar Slum, Dhaka
Supervisor of <i>chatal</i> labour	1	Dhamrai, Dhaka
Tea stall owner	1	Gabtolli Bus Stand, Dhaka

A number of issues were addressed during FGD and KII; like areas of origin, causes of migration, livelihood options in village, role of middleman, information, age, education, monthly income, payment, leave, overtime, insurance, medical facilities, safety

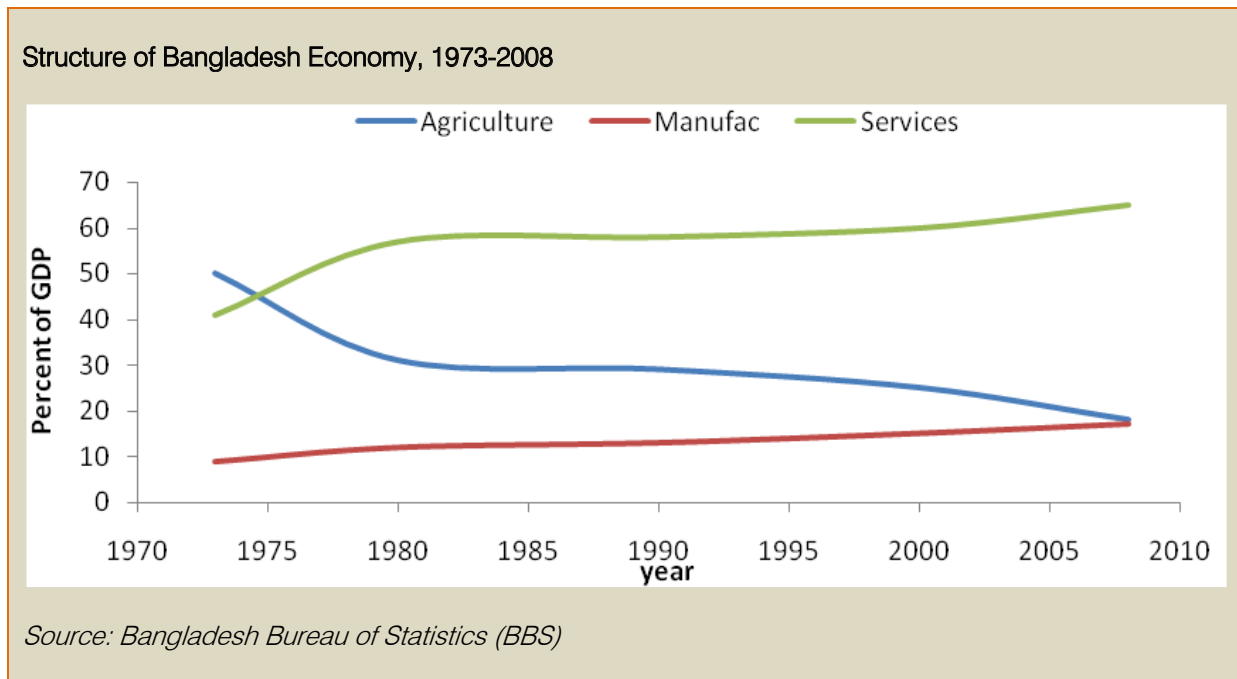
measures, training, discrimination between male and female, associated risks, physical and mental torture, sexual abuse, working environment, living places, existing laws, supports from duty bearer, and social inclusion. Although this study mainly focuses on qualitative analysis of respondents it will also examine some numerical data presented by respondents. So the statistics of this study should not be interpreted as statistically representative.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a) Migration and Urbanization

Afsar (2000) cites that rural-urban which has played a key role in the rapid urbanization process of Bangladesh will continue to increase in scale, complexity and diversity. Young adults, men and women, illiterate and highly educated who have support from social networks in the places of destination will migrate to maximize income opportunities generated by the city and minimize risks of uncertainties in the places of origin.

Labour Force Survey indicates that more than 95% of the 56.7 million individuals in the labour force (15+ Population) were employed in 2010. About 49% of those who are in the agriculture sector, 17% are in the industry sector, and 34% are in the services sector. Agriculture alone employs 49% of labour force, even though its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) share is only 18.6% (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2010). Inability of agriculture sector to absorb surplus labour force is one of the major causes of rural-urban migration.



Vision 2021, Outline Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2010-2021, makes structural change and targets 85% sectoral shares of GDP from industry and

services by 2021 (Planning Commission of Bangladesh 2010). But poverty zone pockets are neglected and located in remote areas, as for example disadvantaged

coastal area, where hardly any industrial development takes place. Moreover, Bangladesh is at extreme risk of climate change. The impacts of climate change are already causing migration and displacement. A bulk number of displacees migrate to seek shelter and employment opportunities in big city though pull factors do not significantly magnetize them.

SFYP (2011-2015) of Bangladesh asserts that although income growth is higher and the poverty incidence is lower than the rest of Bangladesh, Dhaka still is a low income city with large numbers of poor when compared with most mega cities of the world. Holding the prospects for better income opportunities than most parts of Bangladesh, rapid migration is causing Dhaka's population to grow much faster than the rest of the country. This fast urbanization is putting pressure on the city's limited land, an already fragile environment, and weak urban services. The population density is now believed to have reached around 34,000 people per square kilometer, making Dhaka amongst the most densely populated cities in the world. Poor city management, low efficiency and massive corruption are exacerbating the problems. Urban traffic has reached nightmare proportions, often causing huge delays in covering small distances with associated productivity losses. Water and air pollution from poor waste and traffic management poses serious health risks. The already acute slum population is growing further, contributing to serious human and law and order problems. Similar problems are emerging in other major urban centers, especially Chittagong. The urbanization challenge unless managed well could pose a serious problem to the future growth prospects for Bangladesh. But urbanization is also an opportunity and an integral part of the development process.

b) *Push and Pull Factors*

Pushing and pulling factors are complex and inter-related. Those factors are differed from area to area as found in FGD findings. As for example, river erosion is the main push factor of displacement from Kurigram district. Migration is a safety net for affected households. But this push factor does not work in rest of the selected areas.

Total 78.43 percent of respondents specify that 'unemployment in village' is main cause of migration. Losing homestead and cultivatable lands due to riverbank erosion is another factor of forced migration that indentified by 7.83 percent respondents. Other push factors found in this study are domestic violence, early marriage, polygamy, dowry, social insecurity, low yield in agricultural lands, decreasing the productivity of per labour in agricultural sector, vicious cycle of *dadander* (moneylender), pressure from few NGOs to repay loan, food insecurity, inadequate access to *khas* lands (government owned lands) and resources, very little access to safety nets program and so on.

Searching employment opportunities; whatever odd, irregular or underpaid, is the main pull factor of female migration because they do not have ample employment opportunities round the year in village. Moreover, scope of employment particularly in garments factory, residential house, construction sites, dream of better living conditions, communication with relatives living in city, and social networks are other forms of pull factor.

c) *Possible Migrants*

One respondent said during FGD, "We need money for survival. We have hope and dream. Thus, we decide to migrate to free us from shadow of famine in village". Total 25.00 percent of possible migrants are below 20 years. Ten percent range between ages of 20 to 24 and 20.00 percent between 25 to 29 years. However, 15.00 percent is between 30 to 34 and 25.00 percent from 35 to 39 years. Five percent of possible migrants are over forty years. Noteworthy, possible migrants are adolescent girls and young adults. Majority (90.00 percent) of possible migrants have relatively low access and continuation to formal education and/or vocational scheme.

Though they are interested to migrate but do not know what will be job in city. Respondents said, "We want to do work in garments factory or house. Working in house or garments factory will be easy as we do not have education and set of skills". The place of destination is also unknown to them. They have planned to go in city through contact with relatives or neighbors.

Key informants, herein women member, secretary and information unit of Union Parishad (UP), said, "People come at Union Parishad (UP), lowest tier of administrative unit in Bangladesh, for many services like birth certificate, character certificate, cash and kinds support. But female migrants do not come at Union Parishad (UP) to know information about job, employer, middleman, terms and conditions, working environment, problems & prospects, living place and other facilities before migration". The most common forms of internal trafficking in Bangladesh are, among others: trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced prostitution, domestic servitude, forced labour and other forms of exploitation. Possible migrants, in utmost extent, are lured or deceived with promises of a better life and more lucrative job opportunities in cities due to lack of proper information. Union Parishad (UP) can raise mass awareness by using visual materials to reduce internal trafficking. Capacity building schemes of Union Parishad (UP) can address prospective training courses for possible migrants like sewing in garments factory, office helper, security guard, and so on.

Non-government Organizations (NGOs) can address issues and concerns of 'safe female migration'

in their regular program interventions. They can facilitate agenda based discussion in credit groups and other social forums. NGOs can mobilize grassroots people on safe migration issue.

d) *Returnees*

Returnees have mixed conditions after return from city. They told that their wages was low as comparison with volume of work and irregular payment. Wages ranges from Taka 500-4,000 (USD \$6.25-\$50, exchange rate \$1 USD = 80 Taka). Low wages helped them to survive as a living thing not human beings. They were physically and mentally tortured and sexually abused at work place and living surroundings. They did not have any information before migration to city regarding workload, wage, overtime, and working environment. Now their workload is low and has enough time in village. But they do not have earning sources. They have to depend on their husband and other members; even in decision making.

Total 70.00 percent of returnees were moved to city by influence of middleman. Middleman gave them false promises of a better life with good employment. But they cheated with returnees. Middleman did not provide jobs according to verbal commitment. Key informants cite that middleman usually sells female migrants to brothels. Returnees also carry social stigma as some neighbors who say the returnees are bad, evil. Thus, respondents suggested for taking state-led initiative for re-integration of such returnees.

It is significant to note that female migrants mainly live at rented house in city but a number of relatives and neighbors of village are living in cluster. They are used to sharing food, practice own language and culture in city. However, densely populated & polluted slum, lack of potable water, noise pollution, congested living room, and not comfortably matching with city life are also causes of return from city.

e) *Garments Worker*

FGD participants said, "We were jobless in village. We were not able to eat regularly. But now we have a job. Working in garments factory protect us from hunger but kills our freedom. We start work at early morning but do not know the end time. It depends on decision of supervisor. Sometimes we work whole night without rest. Supervisors misbehave with us. Sexual harassment and violence, in some extent, exist in workplace".

They usually go in city through contact with relatives or neighbors. As for example, elder sister brings her younger sister or cousin from village. Sister brings the wife of her brother or sister-in-law. Aunt brings nephew, one brings her ex-classmate who drop out from school. Such mixing relationships are found that is used as a social capital to come in the city and secure job at garments factory.

Majority of them have to face many risks associated with their job and living places. Frequently fire and collapse of garments factory increase their tension. Garments authority sometimes arranges orientation on rescue management. But it is mostly lecture oriented. There have no sufficient stairs and instruments for emergency exit. Even they do not properly know use of extinguisher though those are usually seen beside wall. There are not sufficient essential facilities at work place like pure drinking water, hygienic mode to maintain some cleanliness during menstrual period. There are also problem of taking meal on time. Jaundice, peptic ulcer, and skin diseases are prevailed in majority of cases.

Female workers are more vulnerable than male because of their low voices. Supervisor of garments workers deprives them in many aspects. As for example, supervisor records less time in overtime sheet, absent one day if little bit late during entrance, and termination during pregnancy. Moreover, sometimes senior colleague (like supervisor) gives them ill-treated offer of sexual relationship. They also fall in trapped of false love by male co-worker.

One of the respondents said during FGD, "I work last eighteen years. Now my wages is Taka 6,000 (USD \$75). There is no performance based remuneration system. Everything depends on decision of employer. We work hard but get less benefit. Supervisors habitually misbehave with us. But they cannot commonly do it with male workers. Male workers can easily react but we cannot; because we are female". Normally one female worker receives monthly remuneration Taka 3,000-3,500 (USD \$37.50-\$43.75).

They have to attend at early morning in work. But completion time is not fixed. In some extent, they have to depart during midnight. They face many social insecurities especially eve-teasing, sexual harassment, touching sensitive organ of body, ill-treated comments on street. A number of FGD participants (45.00 percent) mention that Bangladesh have law on 'violence against women'. Implementation of that law is low. Unfortunately, some members of law enforcing agency harass them on street. Participants urge to take necessary measures for improving mind set of such people. They also urge to arrange clean dining room and qualified doctor. They agree to work after evening if garments authority provides secured and gender-friendly vehicle or secured dormitory beside garments factory. Female workers urge that training (like sewing) and basic orientation before migration will be helpful to adapt with working environment.

f) *Construction Labour*

Selected participants of construction labour live in Mohammadia slum, Dhaka. Their living place is dirty. They share hanging latrine. Garbage, along with

excreta, is dumped in canal which congests sewage system. Rats and cockroaches scurry across the floor of the damp, dark and poorly-ventilated room. Participants arrived from northern region of Bangladesh. Some of them used truck and roof of train to pay less fare.

The wages of female construction labour is not fixed. It depends on decision of employer and usually ranges from Taka 180-200 (USD \$2.25-\$2.50). The male construction labour usually receives from Taka 300-350 (USD \$3.75-\$4.375). There has common falsehood that females are physically less fit for construction work. This is main cause of discrimination. Participants said, "Despite having discrimination we get some money for continued existence. We were employed in agricultural work, especially for harvesting, in village. We received forty kilograms paddy for daily work. But we do not get such opportunity round the year in village".

Wages of female construction labours is not regular though they are verbally committed to be paid daily basis. They have to wait long hours; even days to receive wages. It is very difficult for them to buy daily essentials and manage cook & other works when wages is received at night like 10:00 pm. Female construction labours do not have job security. Their job is not also regular. Many factors are involved to get a job like number of construction sites, demand of labour, supply, season, and so on. Female construction labours usually have to pay 'commission' to *sardar* (leader of labours) for managing daily job. Thus, they can work on average sixteen days within a month.

Female construction labours work as a helper, digging mud, carrying brick, sand, cement, and other materials. They carry such items at different stages of multi-storey building. Safety measures undertaken in workplace is not totally at satisfactory level because- (a) mostly manual operation, (b) lack of sufficient instruments for safety, (c) no demonstrative instruction for safety, and (4) no basic training provided to labour about carefulness and safety in workplace. Construction work has 2D (difficult and dangerous) and accident occurred several times. But female labours do not get standard compensation. It also depends on willing of employer. Female labours are not aware about their rights. However, they propose to include them under insurance facility.

g) Domestic Worker

Selected participants work as housemaid at nearby residential areas. Total 27.78 percent (five persons) of them work permanently and others work part time. Those two categories have different nature pains and pleasures.

Female domestic workers do not have any formal contract with house owner. Amount of wages, nature of work, working hours, and date of payment are

determined verbally. Everything depends on characteristics of house owner. Good house owner provides essential facilities for them.

Permanent housemaid usually stays in owner house. Majority of respondents point out that housemaid normally sleeps on floor of kitchen. There has no separate accommodation facility for them. As a wages such housemaid receives Taka 1,500-2,000 (USD \$18.75-\$25) monthly. They usually get leave especially during religious festival observation. Sometimes owners give them bonus and money of *fitrah* (In Islam, a portion of charity) & *zakat* (In Islam, a form of giving to those who are less fortunate).

Part time housemaid starts work at early morning or evening; or suitable time set by mutual discussion. Wages is fixed based on working hours and nature of work. They normally do all works like cooking, washing cloth, cleaning, and other household activities. Such housemaid receives Taka 800-1,000 (USD \$10-\$12.50) monthly and works from four to five hours. They also work at other nearby two or three houses. They live at low quality house like a temporary thatched shack in slum.

As noted earlier, appointment of domestic worker is verbal. Terms and conditions of work are not protected by law. Pains and pleasures of domestic worker depend on mind set of house owner. Total 38.89 percent of FGD participants have positive attitude on house owner. They mention that house owners do not torture them physically and mentally. House owners give medicine, cloths (sometimes old cloth), food and other supports. Unfortunately, they are at risk of mental and physical abuse by male domestic worker. They urge that, "We did not have knowledge about city life. We were not able to communicate; not being able to speak properly. Basic orientation, before migration, on household works will be helpful for us".

h) Chatal Labour

Chatal labours are engaged in all process activities for drying paddy. *Chatal* mills are usually located at sub-district centers, small towns, and outskirts. Nineteen participants of FGD and key informant said, "Male labours usually work at boiler of *chatal*. Female labours are employed for doing all activities like loading, unloading, collecting water & firewood, drying paddy, and so on. But there has serious discrimination between male and female labours regarding wages and other benefits".

There has no formal agreement between *chatal* labours and owner. Terms and conditions of employment are verbal. *Chatal* owners have association. Association determines the amount of wages. Each female labour usually receives Taka 90 (USD \$1.125) daily but payment is made weekly. Male labours who normally work at boiler they receive Taka 300 (USD \$3.75) daily. Their wages is calculated based

on attendance. They do not have weekly holiday, leave, and other benefits. Even they do not get bonus during religious festival. Everything depends on decision of owner. As for example, last year each female labour received Taka 200 (USD \$2.50) and one soap as an Eid (religious festival of Muslim) bonus.

Chatal labours do not get job opportunity round the year. They become jobless during rainy season. Environment of *chatal* is not gender-friendly. Male and female labours use one latrine. They mostly use unhygienic latrine, that is, hang latrine, open defecation, dug-well and hole. They have to wait in queue for long time for going to latrine. There has lack of potable drinking water. Female labours drag paddy on floor by legs and wood-made instrument. Pulling paddy is quite hard and creates serious pain on body and problems in waist, leg and lower domain of stomach. They are also at the risks of skin diseases as working whole day under sunshine. Unfortunately, female labours do not get any benefit for treatment. Female labours are terminated from job during pregnancy period. They do not obtain any benefit for that time. In *chatal*, absenteeism at workplace means no wages.

i) National Policies and Legal Frameworks

Though the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) adopts and reforms of a number of outstanding policies; there is still no national policy to comprehensively address internal migration issue. But concentration on shifted sectoral contribution to GDP, inability of agriculture to absorb surplus labour force, forced migration due to adverse effects of climate change, increasing labour force participation rate of women, and roles of other push and pull factors sharply increase rural-urban migration and claiming imperative institutional response to develop national policy on internal migration. Nonetheless Bangladesh has a set of policies, laws, plans and institutional settings that both directly and indirectly addresses a number of provisions of internal migrants. As for example-

j) National Labour Policy

National Labour Policy 2012 sets ten specific objectives mainly for well-beings of labour and enabling environment. Along with addressing globalization

realities, this policy emphasizes on fixing minimum wages and review wages structure in accordance with price hiking. Elimination of wages discrimination between male and female labour has been addressed in this document. This policy also contemplates on amendment of labour law considering changes of labour market and upcoming issues.

k) National Labour Law

Bangladesh Labour Law (Amendment) 2013 was passed on 15 July 2013 in parliament. Immediate Labour (Amendment) Law 2010 was enacted on 13 May 2010. It amended mainly age, that is, sixty years instead of fifty-seven; nothing else. National Labour Law 2006 addresses, but not limited to, conditions of service and employment, age, maternity benefit, special provisions relating to health, hygiene and safety, welfare, working hours and leave, wages and payment, and workers compensation for injury by accident. Though newly amended labour law includes some sectors, as for example agriculture, ship-breaking, ship-building; but does not serve all sectors and segments like domestic worker. Right based organizations, labour unions and other actors are not fully satisfied with amendments of new law. They still raise voices to see a comprehensive national labour law. However, all respondents mention that labours do not know about their basic rights prescribed in law. They suggest for summarizing basic provisions and clauses of labour law and to orient labours and migration expectants.

l) Inadequate Information and Initiative

FGD participants and key informants point out that 95.00 percent female migrant (including expectants and returnees) did not have proper information about their job, lodging, and others. They are not aware about their rights and entitlements those prescribed in respective legal frameworks. Respondents also mention that implementation of such legal instruments are very slow and take longer to reach for female migrants. This is a clearly an infringement of their rights for protection and promotion lives & livelihoods. Table 3 shows major problems & concerns and corresponding recommendations proposed by the respondents.

Table 3 : Major problems & concerns and recommendations

Categories	Major Problems & Concerns	Recommendations
Possible migrants and returnees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Possible migrants have low level educational qualification. They do not know about possible conditions of their job after migrating in city. They have limited set of skills. Majority of female migrants do not go to Union Parishad (UP) to know information about their job in city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development of easy training & orientation manual and review existing materials. To prepare poster, leaflet, brochure, and sticker as an awareness development materials. To prepare flipchart (with photo and easy sentence) for discussion at courtyard session and group

Categories	Major Problems & Concerns	Recommendations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible migrants do not have formal training and orientation. • Majority (70.00 percent) of returnees went to city by influence of middleman. • Middleman cheated with returnees. • Middleman sells female migrants to brothels. • Returnees were physically and mentally tortured and sexually abused at work place. • Returnees have social stigma after comeback in village. 	<p>meetings. Develop flipchart according to educational qualification of possible migrants.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To establish billboard (with awareness development message) at public place. • To build mass awareness about negative role of middleman in migration process. • To sensitize respective stakeholders for social re-integration of returnees.
Garments workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female garments workers usually do not get rights according to appointment letter. • Working hour is not fixed. As for example, they start work at early morning but do not know the end time. • At initial stage, one female worker usually receives Taka 3,000-3,500 (USD \$37.50-\$43.75) monthly. Increment depends on willing of employer. Female workers are being deprived from minimum wages. • Female workers are sexually harassed by supervisor & co-worker at workplace and on street. • Frequently fire and collapse of garments factory insecure their lives. • Garments factories do not have sufficient stairs for emergency exit. • Employers do not arrange sound training and orientation on rescue management. • Lack of potable water at worksite. • Female workers are suffering by different diseases like jaundice, peptic ulcer, and skin problems. • Majority of female workers are not aware about their rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summarize basic provision and rights of newly enacted Bangladesh labour law. Bullet points can be used in training and orientation session of migrants (existing and possible) to raise their voice and bargaining skills. • To address existing practices of wages structure, working hours, overtime, leave (with & without pay), incentive, mental, physical, sexual violence, health & sanitation, meal, and medical facilities in manual and other awareness development materials. • To ensure field test of every awareness building materials. • To facilitate consultative workshop along with participation of owners, policymakers, duty bearers, employers, management staffs (key level and operational), labour union, media and representatives of civil society organizations.
Construction labours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female construction labours are appointed verbally. • Living place of construction labour is dirty. • Female construction labour gets Taka 180-200 (USD \$2.25-\$2.50) daily whereas male labour receives Taka 300-350 (USD \$3.75-\$4.375). • They have to wait long hours; even days to receive wages. • They have to pay 'commission' to <i>sardar</i> (leader of labours) for managing daily job. • They can work on average sixteen days within a month. • They cannot enjoy leave, holiday, and other facilities. • Poor safety measures undertaken at workplace. • There has no insurance for female construction labours. • Injured or death labours get lump-sum compensation. It also depends on willing of employer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To include conditions of female construction labours like wages, irregular payment, exploitation by labour leader, job insecurity, poor safety measures, lack of accidental compensation and others in information handbook. • To ensure insurance and standard compensation for female construction labours. • Advocacy with employer for well-beings of female construction labours.
Domestic worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female domestic workers do not have any formal contract with house owner. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To inform female domestic workers about their rights.

Categories	Major Problems & Concerns	Recommendations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No wages structure. Terms and conditions of work are not protected by law. Facilities of domestic workers depend on mind set of owner. Female domestic workers are at risk of mental and physical abuse by male domestic worker and house owner. Female domestic workers do not know about their rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capacity building of domestic workers (existing and possible) about areas of encountered risks and increase self-confidence. Long-term advocacy for adopting comprehensive regulation for protecting female labours engaged in informal employment.
<i>Chatal/labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female <i>chatal</i> labours are appointed verbally. Serious discrimination between male and female labours regarding wages and other benefits. Wages is calculated based on attendance. They do not have weekly holiday, leave, and other benefits. They are not entitled to receive festival bonus. Employment is seasonal and terminates from job any time without prior notice. Female labours are terminated from job during pregnancy period. Environment of <i>chatal</i> is not gender-friendly. Pulling paddy is quite hard and problems on body. But they do not get medical facility. They are at risk of sexual violence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To facilitate meeting with <i>chatal</i> owners & their association, and other actors to share situations of female labours. To accumulate findings like wages discrimination between male and female, leave, termination, working environment, medical facilities, sexual violence, and others. To address above findings in manual and other awareness development materials.

m) Government and Non-government Interventions

FGD participants and key informants mention that both government departments and non-government organizations do not have remarkable focus on safe female migration. They highly emphasize on GO-NGO collaboration in this regard. Government of Bangladesh (GoB) can develop comprehensive protection framework progressively for well-beings of female migrants especially who are engaged in informal employment. Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) of Bangladesh can propel existing initiatives widely at grassroots and play advisory role in this regard. As for example, they can adopt innovative awareness materials and use it through vertical and horizontal line agencies like information unit of Union Parishad (UP). BMET can also provide strategic direction to facilitate capacity building training and orientation for respective duty bearers in coordination with other departments.

Respondents suggest that NGOs can work in two tiers; a) awareness & capacity building, sensitization, and b) evidence-based policy advocacy.

NGOs can summarize basic provision and rights of Bangladesh labour law, women development policy, domestic violence (prevention and protection) act, eve-teasing, health policy, and tentative risks associated in female migration process. Findings can

be used as an awareness development materials and policy promotion tools. They can take initiative for sensitization of duty bearers and other national & sub-national actors.

Respondents urge for capacity development of NGO activists on safe female migration issue. NGOs can facilitate courtyard session, drama, *jari* (folksong), video show, and other cultural activities. The respondents mention that involvement of youths will sensitize future generations as a change maker. Engagement of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), voluntary groups, local club, opinion leaders, and media will help for effective and efficient functions. Testimonial case presentation like 'tale of a returnee' in group meeting or courtyard session will be helpful instrument. Involvement of private sectors, that is, under Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is emerging for safe female migration.

IV. CONCLUSION

This small-scale field based study finds that females face many problems at each step of migration process. Protection and promotion the lives and livelihoods of internal female migrants is an integrated approach rather than scattered courses of action. This paper concludes that standardized information package will help them, especially possible migrants, to

be informed, taking appropriate decisions and protect themselves. The Government of Bangladesh (GoB) should develop a comprehensive national policy immediately to promote well-beings of internal migrants including female. State-led protection framework should be developed and put into practice progressively for ensuring rights of people with informal employment.

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Sociological Study of People's Believe on Sufi Saint's (A Case Study of District Jhang)

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Abstract - Shrines of the Sufi saints are the signs of Peace, Harmony, Tolerance and sympathy. Today's peoples have great faith on Sultans (peers) and come on the shrines for making woves. Come on shrines and making woves have become an important part of the social life of the people. Not only Muslims but also non-Muslims came on shrines and follow the teachings of the Sufis in every sphere of life. Female came on shrines in great numbers than male because they have great belief on woves and follow the teachings of the predecessors (peers) blindly. Fake peers are also found in great numbers and they deceive people through different ways. It has become an important issue in our society and increasing with the passage of time. On the other hand, people have become materialistic and leave religious values. They are accepting wrong beliefs, values and teachings which presented by the fake religious leaders and predecessors of the Sufis shrines. Therefore, present research study was conducted in sociology. Present study was conducted in district Jhang on the shrines of Sultan's Sufi Saints. For this purpose five Sultan's Sufi Saints shrines were selected. Sufi Saint's played a vital role in the preaching of Islam in Jhang. People of Jhang were and are very rigid in their traditions and culture. Sufi Saints preached Islam here with love and through miracles. They were true representer of Islamic teachings and Holy Prophet (PBUH) teachings.

Keywords : Shrines, Sufi Saints, Religious Values, Materialistic, Miracles, Jhang, Sultan's, Wove's

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Sociological Study of People's Believe on Sufi Saint's (A Case Study of District Jhang)

Rashid Menhas^α, Saira Akhtar^σ & Norina Jabeen^ρ

Abstract - Shrines of the Sufi saints are the signs of Peace, Harmony, Tolerance and sympathy. Today's peoples have great faith on Sultans (peers) and come on the shrines for making woves. Come on shrines and making woves have become an important part of the social life of the people. Not only Muslims but also non-Muslims came on shrines and follow the teachings of the Sufis in every sphere of life. Female came on shrines in great numbers than male because they have great belief on woves and follow the teachings of the predecessors (peers) blindly. Fake peers are also found in great numbers and they deceive people through different ways. It has become an important issue in our society and increasing with the passage of time. On the other hand, people have become materialistic and leave religious values. They are accepting wrong beliefs, values and teachings which presented by the fake religious leaders and predecessors of the Sufis shrines. Therefore, present research study was conducted in sociology. Present study was conducted in district Jhang on the shrines of Sultan's Sufi Saints. For this purpose five Sultan's Sufi Saints shrines were selected. Sufi Saint's played a vital role in the preaching of Islam in Jhang. People of Jhang were and are very rigid in their traditions and culture. Sufi Saints preached Islam here with love and through miracles. They were true representer of Islamic teachings and Holy Prophet (PBUH) teachings.

Keywords : Shrines, Sufi Saints, Religious Values, Materialistic, Miracles, Jhang, Sultan's, Wove's.

I. INTRODUCTION

Sufism is a system of belief in which Muslims seek spiritual knowledge through direct personal experience of Allah Almighty. It is based upon mystical diemensions of Islam. Person who practice the belief system of sufism is called "Sufi". Emin (2008)

Sufi tradition simply cannot be acquated with mysticism. Sufism includes many different practice regimes and their supporting social institutions, arts and scholarly justifications. The Sufi order connects the Muslims seeking enrichment of their obligatory ritual regimes with a spiritual teacher. The Sufi teacher has great piety and an especially powerful sense of God's presence. Zubari (2002)

Sufis way of preaching Islam's concludes that they preach Islam in Sufi way. The Sufi way consists of

four stages. The first stage involves learning the goodness and moral values of all religions which are accomplished by studying Islam. Non Islamic Sufis rely on other religions or the writings of Sufi saints to set up the foundations of morals and principles. The second stage is the path of Sufism which is focus on the inner practices of worship and in third and fourth stage experiencing God within spiritual position of Sufism. Under Sufism Islam preaches by Sufis through good behaviour. Berry (2002)

The messages of the Sufis are universal and illuminate our mind and soul. Their messages touch our soul and mind because message based upon love and truth. They love every one without any discrimination. People faith on them because they are the part of Islam and they have great contribution in the preaching of teachings of Islam. Sufi philosophy based upon universal love and brotherhood. Annemarie (1975)

Sufis are also called the people of, "true beingness". They impress the people of the world by their teachings, love and art. Their teachings and love show the purity of their heart and soul. True Sufis are love every one without any discrimination. They are free from national prejudice. Ghazali (1972)

After the 13th century, Islam spread through Sufis in Indo-Pak. They follow the path of love. According to the Sufis, through love everything can be achieved. They mainly focused on "Oneness of Allah" in their teachings. Before Islam, people worship gods and they have believed on them. The Sufis change their mind and heart with their teachings which based upon true love. Avery (2004)

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Stoddart (1986) said that Sufis are mystical personalities of Allah. They believe that Muhammad (PBUH) has said every verse of Quranic has an inner side and an outsider. Sufis are believed on the quest of Haqiqa. Haqiqa is known as inner reality and inner truth. Sufis described that Haqiqa is heart of Islamic revelation. They followed the approach of love, brotherhood and harmony in the preaching of Islam.

Witteveen (1997) said that the Sufis are not a cultural group; they are Spiritual group and found in the Islamic world. According to xthe spiritua school of thinking, knowledge and awareness can bring about in the soul by spiritual practices. Orthodox Islam holds that one can attain true

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knowledge and awareness through the acts of worship that present in the Quran and Sunnah. Sufis are believed that their teachers are also a foundation for legislation in worship because they would order them to carry out acts of worship that have no origin in either the Quran or the Sunnah.

Trimingham (1998) conducted research on the Sufi orders in Islam. He said that Sufis are the people who represent Islam with peace and love. In every region of the world. Sufi saints were played a significant role in the preaching of Islam. Sufis were attracted people towards Islam through miracles which God bless them. Sufi saints were religious personalities and people of Jhang believe on them due to religious personalities and miracle personalities.

Buhler (1998) concluded that Sufis and Sufism are attached with Islam. Sufis in fact represents the Islam. They play fundamental role in the configuration of Islamic societies. They are being respected by the people because people have great love for them. Sufi has a personal influence in the society.

Chittick (2007) conducted a research on "Sufis way of preaching Islam" and concludes that they preach Islam in Sufi way. The Sufi way consists of four stages. The first stage involves learning the goodness and moral values of all religions which are accomplished by studying Islam. Non Islamic Sufis rely on other religions or the writings of Sufi saints to set up the foundations of morals and principles. The second stage is the path of Sufism which is focus on the inner practices of worship and in third and fourth stage experiencing God within spiritual position of Sufism. Sufi saints have deep influence on Religion, culture and social affairs. Mostly people get religious guidance from their peers.

Khan (2003) conducted a research titled as "Studies of Mughal India" concluded that Mughal

emperor Shah Jahan had great affiliation for Sufi saints. After different war adventures, he came in Jhang to meet different Sufi saints. He constructed residence for them and allocate agriculture land for the accomplishment of the worldly needs. After the death of Sufis, he constructed the tomb on their graves and gave special concentration on the protection of the tomb.

III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To investigate the reasons of people's faith on sultans (peers).
- To study the role of these Sufis in preaching Islam in district Jhang.
- To study the life styles of the present gadinashines of these Sufi shrines.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Methodology is, A system of explicit rules and procedures on which research is based and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated. (Dixon & Marry, 1957). The major objective of methodology is to explain various tools and techniques employed for the collection, analysis and interpretation of data relating to research problem under investigation. The present study was conducted in district Jhang and Multistage sampling technique applied. The universe for the present study was the shrines of Sufi saints. In first stage through purposive sampling technique five Sufi saints shrines were selected and whole universe was covered. In the last stage total 150 followers of the Sufi saints were selected and interviewed in depth. Total 30 followers of each Sufi Saints were selected through convenient sampling technique. Name of the shrines are as given below.

Hazret Sultan Bahu (RA)	Hazret Rodu Sultan (RA)	Hazret Maghi Sultan (RA)	Hazret Hathiwan Sultan (RA)	Hazret Mahably Sultan (RA)
30	30	30	30	30
150				

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Analysis of data and interpretation of results are the most important steps in scientific research. Without these steps generalization and prediction cannot be achieved which is the target of scientific research. Generalization and conclusion are drawn on the basis of characteristics and attitudes of the respondents.

Table 1 : Distribution of the respondents according to their faith on Sultans

Faith on sultans	Frequency	Percentage
Religious personality	50	33.3
Miracal personality	27	18.0
Because my elders have faith on them	58	38.7
It's a part of religion	15	10.0
Total	150	100.0

Table 1 indicates that about one-third i.e., 33.3 percent of the respondents reported that their

Peer/Sultan had a religious personality, 18.0 percent of them told that their Sultan had Miracal personality and 38.7 percent of the respondents said they had faith on Sultan because their elders had faith on them. Whereas 10.0 percent of the respondents told that the Sultan is a part of religion. Trimmingham (1998) said that Sufi saints are religious personalities and people of Jhang believe on them due to religious personalities and miracle personalities.

Table 2 : Distribution of the respondents according to which characteristics of their sultan impressed them

Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Islamic	54	36.0
Good behaviour	72	48.0
Both (Islamic and good behaviour)	24	16.0
Total	150	100.0

Table 2 indicates that 36.0 percent of the respondents reported that their Peer had Islamic characteristics so they choose them, while a major proportion i.e., 48.0 percent of the respondents said that their Peers' good behaviour impressed them and 16.0 percent of the respondents told that their Peers' behaviour and Islamic characteristics impressed them, so they choose him. Stoddart (1986) said that Sufis are mystical personalities of Allah and people impress their miracle and religious personalities. Berry (2002) concluded that Sufis preach Islam through good behaviour and spiritual. They love people without any difference.

Table 3 : Distribution of the respondents according to the lifestyle of their peer

Peer's lifestyle	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional	12	8.0
Modern	138	92.0
Total	150	100.0

Table 3 shows the lifestyle of the peer. Only 8.0 percent of the respondents reported that their peer's had traditional lifestyle and a huge majority i.e., 92.0 percent of the respondents told that their peer's had modern lifestyle.

Table 4 : Distribution of the respondents according to the type of preaching's of their peer

Type of preaching	Frequency	percentage
Islamic teaching	48	32.0
Sultan' s teaching	47	31.3
Both (Islamic and Sultan's teaching)	55	36.7
Total	150	100.0

Table 4 reflects that about one-third i.e., 32.0 percent of the respondents reported that their Peers provided Islamic teaching, while less than one-third i.e., 31.3 percent of the respondents told that their Peer

provided their own teaching and 36.7 percent of them told that their Peer provided both types of preaching i.e., Islamic and their own teaching. Ghazali (1972) said that Sufis teachings based upon pure love of heart and soul and they love every one without any discrimination. They are free from national prejudice.

Table 5 : Distribution of the respondents according to their peer's guidance about the matters of life

Guidance	Frequency	percentage
Religious	38	25.3
Political	1	.7
Social	22	14.7
Both (Religious and social)	89	59.3
Total	150	100.0

Table 5 depicts that about one-fourth i.e., 25.3 percent of the respondents reported that their Peer provided them religious guidance, while only one respondent said that their peer provided them political guidance and 14.7 percent of them told that their peer provided them guidance on social matter and a majority of the respondents i.e., 59.3 percent said that their peer provided guidance on religious and social matters. Chittick (2007) said that Sufi saints have deep influence on Religion, culture and social affairs. Mostly people get religious guidance from their peers.

VI. CONCLUSION

After the demise of Holy Prophet (PBUH), Sahaba-e-Karam (RA) in the world for the preaching of Islam. More efforts had been made during the government of "Hazret Umer Farooq" and ruled over 22 lac square kilometer of the world. He sent Muslim army in different regions of the word for conquering and for the preaching of Islam. Sufi orders were not established in the life of Holy Prophet (PBUH), it established after the demise of Holy Prophet (PBUH). Religious scholars who came in Subcontinent for the preaching of Islam established Sufi orders. Sufi orders can be traced in Shiea, Sunni and other religious groups. The word "Sufi" originate from the term of "Suf" which means "simple woolen cloaks." The real Sufis are basically mystics, people who followed a pious type of Islam and they believed that a direct and personal relation with "Allah can be achieved through meditation (Webster,2000). Sufis not only played an important role in the preaching of Islam in Eastern Asia but also in central Africa. In every corner of the world, Sufis are found. Sufis are the Muslims who represent the spiritual proportions of Islam. They are sometimes described as mystics of Islam. Basically a Sufi saint in any religion is equal to a Sufi saint in any other religion because they are motivated by the same Divine Source. Sufi doctrines contains many elements that go beyond the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).Islam is an external structure in

which the individual exists while the internal search for enlightenment belongs to a realm of Sufi knowledge. Sufis became integrated and important central part of Islamic culture and society. In the context of Sufism, district Jhang is so rich and Sufi Saints played an important role in the preaching of Islam in Jhang. People of Jhang have great believe on the Sufi Saints, but at present , predecessors of these shrines are not true representative of Sufism and the teachings of their ancestors.

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Faith and Black-White Interracial Marriages

By Rameca Vincent Leary

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Abstract - The landmark 1967 Loving vs. Virginia Supreme Court ruling ended anti-miscegenation laws in America. However, the historic event did not change how interracial marriages were viewed from a societal standpoint (Alonso, 2000). Although such unions have increased in the 21st century, problems associated with acceptance still abound (Jayson, 2011). The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore how faith impacts Black-White Christian marriages. Does it help these couples cope with adversity and/or handle daily struggles better than those who do not share the same beliefs? Or, is there no significant difference at all? William Gudykunst's (1995) Anxiety-Uncertainty Management Theory will serve as a theoretical framework for the study. It contends the development of healthy interethnic relations and flexible interactions require a high degree of intergroup communication, and in the same vein, a heightened level of out-group communication (Matusitz, 2012). Ideas for further research will also be explored.

Keywords : black-white interracial marriages, faith, struggles, further research.

GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160899



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Faith and Black-White Interracial Marriages

Rameca Vincent Leary

Abstract - The landmark 1967 *Loving vs. Virginia* Supreme Court ruling ended anti-miscegenation laws in America. However, the historic event did not change how interracial marriages were viewed from a societal standpoint (Alonso, 2000). Although such unions have increased in the 21st century, problems associated with acceptance still abound (Jayson, 2011). The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore how faith impacts Black-White Christian marriages. Does it help these couples cope with adversity and/or handle daily struggles better than those who do not share the same beliefs? Or, is there no significant difference at all? William Gudykunst's (1995) Anxiety-Uncertainty Management Theory will serve as a theoretical framework for the study. It contends the development of healthy interethnic relations and flexible interactions require a high degree of intergroup communication, and in the same vein, a heightened level of out-group communication (Matusitz, 2012). Ideas for further research will also be explored.

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It was a landmark decision that challenged controversial laws regarding interracial marriages in America. The Supreme Court case of *Loving vs. Virginia* (1967) declared anti-miscegenation laws (laws banning interracial marriages) to be unconstitutional. The Court unanimously held that prohibiting and punishing marriage based on racial qualifications violated the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment (Alonso, 2000).

The case revolved around the interracial marriage of Mildred Jeter and her new husband, Richard Loving. The newlyweds had recently taken their vows in nearby Washington, D.C., and were happy to begin their new life together in Virginia. However, the year was 1958, and Virginia was one of 16 states that prohibited and punished interracial marriages. Mildred was African American, and Richard was Caucasian. Four months into their married life, they were indicted by a grand jury. This incident spawned a legal battle, catapulting their case all the way to the Supreme Court (Mangum 2007).

Decades later, in the 21st century, Black-White interracial marriages are quite common (Lewis & Yancey, 1977). The number of interracial couples has doubled every decade since 1960 (Killan, 2002). A 2010 Census report indicates one in 10 American marriages have partners of a different race or ethnicity (Lai, 2012). However, interracial marriage remains a "source of quiet debate over issues of identity, assimilation, and acceptance" (Mangum, 2007, para. 15). Bell and Hurd (2006) project that by the year 2020, the U.S. population

will undergo a significant restructuring of its "ethnic" proportions. The White population is expected to decrease from 76 to 50 percent, while the Black population is poised to increase from 12 to 15 percent (Cordell, Betz, & Green, 2002).

We live in an era that reflects the historic 2008 election of America's first President of African American heritage, Barack Obama (Yates, 2012). Our Commander in Chief has openly shared stories about his life growing up in an interracial family, with a White mother and Black father. Elsewhere, in the media, reflections of this diverse, melting pot (Nichols & Schwartz, 2001) are evidenced in television shows and commercial advertisements (Petersen, 2013). A 2013 Cheerios ad featuring an interracial family sparked considerable controversy via the Internet. It featured a Black-White interracial couple and their biracial daughter. Negative comments posted on Cheerios' Web site and on YouTube did not impact General Mills' decision to keep the commercial intact. Negative comments were disabled on YouTube, as a wave of favorable posts applauded the organization for maintaining its stance (Stevens, 2013).

With the landscape of America changing as interracial marriage becomes more prevalent (Jayson, 2011), does this guarantee approval by others or the ability to cope within the confines of one's marriage? Absolutely not! Meanwhile, how does faith factor into the equation? Could it play a significant role? The purpose of this qualitative research study is to analyze Black-White Christian couples, focusing on how faith has impacted their marriages. Five couples have agreed to candidly share various aspects of their lives, including triumphs and struggles. Therefore, this paper will explore: (a) literature pertaining to the topic; (b) present a theoretical framework; (c) introduce a methodological approach; (d) discuss findings; (e) and explore possibilities for further research.

I. LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent decades, new research has emerged, revealing detailed information about interracial marriages. A 2012 Pew Research Center study found that "8.4% of current marriages were between spouses of a different race, up from 3.2% in 1980" (Lai, 2012, para. 4). The research also concluded that interracial marriages were more prevalent in Western states, with more than 26% in those areas being mixed. As a precursor to marriage, studies pertaining to interracial dating have also emerged. Choi (2001) conducted a

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survey comprised of both young and old Blacks, Asians, and Latinos. His research found that roughly 40% said they had dated someone of another race. Nearly 30% reported serious relationships. Asian-American men and women, including Black men, were “most likely” to have dated members of other racial groups. Research indicates that for some, these dating practices also lead to marriage (Jayson, 2006).

a) *Black-White Interracial Marriages*

Among interracial marriages, the Black-White couple mixture does not occur as often, but has faced the most criticism (Childs, 2005; Lewis & Yancey, 1995; Spickard, 1989). In contrast, the Black male-White female combination has elicited the highest level of all interracial discrimination (Scott, 1987; Davidson, 1992). Regarding marital satisfaction among younger couples, Crester and Leon (1982) attest there are fewer teenage marriages among interracially married Black-White couples because a high percentage of Black husbands, in this case, have been married before.

Although tolerance for interracial couples has increased, Dainton (1999) notes how there are still powerful forces that make Black-White unions hard to endure. Many Black-White interracial couples report they face discrimination from members of their own race (Orbe, 1999). Based on interviews with 50 interracial couples, Luke and Carrington (2000) explored the many struggles interracial couples have when going public with their relationships. Some areas impacted were their choice to marry interracially, including strained relationships with family members, friends, and coworkers.

Gullickson (2006) conducted a study using micro-level Census samples, which traced the trend in Black-White interracial marriages from 1850-2000. The results showed the growth of the Jim Crow racial state in the South and segregation in the North led to a drastic decline in the frequency of interracial marriage from 1880 to 1930. The frequency of interracial marriage increased with the waning of this system between 1930 and 1940, but only began to increase at a steady rate in the post-civil rights era. When disaggregated by region, the results suggested a process of “latent” racism in the non-South and one of unequal gender suppression in the South.

Bramlett and Mosher (2002) explored the longevity of interracial marriages in the United States. Data collected through the National Center for Health Statistics revealed that 41% of interracial couples divorced by the 10th year of marriage, compared to only 31% of same-race couples. Their findings suggest that, although entering an interracial marriage tends to carry less social stigma, these relationships are less likely to remain intact.

Bratter and King (2008) used the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth to compare the likelihood of

divorce for interracial couples to that of same-race couples. Their research across marriage cohorts revealed that overall, interracial couples have higher divorce rates, particularly for those marrying during the late '80s. Compared to White-White couples, White female-Black male, and White female-Asian male marriages were more prone to divorce. In contrast, those involving non-White females and White males, including Hispanics, had similar or lower risks of divorce.

b) *The Faith Factor*

In terms of faith and marriage, Robinson (1994) conducted a study that explored the role of religion in long-term marriages. The author posited that enduring marriages are shaped by the religious commitment of the spouses due to the “impact their faith has on moral guidance, including social, emotional, and spiritual growth” (p. 216). Robinson (1994) based her study solely on faith-based marriages. She admitted it would be difficult to gauge how non-Christians cope with problems. However, she argued that marriage enrichment programs at churches could play a significant role in keeping Christian couples together, but emphasized she was unaware of any specific impact the programs may have had on the subjects she studied.

Another research study examined the significance of faith in African American marriages and families. Loren, Tanner, Nesterik, Chaney, and Baumgartner (2012) found that spiritual beliefs also impact the lives of wives, husbands and their families. In their qualitative analysis of parents and children, the authors concluded that while religion is considered important for most African American families, it is admittedly the focal point for many. Heaney-Hunter (1997) explored a different approach by examining possibilities for creating environments that nurture “active faith” in marriage, regardless of race. She researched ways Christian families can comprehend what a healthy marriage entails from a biblical perspective, while gaining a true understanding of how family life can be enriched in the process.

A 2011 Pew Center Report revealed that only 51% of adults in the United States are currently married, a record low in comparison to 50 years ago. The Association of Marriage and Family Ministries believes a decline in faith among young Americans may be a reason for the downward trend (Zaimov, 2011). Eric Garcia, President of the Association of Marriage and Family Ministries, shared a key factor in this downward spiral. “Young people have grown up seeing two generations of failed marriages. They have been exposed to broken relationships in their own homes and in their grandparents’ homes, and they are not seeing why they should want to join such an institution” (as cited in Zaimov, 2011, para. 4). Garcia added that if

churches and other places of faith emphasized the importance of marriage as a union that God brings together, there could be a turnaround in dwindling success rates. He stressed that restoring faith in America from a Christian perspective would greatly help rebuild the entire institution.

The National Marriage Project conducted research focusing on what it deems, “the worrisome decline of marriage in America” (Trumbell, 2012, para. 15). The organization’s findings concluded that from a faith-based perspective, many younger Americans are postponing marriage, and it is not because they devalue its importance. Rather, they are fearful the high divorce rates they witness with their parents may subject them to failure. According to a 2012 Pew Research study, 41% of newborns live in single parent homes with mothers that are either divorced or unwed. From a faith-based perspective, the organization’s overarching concern was the rapid decline of two-parent, heterosexual households (Trumbell, 2012).

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Anxiety-Uncertainty Management Theory (AUM) will be used within the context of this qualitative study. It emphasizes the relationship between knowledge, stereotyping, and prejudice. It also posits the understanding that “the development of healthy interethnic relations and flexible interactions require a high degree of intergroup communication, and at the same time, a high degree of out-group communication” (Matusitz, 2012, p. 89).

William Gudykunst (1995) developed AUM to explain effective face-to-face communication. Based on the research of Charles Berger and Richard Calabrese’s Uncertainty Reduction Theory (1975), AUM was intended to be a practical means to improve the quality of intergroup and interpersonal relations. It focuses on the “intercultural and interethnic encounters between in-groups and out-groups, and assumes that individuals attempt to reduce uncertainty during initial interactions with strangers” (Matusitz, 2012, p. 94). The theory also contends that effective communication is the process of minimizing misunderstandings and increasing knowledge (Gudykunst, Nashida, & Schmidt, 1989).

Littlejohn and Foss (2011) discuss how interethnic encounters between people where obvious differences exist often trigger doubt and fear. Gudykunst (1995) stresses how uncertainty is our lack of understanding and ability to predict outcomes, while anxiety is the feeling of being uneasy, tense, or apprehensive about what might happen (Gudykunst, Chua, & Gray, 1987). Mindfulness is the process of thinking in new categories, being open and receptive to new information and multiple perspectives (Griffin, 2012). Gudykunst (1995) admits that in order to avoid miscommunication, which oftentimes leads to

stereotyping and prejudice, people need to communicate more effectively. He contends it can only be achieved by consciously thinking about our communication and continually working at what we do in order to become more effective during interethnic encounters.

III. JUSTIFICATION FOR STUDY

Although scholars have conducted research focusing on interracial marriages, in general, there has not been specific emphasis placed on faith as it pertains to Black-White unions. A lot of prior research has emphasized interracial marriages among other ethnicities such as Asians (Fujino, 1997), teen dating relationships (Grove, 1991), and interracial couples on college campuses (Kraus & Stirlen, 2005; Littleford, Sayoc-Parial, & Wright, 2005). By narrowing the scope to Black-White unions, a faith-based Christian perspective can be integrated into the current body of research.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This qualitative study will employ an applied research method, which Patton (2002) describes as “a means to illuminate a societal concern” (p. 213). He adds the rationale is to “contribute knowledge that will help people understand the nature of a problem in order to intervene, thereby allowing human beings to more effectively control their environment” (p. 217). Within the context of this study, an overarching emphasis is how Black-White interracial couples can address marital issues and build lasting unions, using examples set forth by those interviewed in this study.

a) *Sample Size and Participants*

Purposeful sampling was utilized within the context of this study. The sample size consisted of five married heterosexual couples. Specific characteristics are listed in Table 1. The Black-White unions also shared another characteristic, their Christian faith. They were interviewed both individually and collectively. Some of the participants attend the same church, while others are professional acquaintances of the researcher. Each couple received a \$50.00 cash incentive.

b) *Instrument*

All in-depth interviews were audiotaped. Extensive notes were taken during each session and transcribed within a 24-hour period. Since flexibility was a major factor, all couples selected interview locations that suited them. Participants were also given the option to exercise anonymity, which they chose not to do. All subjects stressed they wanted their names to be revealed and agreed to have their stories shared extensively, should the document be submitted for publication.

Research Question

RQ: What has faith brought to your Black-White interracial marriage?

Interview Questions: Individual

1. How and where did you meet your spouse?
2. What made you realize this particular person was "the one"?
3. How long have you and your spouse been married?
4. When the word race is mentioned in relation to your marriage, what thoughts come to mind?
5. In what ways has race impacted your decisions as a married couple?

6. What circumstances, if any, have challenged your marriage? In contrast, which circumstances have brought you closer together as a couple?
7. What specific role has your Christian faith played within the context of your marriage?
8. Can you think of a humorous story about your spouse you would like to share?

Interview Questions: Collective

1. What advice would you give Black-White interracial couples who are currently married or considering it?
2. Can you think of anything we have not discussed that you would like to add?

Table 1 : Couples who Participated in the Study

Attributes*	Michael & Stacey Scott	Brice & Dawn Chandler	Bill & Cecilye Kuhn	Kevin & Elizabeth Porter	Paul & Tonya Misuraca
Residence	Summerville, South Carolina	N. Charleston, South Carolina	Goose Creek, South Carolina	San Antonio, Texas	Hanahan, South Carolina
Age	Michael: 41 Stacey: 44	Brice: 49 Dawn: 43	Bill: 48 Cecilye: 48	Kevin: 49 Elizabeth: 38	Paul: 54 Tonya: 48
Race	Michael: Black Stacey: White	Brice: Black Dawn: White	Bill: White Cecilye: Black	Kevin: Black Elizabeth: White	Paul: White Tonya: Black
Years Married	18	24	25	5	19
Children	3	2	2	0	3

c) Interviews

As a researcher, my voice will resonate within the context of this study. Why? The Black-White interracial marriage topic hits close to home because I am a female of African American heritage, and my husband, Arthur, is Jewish ... of Hebrew descent. We have been married 12 years, and I couldn't have dreamed of a better mate. With that said, we have endured our share of struggles and triumphs, but have stayed in the race together. As we explore the lives of the five couples interviewed in this study, personal elements from my experience will be integrated in an italicized format.

d) Couples: A Formal Introduction

After weeks of making personal connections and receiving referrals, the time had finally arrived. My momentum was high, as I recollected initial conversations with couples regarding meeting times and locations. Everything was in place, and I could finally begin the interview process. Of the five couples, three were interviewed in their personal homes, while one met me in the workforce. The last connection was made via telephone.

Michael and Stacey Scott: It was a bright, sunny day with barely a cloud in sight. The Scotts gave me impeccable directions to their Summerville, S.C., home. Their neighborhood was flanked with lush

landscaping, a palatial golf course, and manicured lawns as far as the eye could see. As I approached their driveway, a white gazebo in the backyard caught my eye. Michael greeted me at the front door with a huge smile and hearty handshake. As I entered the sitting room, Stacey gave me a big hug and said, "Hey girl." As fellow parishioners at World Harvest Community Church in Charleston, S.C., we were not strangers. The Scotts have been married 18 years, and for them, it has been a rewarding experience. Their house was immaculate. When I turned around to get a full scope of my surroundings, I immediately noticed pictures of their three girls near the staircase. As their dog scurried to another location, we all sat down to begin the conversation.

Brice and Dawn Chandler: I have known Dawn since high school, but we became reacquainted when I started attending World Harvest Community Church in 2001. After 24 years of marriage, the Chandlers have two girls who are both in college. They own a print shop called "The Numbers Game," a business that produces a vast array of items for clients ... everything from books, to raffle tickets, etc. Their North Charleston, S.C., business is nestled behind a small strip mall. As I approached the gravel driveway, I could see Brice standing outside. He shook my hand and said, "C'mon in." The foyer looked like a hospitality suite, with beverages and treats neatly aligned for clients and

workers. A humming noise from the printing press resonated in the background, as Brice grabbed some Windex to clean the table. I could hear Dawn doling out instructions in the background before joining us in the conference area. At first glance she said, "Whew! I'm excited about this interview."

Bill and Cecilye Kuhn: Cecilye and I have known each other since high school. Of all the couples, the Kuhns have been married the longest, 25 years. She and Bill have two girls, one entering high school and the other poised for college. Their Goose Creek, S.C., home is located in a quiet neighborhood. As I approached the two-story house, I could see children riding their bicycles on the sidewalk, chatting with their friends. When Cecilye greeted me at the door, the aroma of spaghetti filled the air, a scent that immediately made me hungry. I said, "I hope I didn't interrupt something here." She chuckled, "Not at all." As Cecilye led me through the foyer, I embraced an expansive living/dining area that was quite inviting. She was preparing a men's supper for the church to be held later that evening. In the meantime, we snacked on some ice cream until Bill arrived home from work.

Kevin and Elizabeth Porter: This was the only couple I did not interview in person. A close friend referred them to me. Kevin and Elizabeth Porter live in San Antonio, Texas. Therefore, I recorded their conversation via telephone. When I dialed Elizabeth's cell phone number, she asked if I would mind being placed on speaker. I replied, "No problem." I immediately noticed the warmth in both of their voices. The Porters do not have any children yet, but look forward to starting a family in the near future. Of all the couples interviewed, they have been married the least amount of time, five years. As I shared part of my personal experience and chatted briefly with them before we began the interview process, I could envision them sitting on a cozy couch, holding hands, anticipating which questions would be asked of them. After I explained they would be interviewed both individually and collectively, they were eager to begin.

Paul and Tonya Misuraca: As a colleague, Tonya and I have known each other for almost a decade. When asked about contributing to the study, she immediately agreed to take part. She and her husband, Paul, have been married 19 years. They have three children, two of whom are adopted. As I prepared myself to visit their Hanahan, S.C., home, I relied on GPS navigation because it was an unfamiliar area. The neighborhood was located near a busy thoroughfare. As I pulled into the cul-de-sac, their home was situated directly in the middle. The cool, exterior paint and dark blue shutters made the house stand out—in an aesthetically pleasing way. When I rang the doorbell, Tonya smiled and whisked me indoors. Visions of flat screen televisions loomed in my head as I noticed two HD TVs—one on the floor, the other in an adjacent

seating area. While Tonya turned on a few lamps, Paul emerged from the stairwell and immediately asked if I was thirsty. After handing me a cup of ice for my bottled water, we all sat down in the den to begin the interview process. I was seated in front of a huge glass table that displayed numerous family photos. I paused to give the Misuracas a warm smile before turning on the digital recorder.

V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: THE COUPLES SPEAK

Researcher: During the 2000 Presidential Primary Election, I covered the event as a news reporter for WCSC-TV Channel 5, a CBS affiliate in Charleston, S.C. I was a single woman, and the furthest thing from my mind was meeting my soon-to-be husband, but that's exactly what happened! Arthur was a poll manager. I noticed he kept positioning himself near me, periodically asking if I was hungry. I thought, "I don't understand why this guy is bugging me." It made me feel uncomfortable, so I distanced myself from him. As he exclaimed, "You were staring at me the entire night. You knew you wanted my telephone number." I replied, "At that moment, no. I thought you were a nuisance." Jokingly, we can laugh about it now.

a) *When We Met ...*

All five couples shared interesting stories about how they met. Four agreed there was no initial love connection between both parties. Some even admitted they were perturbed with the other person. However, for the Kuhns, sparks flew quickly. As Cecilye put it, "My friend invited me to a cookout a lot of the military guys attended. Since Bill was in the Navy, she knew he would be there with his pals. She wanted me to meet him." Cecilye was just getting out of a bad relationship and did not want to have her heart broken again. "I thought he was cute," she added. Although they had not met beforehand, Bill was smitten the first time he saw her. He said, "I wanted to meet that girl. I didn't want my other Navy buddies to beat me to the punch. I wanted to get to know her."

In contrast, from a single party perspective, the Scotts and Chandlers had specific recollections. Stacey Scott shared how she and Michael worked for the same company. That was when she realized he had an eye for her. She noticed his stares, but in her opinion, he was too young. After receiving a note with a check "yes or no for a possible date," she laughed, crumpled it up, and thought nothing of it. Dawn Chandler shared how she met Brice, a firefighter at the time, after a terrible blaze. Although their relationship was cloaked under "friendship status" for several months, she continued to drop hints until he realized she was interested in becoming an exclusive couple.

From an aggravation standpoint, the Misuracas shared a riveting story. When Tonya first met Paul, he

was her superior at the Sheriff's office. She was not happy when he sent her on a search and rescue mission to find a deceased woman. She complained it was not her job, and that it should be left to firemen and/or other authorities. She later proclaimed, "I finally had to let that go. We found the body, but I wasn't thrilled with what he made me do." The Porters shared a story about Elizabeth's perception of her husband, Kevin. Elizabeth recalled, "I was not initially attracted to black men. No particular reason. I just hadn't dated any. Kevin and I were friends for the longest because I had known him for quite some time." After Elizabeth made her feelings known, she was upset after Kevin stood her up on a date. It disturbed her, and she made every effort to avoid him, even at church.

b) *The One!*

Researcher: As a news anchor/reporter working for a television station, I was very cautious when it came to relationships. I wanted someone to like me for myself, not my profession. Arthur pursued me for three months before I let him take me to lunch. After giving him a chance, I realized he was a dedicated Christian and caring individual. Since I didn't want to waste my time, I put him in prayer. I specifically asked God to let my mother know if Arthur was the person I should marry and to have "her" tell me. That answer came a few weeks later, right before he embarked on a trip to Israel. My mother said, "Rameca, I think Arthur is a nice guy. I wouldn't be surprised if the two of you got married."

All five couples agreed it took some time to realize their mates were marriage material. It did not happen overnight. All shared the common theme of how their spouses made them laugh and feel special. The humorous factor of being able to have fun and enjoy one another's company resonated throughout the scope of each interview. However, they all revealed more qualifications were necessary to move their significant others into the realm of potential spouses.

Although Elizabeth Porter was initially upset after being stood up for a date, she later forgave Kevin, and the rest is history. Kevin added, "I was the church playboy, but not in a bad way. I was a ladies magnet, but I had prayed about what I wanted in a mate, and Elizabeth met the bill. I had to change my ways. She was the one for me." The Scotts shared a heartwarming story of how they knew they were destined to be together. Stacey candidly shared how she was previously involved in an abusive relationship. Her trust for men had waned. Since they worked for the same company, one day when it was very hot outside, she gave Michael a ride home because he had no other transportation. He made her laugh the entire time. Shortly thereafter, they started dating. She proclaimed, "We were not saved at the time. We were living together, and every morning, when I tried to get up, he would grab my hand and ask me not to leave. I had

never felt that much love and compassion before from another person. For me, that was when I knew he was the one."

The Misuracas discussed how they "struck gold" with each other. For Paul, he admitted how Tonya did sweet things his ex-wife had never done. Of all the couples, Paul was the only participant who had previously been married. He gushingly shared, "I could see her inner beauty, her morals. It was just one of those things. Having been married before, you learn valuable lessons. The relationship felt comfortable. It was right. I'm a very affectionate guy, and she treated me special." Tonya openly discussed Paul's confidence and his no-nonsense persona. "Paul didn't care who knew I was in his life. If he had something to say, he wouldn't bite his tongue. He was my prince charming ... still is. He has my back."

c) *Tick Tock: The Years Progress*

Researcher: Arthur often teases me about how long we have been married. He makes me laugh by pretending he has forgotten. I gaze into his eyes and say, "I know you aren't trying to tell me you don't remember. It would be a shame if you did. Stop kidding! I know you better than that." He always comes back with, "Okay, I'm just making sure you remember ... ha ha."

One of the reasons I decided to interview each spouse individually was to gauge if their responses differed in any way, while comparing similarities and differences. Remarkably, in the area of marital bliss, all five couples were right on target. From the Kuhns, who have been married the longest at 25 years, to the Porters who have been married five years, they all agreed that if they had it to do all over again, they would never entertain the idea of turning back the clock and choosing another mate.

d) *The Word ... Race*

Researcher: What are you? For some reason, I am asked that question a lot. My genealogy is quite expansive, so I just have to smile. When it happens, I say, "I am part of the human race." As the product of a military family, I have traveled a lot, meeting people from all walks of life. I don't let the word 'race' consume me. I look at the different shades of melanin and say, "Wow! God has such a creative imagination, and I like it."

When it comes to the word race, there was a common theme among those couples who had been in the military or had grown up in such households. Three of the five couples fit this description. The Porters described how their lives never revolved around the word. As an anthropology major in college, Elizabeth stressed, "It's not a real factor in our marriage. No one really talks about it because there is a lot of diversity where we live in San Antonio, Texas." She said the only time she witnessed an inkling of anything associated with race was when she took her husband, Kevin, to a

Chicago bar. "It was uncomfortable. People were staring at us, and it was because I was with him. It didn't seem to bother Kevin, but I noticed it." Kevin added how his Army background exposed him to people of color around the world. He stated, "It really doesn't play in the vocabulary of my mind. Just like a dog is color blind, that's me! I have friends of all races, and I don't see color."

The Misuracas and Kuhns both have Navy affiliations. Their families have never seemed to have issues with the word race. The Misuracas shared how their diverse lifestyles as children into adulthood helped shape them into the "color blind" people they are today. Paul argued, "I grew up in Boston, and there were some racist people there. I got along with everybody. I don't see black or white, red or yellow. When someone uses the n-word, I see it as plain ignorance." Tonya's dad was a trucker who traveled a lot. She recalled a touching story of family gatherings. "My dad had all kinds of people come to the house. Daddy would eat off the same plate as the white guys. We were all family. My parents taught me that we are all one race, no differences. That's how I was raised." The Kuhns admitted that when they started dating, the word never came up in conversation. Cecilye added, "When other people mention the word race, they may have their differences, but Bill and I don't. When we got married, it was not about making a statement. We both went into it with our eyes wide open. We come from loving families, and there were no reservations on either side." As a Navy veteran, Bill mentioned how he thought a lot of people had problems with the word because they had never experienced relationships, whether personal, professional or dating, with people outside their own race. He added, "When the word race is mentioned, I don't really think about it."

In contrast, the Chandlers shared a different perspective, one that did not include overarching love and compassion from friends and loved ones. When the Chandlers started dating, they experienced severe images of the "race card" on many fronts. Brice grew up in a rough section of North Charleston, S.C. As a child, he was told, "We stay over here; you stay over there. Mixing of the races ... no. That didn't happen." When he and Dawn started dating, people would chide him and say, "Can't you find someone in your own race, brother? You don't need to be with her. There are 'sisters' out there." For Dawn, the word race reminds her of the Confederate flag. She gets emotional when it impacts her children. Dawn shared a story of how her oldest daughter, Morgan, was brazenly overlooked by her teachers at the private school she attended. "Morgan complained that her teachers would not call on her. She was the only black girl in the class. Of course, they knew her parents were interracial. If they had any beef with us, they should have come to us directly. We eventually took her out of that school."

e) *Race and Family Decisions*

Researcher: As a married couple with no children, Arthur and I have been blessed with never having been subjected to blatant racism face-to-face (e.g., at public gatherings, etc.). That doesn't mean it hasn't happened behind our backs. We both share the belief that trusting in God in every aspect of our decision making will yield the best results ... all the time. If we try to do it ourselves, we are bound to fail.

Two of the five couples agreed race does play an important factor when making family decisions such as travel, dining, etc. The remaining three stressed how such decisions are not impacted by their race at all. For the Chandlers and Scotts, stories about how they have carefully determined life's decisions resonated within the context of their interviews. First, the Chandlers described how family safety has been an overarching concern. Brice explained, "The first thing a man thinks about is his family's safety ...going places like the mountains, beach, and other areas. There is division. The world is still growing." He mentioned how he is always mindful of where he takes his family because there have been several altercations. "Some guys have come up to my wife, Dawn, and asked her if I was bothering her. That's not just on the outside. It has also happened in Christian circles." Dawn talked about her oldest daughter, Morgan, and the touching question she asked one afternoon. "When Morgan was six, she asked me why there were not any black kids in the television commercials she was watching. She wanted to know if she was good enough. She also wondered why there were no black teachers at the private school she attended. That really affected her." Dawn said that when she asked why there was no diversity in the teaching staff at Morgan's school and did not get a straight answer, she admitted, "That was the last straw. Yeah! That's when we decided to put Morgan in another school."

Next, the Scotts stressed how they exercise careful consideration, especially through prayer, when it comes to making family decisions. Michael explained, "I am more sensitive to the feelings of protecting my children, family, where we live, eat, or travel. I don't want to take the children where they have been mistreated. Fortunately, God has shielded us in that area." Stacey discussed how race impacted their decisions when they moved from various states to new locations. She added how it impacted the communities they selected.

In contrast, the Kuhns, Porters, and Misuracas shared how their family decisions did not factor race into the equation. The Kuhns stressed that since both come from diverse, military backgrounds, nothing really comes as a shock to them because they have lived in numerous areas. The Porters explained that since they live in a city that is a diverse melting pot, San Antonio, Texas, people do not tend to give it a second thought. Kevin added, "It is not looked upon as a disgrace or

issue.” The Misuracas interjected a humorous twist. Paul stressed, “Wherever we go, we hold hands. When we were dating, I even had her riding in my police cruiser with me. When people would see us kiss and stare at us, looking at us funny, I would laugh. They knew they couldn’t come at me, even if they wanted to.” Tonya shared the touching story of how Paul worked four jobs so she could earn a graduate degree. “That was a decision that impacted the entire family. The children didn’t see much of Paul at the time because he was working to pay my tuition. I would cook meals on the weekend and freeze them so he could have something to eat during the week.”

f) *Challenges and Triumphs*

Researcher: Several years after Arthur and I were married, he revealed some startling news. Before our 2001 wedding, some of his Certified Public Accountant (CPA) clients said, “We will no longer need your services if you decide to go through with this marriage.” He wound up losing 1/3 of his business in the process. Arthur made his choice ... me over the people he thought were his trusted clients. In hindsight, they were not! I cried when I found out what he had done. He wanted to shield me from any pain. God has since blessed him tremendously.

All five couples shared a common theme regarding challenges and triumphs in their lives. They stressed the importance of support from their spouses and a strong dependence on their faith to get them through the tough times. One of the five couples admitted they had received an occasional stare or two, but no significant challenges that had caused any strain on their marital relationship. In contrast, the remaining four shared specific accounts of compelling moments in their lives that appeared as challenges initially. However, they were later translated into the realm of significant triumphs.

The Kuhns shared how they had not encountered major challenges in their marriage that had direct ties to their race. They attested that a lot of the curiosity comes from others, but they do not let it affect them. Cecilye commented on some of the things people mentioned when she and Bill discussed starting a family. “People wanted to know about the children, wondering how they would look. There are so many trivial and petty things. People should learn to appreciate the differences and celebrate them. I am blessed because we don’t have that problem in my family or Bill’s.”

In contrast, the remaining four couples shared their accounts, stirring a sea of emotion. The Porters stressed that although they do not face personal challenges as a couple, outside forces have tried to impact their marriage in a negative way. Kevin candidly discussed how his mother had a hard time accepting his engagement and marriage to Elizabeth. He

admitted his father had no problem, but his mother and sisters could not embrace Kevin’s decision. Kevin explained, “That was in the beginning. When you start to know people, there is a different perspective. They are looking forward to having a baby. My father has helped bring the family closer.” The Scotts recalled a black history program at his mother’s church in Michigan. As she fought back tears, Stacey revealed, “The guest speaker chose a topic that dealt with people who were white, and everything was about the white man and how they were bad. I was the only white person in the audience, and it was hurtful. I rushed to the parking lot and started bawling. Michael followed me outside, and we left.” Michael added, “That situation brought us closer together because it reminded us that there is still a great deal of ignorance in this world. We are strong, but people need to overcome their hatred.” The Chandlers revealed how derogatory comments made against them and their children have been challenging, but have seemed to bring their family closer together as one “united front.” Brice argued, “On my former job as a fireman, people were always coming up against me because of Dawn. I was denied promotions, docked in pay, and given bad reviews. The hard knocks have just made me stronger.” Dawn interjected, “Our kids see his strength. They put him on a pedestal. They’re proud of their dad.”

The Misuracas have a resounding motto: “What makes you hurt will only make you stronger.” Paul admitted how he was obsessed other men were looking at Tonya when they first got married. As he described it, “I had a terrible jealous streak, partly because she’s so beautiful and younger than me.” The Misuracas went through a trying time nearly eight years ago. Another woman liked Paul, and as Tonya said, “I wasn’t having that. Instead of hitting the woman, I hit Paul. We separated for a short spell, but the love of our families and Christian counseling helped get us through that rough patch. It was painful going through that experience, but our family is much stronger now.”

g) *Christian Faith and Enduring Marriage*

Researcher: As a married couple, Arthur and I have been thrown numerous curve balls. One incident involved his favorite uncle, Jack. He refused to come to our wedding and later severed ties with Arthur and his own sister, my mother-in-law. That was 12 years ago. Our prayer is that he will reconnect with the family. This has pained Arthur tremendously. As a Christian couple, we are weathering the storm together. One Bible verse we reflect on a lot is John 16:33 (KJV) which states, “These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world, ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.”

All five couples are Christians, but that was not the case when several of them started dating. The

Scotts and Chandlers received Jesus as their personal savior after their wedding dates. In the Misuraca household, Paul dedicated his life to Christ after meeting Tonya. In contrast, The Kuhns and Porters were saved before they got married. Regardless of when they became Christians, the resounding familiarity is ... they are now. All admitted their Christian faith has helped them get through the good times and the bad.

The Scotts emphasized their accountability as believers. Stacey contended, "I feel like my husband and our interracial marriage has helped people to be accepting because we are loving. We are Christian, and I think people have learned from us. We are just regular people like they are. We just look different." The Chandlers attest they have had faith ever since they were married. Dawn shared, "I was not raised in a religious home. In a nutshell, Brice and I edify one another, and our girls, too. We are in our Bible every day." The Kuhns note the importance of being on the same page, spiritually. Bill adds, "That scripture about being equally yoked talks about faith, not skin color. As a married couple, Cecilye and I walk in unison as one." The Porters shared how their faith in God has encouraged them during a time when they are trying to start a family. Kevin proclaimed, "I believe God will give us what we want, a family. Elizabeth has been distraught for some time, but our church has been having classes for married couples. God is giving us wisdom and knowledge on how to handle the situation." The Misuracas share the belief that God never makes mistakes. During his first marriage, Paul recalled how he had a vasectomy. When he married Tonya, he had it reversed, but it took more than a decade for her to conceive. After adopting two children, Nicholas and Yolanda, little Nia came shortly thereafter. Tonya sighed and said, "I want to remind everyone to hold on to their faith. Your blessings may not come when you expect them, but continue to trust in the Lord. I am a living example. He has never failed me. Put your trust in the Lord."

h) On a Lighter Note

Researcher: Several years ago, Arthur and I visited one of his good friends in Richmond, Indiana. Eddie and his wife, Charlotte, have a young daughter named Ariel. As we all sat at the dinner table one evening, Ariel turned to me and said, "My! You have big lips." As I gazed at her dad, who had literally turned 20 shades of red, I paused for a moment. I then leaned over to Ariel and replied, "Better to kiss you with, my dear." I planted a huge kiss on her cheek and started laughing. Eddie's face turned from flaming red to its natural complexion. I had diffused the situation in a comedic way.

All five couples shared the common theme of laughter when mentioning memorable moments with their spouses. The Scotts recalled a story from their

early days of marriage. As Michael explained, "I can think about a blonde moment she had. Stacey was at work and thought her key fob was broken, so she called me for help. She was frantic because she didn't know how she was going to get home. I told her to stick the key in the door and turn it. Man, I thought that was funny." The Chandlers reminisced about their youngest daughter Randi's first day at college. As Dawn explained, "Brice hated cell phones, so he didn't know how to text. Randi had been asking him to learn for the longest. Brice finally broke down and wrote his first text so he could communicate with his daughter. It was comical, but so touching."

For the Porters, Elizabeth's after-church choir renditions make Kevin want to put her voice on mute. "The songs carry over into the car and at home ... until she gets tired, but then she sings louder to counter her tired state." The Misuracas could barely keep their composure as they talked about the pre-wedding rehearsal of their "first dance." Tonya chuckled, "Paul forgot what to do, so he started crying. We all got a good laugh from that." The Kuhns shared how they lost their car at Disney World and got caught in a torrential downpour. According to Cecilye, "We went back to what we thought was the parking lot. No one could find the car. We thought someone had stolen it. Turns out, we were in the wrong lot. I was fuming! Meanwhile, Bill was standing there grinning and laughing the whole time."

i) A Collective Front: Advice and Additional Comments

It was interesting to hear what all five couples shared from an advice perspective for Black-White interracial couples who are dating or considering marriage. A resonating theme among all of them was the fact that listening to others' advice can be good, but if it is unfruitful and does not have any edifying characteristics, it should not be applied. A particular statement from Brice Chandler sums it up well. "Be realistic. It is what it is. Don't turn away. Face circumstances, but you have to let God do His part. Look at what's going on. Watch your children. It's not about you. Be a living, breathing example for what is right."

VI. IDEAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a researcher dealing with a limited time frame, there were avenues for possible exploration that were not addressed in this study. Although couples from Colorado and various parts of California were invited to participate, extenuating circumstances prevented them from contributing. Therefore, an idea for further consideration would be to conduct a similar qualitative study involving Black-White interracial marriages from various regions of America, which would provide a greater geographical representation of these couples, in general. Since social media platforms and

advanced technological capabilities have taken the world by storm, an additional approach would be to conduct a qualitative study involving Black-White interracial couples around the world (e.g., Europe and Africa). The goal would be to gauge similarities and differences from a faith perspective. This research would not only pertain to Christians, but also include participants such as Muslims, Buddhists, atheists, etc.

VII. SUMMARY

In 2007, forty years after the landmark *Loving vs. Virginia* Supreme Court ruling, Mildred Loving shared her 21st century perspective. "My generation was bitterly divided over something that should have been so clear and right. But I have lived long enough now to see big changes. The older generation's fears and prejudices have given way, and today's young people realize that if someone loves someone, they have a right to marry" (as cited in Sullivan, 2007, para. 9). While researching scholarly information for this study, it was apparent that a faith-based, Christian perspective regarding Black-White interracial marriages had not been explored. Therefore, this qualitative study will serve as a much-needed addition to the current body of research.

Throughout the context of the paper, several themes arose that were reflective of Gudykunst's (1995) Anxiety-Uncertainty Management Theory. The Chandlers' accounts of work hostility and derogatory encounters with people in passing emphasized the breakdown in intergroup and interpersonal relationships, as evidenced in this study. Familial relationships described by the Scotts, Kuhns, and Misuracas demonstrated that effective in-group and out-group communication can yield positive intercultural and interethnic encounters (Matusitz, 2004). Even during situations where at least one family member was not receptive to a Black-White interracial union in the beginning, as evidenced with the Chandlers and Porters, attempts to avoid miscommunication were addressed over time. Meanwhile, to give readers a broader scope of the research process, a transcript from the Scotts' interview is located in Appendix B.

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APPENDIX A

Pictures: Interviewed Couples



Stacey and Michael Scott



Brice and Dawn Chandler



Bill and Cecilye Kuhn



Appendix A Continued



Elizabeth and Kevin Porter



Tonya and Paul Misuraca



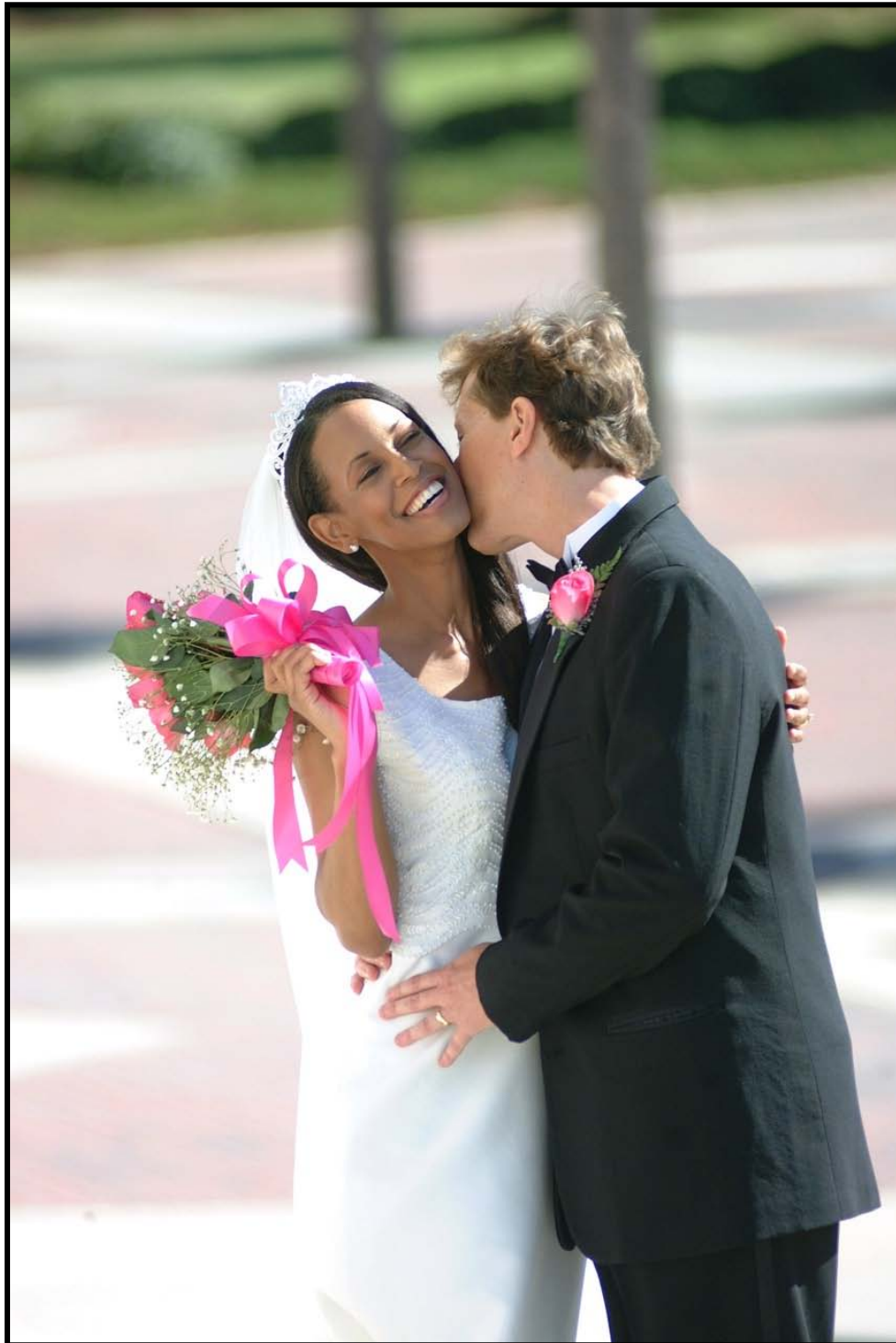
Appendix A Continued

Researcher: Rameca Leary

Year 2013

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Rameca and Arthur Leary: Wedding Day (Oct. 27, 2001)

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcript: Michael and Stacey Scott June 20, 2013

Rameca: Michael and Stacey, thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this research. It means so much. I think a lot of people, both Christian and non-Christian, can learn a wealth of information from this study. That is why I am so grateful for your assistance. This is going to be a laid back interview process. I will be interviewing each of you separately and then be bringing you back as a couple for some collective questions. Who would like to go first?

Michael: I will.

Michael (Individual Interview)

Rameca: How and where did you meet this lovely lady, Stacey?

Michael: Actually, we met the first time when we were much younger, around 12. I saw her from afar. We officially met at a phone technology company when I was on summer break from college. She and I were both employees. Plus, we grew up in the same city, Lexington, North Carolina.

Rameca: What made you realize Stacey was “the one” for you?

Michael: I actually liked her when I saw her, the physical aspects. Did I know she was the one when I first saw her? No. We dated for three years. It was after a year I realized she was the one. I can’t really say there was an “aha” moment. We spent a lot of time together from the time we started dating until we were married. We actually lived together before we got married. We were not saved at the time. We gave our lives to Christ the same year we were married, after our wedding day.

Rameca: How many years have you and Stacey been married?

Michael: We’ve been married 18 years.

Rameca: You look so young! Let me throw that in there. You are a very handsome couple. Does it seem like the years have passed by very quickly?

Michael: We do everything together. So, time has gone by very quickly, including the time with our children. Time flies when you are having fun!

Rameca: When the word race is mentioned in relation to your marriage, what thoughts come to mind?

Michael: When the word is mentioned, there is not actually an emotion that comes with it because when I see her, I do not see color, and when she sees me, she doesn’t, either. When I see other interracial couples that I don’t know ... in church or other places, I don’t have any specific thoughts that come to mind

because they are people, part of God’s creation. Race does not seem to be a factor at all in my mind.

Rameca: In what ways has race impacted your decisions as a married couple?

Michael: The primary way it has impacted our decisions is with moving. We have moved to three different states, North Carolina, Michigan, and South Carolina. It has impacted where we live, like the neighborhoods we choose. We know with communities, you will have people that will fill a certain way no matter where you go. Specifically, neighborhoods, God has given us clarity, we have prayed for discernment, walking through a home and praying for God’s will. We know that people have been persecuted. It affected our moving to Summerville, S.C., where we live now. We were told it was predominately white, and that black people there should not go out after dark. We were glad we let the Lord lead us instead of other people. He has protected us, and we have not seen that.

Rameca: What circumstances, if any, have challenged your marriage? In contrast, which circumstances have brought you closer together as a couple?

Michael: A negative aspect as it pertains to racial things ... well. A predominate challenge would be just how the world sees races and differences—mixing races, like some of the things they say or do. Voting is another example. Since I am an African-American male, a lot of people look at me and assume I am a Democrat, but I am actually a Republican. They assume I am a Republican because my wife is Caucasian. I hear things people say. For example, friends of the family liked to throw in their two cents. My mother’s friends would say things. She would tell my brother and me that we were “color struck.” My brother is married to a lady who has a fair complexion, but is not white. When Stacey and I started dating, some people at the Baptist church we attended made hurtful remarks, but we decided to ignore them. I have had people that have not been a fan of mine, but that’s their problem. Okay, now for the positives. I think just being best friends, having great attitudes, and believing we can conquer the world together. As long as we have God and each other, we can accomplish anything. The things we endured together, we could not have done alone.

Rameca: What specific role has your Christian faith played within the context of your marriage?

Michael: We were married, before we became Christians, as I said before. I have always known God has had his hand on my life since I was a child. I gave my life to God at age 11. It was in a forced way, during a church service. I was nudged into doing it with no understanding of what it meant. I knew there were times

in my life when I could have been killed or injured, like my motorcycle accident. I knew since I was not killed, there must have been a purpose for my life, but I was not ready yet. It wasn't because of anything like wanting to drink do drugs or act crazy ... because I never had an interest in those things. I never thought I was good enough. I thought I had to clean my life up and be good before I could accept Jesus as my personal savior. A lady at work told me something different when I was at work in the cafeteria. She told me God wanted us to come as we were. A day or two later, Stacey and I were at home, lying in the bed, and with tears, I gave my life to Christ, and she gave her life to Christ as well. We did it within 12 hours of each other. How it has affected our marriage in an amazing way was is that we remember if we do not let God down, we cannot let our family down. I cannot afford to fail because of my commitment to God, our marriage, and family. It could also affect my family's future walk with God. As a youth pastor, I do not want to be a negative influence on the kids. We are to seek God's kingdom first. I try my best to live the life every day. Our Christian faith has affected our marriage, so the word divorce is not in our vocabulary. Sleeping on the couch is not an option. If we are upset with one another, we do not let the sun go down without making things right. We discuss our problems.

Rameca: Michael, can you think of a humorous story about Stacey you would like to share?

Michael: I can think of a blonde moment she had. Stacey is actually a red head. That is one of the things I love about her. One day, she was at work. At the time, we lived in Michigan, and I worked for Chrysler. She was working for an engineering company and called to let me know she couldn't get into the car because the key fob wasn't working. I asked her if she was sure. She said she was. Stacey was frantic because she didn't know how she was going to get home. I told her to stick the key in the door and turn it. She sighed and said, "Okay! Bye." Man, I thought that was funny.

Stacey (Individual Interview)

Rameca: Stacey, how and where did you meet Michael?

Stacey: I did know him a little because my sister and his sister were friends. Then, he started working at the phone technology company, the same place I was employed. He stared at me a lot. He would make crazy eyes at me. He looked like a little boy to me. He was younger. I did not pay attention. Plus, I was coming out of a very abusive relationship. So, I was not looking to date. He wrote a note, asking me if I would go out with him. It had two boxes, and he wanted me to check yes or no on the paper. I laughed, crumpled it up and threw it away. I didn't go out with him. One day, he needed a

ride home because it was very hot outside. He made me laugh the entire time. So, he asked me out in person, and I said yes. I had a three and a half daughter from a previous relationship at the time. We started dating, and coming out of a very abusive relationship. I wasn't used to being treated like a lady. I almost had to learn to behave and to be a lady because I wasn't used to being treated like one.

Rameca: What made you realize Michael was the one?

Stacey: Like I said, we were not saved before we got married. We were not in church to the point of having made a commitment. We lived together, and in the morning, he would grab my hand and not want me to get up. He never wanted to let me go. I had never been treated like that before. That is what made me realize he was the one.

Rameca: How many years have you been married to Michael?

Stacey: 18.

Rameca: When the word race is mentioned in relation to your marriage, what thoughts come to mind?

Stacey: I don't like the word because when I see him, I do not see his color. That is my husband, and I adore him.

Rameca: In what ways has race impacted your decisions as a married couple?

Stacey: I am more sensitive to the feelings or protection of my children, even the protection of my whole family—where we live, where we go eat, where we travel. I am always constantly thinking of that. I don't want to take my children anywhere when they can be mistreated.

Rameca: Have you ever had a situation where that has happened?

Stacey: No. I think it is the covering or hand of God over our lives. I know the Lord is our protector, and He will keep us and our children. I have people compliment me and tell me how beautiful my children are ... and our family.

Rameca: What circumstances, if any, have challenged your marriage? In contrast, which circumstances have brought you closer together as a couple?

Stacey: The challenge to me was our move from Michigan to South Carolina. We had been members of that church for eight years. We were warned about Summerville, S.C., and moving here. We were told that in South Carolina, people still fly the rebel flag. In the past, sometimes we would go to church with Michael's mother. I am kind of naïve and gullible. I do

not see hatred all the time. I remember during black history month, there was a speaker who spoke against people with white skin. Everything was about the white man, and I was the only white person sitting there. I got up, made it to the parking lot and started crying. That experience was absolutely heartbreaking. Michael came outside, and we left. The things that have brought us closer together as a couple ... he surprised me for my 40th birthday. He wrote the sweetest letter to celebrate me. He invited friends and family from many places to come celebrate. He had somebody take me shopping. When I came home, I had family and friends I had not seen for years. Some had traveled for days.

Rameca: What specific role has your Christian faith played within the context of your marriage?

Stacey: It guides what I am supposed to do as a wife. I know how much he loves the Lord. I know every decision we make, we will pray about it, and God is going to direct him. It helps me as a mother, and also with the daily decisions we make as a family. For our children, most of the time, it is hard because every note I write to the teacher, and everything we do, will acknowledge the Lord. We stand strong. We live for the Lord, not for the school system. They do play music we do not like or approve of at the middle school. I cannot force them to change it. We can only stay after our three girls and tell them what is right and wrong.

Rameca: Stacey, can you think of a humorous story about Michael that comes to mind?

Stacey: He makes me laugh every single day. If we don't laugh, then I'm concerned. I know he's tired sometimes, so I have to give him space. He has ministries at church, and that is a lot of responsibility. I can't really think of one particular story.

Michael and Stacey (Collective Interview)

Rameca: Now that you have answered questions separately, it is time to bring both of you back as a couple. My first question is: What advice would you give Black-White interracial couples who are currently married or considering it?

Stacey: They have to live for God, and be wholeheartedly sold out.

Michael: That is imperative. One thing that I would add is not to idly pass by advice from people because of the things they say. They sometimes mention things because they do love you. God has given us a person he has for us, and you need to be aware of that. Be aware that there will be obstacles. If the advice is not scriptural, it is opinion. Be able to distinguish between the two.

Stacey: Some people take the unequally yoked scripture and say it is for interracial people, speaking

against those marriages. People use that to build their hatred. If you need to bring that out, you have an issue.

Michael: God created the human race. We are all his children.

Rameca: This is the last question. Can you think of anything we have not discussed that you would like to add?

Stacey: I feel like my husband and our interracial marriage has helped people to be accepting because we are loving people. We are Christian, and I think people have learned from us. We are just regular people like they are. We just look different. I think our relationship has affected people who may not have approved because we live for the Lord and are sold out. There are friends whose opinions have changed because he adores me and I adore him. It is strange for people. It brings us closer together as an interracial couple. We depend on each other.

Michael: It brings us closer. We teach our children that when it comes to race, there is no race. We do not allow them to say black, white, or yellow when referencing people, in general. We try to get them not to automatically default to race. As parents, we teach our children. They only know what they are taught and observe. We see kids repeat what they learn.

Stacey: Michael's first cousin said he thought it was amazing that he was black and I was white. The kid said he thought it was awesome. I tell my kids to accept who they are because created that beautiful skin with that beautiful hair. I have to remind myself of that because there are some things we do not like about ourselves. I have to remind myself that we are each a beautiful creation from God.

Rameca: Michael and Stacey, I enjoyed the time we spent together this evening. Thank you very much for participating in this research. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. In the meantime, I will inform you when the study is finalized.





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Expressive Creative Encounters: A Strategy for Sociological Research of Expressiveness

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Abstract - Expressive creative encounters (ECE) are designed as spaces for the subjects to express and interpret their emotions in the context of social research. The expressiveness of the social subjects has always been a controversial issue for social sciences, because nobody can “live-within-the-other”. But the “development” and “improvement” of qualitative social research strategies incorporating the “expressiveness capture technologies” in a progressive yet steady way have been able to bridge the gap between what the researcher sees and what the subject expresses.

In this work, creativity is taken as a starting point to produce expressive experiences where individuals “share” and interpret, both with the researcher and with others, in particular social conditions of existence, their sensations and emotions.

Keywords : *expressive creative encounters; emotions; qualitative social research; expressiveness.*

GJHSS-C Classification : *FOR Code: 160807, 160899*



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I. INTRODUCTION

Expressive creative encounters (ECE) are designed as spaces for the subjects to express and interpret their emotions in the context of social research.

The expressiveness of the social subjects has always been a controversial issue for social sciences, because nobody can "live-within-the-other".

But the "development" and "improvement" of qualitative social research strategies incorporating the "expressiveness capture technologies" in a progressive yet steady way have been able to bridge the gap between what the researcher sees and what the subject expresses (Given, 2006; Kanstrup, 2002).

From the traditional use of recorders to the digital video camera, social scientists have been attempting to expand the capabilities of "apprehending" the social world and the voices of the people who build it (McGettigan, 1998; Penn-Edwards 2004; McNaughton 2009).

Considering from "participant observation" to the use of "theater" and "dance" (Chakravorty, 2004; Malo, 2009) there are many strategies of inquiry that have been able to capture in an ever improving way the indeterminable and expectable performance of subjects in social interactions.

In this work, creativity is taken as a starting point to produce expressive experiences where individuals

"share" and interpret, both with the researcher and with others, in particular social conditions of existence, their sensations and emotions.

Consequently, the argumentative strategy is as follows: a) First, a concise statement of what is meant by the relationship between expressiveness and creativity is presented and, b) a definition on what constitutes what we call the Expressive Creative Encounters (ECE).

Being two central and complex issues, the discussion on how to analyze the results of the proposed applications and how to validate them epistemologically is left for another opportunity.¹

II. EXPERIENCES, CREATIVITY AND EXPRESSIVENESS: SOME INTRODUCTORY LINES

The creativity of human beings is a recurrent issue for social sciences (Bielsk, 2010).

By experiencing creativity as potency to capture and transform the world, qualitative inquiry ruptures and builds renewed paths to see-the-world with others and along with those involved in research. As they create, subjects inscribe different ways to express their emotions and sensations on multiple surfaces. If creativity is used as logic to inquire what emerges from subjects and what is expected and "interests" the researcher, they become aspects that are mutually put in tension. These "findings" are transformed into a knot in which what the researcher is looking for and what the subjects "do" become articulated.

Expressiveness is just making explicit what was implied, it is a des-wrapping action, a de-compression. In expressiveness the tacit (what is assumed according to the "social bearability mechanisms" and "regulatory regimes of the sensations") manifests itself, it becomes present. At the same time expressing oneself is a vehicle to disarm the "packaging" of class habitus, in order to get off what was wrapping and put it in connection with what was wrapped. Moreover, the expressiveness of subjects unpacks what was "tight", "concentrated" in the silent yet systematic differential appropriation and uses of word as the only way of speaking.

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¹ In other articles we have anticipated some clues to answer both challenges, Scribano, 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2009.



As itinerant mediations, contingent relations with the world ("natural", social and subjective) present the different positions of being-in-the-world resulting from lived life. These sets of mediations are social experiences. Social subjects shape their bio-graphy in a network of everyday life that is lived from class positions and conditions. At the same time, the flow of life as experiences is formed at the intersection and "re-assimilation" of sensations produced by that life and the emotions that those sensations trigger. The passage from the experience to the narrative of the aforementioned social experiences can be "captured" through a network of expressiveness.

Social subjects have social ways of evaluating and answering to the connections between social conditions of experiencing and their individual aspects, biological and physical. Such connections are made possible by the fact that what appears to be "an-individual-sensation" is a social construct, and by being such reproduces itself.

The organic and social senses lead what seems to be unique and un-repeatable such as individual sensations, and elaborate the "unnoticed work" of the in-corporation of *the social* transformed into emotions².

All societies and groups have "social intermediaries" for subjects to ex-press, to make public, to put on stage what, after being made into bone, appears to be an indeterminate and individual "non-social".

By paying attention to these facets of the actualization of lived experience, qualitative research is gaining ground on what reproduces "in/through" the body yet only being seen as mere individual "coincidence", or extreme classification of dramatic performance in terms of class "positions and conditions" of research subjects. In these interstices of the expressed experience it is possible to rupture and re-take the action in its "particular" way of becoming an "action". Precisely the intention of this paper is to summarize some possible ways (as "notes" for further development), to inquire experiences along these paths of creativity and expressiveness.

Although the ECEs presented here are related and anchored in what for some time now has been under discussion in qualitative research referred to investigation based on art, nevertheless art is not exactly what motivates them. While it is true that, as argued by Maggie O'Neill "*Art makes visible experiences, hopes, ideas; it is a reflective space and socially it brings something new into the world—it contributes to knowledge and understanding...*" (2008, p. 21), human creativity also presents such features without necessarily transforming that practice into art. It is precisely the

potential of creating and imagining what makes ECE possible and, in fact, makes them worthwhile.

The ECE is also close to the intentions expressed, among others by Forest (2009), to connect a creative process with ways in which subjects who have lived certain social experiences are enabled to express their emotions.

III. DESIGN OF EXPRESSIVE CREATIVE ENCOUNTERS

ECEs have emerged as a response to demands from various studies which have examined the interrelations between bodies, emotions and social conflict. For several years we have been³ working on research projects referred to the configuration of social sensitivities using quantitative and qualitative investigation strategies. One of the qualitative procedures we have used is the ECE. In what follows we summarize one of such experiences.

The project "Mechanisms of social bearability and devices for the regulation of sensations of subjects involved in collective actions (2008-2009)" was oriented to the identification and description of the functioning of such processes⁴ developed in the city of Córdoba, Argentina between 2001 and 2007. In this direction we believe that the practices of social bearability decreased the disruptive potential of the conflict networks and collective actions related to them that were deployed among those years.

Below we summarize the requirements to carry out an ECE, based on the example of one of our researches.

ECEs do not claim to be original nor thorough, just to mention a few examples let us recall what we have mentioned above: performance, street theater, dramatization of individual and collective problems is

³ "The operation of social phantoms and fantasies through collective action and conflict networks. Córdoba, Villa María and San Francisco 2004-2008". Director Scribano, Adrian CONICET PIP 2009-2011 "Interstitial and Expenditure Practices Holidays 2010-2011", Director: Scribano, Adrián Oscar, Co-director: Magallanes, Graciela to guarantee academic subsidy. Research Institute UNVM, Ministry of Research and Extension, Institute of Social Sciences Academic Teaching. "Social Diagnosis from the expressive capacities / creative territorial organizations of the city of Córdoba", Director: Scribano, Adrián Oscar PROTRI Program (public communication of science, transfer of research results, MinCyT), Córdoba, res. 000,240, December 16, 2010.

⁴ By one hand, the "mechanisms of social bearability" refer to a set of embodied practices that focus on systematic avoidance of social conflict (Scribano, 2007). On the other, the "regimes for the regulation of sensations" are regulatory devices that stress the relationship between sense, perception and emotion. These manners of recognizing the world, that subjects and classes have, entail a perceptual structure that guides how to act and feel. In this way the validity of sensations that are suitable and unsuitable is produced. These devices are processes of selection, classification and production of perceptions, socially determined and distributed (Scribano, 2007)

² With respect our approach on the relationship between body, emotions and social structuration CFR Scribano y D`hers (2013)

part of the background that can be recognized as their development platform. They are a set of inquiry experiences that articulate with some creative practices connected through the active participation of those agents involved in them.

Within the context of ECEs the possible connections between sensations, emotions, biographical scenes and social sensitivities are enhanced in order to articulate the individual experience with collective/group experiences. It is necessary to understand that this process of inquiry should be associated with a research project, with a problem and defined objectives, and should preferably be coordinated with other quantitative and qualitative procedures used in this investigation.

At the ECE three organizational units can be distinguished: moments of expression, expressive components and recording strategies, which should be thought in a continuous interaction, communication and tension, establishing a flow of action. Each of these units will be described in what follows.

a) UNIT 1: Moments of Expression

The moments of expression are individual and collective/group activities consisting on pursuing motivation and realization of expressiveness. These moments must be understood as opportunities to create and to imagine, by evincing the feeling structures of agents. In a ECE four (4) moments of expression are experienced, the first one of motivation/consensus, the second of individual activity, the third involves an action of collective creativity and the fourth a space of interpretation/accounting of the encounter experiences. In all four moments the researchers' records, the participation of agents and their interpretation are articulated as a contingent totality.

First Moment: The ECEs begin and are immersed in the previous activities of the research as a hole; this is why the first moment of motivation/consensus about what will happen in the encounter is based on the established trust between the agents who participate and the organizers. The participants are suggested to use a camera so as to get involved in recording the activity, in this way making it possible to have other views about what is happening. To study in depth expressive possibilities a video is projected related to the topic that is focused in that ECE, and where partaking individuals can recognize themselves in connection with that topic. After the screening, the participants are asked to express their points of view, which will serve as a bridge for the second moment.

Second Moment: In this section the theoretical/empirical/experiential connections between

colors, sensations⁵, emotions, biographical scenes and socio-historical flux are applied. This is an activity focused on individual expressivity, seeking to facilitate creativity in the selection, use and assignment of emotional value to the colors. Participants have at their disposal blank papers and must color them expressing sensations and emotions which they associate to different biographical scenes in the context of a timeline that represents the social historical reference flow. Once the papers are colored, they should place them on the timeline and tell why they chose that color and why was it put in a given position. This interpretation exercise allows completing the expressivity table and also runs as a link to the next stage.

Third Moment: In this section the experience of a collective practice of creativity is applied/motivated which selects, manipulates and redefines different expressive materials so as to express the shared emotions. Within this space of expression the cooperative creation of a drawing or collage is proposed that entails answering the question about how they live/experience the central issue of ECE. The activity involves a set of non-formal organizing interactions of the collective/group, "rules", volume and intensity of individual participation established by agents in a spontaneous way. Once the drawing or collage is prepared, the collectives/groups are asked to specify an interpretation for it, evidencing the mediations between what was done and the issue of the encounter.

Fourth Moment: As a "closure" of the previous stage, it is intended to set up a space of exchange primarily oriented to link the individual and collective/group moment, the created expressions and the central issue of the ECE, which means to offer the last word of interpretation to the subjects. Finally the participants are asked to narrate how they have lived the ECE, what has happened to them and what it has meant.

Outline of an Expressive Creative Encounter

1st Moment:

- a) Presentation of the purposes and aims of the ECE.
- b) Proposition to "record" the activities, by the participants.
- c) Trigger: eight minutes video and/or photos
- d) Expression of ideas about the video.

2nd Moment:

- a) Individual expressive activity: "Coloring sensations"
- b) Placing the "papers" in the timeline.
- c) Interpretation/accounting of what was expressed

3rd Moment:

- a) Collective expressive activity: creation of drawing-collage.

⁵ In relation our approach on the connection between colors and emotions CFR Scribano 2012

- b) Interpretation/accounting of what was expressed
- c) Plenary of Collective Activity.

4th Moment:

- a) Interpretation/accounting of what was expressed throughout the encounter
- b) Accounting of what was experienced

UNIT 2: Expressive Elements

Expressive elements are the materials used which, given the characteristics of ECEs, acquire such significance that they constitute a unit itself in the action flow of the encounters. The social agents have knowledge at hand that allow/hinder the selection, handling and provision of meaning to these materials. The subjects have or do not have the ability to manage certain expressive resources that obstruct/enable their experiences with the social world. Therefore, materials and resources are considered as common objects widely known by the participants. Basically, the used supplies are: a) pieces of blank paper, b) pencils, crayons, paints, etc. and c) elements for the collage: magazines, newspapers, colored paper.

UNIT 3: Recording Strategies

ECEs are recorded simultaneously from diverse perspectives and using different means, trying to grasp what is plural and multiple in actions guided by creativity. Recording strategies are procedures (standardized or not) that allow to "store" at least two features of the encounters: materiality and processuality of action. In this way the views of investigators are overlapped and crossed with the participants views. The narratives, bodies in action and emotional emphasis of the interaction itself are woven. The encounters are recorded through audio, semi-structured observations, videos and photographs taken by the research team and by participants.

Using digital recorders the audio of the four moments of the encounter is documented, with the purpose of obtaining, in first place the truest most accurate capture of what individuals speak as a process of attribution of meaning to what they have created, and secondly, to collect what is narrative in agent interactions when they are creating.

During the meeting one or more researchers carry out a semi-structured observation of events, relationships and creative processes in order to collect information on what happens during the three (3) outlined first stages. The observation guide follows the flow of action with the following components: **1st Moment:** a) Who is (are) it (they)? b) Connection with the Coordinator, c) Relationship with the instructions, d) Miscellaneous; **2nd Moment:** a) Who is (are) it (they)? b) Connection agent-activity, c) When is it? Practice context, d) Miscellaneous; **3rd Moment:** a) Who is (are) it (they)? b) Relationship between each participant, c) When is it? Practice context, d) Miscellaneous.

Photos are also taken by the research team with the purpose of storing at least two important types of information: objects that are an outcome of creativity, and turning points in the interaction that could be remarkable.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the encounter, the participants are asked to get involved in its recording, taking pictures of what they consider to be relevant. The purpose of this information is to conserve some of the impressions of the agents that could be compared with those recorded by the research team.

At the same time, the entire encounter is recorded with a digital video camera to capture the set of interactions, procedures and creative acts that take place in the ECE.

These three units: moments of expression, expressive elements and recording strategies are prepared, from the design of the ECE itself, to execute, document, analyze and interpret, aiming to facilitate and enhance creativity for the emergence of sensitivities related to the topic of investigation. Now then, all ECE design is subject to amendment guided by what is uncertain, circumstantial and contingent.

IV. REGARDING PARTICIPANTS AND RESEARCH TEAM

To complete the description of ECEs as procedures, it is relevant to clarify two equally important factors: a) the selection of participants, and b) the roles of the research team.

a) Selection of partaker subjects

As in focus group, the proposal of ECEs is to cover the tension between maximum homogeneity and maximum heterogeneity. The partaker subjects must be selected among those who have a direct link with the whole set of social practices to be put into discussion during the investigation. The number of participants should not exceed twelve people, and their participation must follow all the recommendations of consent involved in the research process. Collective/group activities must be planned with a balanced distribution of age, sex, class position and connection with the central issue of the encounter. It is relevant to underline the key importance of procedures for initial contact with the participants, considering that comprehension and consensus around the goals of the meeting provides the creative potential of the encounter.

b) Roles of the research team

The team must designate a coordinator, a person to carry out the recording, a photo and video camera operator and an assistant to the operative demands of participants. The attitude of the whole team should be guided by a tension between active presence and disregard as long as the aim of promoting creativity

implies the least incidence in the context of action and interaction with and among participants.

The design and implementation of ECE intend to pull together the powers of creativity, enabling interpretation from and by the agents, and performing an action where emotions are made public as constituents of social reality.

There are many features of ECEs that cannot be explained here: units of experiencing, the coordination with other strategies of inquiry, the possible ways of understanding, and probably other challenges that the research practice will bring in the future.

ECEs are a systematic commitment to the creation of world images where the voices of social agents appear as creativity and where reality is painted with the colors of multiplicity

V. CONCLUSION

There are many features of the ECE that we cannot explain here: the experience units, the forms of articulation with other inquiry strategies, the possible paths for comprehension; and surely other challenges that the investigative practices will bring in the future.

The ECE is a systematic commitment to the creation of images of the world where the voices of the social agents appears as creativity and where reality is painted with the colors of multiplicity.

The ECE provey methological instruments that allow to capture, register and interpret sensibilities from the point of view and voice of the subjects of the investigation.

The ECE deny, at least partially, the objectivist postulation conserining the impossibility of inquiring expressiveness tied to the subjeti's emotions and sensations as traces to analyze society.

Creativity and expressiveness are two of the central axes through which the paths of social inquiry open to autonomy cross, in the commitment of building happier societies.

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A Sociological Analysis of Civil Society Success in International Development Project

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Abstract - This paper examines the various determinants of civil society or NGOs success in the international development project. Civil society is a broader concept that consists of all the social groups and social relationships in which humans are embedded, including family, community, social movements, religious organizations, schools, ethnic groups, clubs, professional associations, PTAs, etc. It refers to the quality of people's social life which includes safety, improved healthcare, mortality, civility, respect for diversity, and so forth. Several scholars have identified various determinants for civil society success, notably in developing nations. These include NGOs' intermediary role; serving as a source for feed-back and integration; and cooperation among competing organizations. Others attribute the success to accountability; collaboration with international activist groups; diffusion of ideas through rapid communication carried out and advanced by certain „rooted cosmopolitans;“ and availability of funds from international donors. The article examines scholars' centripetal and centrifugal on the subject matter and highlights some implications. It concludes that civil society contributes to the international development project through ensuring democracy by mobilizing the public, creating awareness, political participation, advocacy campaigns, and struggle for political rights. It finally posits that, the determinants for civil society/NGO success in international development project are multidimensional, advocating for a development model that recognizes the role of religious organizations as civil society actors in order to have a meaningful, compatible, and sustainable development model.

Keywords : civil society, NGOs, international development, determinants, success, Africa.

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Abstract - This paper examines the various determinants of civil society or NGOs success in the international development project. Civil society is a broader concept that consists of all the social groups and social relationships in which humans are embedded, including family, community, social movements, religious organizations, schools, ethnic groups, clubs, professional associations, PTAs, etc. It refers to the quality of people's social life which includes safety, improved healthcare, mortality, civility, respect for diversity, and so forth. Several scholars have identified various determinants for civil society success, notably in developing nations. These include NGOs' intermediary role; serving as a source for feed-back and integration; and cooperation among competing organizations. Others attribute the success to accountability; collaboration with international activist groups; diffusion of ideas through rapid communication carried out and advanced by certain 'rooted cosmopolitans;' and availability of funds from international donors. The article examines scholars' centripetal and centrifugal on the subject matter and highlights some implications. It concludes that civil society contributes to the international development project through ensuring democracy by mobilizing the public, creating awareness, political participation, advocacy campaigns, and struggle for political rights. It finally posits that, the determinants for civil society/NGO success in international development project are multidimensional, advocating for a development model that recognizes the role of religious organizations as civil society actors in order to have a meaningful, compatible, and sustainable development model.

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I. Introduction

Proceeding from reviewing the definition of civil society, this essay identifies what scholars have considered the determinants of civil society/nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) success in the project of international¹ development. It then explores how authors vary in terms of how they define "success," identifying areas of agreement and

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¹ Although, NGOs' service dimensions are numerous, an important distinction needs to be made between international development and humanitarianism. While international development focuses on long-term plans or sustainable projects, humanitarianism is a short-term "remedy" mainly during crisis, war, or disaster. What the two projects share is responsibility/empathy to others. Important for discussion is that humanitarianism is part of international development and civil society/humanitarian NGOs equally contribute through it.

disagreement. The essay then examines the authors' sociological explanations for civil society success. It finally argues that the Western secular development models and approach fail to deliver in Africa because they contradict the culture and reality of the people, advocating for a holistic approach that is people-oriented, community-driven, and faith-related.

II. Definition/Operationalization of Civil Society Concept

Like many terms in the social sciences, civil society has many definitions². The idea of civil society is the idea of a part of society which has a life of its own, which is distinctly different from the state³, and which is largely in autonomy from it. Civil society lies beyond the boundaries of the family and the clan and beyond the locality; it lies short of the state (Shils, 2000). From this definition, three main components of civil society could be discerned: a part of society that comprises a complex of autonomous institutions⁴; society possessing particular complex of relationships between itself and the state and a distinctive set of institutions which safeguard the separation of state and civil society and maintain effective ties between them; and a widespread of refined or civil manner.

Persell (1997) defines civil society in terms of institutional and qualitative dimensions. Institutionally, it consists of all the social groups and social relationships in which humans are embedded. This includes family, community, social movements, religious organizations, schools, ethnic groups, clubs, professional associations, PTAs, and so on. Qualitatively, civil society refers to the quality of people's social life which includes safety, improved healthcare, mortality, civility, respect for diversity, and so forth. Civil society therefore is a broader concept much more than simply the idea of social economy or the third sector since it includes formal and informal social relationships and networks, the institutions in the nonprofit sector, the family, as well as trust, social attitudes, tolerance, and so on.

An important point that Persell succinctly made from his delineation of civil society is its institutional and

² Only a few will be used here

³ Although different, but not totally separate: the autonomy is far from complete. Civil society works within the framework set by laws.

⁴ Such as economic, religious, political, intellectual- which are distinguishable from the family, clan, locality and the state

qualitative dimensions which can be viewed as the essence of civil society. Put differently, part of what the civil society concerns with is meeting a perceived need, advancing a cause, or promoting certain interests – which could be of the general public, particular clubs, professional bodies, interest groups, etc. Thus, ensuring improvement of quality of life (what may be considered as development) could be seen as one of the functions of civil society. In the same line of thought, Durning (1989) argues that real development is the process whereby individuals and societies build the capacity to meet their own needs and improve the quality of their own lives. At the individual level, it means self-respect that will enhance personal dignity and subsequently economic progress. Socially, it implies developing the institutions that can promote public good. Physically, it involves finding solutions to the basic necessities of life such as nutrition, access to health care, clean water, shelter and clothing. What are the determinants of NGO success? Mencher (2003) argues that determining success of NGOs in international development project is difficult due to variations in NGOs' missions, their methods of operation, size, location, organizational pattern, resources including sources, funders' interest and monitoring style, target population, and so on. As a result, there is no overarching theory that explains success. Different scholars have offered various explanations for what they consider as the determinants of NGO/civil society success. The next section reviews and contrasts some of these views with regards the project of international development.

III. Determinants of NGO/Civil Society Success in the Project of International Development

Development as a purposeful project of intervention toward improving the lives of people around the world gained popularity after World War II. The project was supported by a liberal philosophy of markets that called for increased financial aid to poorer nations to bolster their economic migration from pre-modern to development (Bonsu and Polsa (2011). The NGO⁵ as a sector plays a very important role in the project of international development⁶. Smith (1996) back; provides the ability to liberate individuals and permits them the fullest possibilities for personal

posits that in the past three decades the sector has significantly expanded its involvement in international development. Essentially, he argues, NGOs, especially in developing nations at the national and regional levels serve as intermediaries in channeling international assistance to the needy members of their societies. Similarly, Clark (1990) examines the role of voluntary organizations in democratic regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America with focus on economic projects. His findings revealed that these NGOs have positively impacted on the lives of the rural poor through enhancing skills and resources as against aiming at political participation. He attributed their success to cooperation and partnership between national and regional NGOs with grassroots associations that they formed in order to have a meaningful improvement on their lives.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) identified the various roles of civil society by examining the key role that a network of activists played in ending gross violation of human rights in Argentina by the military in the late 70s. A striking point is how domestic NGOs in collaboration with international ones provided crucial information on the events, lobbied governments and INGOs to show concern, investigate, and effect change. This shows the success of civil society and its potentials to effect change not only at the grassroots level, but equally national as well as in the global politics⁷.

With reference to empirical studies in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, Fisher (1993) documents and shows how this success story led to a significant growth of such organizations. He had acknowledged the success of NGOs as alternative means of helping the poor and the oppressed in the developing states but was critical of the increase in numbers of the NGOs. He therefore attributed the proliferation of the NGOs to the availability of funds from international donors⁸. Between the mid-1970s and on, American, Canadian, and European NGOs received increasing amounts of home-government subsidies, and they found ready recipients in newly created intermediary NGOs in developing countries- many of which could neither have begun nor continued without foreign assistance (Fisher, 1993). Thus, the intermediary role of the NGOs was vital, yet the resources including funds, human, technical, ideas, etc. that the affluent countries sent were the determinants for success.

Smith (2012) examines the impacts of voluntary sector in some degree to any society to include

⁵Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society organizations among other associations are called the nonprofit sector as the collective name used to describe institutions and organizations in American society that are neither government nor business (Source 2012). As a result, for the purpose of this essay, NGO and civil society will be used interchangeably.

⁶I am using international development project to mean the development projects that started after World War II, which focus on fighting poverty and alleviating suffering while improving the quality of lives in former colonized countries.

⁷Keck and Sikkink (2005) show how transnational advocacy networks influence policies by means of campaigns including at transnational levels. They examined how they contributed in campaigns such as for the abolishing of slavery and for woman suffrage, and foreshadow transnational campaigns in many areas.

⁸The U.S. government in particular was providing more funding to such societies especially where military dictators were ruling.

providing the society with partially tested innovations, the chance to choose and institutionalize what appears most promising; countervailing definition of reality and morality including ideologies and worldviews; the play (recreation) element of society; and creating social integration. Also, it serves as a source of negative feedback; provides the ability to liberate individuals and permits them the fullest possibilities for personal capacities and potentials; and contributes to the economic system, particularly in modern industrial society⁹.

Domanski (2012) shifts focus by examining competitiveness of NGOs as a determinant for success. His study reveals that the contrasting alternative to competition strategies is strategies of cooperation. He presents a considerably different result from the findings that exist in the U.S. or U.K. where competition between nonprofits is essential in these countries. Domanski argues that the nonprofit sector in the developing nations and particularly in his research area (Poland) is in its embryonic stage. Thus, cooperation among 'competing' NGOs determines the outcome. But perhaps this could be depending on a number of factors including if the donors' criteria for receiving funds require such cooperation or collaboration.

The civil society has succeeded in creating political space through activism, advocacy, and establishing international networks and links. They do that through collaboration with like-minded local and international NGOs, and sometimes appeal to international authorities. In most developing nations, especially in post-colonial Africa, the civil society has been the most powerful force in pressurizing military regimes to hand over to civilians. This has been the case with civilian administrations that aim at self-perpetuation (Kukah, 1999) as was evident in Nigeria during the Obasanjo administration in 2007. The determinants are utilizing professional associations including labor and professional unions, human rights activists, etc. to change the constitution in favor of democracy, participate in voter registration, voting, and other civic engagements.

Similarly, Keck and Sikkink (2005) argue that NGOs, particularly advocacy networks¹⁰ have helped and sustained several changes between the late 60s and mid 90s in the Latin America. They posit that these

⁹ Nevertheless, Smith cautions that there are as many negative consequences as there are positive sides of the sector in certain situations in relation to certain values. Thus, he seems neutral, depending on the society and circumstances.

¹⁰ Keck and Sikkink assert that advocacy networks are at both local and international levels but collaborate through information exchange. Transnational advocacy networks must be understood as political spaces, in which differently situated actors negotiate-formally or informally- the social, cultural, and political meanings of their joint enterprise (2005:3).

NGOs have built links among actors in civil societies, states, and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) in many areas, notably human rights, environment, and woman suffrage. Thus, the civil society's success in this regard can be seen through "the boomerang pattern"¹¹ (Keck and Sikkink 2005:12). Tarrow (2005) corroborates this view by examining the role of ordinary members of communities who gain new worldviews and help in the development of their societies. He attributes the success of this to the diffusion of ideas using rapid communication that result in new forms of action by the "rooted cosmopolitans" who sometimes come up with new identities due to contacts with others across their borders.

Diaz (2012) provides a critique, arguing that despite civil society emerges to address poverty, the sector does not address the needs of the poor and disadvantaged very well because many of the NGOs are run by elites, who neither feel the suffering of the poor nor deliver resources to them. He however exonerates few NGOs notably faith-related agencies. Accountability therefore, Diaz asserts, should be the determinant of the sector's success. Similarly, Diallo and Thuillier (2004) posit that the success of civil society in the international development projects cannot best be determined by only one dimension but by multiple dimensions/parties. It should include the project manager, coordinator, task manager, a supervisor, the project team, steering team, the beneficiaries, and the population at large. This gives a critique of the projects since the development projects, who are mainly technocrats are not the only ones to evaluate the impact of services provided. Similarly, the NGOs as project partners or intermediary are not the only ones to determine projects' success.

IV. Examining AUTHORS' Centripetal and Centrifugal in Defining "SUCCESS"

From the above, it is evident that scholars vary on the determinants of civil society success in the international development project. While some attribute the sector's success to the intermediary role of NGOs, others focus on the transfer of resources from the global north to the global south, specifically to NGOs as against governments of the countries. Yet, other scholars attribute the success to cooperation and collaboration between civil organizations, diffusion of resources including ideas, money, technology, empowerment of women, etc. Similarly, accountability, civic engagement, and other indices have been suggested. What appears a consensus among the scholars is that all believe that there is inequality at

¹¹ Instead of the civil society directly addressing the government, appeals to international community bounces back and pressure is mounted on governments to act, react, or change certain activities.

various levels: national (within developing nations) and at international (global north and south) levels. It was this inequality that led to the need for the international development project. All authors seem to believe that civil society gives voices to certain groups, notably the underprivileged. This does not rule out other elite and recreational or interest groups. In the same line of thought, Beckfield (2003) posits that global inequality has weakened INGOs and their member states from succeeding in the world polity. He argues that since 1960, the rich, core, Western states and societies dominated the world polity. An important question worthy to ask is "Have the international development projects that are controlled by these dominating nations through various agencies been genuinely programmed to address the causes of the problems, or are they providing palliative solutions?" The next section analyses how the authors agree or disagree.

In order to examine how the scholars agree or vary in terms of their definition of "success," let us treat thematically. Socially, it is striking how the authors, despite variation in the determinants of civil society success, appreciate the value for coming together as a group-based as against individual-focus to address certain issues. This shows that civil society is essential to social vitality and human progress. Free association of individual citizens in such organizations reinforces participatory norms, encourages cooperative interaction, and promotes interpersonal trust- all of which are believed to be crucial for achieving effective solutions to problems facing the wider community (Putnam 2000:171-76). But some scholars like Coleman (1988) will disagree, asserting that social capital is neutral. Still others like Heying (2001) believe that decline in membership and in activities is not a reliable indicator of social engagement. An example is the role of ideas using rapid communication by "rooted cosmopolitans" – a form of activism that has created "the darker side" of transnational relations which has created "clandestine cells of militants"¹², international drug links, and traders in human beings" (Tarrow, 2005:43). It is in skepticism of these kinds of 'extreme voices' that Fiorina (1999) questions civic engagement, arguing it is not always absolutely good or does not do harm.

Economically, civil society has contributed huge amounts of dollars given as aids, donations, etc. to empower the poor; provided jobs for staff; and assisted women through credit and thrift societies. While some authors focus on the role of ideas, others focus on face-to-face contacts. Importantly, as Clark (1990) asserts,

most NGOs focus on supporting economic projects that have some impact on enhancing skills or resources. It is evident that the civil society has succeeded in collaborating with their donors in innovative activities in areas such as small scale agriculture, water development, environmental protection, basic health and family planning, credit and management training, production and consumer cooperation, etc. Nevertheless, Smith cautions that "The poorest of the poor (the landless, the sick, the elderly, the handicapped) usually do not directly benefit" from all of these grassroots associations because "many NGOs – especially those that are cooperatives or credit unions-require a minimum of resources and skills to participate" (1990:222). In the same line of thought, Diaz (2012) insists, associations must be accountable via these dimensions: financial responsibility, good governance, mission faithfulness, and effectiveness. More so, NGOs¹³ must be responsible to the public, members and staff, clients, donors, and government.

In terms of politics, civil society contributes to the international development project through ensuring democracy by mobilizing the public, creating awareness, political participation, advocacy campaigns, and struggle for political rights. Certainly, there are variations in determining "success" among scholars-civic engagement determines "democracy" or "democracy" determines civic or political participation. Put differently, is it the civil society that determines democracy or vice versa? Strikingly, many scholars agree that a strong civil society yields trust and trust is essential because it is the quintessence of a successful modern society. In addition, all scholars agree that democracy, as against despotic regimes is more desirable as it guarantees liberty. It seems all scholars agree or endorse a politically activated civil society that operates as group action as against individual action-level. But scholars differ with regards the relationship between the state and civil society. One conception imagines the civil society united against the state, and another stresses the irreducible pluralism of civil societies in modern days.

Lastly, there seems agreement among authors that civil society plays a very important role in improving the people's lives, especially the most vulnerable or marginalized members of society. Notwithstanding, there does not seem to be consensus as to the particular sector that requires more emphasis- health, education, vocational training, political participation, human rights, gender, or economic empowerment.

¹² Onuoha (2010) argues that radical groups under the banner of "Civil Society" in Nigeria including sectarian, ethnic and religious militants such as *Boko Haram* are dangerous as they pick up arms and engage in violence that claims the lives of many innocent persons. The acts of these militants are undoubtedly products of "rooted cosmopolitans" with negative attendant consequences on Sub-Saharan Africa and the international community.

¹³ Smith (2010) examines why NGOs proliferated so widely in Nigeria and he found that most of them, especially in the health-related sector, are fake. What they actually do is follow the band wagon of donors- since the donors' focus is fighting HIV/AIDS and related diseases, then the "AIDS NGOs" shift their "missions," "visions," and "focus," to the directions of the donors.

A reflection at this point may be on the service dimensions of the NGOs¹⁴. The UNDP Report of 2003 posits that NGOs have recorded a huge success in improving the living standards of the poor. They have increased women empowerment, assisted farmers, fought diseases, and many more. What accounted for their success was targeting women and involving them in support groups, establishing credit and thrift societies, emphasizing empowerment, health and family planning programs, and attitudinal reorientation. This has in the long run led to eroding some stereotypes that were neglecting women as actors in the implementation of meaningful development. Women empowerment, fighting poverty, access to and improved healthcare are certainly some of the challenges in the developing world. But how are these measured: qualitatively or quantitatively? Who measures them? Using what indices or scales?

As Portes (1998) argues, involvement and participation in groups can have positive consequences for the individual and the community as a staple notion, whose source can be dated back to the works of classical sociologists like Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx. Durkheim's work on social solidarity emphasizes group life as an antidote to normlessness or anomie and self-destruction. On the other hand, Marx's distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself shows how mobilization, civic engagement, and collective action can influence change¹⁵. Similarly, Reid (1999) posits, NGOs strengthen democracy by giving citizens a variety of opportunities to meet and talk, build civic skills, and assemble their resources for joint action (1999:291). This is similar to Max Weber's (1991) Rational Action¹⁶ – which views human actions or behaviors (example by joining voluntary associations) as related to cause and effect in the social realm. The implication of this extends to all actors: individuals in civil society, politicians or bureaucrats representing the state, the donor agencies, and the society at large.

V. Conclusion

This essay began by definition of civil society, and then identified various authors' views on the determinants of civil society/NGO success in the project of international development. It then examined how the authors agreed or otherwise *vis-à-vis* defining "success." Finally, the essay attempted to critique

determinants of the success, providing some sociological explanations. Generally and broadly, civil society plays many important roles including socialization, public and quasi-public functions, as well as representative functions at grassroots, national, and international levels. Despite challenges, the civil society in the target countries (developing nations) nevertheless, continues to contribute to the project of international development. The sector has served as an intermediary between donors and the target population in virtually all aspects of human life, notably health, education¹⁷, politics, and social. There are many points of divergence among scholars on the meaning of civil society, its role in the society, and what factors determine the success of the sector in the international development project and in sustainable development. It can be argued that the different conceptions of civil society's definition have led to variations in scholars' expectations about what its role is *vis-à-vis* modern politics as well as its relationship to the state. Nevertheless, there seems to be agreement among scholars that there is inequality at various levels, notably in the developing nations as well as at the global north and south. More so, scholars do not seem to disagree on the need to assist in improving the quality of people's lives in the global south which faces many problems from lack of democracy, corruption, poverty, diseases, illiteracy, human rights violations, marginalization, etc.

Importantly, despite disagreement about the determinants of "success," scholars believe that the governments in many of these countries may not be able to deliver or "develop," thus creating a niche for the civil society to perform intermediary or complementary functions. Some dilemmas notwithstanding are: What kind of development do these countries need? Whose understanding of the problem? Who defines or determines the development model: donor agencies or the people? Should the development project be funding-driven or community-oriented? How is the relationship between the donors and the recipients: mutual or appendage/exploitative? How genuine and accountable are the NGOs that serve as intermediaries? What conditions will warrant the flourish of civil society and what then will be the role of the state in these countries?

Certainly, as Kukah (1999) rightly asserts, Africa seeks some form of democracy, civil society and the associated institutions as a result of survival- which the present political elite and the development agencies are unable to deliver. It is against this background that this article advocates for a development model that is compatible with the target societies for the international development projects. In Africa for instance, secular

¹⁴For details about various forms of NGOs including service agencies and dimensions see Smith and Lipsky (2012).

¹⁵This does not mean Karl Marx believes or sees civil society in positive terms. Instead, he views civil society as the sphere where the interest of the bourgeoisie is protected – civil society as the realm of inequality, plurality, and competing interests meant little more than "man's exploitation by man" (Marx, [1873] (1996) On Jewish Question

¹⁶Weber classified human social action into: rational, instrumental, affectional, and traditional

¹⁷It is interesting that in Nigeria and many other developing nations now private universities are springing up in collaboration with the advanced countries. Some examples are the ABTI-American University, the Nigerian-Turkish international school, etc.

development models usually fail partly because, they do not fit the realities of the people. Corroborating this view, Deneulin and Rakodi (2001) posit, "[T]he role of religious organizations as civil society actors has to be reckoned with, not only in the delivery of social services but also in advocacy" (2011:8). As if invoking Deneulin and Rakodi on that, Clarke concludes, "Put simply, in development contexts, *faith matters*¹⁸" (2006:846).

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Gender, Slum and Society

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Abstract - The notion of human wellbeing itself is more broadly conceived to include, not only consumption of goods and services but also the accessibility of all sections of the population, especially the deprived and those who are living below the normative minimal poverty line, to the basic necessities of a productive and socially meaningful life. Analysis of data from the World Values Surveys demonstrates that the linkage between individual resources, emancipative values and freedom rights is universal in its presence across nations, regions and cultural zones. A specific focus on these aspects of development is necessary, as experience shows that economic prosperity measured in terms of per capita income. It does not always ensure enrichment in quality of life reflected in broader dimensions of well-being like in indicators on longevity, literacy or, for that matter, environmental sustainability. Attainments in these dimensions of welfare are desirable in themselves; hence, they are socially valued. This study demonstrates that socio-economic development, emancipative cultural change and democratization constitute a coherent syndrome of social progress – a syndrome whose common focus has not been properly specified by classical modernization theory.

Keywords : *Slum, Poverty, Development, Women empowerment, Social justice, Discrimination.*

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I. Introduction

Generally women and girls in slums have a poor quality of life in slums. The lack of basic services affects them the most. They have to spend considerable time collecting potable water and getting rid of wastewater. Looking after children who are frequently sick, husbands who do not earn adequately and can be drunk and trying to ensure that the family gets a meal every day. Women are most disadvantaged in slums. Girls have to look after younger siblings when both parents go to work. Combined with a traditional bias against educating girls they are often not sent to school or drop out at an early stage. Girls do not have the exposure to everyday city life situations, which men, women and young men have. As a result they are often anxiety prone and stressed. The unhealthy and polluted environment, lack of immunization, malnutrition and absence of educational exposure affects children in slums. Sadly, their physical, emotional and intellectual growth is stunted from a very early age. The situation with respect to women's health in the urban slums is no different; rather their health is neglected the most. Insecurity related to regular income, food, shelter, access to health care and other essential services,

along with poverty and difficult physical and social environments, such as exploitation and abuse in the treatment of women, have an adverse impact on the health of the urban poor women.

There is a consensus among the leading international organizations (e.g. UN, WHO, World Bank, and ILO) and development scholars that to achieve an effective change for better health and quality of life for women, a dual approach is needed (UNDP, 1999; Kar and Acalay, 2000). These are: (1) reforming health and welfare systems that meet the specific and urgent needs of women (e.g. health care, day care), and (2) reforming socio-cultural systems that perpetuate gender inequalities which are the source of all day-to-day problems (e.g. equal opportunities for education, income, cultural practices and devaluation of women). These two approaches address what Moser (1987) identifies as two types of women's needs- 'practical needs' and 'strategic needs' respectively. The first approach focuses on day-to-day needs that are akin to the proverb, giving a fish to a starving person; while the second approach is giving a fishing rod and opportunities to fish. There is synergy between health systems, human development systems, and broader social reform. While men and women in large numbers and in many nations have benefited from various forms of social and technological developments, women continue to suffer from persistent inequalities in both poor and rich societies. In general, women carry most of the burden of caring for their children and domestic work. Empirical studies show that women also suffer most of the brunt of poverty and abuses due to persistent inequalities and relative powerlessness (Sen, 1990). Both in rich and poor nations, women suffer various forms of institutionalized injustice and abuse including: denial of basic needs (education and health care), feminization of poverty, unfair opportunities for employment, income, and leadership; sexual harassment and exploitation; physical mutilations and deaths, domestic violence; insufficient interest in gender-related issues in policy and research; and culturally conditioned practices that endanger women's health and quality of life (e.g. dowry deaths, honor killing, early marriages).

II. Methodology

The data have been collected from secondary and primary sources.

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a) Secondary Sources

Data is collected and compiled from the books, reports, published and unpublished papers, leaflets, booklets, Municipal records and Governmental circulars.

b) Primary Sources

Interviews from the field with respondents, word counselors and slum leaders have been conducted to elicit their opinions and experiences in slum life with the help of interview schedule.

III. The Universe and Sample Size:

The study was conducted on slums of the capital city of Chhattisgarh, Raipur, India. Total 300 families from four slums taking 95 families from Gandhi Nagar, 88 families from Moulipara, 100 families from Kushalpur and 17 families from Kota basti have taken as sample. Total surveyed population is 1383. Head or senior most persons of the family are the respondents.

IV. Gender in Slums: Some Aspects

Family is a miniature of the society. Women in the family are inevitable. The basic organization of society comes from the organization of family. Family imparts essential social training to its members in self-restraint, responsibility, human relations and goal-directed behaviors. Once a new activity has been accepted as desirable by wide sections of the population, families assume an increasing role in equipping the next generation with knowledge, skills and attitudes supportive of the activity. The hereditary

transmission of occupation from father to son has taken place for millennia. Today children are no longer as likely to enter the same field as their parents, but they still acquire basic skills and attitudes that influence their occupation. When an activity has matured to the point that family plays a very active role in its transmission, the activity has become a part of the culture of the society.

Community activism is an important avenue towards participation in city-level planning and policy making processes. But there is the danger that, if women confine themselves in organizing self-help and survival strategies, they may be left to manage communities on their own, without resources or political and professional support (Beall, 1995). Recent concern with urban governance stems from general attention being paid to the issue of 'good governance' in development. It is essentially preoccupied with questions of financial accountability and administrative efficiency, and political concerns related to democracy, human rights, and participation. Urban governance used to be equated solely with urban management but more recently, it has come to be understood both as government responsibility and civic engagement involving a full range of participants, which makes it more possible to integrate a gender perspective. Women need to participate in public office because they have particular experiences of, and relationships to, the urban environment, and they have proved themselves to be effective agents of change at the city or local level on a range of issues (Beall, 1995). Some of the aspects of women faced in daily life have been focused below.

Table 1 : Participation of the Women in Local Issues

Name of Slum	Always	%	Sometime	%	Not take	%	Total Respondents
Kota Basti	1	5.88	7	41.18	9	52.94	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	9	9.00	16	16.00	75	75.00	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	22	23.16	28	29.47	45	47.37	95 (100%)
Moulipara	12	13.64	13	14.77	63	71.59	88 (100%)
Total	44	14.67	64	21.33	192	64.00	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey-2012

Participation in local issues by the women reflects her ability to the leadership and importance in the family and community as well as her degree of empowerment. 14.76% respondents have said that they themselves or their wives are always concerned about the local issues (table-1). 21.33% respondents have said that some time they or their wives participate in local issues, but 64% women do not participate at all in local

issues. Here it shows that majority of women do not actively participate in local issues and keeps themselves out of reach to these issues due to many reasons. In Kota Basti and Gandhinagar women's participation rate is same whereas other two slums projects same picture in this regard.

Table 2: Involvements of Women in Self Help Groups

Name of Slum	Availability of S.G.H / Participation by women								No Involvement		Total Respondents
	Handi-craft	%	Food Processing	%	Sales man	%	Others	%	Total	%	
Kota Basti	1	5.88	1	5.88	1	5.88	-	-	14	82.35	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	-	-	1	1.00	3	3.00	-	-	96	96.00	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	5	5.26	1	1.05	10	10.53	-	-	79	83.16	95 (100%)
Moulipara	6	6.82	-	-	2	2.27	1	1.14	79	89.77	88 (100%)
Total	12	4.00	3	1.00	16	5.33	1	0.33	268	89.34	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey-2012

Self help groups become important as a tool of poverty alleviation. Most of the financial institutions, being commercial institutions, do not find it commercially feasible to lend to the poor. The poor are generally illiterate, they have no fixed salary and they cannot offer anything as collateral security. So in spite of the availability of huge funds, bigger financial institutions do not finance the poor. It is interesting to note that a majority of the members of SHGs in India are women (Khan & Kraemer, 2008). The 74th Constitutional Amendment has given a significant role to both rural and urban local bodies in terms of empowerment and expanding their normal functions to include poverty alleviation. In this regard, all the urban local bodies have to focus on micro finance at the grass root level (slums). Self help groups are the key to empowerment of women. As table 2 shows that only near about ten percent women are actively involved in SHGs. Out of them 4% women involve in making handicraft, 1% people involve in food processing (making pickle), and 5.33% women work as sales girl. But near about 89% women are not involve in SHGs activities.

a) Social inequality and social justice: Some facts

Race, status, and class are one of the main reasons for inequality. There is a high degree of social inequality in India. Social inequality has been defined as a conflicting status within a society with regards to the individual, property rights, and access to education, medical care, and welfare programs. Much of society's inequality can be attributed to the class status of a particular group, which has usually been largely determined by the group's ethnicity or race. All societies treat people with certain characteristics differently from others, males/females, old/young, rich/poor, etc. This differential treatment leads to social inequality and the placing of individuals into social classes or hierarchy's. Some hierarchy's, such as an ascribed status, effect individuals from the moment they are born, like a child

born into a wealthy family, is more likely to be seen as successful and have more life chances, than a child born to a poor family who would be likely to have less life chances, and considered low-class. An ascribed status is a feature assigned to an individual by circumstance rather than by accomplishment, and tends to be the characteristics acquired at birth, such as race, sex, and age. In modern, capitalistic societies, income and wealth are major factors in assigning one to a specific place in the hierarchy. The structural-functionalist, believe that a society that has unequal rewards will operate more smoothly and make people want to strive to do better things with their lives. We live in a society in which you must work for everything you get, and functionalists believe that those with more ambition, who are willing to work, will get what they want. Matching two different kinds of processes has socially created social inequality. "The social roles in society are first matched to 'reward packages' of unequal value and individual members of society are then allocated to the positions so defined and rewarded" (David, 2001).

To protect the urban poor as vulnerable group it is now widely recognized that the rapid growth of urban populations has led to a worsening in absolute and relative poverty in urban areas. Urban poverty has, until recently, been low on the agenda of development policy because of dominant perceptions of urban bias and the need to counter this with a focus on rural development policy. However, policy interest in urban issues is increasing as a result of two phenomena: projections of a large and increasing proportion of poor people living in urban areas, partly as a result of urbanization; and claims that structural adjustment programmes - which have removed some of the urban bias, by removing price distortions - have lead to a much faster increase in urban poverty than rural poverty.

Social inequality is different from economic inequality but the two inequalities are linked. Economic

inequality refers to disparities in the distribution of economic assets and income. While economic inequality is caused by the unequal distribution of wealth, social inequality exists because the lack of wealth in certain areas prohibits these people from obtaining the same housing, health care, etc. as the wealthy in societies where access to these social goods depends on wealth. "The degree of inequality in a given reward or asset depends, of course, on its dispersion or concentration across the individuals in the population" (David, 2001).

Situations of marginality produce ideas of justice. Lack of access to means of representation, resources, and survival means such as education, health, etc. produces marginality. One of the implications of this manifold context is that while the issue of justice is studied only or mostly in terms of governance, its delivery mechanisms, and the various governmental forms of justice, social justice as different and distinct from governmental justice emerges as a distinct category of social reality to be inquired and appreciated in its own right. The social justice scenario is to be investigated in the context of two streams of entitlements- (a) sustainable livelihood, which means access to adequate means of living, such as shelter, clothing, food, access to developmental means, employment; education, health, and resources (b) social and political participation (enabling or empowering

means), which is built on the guarantee of fundamental rights, and promotion and empowerment of the right to participation in the government, and access to all available means of justice, and on the basis of which 'justice as a political programme' becomes a viable reality. A study is required therefore based on select illustrations of various issues relating to government policies on topics such as (a) the right to food and water (b) housing, which includes resettlement and rehabilitation (c) access to education, (d) access to provisions of health and healthcare, (e) right to work, and (f) access to information and the right to communication (David, 2001). In short, one of the important ways in which the inquiry will proceed will be through taking stock of various forms that have occasioned the articulation of ideas of social justice.

The constitution ensures that there is no discrimination against any section of our society. In India, certain social groups such as the SCs, STs, OBCs and Minorities have historically been disadvantaged and vulnerable. Then there are certain other groups which may be discriminated against and which suffer from handicaps. These include persons living in slum, disable, older persons, street children, beggars and victims of substance abuse. Our Constitution contains various provisions for the development of such marginalized groups.

Table 3 : Feeling Being Discriminated by the Respondents

Name of Slum	Feel Discrimination						Don't feel		Total Respondents
	Inadequate Development	%	Lesser access to city facility	%	Others	%	Total	%	
Kota Basti	5	29.41	2	11.76	2	11.76	8	47.06	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	21	21.00	17	17.00	6	5.00	56	56.00	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	38	40.00	28	29.47	4	4.21	25	26.32	95 (100%)
Moulipara	48	54.55	19	21.59	2	2.27	19	21.59	88 (100%)
Total	112	37.33	66	22.00	14	4.67	108	36.00	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey-2012

Many residential areas within the city tend to be socially isolated from others, partly by choice & partly by location. The slums are especially so as their chief link with the rest of the community is their identification with labour market, but there may be an additional link through politics, slum dwellers function equally with others as citizen & as they are able to identify themselves with social group. The urban poor face multiple challenges. Insecure tenure reinforces poverty and social exclusion. Slum dwellers are often excluded

from many of the attributes of urban life critical to full facilities, facing restricted access to economic activity, credit, health and education services and exclusion from safety, the rule of law or political voice. People in slum areas often face stigmatization, discrimination, and administrative isolation, and suffer disproportionately from civic amenities adequately (Radoki & Lloyd, 2002). In Raipur slum dwellers feel being discriminated in many respects. Slums, like the larger societies of which they are part, have powerful vested interests, entrenched

power bases and inequality. Solutions need to work for the poorest and most vulnerable members; also for the groups that face discrimination (which in most societies means particular attention to ensuring marginalized equal participation). Table 3 shows that maximum people feel discrimination because they think that sufficient development has not been taken place for their community (37.33%) and 22% respondents feel that they access smaller facilities than others. 36% respondents think that they are not being discriminated.

People living in Kota Basti and Kushalpur have the same opinion about the feeling of discrimination. On the contrary People of Gandhinagar and Moulipara equally feel discrimination. They think that access to the facilities is less than other areas and inadequate development is probable reasons for feeling of discrimination.

Table 4 : Opinions of Respondents about Social Justice

Name of Slum	Opinion about social justice						Don't know		Total Respondents
	Equal Treatment	%	Availability of Resources	%	Indifferent Attitude	%	Total	%	
Kota Basti	5	26.66	3	20.00	3	16.00	6	37.33	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	20	20.00	39	39.00	11	11.00	30	30.00	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	16	16.84	18	18.95	13	13.68	48	50.53	95 (100%)
Moulipara	36	41.33	20	22.66	7	8.00	25	28.00	88 (100%)
Total	77	25.67	80	26.67	34	11.33	109	36.33	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey-2012

Diversified opinions and mixed responses are received from the respondents on this matter. Table 4 shows that 63.67% respondents feel they enjoy least social justice because being discriminated. The people have said (25.67%) that they don't get equal treatment with compared to the rest of the city community, 26.67% people have reported non availability of basic facilities, and 11.33% respondents have said that being slum dweller they face indifferent attitudes from the mainstream community and often from the administration. 36.33% people have not made any comments on this. The gross opinion reflects that social justice is an arena only partly covered by law; rest is covered by social and political ideas and practices. Ethical ideas about honour, right, respect, autonomy, claim, share, revenge, and shame also play significant role in determining mores of justice. A sense of entitlements plays a role. Justice thus propels variety of forms – from social-economic rights, to the forms of justiciability, forms of redistribution of wealth, the form of due process, subjective experiences of justice, and as distinct from these experiences the objective tests of justice. People of Gandhinagar (50%) don't have any idea about social justice. Kushalpur and Moulipara are having the same kind of people who think alike in this regard.

b) Moral, socio-cultural and mental development of slum dwellers

The social development process provides opportunities to promote people's moral, social and cultural development. People's moral development involves the growth of their sense of self, their unique potential, their understanding of their strengths and weaknesses, and their will to achieve. They develop the knowledge, skills, understanding, qualities and attitudes they need to foster their own inner lives and material as well as non-material wellbeing. People's moral development also involves people acquiring an understanding of the difference between right and wrong and of moral conflict, a concern for others and the will to do what is right. They are able and willing to reflect on the consequences of their actions and learn how to forgive themselves and others. They develop the knowledge, skills and understanding, qualities and attitudes they need in order to make responsible moral decisions and act on them.

Social and cultural development involves people's acquiring an understanding of the responsibilities and rights of being members of families and communities (local, national and global), and an ability to relate to others and to work with others for the common good. People display a sense of belonging and an increasing willingness to participate. People develop the wisdom, skills, qualities and attitudes they

need to make an active contribution to the democratic process in each of their communities. People's cultural development involves pupils acquiring an understanding of cultural traditions and ability to appreciate and respond to a variety of aesthetic experiences. Human being acquires a respect for their own culture and that of others, an interest in others' ways of doing things and

curiosity about differences. They develop the knowledge, skills, understanding, qualities and attitudes they need to understand, appreciate and contribute to culture. If social development is to be understood a focus must be given on moral, cultural and mental development of the slum dwellers.

Table 5 : Opinions of Respondents Regarding Untouchability

Name of Slum	Believe in Untouchability						Don't Believe						Total Respondents
	Caste Superiority	%	Tradition	%	Others	%	Old customs	%	Un-constitutional	%	Others	%	
Kota Basti	1	5.88	-	-	-	-	16	94.12	-	-	-	-	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	3	3.00	1	1	-	-	96	96	-	-	-	-	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	5	5.26	6	6.32	-	-	71	74.74	13	13.68	-	-	95 (100%)
Moulipara	5	5.68	-	-	-	-	75	85.23	8	9.09	-	-	88 (100%)
Total	14	4.67	6	2.00	-	-	263	87.67	17	5.66	-	-	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey - 2012

Once upon a time India was the worse victim of untouchability. *Dalit (untouchable)*, also called outcaste, is a self-designation for a group of people traditionally regarded as of untouchables. Dalits are a mixed population of numerous caste groups all over state, and speak various languages. While the discrimination on the ground of caste has been abolished under the Indian constitution, there is still discrimination and prejudice against Dalits in Raipur. About 93%

respondents don't believe on untouchability. Those who still believe on uncouchability either they are very traditional or religiously fanatic. They think that some castes are superior to other castes. In this regard all people of the slums think alike. Few people of Gandhinagar and Moulipara have said that caste system is unconstitutional that is why they oppose untouchability.

Table 6 : Views & Opinion of Respondents about Dowry System

Name of Slum	Accept Dowry	%	Don't believe in Dowry	%	Total Respondents
Kota Basti	11	64.71	6	35.29	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	55	55.00	45	45.00	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	72	75.79	23	24.21	95 (100%)
Moulipara	69	78.41	19	21.59	88 (100%)
Total	207	69.00	93	31.00	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey-2012

One of the biggest threats of the Indian society is the dowry system. This is a fact that it is condemned by every modern citizen of this country and yet it still flourishes at a very large scale in our society is a testimony of how deeply rooted this system is in the slum society. Dowry (*dahej*) is one of the most ancient practices of India. Oxford dictionary defines it as 'an amount of property or money brought by a bride to her husband on their marriage'. Till now the amount and contents of dowry are decided solely by the parents of the bride. The government has taken many steps to stop

the abominable practice of dowry. The 'Dowry Prohibition Act', passed in 1961, prohibits the request, payment or acceptance of dowry, where dowry is defined as a gift demanded or given as a precondition for a marriage. As the table (6) shows 69% respondents have accepted that they believe on dowry and practice it overtly or covertly. But 31% respondents have said they don't believe in dowry. The spread of this practice is almost same over all slums. In Gandhinagar and Moulipara comparatively less people believe on dowry system.

Table 7 : Feelings of Complexity among Respondents

Name of Slu	Feelings of inferiority Complex						No feelings of inferiority Complex						Total Respondents
	Lack of Money	%	Inferior Culture	%	Living Standard	%	Equal Right	%	Live our own	%	Others	%	
Kota Basti	2	11.76	3	17.65	4	23.53	2	11.76	6	35.30	-	-	17 (100%)
Kushalpur	16	16.00	11	11.00	13	13.00	12	12.00	48	48.00	-	-	100 (100%)
Gandhinagar	20	21.05	15	15.79	11	11.58	12	12.63	30	31.58	7	7.37	95 (100%)
Moulipara	5	5.68	9	10.23	9	10.23	14	15.91	51	57.95	-	-	88 (100%)
Total	43	14.33	38	12.67	37	12.33	40	13.34	135	45.00	7	2.33	300 (100%)

Source : Personal survey- 2012

An inferiority complex, in the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis, is a feeling that one is inferior to others in some way. Such feelings can arise from an imagined or actual inferiority in the afflicted person. It is often subconscious, and is thought to drive afflicted individuals to overcompensate, resulting either in spectacular achievement or extreme deviant behavior, or both. It revolves around social status, power, ego, and dominance. People have inferiority complex when they feel inferior and think that other people are better than them. Being slum dweller many people suffer from inferiority complex. 39.33% respondents, as table 7 shows, feel inferiority complex because they think (14.33%) they are poor, belong to comparatively inferior culture (12.67%) and because of low living standard (12.33%). But majority doesn't think so (60.67%). They think that they enjoy many civic facilities like others and they have equal rights (13.44%). 45% respondents have said that they live their own life in their own way.

Feeling of inferiority complex among people of Kota Basti is higher than other slums. On the contrary the people of Moulipara feel fewer inferiority complexes than other slums.

V. Concluding Remarks

Firstly in conclusion, while the problems of urban poverty in slums are enormous, it is perhaps

relevant to note that some of the solutions are relatively clear. This is particularly the case in terms of the provision of physical infrastructure and in the area of human capital. The task is to implement, the problem is to overcome the political and economic constraints. Social infrastructure including facilities and measures for providing education, health care, community development, equitable income distribution, employment and social welfare are yet to be built in slums. The concept of social infrastructure is very broad and covers various aspects of Government service delivery. Major social policy concerns of the Government included the provision of infrastructure services, fostering Government and community partnerships, community capacity building, integrated service delivery and social justice.

Secondly, migration not only involves the environmental, socio-economic and other problems but it is also largely responsible for human resource development which is again a facet of the urban microenvironment. Thus a value system consequent on congestion and poverty is a characteristic of slums. Migration is the key process here by which people belonging to certain socio-economic backgrounds move to Raipur and finds their way into slums. But for further mobility whether intra- or inter-occupation, self-initiative plays a crucial role by bringing in more

information and generating skill and other pre-requisites for improvement in earnings. The economic and social security of the inhabitants is worse than the city. The LPG (liberalization, privatization and globalization) has congested the slum areas and consequently made the people poor and vulnerable with deficient or absence of any social security.

Thirdly, Women's empowerment is also justified as a utilitarian necessity, healthy and empowered women are an important social capital because they are the primary care givers in most communities, and investment in women results in greater benefits to their children and family. It is argued that participatory methods can act as a process through which slum dwellers can demand appropriate health care for themselves and their families. In so doing, they can redefine their health needs in order that health intervention can be directed more appropriately.

Fourthly, to improve the productivity of industry, trade and services as well as to make the city more competitive, this matter of vocational training would have to be taken up in broad manner. The major focus of vocational training programme is to teach women the skills necessary to accomplish job tasks is needed.

Lastly it can be said that the Raipur's culture and traditions are not getting killed. Rather more things are getting adopted, accommodated and adapted. Every new aspect of culture adopted from the west (or elsewhere) adds a new taste, a new dimension to our existence. It does not take the place of another value, but rather adds to it. Good aspects from various cultures are added to the already heady mix, catering to a hitherto unexplored taste. Undesirable traditions and cultural aspects is discarded whether they are Indian or foreign. The valuable ones are retained and consolidated. This is a process of evolution. It makes the slum experience richer and merrier. Anything that is proven by time thus, definitely has intrinsic values that are appreciated and cherished by residents of slums. Moreover, it has sustained since it has been able to take many things foreign and make them its own. External winds are blowing and will blow – they'll bring in some things of value and probably blow away some of lesser value.

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Street- Begging in Cities: Cultural, Political and Socio-Economic Questions

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Abstract - This paper attempts to unveil the cultural, socio- political and socio-economic correlates of begging in cities, particularly of developing countries. With illustrations from Islamic and Christian scriptures, and examples from cities across the world, with a particular emphasis on, Nigeria, the paper establishes the impacts of the different composite factors of religion, culture, polity, and socio-economy on begging. The paper sees poverty and other socio-economic factors as central issues in addressing the problem of begging in cities. It identifies or rather, generates certain constructs and hypotheses, which may provide a suitable platform for empirical studies on the phenomenon.

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I. Introduction

Begging in the streets of urban centres is one of the age-long activities and perhaps occupations of the highly vulnerable, poverty-ridden individuals in the society, particularly in the developing countries. As revealed in the studies of different scholars, begging is not peculiar to developing countries; it is a universal phenomenon (Ado, 1997) and a global urban problem. While a considerable number of cities were identified in the US and Mexico as having a significant level of begging activity (Smith, 2005; Fabrega, 1971), cities in China, especially Shanghai, have been described as homes of different categories of beggars (including the poor, the disabled, the homeless and professional beggars), which are described as 'liumin' (floating people) or 'youmin' (wandering people) (Hanchao, Lu, 1999). In India, begging is seen as a pride as beggars are seen posing as someone famous. The situation is not so different in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa, where beggars are seen at junctions all over the city. In cities of Britain and similar industrialized countries in the recent years, begging has become highly visible (Jordan, 1999). Those of Mexico, as reported by Fabriga (1971), cited in Adedibu (1989) are not left out in this negative scenario. The situation in Nigerian cities as observed everyday is perhaps worse with different categories of beggars found at motor-parks, religious centres, markets, road junctions, venues of ceremonies, among other public places begging for alms (Ojo, 2005).

These categories of beggars include the disabled, the poor, and the destitute and to a

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considerable extent the able-bodied, healthy and physically strong individuals who take the advantage of the sympathy of the society for them to remain jobless and at times perpetrate evils (like crime) in the name of begging in the street. The issue is that those who engage in begging have one reason or the other to support their stand. While some may be claiming to be performing religious role by moving round and offering prayers to people who pay them in turn, others may claim to be taking their own share of the national cake, especially the jobless followers of certain political office holders (Jelili, 2009). To the easily recognized beggars, however, the problem of socio-economic maladies and physical disability are often the claim as articulated or implied in their approach to begging.

Be that as it may, one begins to wonder whether such religious, socio-political and socio-economic factors actually encourage begging. This paper actually exposes the connections of such acclaimed begging-induced factors to the phenomenon, and prepares the ground as well as gives directions for empirical studies, which may emanate from such exposition as attempts to explain, confirm, validate or otherwise, the constructs, and hypotheses that are products of this piece.

II. Begging and Related Concepts

Begging, as an indication of abject poverty, (Adedibu, 1989), has always been a major way out for the helpless poor. However, not all beggars are poor or motivated into begging by poverty, and not all the poor are beggars. This, therefore, necessitates the need to re-examine the concept of begging and related issues.

To beg, according to the Oxford Dictionary (sixth edition, 2001), simply means to ask for money, food, clothes, etc, as a gift or as charity. This implies that begging is not peculiar to individuals, but also organizations or countries. For the latter group, it is conceptualized here as "corporate begging"; and it is made to include seeking for charity by organizations or grants or debts cancellation by richer organizations or nations to poorer organizations or nations. The former category, which is the concern of this study, is synonymous with street and house-to-house begging; it borders around such issues or related concepts as "panhandling" "mendicancy" and "vagrancy" which characterize city beggars. This conceptualization would not only capture the image of the begging and beggars

in question, but also reflect their implications for the city's physical and socio-economic environment.

It is important to state that while "street and house-to-house begging" and "panhandling" are synonymous, and may represent the general idea of asking people for money, food etc, mendicancy and vagrancy connotes more than street begging. Mendicancy, as an art of begging is usually associated with religious members. Vagrancy, on the other hand, refers to begging activity of the jobless, homeless, and wanderers or vagabonds. It involves people who have been driven by natural disasters to leave home in search of richer areas as well as refugees (Hanchao Lu 1999) who become beggars in the new places they migrate to. It is worthy of note that a significant proportion of street beggars are physically handicapped or disabled (Adedibu 1989:36). The levels of disability or nature of physical handicaps of most of them, however, do not warrant leaving paid job for begging. Most of them are what Hanchao lu (1999) describes as "Cunning Parasites" who take advantage of human compassion to make a fortune.

The implication of this conceptualization and differentiation shows that most of these beggars constitute social vices, environmental nuisance and are potential criminals (vagabonds). They however possess latent or physical potentials which, rather than being allowed to waste away under the guise of poverty, disability, or homelessness, could be made use of to make them a significant proportion of work force of the population. This is why this study shall conceptualize beggars, irrespective of the names by which they are called, as "the less privileged" who, out of the thought of hopelessness, take to panhandling as a method for eking out an existence in the city. Their hopelessness has therefore made them constitute a serious problem to the society.

It is important to note that being less privileged is not the same thing with hopelessness; the less privileged are described as persons who lack the necessary opportunities or facilities to actualize their potentials. This recognition of the potentials of the less privileged has been the position of those who carry out studies on the disabled by arguing that:

"When a person has a visible or perceivable disability, it is assumed by others that the person cannot survive and has to depend on the care of his/her parents or the welfare of the community. Sometimes, deprived of opportunity and steeped in ignorance, some disabled persons themselves seem to believe so" (ILO, 1993).

The situation of the disabled persons who are unemployed and take to begging, especially in developing countries, are thus condemned (Awori, 1992). In this context, the less privileged that beg for alms are not restricted to the disabled and destitute that

constitute conventional beggars, but also include able-bodied young men and women who use different styles to beg either regularly as 'professional' beggars or occasionally as part time beggars. One of the non-economic factors associated with incidence of begging, particularly in Nigerian setting is the issue of religion (Adedibu, 1989). What impact does religion have on this?

III. Religious Perspectives on Begging

In virtually every religion of the world issues surrounding alms giving (and by implication begging) are entrenched though with different approaches. In this section the issue of alms giving and begging as obtained in the scriptures of both Islam and Christianity (which are the two most popular orthodox religions) is examined. In Islam, 'zakat' (alms giving) is so weighty that it is one of the five pillars of the religion. Thus says Allah: "And in their properties there was the right of the beggar, and the Mahruum" (the poor). It is believed that every "penny" spent for the poor is spent for the cause of Almighty Allah. It is evident in the Koran, and of course, Islam, not to repulse beggars "And repulse not the beggar" (Koran 93, verse10). The list of those entitled to alms in Islam is not, however, restricted to beggars, but including all the poor, the captives, those in debt, stranded travelers, among many others. (Koran 9 verse 60). In summary while giving alms is seriously encouraged, begging is not frowned at, if the need arises.

In Christianity, alms giving is also encouraged but begging is silent upon. Thus says the Bible: "Oh the joys of those who are kind to the poor (are that) the Lord rescues them in times of trouble" (Psalm 41:1). "Whoever gives to the poor will lack nothing. But a course will come upon those who close their eyes to poverty (Proverbs 28:27).

In a way, it could be inferred that, if religions encourage alms giving, they indirectly encourage begging. The difference between the reviewed religions is in degree and categorical statement, which are more pronounced in Islam than in Christianity. What the two religions stand for, however, as far as begging or beggars, and the poor generally, are concerned is love, to the extent that it is preached that the wealth of the rich is not considered theirs alone but to take care of the wretched too. Thus says the scriptures:

- 1) *"I want you to share your food with the hungry and to welcome poor wanderers into your homes.....If you do these things, your salvation will come like the dawn.....Then when you call, the Lord will answer.... "*
(Isiah 58:7-9)"
- 2) *"And in their property there was the right of the beggar and the poor" (Koran 51:19)"*

In another way, judging from the citations above, one may argue that no religion encourages begging. The two citations above suggest that if the well-to-do understand the scriptures and their supposed roles in the life of the poor and wretched persons, we would hardly have street beggars in cities, as there exist in each society individuals who are rich and can single-handedly relieve a considerable number of beggars and other wretched persons of their miserable life. This is perhaps why most Islamic scholars that have written on the issue (begging) affirm that it is a misconception to attribute begging to Islamic culture. They support the argument with a quote from the words of the Holy Prophet (SAW) to his followers that "it is better for any of you to take his rope and tie firewood with it to be carried in his back than to ask people for alms" (Adegbite, 1997). This, according to the same source, does not mean people should not beg for alms but only when there is dire need for it.

In the same vein, Jibril (also an Islamic scholar, 1997) observes that some people tend to justify begging with Islamic injunction that the poor and needy should be provided with, as contained in the Qur'an 93:10. What people fail to understand, he (Jibril) argues, is that the Qur'an is not referring to some one who takes begging to be his occupation. Rather, it refers to any one who falls into one problem or the other; and the moment the problem is solved that is all.

The status of a beggar, therefore and according to the scholar mentioned earlier (Adegbite, 1997), "should be a relief, and therefore transitional, rather than a permanent or professional one" Do all Nigerian beggars see it this way? The poser is part of the issue addressed in this study.

IV. Begging in the Context of Socio-Political and Socio-Cultural Environment

A lot of arguments and questions may ensue in the process of analyzing the reasons for street begging and how to curb it. The religious connection to begging has been unveiled earlier that, while religions may indirectly encourage begging by entrenching the principles of alms giving, no religion has actually made it a permanent solution to undesirable conditions or occupation to be engaged in. The question of socio-political circumstances is however a serious one while analyzing begging issue. In nearly every society organized into two broad categories of people – the political class and the electorates (most of whom are corrupt, poor and less informed) – the political class would continue enjoying the beggary life of the poor electorates, whom it uses as a means of parading its 'generosity' to permanently incapacitate and enslave them so that it could live fat on their voicelessness and one-sided pseudo-democracy. This is exactly the

situation in most cities of the northern part of the country where 'almajiris-come-and-chop'-and-'mallam-Garbamu-ke-so' syndrome is very intense (a concept expressed in a Nigerian local language, referring to the money-politics in which the poor electorates are bought with token used as bait).

In the Yoruba-dominated western part of the country, however, street-begging is not so acceptable. Beggars are usually looked down upon as belonging to a class of the most wretched persons in the society. The cultural belief in the deity- nature of twins (or triplets), however, presents begging by the "twins' mother" as heeding the call of "Oosameji" (twin-deity). And the belief that "if you give alms to the twins or their mother, you will be blessed in turn in manifold" has made begging by twins' mother in Yoruba land (an ethno-geopolitical zone in Nigeria) a comparatively acceptable form of street begging.

Begging in the eastern part of the country, especially among Igbo people (a popular ethnic group in Nigeria) is not popular; it is seen as a taboo. This is an established fact that is revealed in the research efforts of scholars (Jelili, 2009). The fact, however, is that in spite of the finding, just as in other parts of the country, though with a comparatively low incidence, street begging is also not an undisputable phenomenon and 'land use' activity in the cities of the eastern part of the country. This has been attributed to the question of socio-economic realities in most (if not all) Nigerian cities, or put in a better form, difficulties, which are the main object of the next session have been blamed by different people on different categories of people. To the pro-Islamic school formalization group of the north, including the northern elites and scholars, the power that be (government) takes the lion's share of the blame by abandoning the most cherished Islamic education in the north and disrupting the existing educational structure at the mercy of the western education (Sule-Kano, 1997).

To the people of the west, the blame has been on the infiltration of the Islamo-northern culture coupled with the existing 'iya-ibeji' (twins' mother) syndrome, increasing poverty level and stigmatization of the physically-challenged in the formal business world. With slight departure, in terms of degree or severity of the problem and that of twins' mother syndrome, begging in the east is not unconnected to urbanization and poverty related matters.

V. Socio-Economic Realities of Begging

Regardless of one's religious, cultural and other background and orientation, what to eat or wear and where to live, among other necessities must be sought so long as one is alive. It follows therefore that as long as poverty exists in our society, without adequate policy

measures to address it, begging would continue to thrive as an urban activity. This is because without prejudice to the influencing roles of the composite variables of culture, urbanization and socio-polity, most (if not all) beggars (including part-time and full time as well as conspicuous and 'veiled' ones) are lured into begging first by the factor of poverty. This is an undisputed fact to most scholars in the emerging school of thought (study of begging) including Adedibu (1989), Hanchao Lu (1999), Jordan (1999), Osagbemi (2001), Kennedy and Fitzpatrick (2001) and Jelili (2006, 2009), among several others. For example, while Jelili, (2006, 2009) has described begging as an activity of the wretched poverty-ridden individuals, Kennedy and Fitzpatrick (2001) have associated begging with such poverty indicators as homelessness (which they describe as 'rough sleeping') and dirty street job (which they describe as 'big issue'). To nearly all scholars the highly visible poverty indicator of physical disability is one of the characteristic features of beggars. What is certain is that, though when many beggars taste begging especially as evidenced in Nigerian cities, they do not want to stop irrespective of whether or not they have overcome the poverty hardship, none of the certified full time or part time beggars actually take to begging without first tasting poverty.

The socio-cultural and socio-political background and other orientations notwithstanding, the socio-economic realities and circumstances that may promote begging in the society should be well focused and attended to in the state economic and urban development policies. It is only when this is taken care of that we can appreciably discern and address the socio-cultural and socio-political connections to begging.

VI. The Interface between Socio-Economic and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Begging

If we define culture simply as a way of life, then we can say that the culture of a society is a function of its socio-economic and socio-political circumstances. Also, if it is agreed that poverty is a culture, then it can be said that all the norms, values, orientations etc (which are elements of culture) existing in a society are a reflection of the poverty level of that society and by implication or by direct association, the incidence of and/ or propensity to begin that society.

This informs the choice of 'vicious cycle of poverty' to provide a clear explanation on the link or interface between socio-economic, cultural, and socio-political dimensions of begging in cities. This provides a better understanding of some major correlates of begging and generates some constructs, concepts and hypotheses, which may provide suitable platforms for empirical studies on begging and related matters.

The concept of vicious circle, which was originally visualized by the founding fathers of Development Economics, particularly Nurkse (1959) and Myrdal (1964) in particular, as a metaphor for the stickiness of poverty and underdevelopment, was later reinvented by the World Bank in its 2000 World Development Report on poverty thus:

"Extreme poverty deprives people of almost all means of managing risks by themselves. With few or no assets, self-insurance is impossible. With poor health or bad nutrition, working more or sending more household members to work is difficult. And with high default risks, group insurance mechanisms are often closed off. When a shock occurs, they must obtain immediate increases in income or cut spending, but in so doing they incur a high long-term cost by jeopardizing their economic and human development" (World Bank, 2000).

These are the situations which lead to child labour and malnourishment, with lasting damage to children and the breakdown of families (World Bank, 2000), and the resultant begging option, the 'proceeds' of which may not be appreciable enough to make the affected persons transit from such undesirable situations.

The 'vicious circle of poverty' posits that the poor are poor, and remain poor because they are poor; and they would continue to remain poor unless the attributes of poverty are prevented from setting poverty-induced processes in motion. Mosley and Verschor (2005), while trying to apply the theory of vicious circle of poverty to explain why small-scale farmers in rural Ethiopia, Uganda and Andhra Pradesh (India) remain in poverty, observe that the poor are poor because they avoid taking risks in form of investments particularly in new technologies. The farmers' risk-aversion, which according to the scholars is not unconnected with poverty and the fear of uncertainties involved in investments' risks. This risk-aversion and the resultant low investment, according to them, would lead to low return on existing assets (human and material). Again, the low investment and low return on assets would equally lead to inability to manage several challenges whose implication is also chronic poverty. They specifically argue that: (1) the asset-poor small-scale farmers in poor countries operate in precarious conditions which make them to be less ready for risks and thereby be risk-averse, (2) inadequate and ineffective risk management strategies are bound to increase the likelihood of income poverty, and thereby increase the likelihood of chronic poverty; and (3) a state of mind brought about by chronic poverty reduces one's willingness to undertake the risky investment that may offer an escape from poverty.

What has been noticed from the argument above is that there is interrelationship between poverty

(of various dimensions) and human behaviour and unless certain external forces are injected to disrupt the relationship and the cyclical processes the poor will continue to languish in poverty and of course in chronic poverty. This fact is also acknowledged by Binswanger (1980, 1981) in his study of poverty and attitude of the poor to certain poverty-induced conditions.

Applying the theory to begging issue one observes that while most beggars beg as a result of poverty, nearly all beggars (including the so-called rich beggars) are in poverty (whether or not they appreciate the fact) because they remain in 'begging profession' as a means of livelihood rather than taking risks in form of investment in one form of business or the other. What this implies is that reliance on begging may not only perpetuate the 'practitioners' in poverty but also prevent them from recognizing: (1) their potentials, (2) their self-esteem, and (3) the likely investments or other opportunities, which may be available at any given time and serve as escape from poverty, given such recognition.

However, begging or reliance on begging may not be drastically reduced unless measures are taken to distort the cycle. Just as Mosley and Verschor (2005) recommend 'micro-insurance' for the poverty-ridden small-scale farmers, measures to tackle chronic poverty of begging, or distort the associated vicious circle of poverty, are socio-cultural, socio-economic and legal in nature. It is important to mention, however, that somebody who does not recognize his self-esteem may not be prepared to leave begging for any socio-economic activity, and as such not likely to be anti-begging-regulation-abiding. Hence effectiveness of any socio-economic and legal means tends to depend on the socio-cultural measure as the latter influences recognition of self-esteem. Therefore measures to tackle chronic poverty of begging, or distort the associated vicious cycle of poverty, are such that can effect a change of orientation and people's perception of life. It is therefore hypothesized that begging is a product of poverty (of income, attitude, orientation and culture), while chronic poverty is a product of begging.

VII. Conclusion

It has been unveiled in this paper that street begging in cities is a phenomenon with socio-economic, cultural and socio-political dimensions, all indicating the centrality and importance of the concept of poverty, as a significant measure of understanding and addressing the problem of begging in cities. The paper has further still, generated a number of constructs, and hypotheses, which may be useful as platforms upon which future research endeavours may emanate. It is hoped that different categories of stakeholders in the study as well as in the implementation of policies aimed at addressing street begging and related matters would find the paper

useful in their quest to understand and address the phenomenon.

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Inclusive Interpretation of Sex, Gender and Sexuality versus Sexual Violence Against Women

By Rabindra Garada (PhD)

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Abstract - Sexual violence against women despite being highly condemned and goddamned in most places, why continues to be an alarmingly endemic and pandemic issue, raises a substantial gender query. This article explores an analytical connection that persists between the inclusive interpretation of sex, gender and sexuality, on the most typical way, and the actuality of human sexual violence, on the strange. This study discloses that the masculine heterosexual and gender interpretation of sex and sexuality perpetuates such violence. The dimensions and factors for sexual abuse/ violence are structured and processed such ways that female gender is often desecrated by men, homosexuals or lesbians are despised by heterosexuals, and feminine submissiveness is violently abused by masculine aggressiveness in different social settings. To demystify the gendered activated stock-still violence against women a sexual exploitation/violence specific based on hetero and non-hetero sexual orientations in cross Figure format has been creatively endeavoured in this article. Our study also tresses that since sexual violence of basic nature going tougher/ complicated with newer individual findings/ interpretations at present context, the researchers have to develop a theoretical comprehensive perspective on the entire gospel of sexual violence against women that has been persisting across global regions, religions, races, etc.

Keywords : *gender, sex, sexuality, violence, exploitation.*

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Keywords : gender, sex, sexuality, violence, exploitation.

I. INTRODUCTION

Whether sexual violence may be committed among heterosexuals or among homosexuals/lesbians or against latter by former but why woman is its worst victim has been the intense speculation throughout the entire world. Recently in reaction to the generality of a gang rape in Delhi, it is heatedly reacted, mentioned and debated all over India. Of all violence against women the sexual violence is the most heinous crime committed in manifest and latent forms worldwide. It is also committed against men but like against women it is not significantly widespread and socio-culturally deep rooted. Indeed, the pervasiveness of male violence over female sexuality is far different and laudable. Further, its multiplicity is largely region specific-local/global, tradition/modernity specific-old/new and context specific-actual/virtual, and conjointly its diversity gets reflected in term of women's personal attributes- age,

body, beauty, etc, and their primordial identities- ethnicity, caste, religion, etc. It seems to be an act of sexual terrorism because the society has gone astray in ever increasing anomic situation in all places or lets the male perpetrators go scot free amidst its established systems of patriarchy, corruptions, politics, sex trade, pornography, etc. Thus, it is not simply a criminal offense against women's sexuality however, an ensuing violence against their sexual right, bodily chastity, personal dignity, relative honours, relative norms, community ethics, social values, so on and so forth. Sexual violence, whether man commits against woman or woman commits against man that harms both of them in larger context of our humanity. In fact, the sexual violence which refers to any sexual action but physically forced, coerced and non-consented, may be committed against anybody regardless of their gender. But why it is the men who more often commit this crime against ladies, why the ladies moreover, become helpless in the work of such violence or stay silent after being victimized, and even when they react to this action why whole world behave like a blind spectator to it are significant gender queries, that doubt the existence of gender parity in so called civilized world at present. Even a stern legal action against such violence cannot curb the incident of recurring sexual abuse everywhere. It is because of the fact that probably our mutual gender understanding concerning human sexuality is impeded until now or our mutual gender misunderstanding on that is mounting all over. The people therefore, those who commit sexual violence tend to misconceive it as much as they have an inclination to conceive it. Thus, unless we get rid of this misunderstanding/ misconception the sexual violence will persist in the society. Further, regrettably why the female gender's vulnerability to this violence is acute, even then, it is not a gender exclusive outcome. In fact, each gender is not less control of his or her sexuality than his or her counterpart, and is also held equally accountable for this heinous act. The binary opposition between male and female sex is therefore, to be understood inclusively for better understanding of sexual violence in the society. Apart from this, the social concepts-sex, sexuality and gender though, conceived by society inclusively for both gender, but are discriminated against women in the society. However, when sexual violence is

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committed against ladies we not very take these ideas inclusively for its better understanding by analyzing either it as results of an exclusive biological induced sex offense or socially cultured gender violence or a psychologically nurtured intolerant sexuality. We more often misapprehend it due to a biological induced fact that is more important than the social-psychological nurtured gender violence. As a result, the exclusive/individual case of sexual violence/sexual exploitation is, more often, explained whereas not with a conclusive or inclusive finding. Further, the sexual violence of basic nature is getting tougher/ complicated with newer individual findings/ interpretations. In fact, the comprehension of sexual violence by the individual case study usually goes without its holistic conceptualization in term of the notions-sex, gender and sexuality. For instance, once sexual violence committed against women the state governments in the country like India perceives it to be the law and order issues, the police finds it to be sexual crimes and the activists/civil society argue it to be a violation of human right. Further, reacting to the event of sexual violence the abstract comments, electronic media news, editorials and political remarks of variants go on increasing worldwide. For instance, Indian media recently reacting to the event of a gang rape in Delhi has pinpointed some necessary factors accountable for such violence against ladies. These factors such as lack of public safety, lack of adequate range of police personnel or of female police, a sluggish court system, stigmatizing the victim with a victim's contribution to such violence, encouraging rape victims to return to compromise, weak social status of women, masculine attitudes of men toward women, etc (Khazan and Lakshmi, 2012). However, these are far from the elementary conceptual ideas of sex, sexuality and gender that stay as structural invariants in structuring sexual violence against women for century. In fact, the sex as base and gender as superstructure (see Francis, 2012:2) inclusively nurture human sexuality. The concepts associated with sex and gender, as reviewed by Francis (2012) for instance, can provide an elementary clarity on that. Thus, instead of reviewing each empirical case study, it is worth to grasp the abstract concepts as how they are interrelated in perpetuating sexual violence against women. In this article we debate as well as demystify conceptual stereotypes that perpetuate sexual violence against women everywhere. This article is an improved version of my seminar paper entitled "Sexuality and Sexual Exploitation: A Socio-Psychological Interpretation" presented in a UGC sponsored National seminar on "Gender Issues and Problems of Women in India" organized by Sri Satya Sai College for Women on 23rd and 24th March, 2008, Bhubaneswar.

a) Objectives and Analysis

In order to deal with the complexity of sexual orientations and subsequent sexual violence against women, we have attempted on some substantial questions such as how the heterosexual gender interpretation of sex and sexuality perpetuates such violence, how the factors- bio-physical, psychological and social inclusively or exclusively accountable for such violence, and to explore how there is an analytical connection between inclusive interpretation of sex, gender and sexuality and such violence in this article. After critically analyzing some related literatures, we have tried a conceptual and analytical study in this paper. We have developed a resourceful sexual violence/exploitation explicit of cross Figure format for the analysis of the complicated sexual orientations of gender evoked sexual violence.

II. CRITICAL OVERVIEW

It has been established that the query of male violence over female's sexuality is a social fact everywhere. Men perpetrate the violent acts against women (Carter and Kasubski, 1998) because they are more aggressive and dominating than women (Tiger and Fox 1972; Haralambos, 1980). Since the men have more aggression-testosterone and upper body strength than women (www.prb.org World Population Data Sheet, 2008) they more often commit such sexual violence. In view of D. Brandt (2003), the men the aggressors whereas the women are the sufferers. According to Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox (1972) 'these differences are, partly, due to genetic inheritance from men's primate ancestors, partly to genetic adaptation to a hunting way of life' (Haralambos, 1980). However, the biological aggression is also motivated in victim's provocation, victim's and victimizer's intoxication, one's deeply entrenched feeling of hate and hostility against others, psychological personality traits, etc (Ahuja, 2001: 255). Although the male's sexual aggression against female is a biological predisposition, it is structured by value system (Millett, 1969). In fact, just like the men the women are capable of doing aggression and violence against men. However, they are suppressed and castigated by the society. M. Alison (2007) in his article entitled 'wartime sexual violence: women's human rights and questions of masculinity' reviews that women's aggression or violence are implicitly condemned by most societies in the world. It is rather socio-psychological subjective dispositions, to which many theories mostly the frustration-aggression theory (innate aggressive drive as supply of frustration), the perversion theory (deviant act of infantile instinct), self attitude theory (improving self image by committing violent act), provocation theory (by normal response to provocations), motive attribution theory (attribution of malevolent intent and motivation), theory of subculture

of violence (cultural values and norms that support and facilitate violent actions), anomie theory (due to strains caused by gap between culturally defined goals and means) and learning theory (violent act committed through direct experiences or observing others), acclaim to be the facts (Ahuja 2001 and 2000). If it is subjective social dispositions then the violence against women is more a reflection of patriarchal domination (Del martin, 1976; Dobash and Dobash, 1983) in the society (Abuja, 2000:225). Further male aggressiveness, male dominancy, female submissiveness and female subordinations are not necessarily biological dispositions but cultural prescriptions. It is a socially attributed fact rather than biological fact (Diamond, 2000). In the late 1960s and 1970s the sexual violence against women (SVAW) was, therefore, assumed as gender-based violence. According to the fourth conference of women, Beijing, 1995 country reports 'any act of gender-based violence which results in, physical, sexual or arbitrary deprivation of liberty in public or private life and violation of human rights' (UN 1996: 48). Women suffers from men's sexual aggression because human society is primarily a masculine society as per Claude Levi-Strauss's views, and women are culturally treated inferior to men by the society as Ortner (1974) argues (Smith, 1997). Thus, the bio-psychological tendencies of men toward women have been developed over the time (Lerner, 1986) that perpetuates such violence against women in the society (ibid). According to Frederick Engels's theory the oppression of women is rooted in the history of patriarchal family and private property (Brewer, 2004). The omnipresent character of sexual oppression (Heasley and Crane, 2003) everywhere, cultural repression of human sexuality within the family life (Freud's psychoanalytical theory, www.angelfire.com/mi/collateral/page2.html) and the socially established stable orientations of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and bisexuality (Weeks, 1986) bear on the sexual violence against women in the society (Sanderson, 2003). Further, the hegemonic masculinity (Jejeebhoy, 2007; Jewkes, 2005; Wilkinson, Bearup and Soprach, 2005), internet global sex sites (Hughes, 2000), circulation and consumption of pornography (Johansson 2007; Mansson 2004; Ricardo and Barker 2008), commercial sex activities (Bindman and Doezema, 1997), trafficking of women and proliferation of sex tourism (Mansson), explicit transactional dimension (the sugar daddy phenomenon) (Luke and Kurz, 2002; Hope, 2007), etc, are some of the major related processes responsible for sexual violence and exploitation against women in the society (Ricardo and Barker, 2008). In fact, these rising processes are unlimited and transcend our imagination and academic analysis. But, somehow, a holistic understanding remains missing in these findings. An important fact of the SVAW as an outcome of inclusively performed triple concepts-sex, sexuality and gender, remains largely

neglected. We have a reason to believe that an inclusive interpretation of these ideas will clarify the causes of the SVAW.

a) *Sex, Gender and Sexuality as Inclusive Social Concepts that Perpetuate Sexual Violence*

It is terribly hard to show that whether sex or gender only accountable for sexual violence against women in the human society. In all probabilities the gender interpretation of sex perpetuates such violence, though, sex elicited violence appears to be evident fact everywhere. Several compatible or incompatible views are there to uphold this probability. Sexual violence is committed against woman all over as a result of they are metabolically found to show a discrepancy from men. Woman as an anabolic being (passive, conservative, sluggish, stable, etc) different from man as a katabolic being (eager, energetic, passionate, variable, etc) (Geddes and Thompson, 1889) is probably dominated by men's sexuality. It's a gendered development by that, the woman as socially structured to be profaned by the men persistently. Since our behavioural traits are culturally learned or acquired (de Beauvoir, 1972) the 'distinguishing biological sex from social gender is unintelligible' (Butler, 1999). According to Butler (1999) the 'sexed bodies never exist outside social meanings, and how we understand gender shapes how we understand sex'. Thus, sex, like gender is socially created construct that perpetuates sexual violence within the society. Further, the conceptualization of gender that maps onto the mind, of sex onto the body, of the gender is between the ears, and of the sex is between the legs (Grosz, 1994; Prokhovnik, 1999) considerably unfold the reality of human sexuality. However, hardly has it processed, as how and why is sexual violence committed by men against women. They (men and women or gender and sex) are different, however, not critical to each other remaining as an inclusive social concepts/facts that we cannot undermine. Every one primarily enhances to another one (ibid). In fact, the conception of gender in relation to sex arises at the intersection of a non-discursive element (corporeal behaviour, gesture, and ritual) and a discursive element (linguistic and normative meaning of bodily activities (Butler, 1993). Thus, however, can gender as a comprehensive reality continue sexual violence is that the vital query? In fact, sex could be a biological reality, whereas gender could be a social reality. Sex refers to our biological stuff/standing, whereas gender refers to our social rank /station. In clearer ideation the term gender could be a social idea, whereas the term sex could be a bio-physiological concept (Johnson, 2012). According to Sachdeva *et al* (2008:41-42) the gender is referring to 'socially constructed roles, relationships, behaviors, relative power, and other traits that societies ascribe to women and men' differently, whereas sex is often equated with

the physical body, essentially the 'biological and physiological characteristics that distinguish females from males'. Whether, male or female, or epicene person, we are, that's our biological standing. Whether or not it's an interior sex organ together with sex chromosomes and gonads or external genital organ, that we have, is our biological facts. Whether or not we have a tendency to become feminine or masculine that's our gender. Thus, the sex as our biological disposition remains mounted, whereas gender as our social construction gets fluid in character. No doubt, sex could be a biological matter but, it is normatively materialized in the society. So sex is another normative term like gender (Butler, 1993). But, every term as a variable carries a unique additional or twin meanings. The sex as a variable refers to male or female with bio-physiological characteristics whereas, the gender as a variable refers to a person or lady with socially determined characteristics. The gender and sex are binary concepts but unitary in characters. The comprehensive character of those two terms is actually social, and it is the society that integrates these concepts along. Therefore, sex versus gender is like nature versus nurture, though gains a profound increment in understanding these concepts, however, actually a deceptive argument. If the binary conception of sex as female and male and of gender as man and woman the conception of sexuality is also binary to some extent like heterosexuals and gay. These structure two kinds of individual beings explaining all types with a completely unique sex, gender and sexuality than that of another being. However, one's sex, gender and sexuality can't be understood while not that

of another. There can't be a straightforward separation of those terms-sex, gender and sexuality, and rather, they are reticulate and doubtless indivisible in nature (Johnson, 2012). Due to this fact we tend to interchangeably use sex and gender or sex and sexuality in the society. Thus, sex, gender and sexuality square measure inclusive concepts. These concepts analytical further, as normative, will offer fruitful analysis of the issues related to sexual violence against women. Therefore, the SVAW are often brought up with these inclusive concepts/ideas analytically and normatively for its better understanding.

III. ANALYTICAL FINDING

Our psychological tendencies (state of mind being male or female), biological tendencies (drive/urge to be instinctual male or female) and environmentally determined tendency (environmentally determined sexual behaviour) go together with the conventional social tendencies (sense of being gender with feminine or masculine roles) in the society. It is because; the sexual tendency is required to be socially and culturally desirable. The conventional sexual tendency thus, inclusively explains the psychological, bio-physical and social tendencies on human sexuality. It is observed from the Figure 1 that the socially determined typical sexual tendency is extremely desirable consequently of it highly generates the gender relation, whereas the biologically determined typical sexual tendency is not desirable consequently of it lowly generate the same.

Figure 1 : Conventional Sexual Tendency

Generate Gender Relation	Desirable Sexual Tendencies	
	High	Low
	High	Social Tendency (Sense of Gender Roles- Feminine/Masculine)
Low	Environmental Tendency (Environmentally Determined Sexual Behaviour)	Biological Tendency (Sense of Being Instinctual- Male or Female)

Source : our own.

The psychologically determined customary sexual tendency though, generates high gender relation but not desirable while not relating social tendency. If typical gender is socially desirable then why square measure women are at risk of sexual violence more than men in the society? If truth be told what's desirable to some men is also undesirable to many other women. In historical time individuals developed their gendered induced sexuality, so as to manage their bio-psychological tendency in a society. Sadly, it resulted into a gender of hegemonic, hetero and political sort

that favours men against women consequently. Thus, here the matter isn't what society needs us to behave sexually but, how it perpetuates male's violence over women's sexuality. Judith Butler and Simone de Beauvoir like other existentialists were therefore, critiques of such gender construction developed over the years in the human society (Beauvoir, 1972) (www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/Beauvoir). The existentialists firmly believe that the matter of women's oppression is stock-still in our culture however, not in our biological nature. The world health organization's

multi-country study on women’s health and domestic violence against women (aged 15-49) in 10 mainly developing countries reveals such incontrovertible fact that intimate partner violence (physical aggression, sexual coercion, sexual abuse, etc) against women are largely perpetrated by men. The men commit this violence believing in their family honour, sexual purity and sexual claims, and also knowing that there are not any sturdy legal sanctions against such violence in the society (WHO, 2012). Largely, it's an open secret that sexual violence is tolerated at the institutions of wedding. However, living at the circle of wedding, it is challenging for women to ascertain this unquestionable fact that their men are committing this violence. As a result of this, any violence committed against women in wedding is treated as traditional. Even the wedding justifies the rape as traditional if the rapists marry to their victims after assaulting /raping them. As for instance, in India if the rapists marry their victims; their sexual crimes are no longer counted as rape (Krishnan, 2012). Therefore, the conventional sexuality within gender relation perpetuates sexual violence against women in the society. This type of analysis will uncover the force behind the contextual reality of sexual violence in the contemporary society.

IV. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

In the Figure 2 we have developed a sexual violence/exploitation explicit taking gender as socio-psychological dimension and sex as a bio-physical dimension for understanding human sexuality. The former dimension not only orients the latter dimension for a socially desirable sexuality however, additionally helps developing a discriminate sexual hostility against women and homosexuals in the society. Thus, the bio-physical attributes, mostly our primary sex characteristics (sex genital /reproductive organs) and secondary sex characteristics (bodily particulars like hip, breast, muscle, body hairs, etc) though, suggestive or inductive for sexual communality but, are socio-psychologically perceivable for sexual violence in the society. We can observe from the Figure 3 that the primary and secondary sex characteristics of heterosexual and gay otherwise induce sexual violence /exploitation. While the pro-opposite primary sex attraction (POPSA) causes high sexual violence/exploitation owing to high sexual attraction the pro-same secondary sex attraction (PSSSA) causes low sexual exploitation owing to low sexual attraction(see Figure 3). It is because comparison to latter the former induces direct sexual satisfaction. But when the PSPSA is activated publicly, it provokes sexual exploitation, and consequently, this leads to hate crime or sexual exploitation of the opposite sex (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 : Sexual Exploitation Particular

Factors	HSVE /ISE	LSVE/PSVE	NS	RAGS
Biological Attraction	POPSA	PSPSA	POPSA	POSSA
Psychological Orientation	Heterosexuality	Homosexuality	Transsexuality	Transvestite
	Bisexuality	Lesbianism	Intersexuality	Gay
Societal Socialization	Heterosexuality	Homosexuality	Transsexuality	Transvestite
	Bisexuality	Lesbianism	Intersexuality	Gay

Source : our own.

Notes:

- HSVE- High Sexual Violence and Exploitation
- ISE---- Institutional Sexual Exploitation
- LSVE- Low Sexual Violence and Exploitation
- PSVE- Provoke Sexual Violence and Exploitation
- NS---- Neutral Sexuality
- RAGS- Revolution against Gender Sexuality
- POPSA- Pro- Opposite Primary Sex Attraction
- PSPSA- Pro- Same Primary Sex Attraction
- POPSA- Pro- Opposite Primary Sex Attraction

- Heterosexuality-Opposite Sex Attraction
- Bisexuality- Both Sex Attractions
- Lesbianism- Same Female Sex Attraction
- Trans Sexuality- Feeling One Sex though Biologically Different
- Intersexuality- Having both Sex Anatomies
- Transvestites- Adopting the Dress/Manner/ Sexual Role of OppositeSex
- Gay- Male Homosexual

The POPSA develops neutral sexuality (NS) because the transsexual and inter sexual people are attracted to their same sex people more than their opposite sexes. The pro-opposite secondary sex attraction (POSSA) brings revolution against gender sexuality (RAGS). Therefore, they are with low sexual violence/exploitation to some extent.

Figure 3 : Bio-Physical Profile of Sexual Exploitation

Sexual Attraction	Sexual Violence/Exploitation		
		High	Low
	High	Pro-Opposite Primary Sex Attraction (POPSA)	Pro-Opposite Secondary Sex Attraction (POSSA)
Low	Pro-Same Primary Sex Attraction (PSPSA)	Pro-Same Secondary Sex Attraction (PSSSA)	

Source : Our own.

But why are female's primary and secondary sex characteristics drawn to be exploited and violated by the men? According to Goetz, et al (2012) the ladies having the physical characteristics of a shorter gait, slower walking speed, and low energy are susceptible to sexual exploitation than the others. The incapacitation cues like intoxication, fatigue, or other forms of cognitive impairment could make a lady less able to resist the tactics of sexual exploitation than men. Thus, with their physical strength and biological impulses the men more often violate women's sexuality. Contrary to this view, the female is also found to have a stronger sex drive and greater physical capacity for sexual intercourse than that of the male (Baumeister and Twenge, 2002). If truth be told the sexual oppression of girls/ladies is caused by the society itself, and it is the society that promotes such violence against them (ibid). Further, it is not untrue that the male sexuality is cultivated in such how that female cannot break loose sexual violence in the society. In this sense Catherine MacKinnon's (1989) argument is debated as 'women are viewed and treated as objects of satisfying men's desires' (sexual objectification). The eroticization of masculinity as sexual dominance and of femininity as sexual submission contributes to such violence against women in the society (ibid). Even within the institutionalized heterosexual relation two-way impulsive sexuality is not activated normally. In wedding relation it is the female partner who is more sexually exploited than their counter parts. Usually the intimate sexual activity from holding hands to having intercourse lacks clear, open and honest consent of the partners involved (www.macalester.edu/sexualassault/healthysexuality.html). It is one way culturally conditioned programme where the female partners go into it without their consent sometime. In fact, the married women more often experience coerced sex from their husbands in the society (Jejeebhoy and Bott, 2005). Thus, men's sexual attraction toward women is socio-culturally conditioned, and the 'women's oppression is social but not biologically given' (Brewer, 2004). According to Patricia Mahoney and Linda M. Williams (1998) rape is more perpetrated by a man known to the victim than a

stranger, and rape by intimate partners is more common than stranger rape in American society (Bachman and Saltzman 1995 and Russell 1990). The figure of such violence against married women is also reported by the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) and National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) in India (violence-against-married-women-in-India-can-the-data-tell-us.html).

a) *Social Construction of Psychological Orientations and Sexual Violence/Exploitation*

We can observe from the psychological profile of sexual exploitation given in the Figure 4 that once the heterosexual men or women can have a high sexual perception to their counter parts they are aiming to, they will have high sexual violence/exploitation of that counter parts of utterly different sex. The POPSSP and PSPSSP cause high sexual violence/exploitation than the POSSSP, and PSSSSP due to the former is predicated on primary sex sense perception, and the latter is predicated on secondary sex sense perception. But, even with high sexual perception the POSSSP ends in low sexual exploitation comparison to that of the POPSSP.

Figure 4 : Psychological Profile of Sexual Exploitation

Sexual Perception	Sexual Violence/Exploitation	
	High	Low
	High	Pro-Opposite Primary Sex Sense Perception (POPSSP)
Low	Pro-Same Primary Sex Sense Perception (PSPSSP)	Pro-Same Secondary Sex Sense Perception (PSSSSP)

Source : Our own.

It is due to the pro-opposite secondary sex sense perception which might not provoke direct physical sex satisfaction. Therefore, the heterosexual sex perception causes more sexual exploitation/violence than the gay sex perception, and rather, the homosexuals/lesbians are sexually exploited on the idea of heterosexual perception. Whether men or women commit sexual abuse, hostility, harass and assault no matter, they do so by their biological perception because their invisible sexual mind as provocative as their visible sexual anatomy is. Unlike the animals the humans perceive, experience, categorize and expertise their sexuality following the conventional mind set, self-conception and society. However, this conventional idea helps cultivating and institutionalizing the idea of sex attraction, sex indexical cues, sex discrimination and sexual coercion in institutional settings of every society. Unfortunately, sexualization as a process of sexuality is negatively perceived (Wouters, 2010:726), and the word sexy and sexiness are discriminately used against sexuality of women and children. Especially the cues-psychological, incapacitation and physical make women vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence (Goetz, et al, 2012). According to Goetz, et al, (2012) the psychological cues indicate that 'a woman is mentally or emotionally manipulable or is flirtatious or promiscuous or revealing a risk-taking proclivity' (ibid: 2). Women, significantly, having low self-assertiveness and low vanity are targets of such sexual violence/exploitations in the society (ibid). The bodily attraction is natural as stated earlier however; one time human develops it into a stimulus-response state of mind (psychological), it becomes risky. A coincident attracted aiming at or gazing at a lady could lead to a coincident sexual hostility against her because symmetrical scientific discipline (similar perception of sex object) or psychological sex fantasy push and pull the perpetrator to actualize the victim's sexuality (like sex object). But the male's hostile mentality toward female's body and sex is an unquestionable social fact that women learn in their social settings. Because of this socialization the same man who sometime madly interested in women sexually, might not have an interest in gay or lesbian with a similar state of mind. The sexual orientations

stemming from heterosexual and bisexual sources cause more sexual violation than that of gay and lesbian sources because, the former orientation is assumed to be historically normal while latter orientation is treated to be socially abnormal. The sexual violence against gay and lesbian is not essentially an outburst of gay provocation or gay attraction but an unusual outcome of an aggravated heterosexual aggression in the society. While the transsexual and repose sexual orientations promote neutral sexuality the transvestite and gay orientations bring revolution against sexual violence/exploitation because the former might create divided psychology and the latter might bring a united feeling.

b) Socialization and Sexual Exploitation/Violence

The normally believed masculine characteristics like, outwardly oriented, strong, dominant, freelance, rational, assertive, analytical, brave, active, insensitive etc and feminine characteristics like inwardly oriented, gentle, submissive, dependent, emotional, respectful, intuitive, timid, passive, sensitive etc nurture men and women otherwise (www.feminish.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Brannon_ch07.pdf). On top of these stereotypes the women appear to have possessed higher human qualities than men, but, irony is that they cannot help remaining subservient to men, and because of feminine qualities they miserably fail to assert their strength over masculine sexuality. Thus, this gender dualism perpetuates sexual violence against women everywhere.

c) Conventional Sexual Stereotypes and Sexual Violence

We can observe from the Figure 5 that only adult marital sexuality is found to have positive sexuality because, it generates high institutionalized sexuality with high socialized sexual stereotype. However, it doesn't apply to married men and women equally justifying exclusive gender stereotypes. Further, sometime the positive sexuality negatively ends up in women's married life.



Figure 5 : Conventional Sexual Stereotypes

Socialization Of Sex Stereotypes	Institutionalized Sexuality	
	High	Low
	High	Adult Marital Sexuality (Positive Sexuality)
Low	Adult Sexuality (Relative Sexuality)	Premarital Sexuality / Teenage Sexuality (Negative Sexuality)

Source : Our own.

We can also observe from the Figure 5 that the extramarital sexuality is found to be negative sexuality because it is lowly institutionalized. But it is found to have a high socialized sexual stereotype. It is also not equally applied to married men and women in the society. It is usually observable fact that adulterous sexuality is condemned for the stability of inclusive marital sexuality of dual sexual partners in every society. However, beyond dual marital sexual partners it may not even be treated as negative sexuality because there are societies in the world which have structured different types of wedding with only two or more sex partners in different institutionalized settings. But the women's vulnerability to sexual violence stays invariant. For instance, the polygamous practices are the results of such institutionalized settings to which the feminists powerfully pinpoint as socially nurtured practice of sexual hostility against ladies. It is because 'inequality is built into the asymmetric structure of polygamous marriage (Barry, 2001: 369-70 and Brooks, 2009)', and 'women who resist or desert polygamous marriages can often be shunned or otherwise penalized for their deviance or self-assertion' (May, 2012). The pre-marital sexuality or sexuality during adolescent age though treated as negative sexualities because of these are being lowly institutionalized sexuality with low socialized sexual stereotypes the girls are highly discriminated comparison to boys in every society. For instance, here conjointly we can see this discrimination that young boys could approach to female prostitute who is somewhere created out there, but young ladies cannot approach to male prostitute, is obscurity created out all over the places. The boys also usually blame the girl for all sexual acts in the dating system (Wouters, 2010:15). In this way a violation of the feminine body is tolerated and perpetrated within the sex industries. The adult sexuality is found to have relative sexuality because it is highly institutionalized in form of marriage but with lowly socialized sex stereotypes without marriage. This is not equally applicable to men and women in the society. For instance, it's usually found within the Asian countries that the age of married men/ women/girls or the age of

sexually ill-used girls and sexual victimizer men is not same, and rather men are more aged than women. It is not that girls/women are assumed to have more capable of bearing with men's sexuality. However, it is the deliberate seniority of men is set by the society, thus, as to dominate and to cause straightforward sexual violence against women. The institutionalized sexuality structuring the construct of performs and pathology within the human sexual actions also structure the construct of sexual oppression within which the ladies and youngsters are the foremost victims. Therefore, the classification of typical /conventional sexual stereotypes given in the Figure 5 exemplifies the deliberate discourse on sexual violence in the society. Corresponding to these tendencies a typology of sexuality has been developed in Figure 6. It is observed that the heterosexual activity is socially desirable, and the society claims it therefore, generates a social relation, whereas the homosexuality/lesbianism is socially undesirable, and so disrupts human relation. The sexlessness may generate human relation however, is not socially desirable. The bisexuality doesn't generate sensible human relation however, not fundamentally undesirable in the society.

Figure 6 : Conventional Sexuality Type

Gender Stereotype Socialization	Sexual Violence/Exploitation	
	High	Low
	High	Heterosexuality (Socially Desirable)
Low	Bisexuality (Not Socially Desirable)	Homosexuality/Lesbianism (Not Socially Desirable)

Source : Our own.

It is observed from the Figure 6 that the heterosexual and bisexual socialization cause a lot of sexual exploitation than homosexual and lesbian socialization. The gay and lesbian socialization provoke more sexual violence/ exploitation than transsexual and inters sexual socialization, and because of this, the gay and lesbians are sexually assaulted by the heterosexual individuals, and the transsexual and inters sexual are thereby ignored. Further, it is observed that while the transsexual and inter-sexual socialization promotes neutral sexuality, the transvestite and gay socialization bring revolution against sexual violence/ exploitation. The latter kind of socialization grows fast getting additional support from underground cities or metro centers worldwide. The heterosexuality is though socially desirable sexuality it promotes heterosexual masculinity (aggressive sexuality) and heterosexual femininity (submissive sexuality) as well, and that, in turn, perpetuates sexual violence against girls/women, homosexual/lesbians/gay in every society worldwide.

V. CONCLUSION

Sexual violence against women is undoubtedly an endemic phenomenon for the reason that gender induced stereotype ranking, symbolic bio-physical attributing and psychological discursive thinking perpetuate this violence everywhere. The fact remains, the masculine heterosexual character of the gender notions-sex/sexiness and sexuality/sexualization is highly perceived against ladies and gay in every society. Resulting from this fact, doing sex is sometime less dangerous than ranking and thinking its stereotypes. Similarly, the dimensions and factors for sexual abuse/ violence are structured and processed such ways that female gender is often desecrated by men, homosexuals or lesbians are despised by heterosexuals, and feminine submissiveness is violently abused by masculine aggressiveness in different social settings. Beside the heterosexual orientations, the gay and lesbian orientations also conjointly nurture the etiquettes of aggression against female, and female, therefore, they are sexually exploited/violated on the thought of heterosexual perception. The hate crimes committed against gay and women are nothing but, a

mere reflection of masculine heterosexual bias. The sexual violence is truly a byproduct of inclusively reticulated and socially created triple concepts-sex, gender and sexuality. But there is misunderstanding of understanding of each concept as if nurtures sexual violence exclusively. It is also crucial fact that the secondary sex characteristics aren't less encouraging factors for sexual violence against women. In fact, the hegemonic, heterosexual, political and gender discourses on human's primary and secondary sex characteristics continue this violence. Our reviews of literatures related to sex, gender and sexuality realize an inclusive linkage between masculinity and sexual violence in the society. Further, whether or not the modernism elicited malevolent sexism or the tradition ascribed benevolent sexual discrimination the women's sex is violated directly or indirectly, and usually the whole world moreover, along with victims and victimizers themselves, cannot help remaining blind spectators thereto. If each man and woman so long as emphasizes women's sex, body and sexuality as sexually and socially fascinating/ desirable objects or subjects the sexual exploitation won't be curbed and crippled in virtually any society. It is just a gendered query that must definitely be answered by the every society, however, not primarily excluding sexual victims from sexual victimizers.

VI. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Like food for thought, the feedbacks on any research/review paper, whether positive or negative certainly stabilize researchers' quest to go for further improvement and consequent publication. In this regard, I am thankful to those erudite scholars/ scientists who not only commented on this paper presented in the UGC sponsored national seminar on "Gender Issues and Problems of Women in India" organized by Sociology Department, Sri Satya Sai College for Women in 2008, Bhubaneswar, but also inspired me to write this paper. Further, the debate and discussion adhering to a gang rape event occurred in Delhi (India) last year, 2012 have greatly enriched this paper. I wish this article should be dedicated to those victims of sexual violence who struggle hard to survive. I also like to convey my



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Author's Biographical Sketch:

Dr. Rabindra Garada has obtained his M.A and M.Phil from Jawaharlal Nehru University (J.N.U), Delhi, and Ph.D. from Utkal University, Odisha in Sociology. He was awarded JRF for his research work in J.N.U. Delhi. He started his teaching career as Assistant Professor in Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS), Mumbai, and later joined in Utkal University. Now, he is a senior faculty in the Department of Sociology, Utkal University. He has quite a few international and national peer reviewed research publications in his credit. He has more than one and half decade of teaching and research experience at University level.

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City Production through Sexuality and Space Appropriation's Perspective: A Case Study at Sao Paulo's Gay Street

By Bruno Puccinelli

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Abstract - Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a "sexual identity"? This article concentrates on some aspects observed in my master's dissertation. My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation of public spaces in large cities as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in this case, FreiCaneca Street in Sao Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant observation, which tells how the identity's definitions are constructed at street's space and at the spaces on the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of São Paulo and shift their centralities.

Keywords : *urban sociology; ethnographic research; sexualities; urban planning; são paulo city.*

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Abstract - Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a "sexual identity"? This article concentrates on some aspects observed in my master's dissertation. My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation of public spaces in large cities as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in this case, Freicaneca Street in Sao Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant observation, which tells how the identity's definitions are constructed at street's space and at the spaces on the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of São Paulo and shift their centralities.

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1. Introduction

Which identities a space can acquire? What about a public space? For instance, a street, how can it be defined and who is able to do so? A street can acquire a "sexual identity"¹? This article concentrates on some aspects observed in my master's dissertation². My research was ethnographic based and captures the appropriation of public spaces in large cities³ as a way of defining a socio-sexual identity, in

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¹The conceptualization of sexual Identity is apprehended here in a similarly way to McIntosh (1998) works, specifically speaking about homosexual roles as part of social dynamics.

²"Se essa rua fosse minha: sexualidade e apropriação do espaço na 'rua gay' de São Paulo", translated as "If this street was mine: sexuality and space appropriation at 'Gay's street' in Sao Paulo" (If this street was mine is a reference to a Brazilian's popular song). Research developed at the Graduate Program of Social Sciences of Federal University of Sao Paulo (Guarulhos' campus) between September/2010 and February/2013. The master dissertation is available (in Portuguese) at: http://www.humanas.unifesp.br/ciencias_sociais/dissertacao-bruno-puccinelli.

³Although I'm not personally familiar with their realities, it's an attempt (and pretension) of this work to approximate the observation made at Sao Paulo with the data of Chueca (Madrid), Marais (Paris) and most importantly, Castro (São Francisco) through their differences and similarities. I am particularly interested with the case of Castro neighborhood, to which I had secondary source of information about the increase and decline of real estate market's prices been closely related to the presence – and absence – of gay men.

this case, Freicaneca Street in Sao Paulo. In this article, I will address some of the data from my participant observation, which tells how the identity's definitions are constructed at street's space and at the spaces on the street. I also tackle how these settings interact with everyday local basis, make possible the separation into groups and trigger political demonstrations. Moreover, I address how these definitions help to outline the city of São Paulo and shift their centralities.

Freicaneca Street is known (and recognized) for its alleged massive presence of gays, name commonly used to refer to male homosexuals. This broadly shared representation has conformed sexual identities fixed in that space, allowing descriptions of this peculiar fact, as well as the conglomeration of businesses aiming gay audiences and also the aggression and violence from homophobic slant at the surroundings. What is highlighted here is the way by which individuals define themselves at the same time that they define others accordingly to sexuality and the space they occupy (at city and street level). Moreover, the aim is to show what these identity process are configured as a desired setting, positively valued or not, as well as inclusion and exclusion relations of certain groups formed based on such identity process.

The emphasis on the identity question does not mean the understanding of identity signs thought a priori, but the speech observed in the locus of study, namely, the definition of a established identity or an identity established through others, which allocates individuals in specific spaces. After a brief contextualization of the researched reality, I will proceed to a further assessment taking as unit of analysis the relationships built in the surroundings of the Bar d'ALoca (Bar of The Loca⁴), a corner bar seemingly without great attractions to a specific audience, except for congregating a large contingent on weekends.

⁴Places, neighborhoods and natives term as kept throughout the text as they are written or spoken in Portuguese. Whenever possible, an approximate translation will be provided at the first appearance of each word and but they may appear in other sequences if it seems necessary.



Map 1 - Macroregion in the São Paulo's downtown. Featured neighborhoods of the República and Sé; in red, Frei Caneca Street.

Therefore, understanding the dynamics of flows and shifts of particular group through the perspective of a socio-sexual bestowed identity, not just personological, but territorial, is a major focus of the article. In order to contribute to a broader discussion, I focus, in one hand, on city's dynamics, and, on the other, on the assignment of gender and sexual identities. The idea of "ghetto" shuffles those two perspectives. Moreover, the combination of urban questions with definitions of belonging and legitimacy triggered by sexual identity is certainly one of the most controversial points of the speeches analyzed in this article, contributing to some emphases regarding the street.

The gay mall, the gay street, the gay ghetto: identity and spacial conformations.

São Paulo, the largest Brazilian metropolis, brings together about fifteen million people who identify and separate via the most different reasons: tastes, purchasing power, place of residence, etc. The city is also known for its social inequalities, combining a street full of international brands such as Oscar Freire Street and dirt streets on its limits, on the border with other municipalities. On the last ten years, the city is also known for having the largest LGBT Pride Parade in the world, at Paulista Avenue, a major route, symbol of financial capital. More recently, some neighborhoods and regions closer to the old/historical town Centre⁵

have received a number of incentives and increments estate to revitalize degraded areas by time, forgotten by private investment and without attention from the public. This is not necessarily the reality of Frei Caneca Street, located between Paulista Avenue and old town Centre, but it is possible to determine a number of changes occurring there since the last decade.

⁵Sao Paulo's Centre will be written with capital letters when I refer to the neighborhood, which includes Sé (old downtown Center, known as Centro Velho in Portuguese) and República (known as Centro Novo, New center, in Portuguese) districts. When the term is employed by interlocutors, I will use quotation marks, since, on the majority of the cases, there isn't an official understanding of where is town centre.

Moreover, I believe that the self-definition and the alter, constructed by the interlocutors, also depends on their city's definition. In this translated version, I opt for the use of "Centre" instead of "downtown" because I believe that part of the meaning of the analysis on the spatially defined Centre and the discourses and desires center of the speaker would be lost.



Map 2 – FreiCaneca Street.

Opened at 2001, the FreiCaneca Mall & Convention Center, located in the homonymous street, is one of the symbols of these changes. The Mall has been the scene of several discourses of belonging, flows and identities, concerning the already well know attendance of homosexual audiences. Since at least 2003, one can contextualize the greater disclosure of gay audience due to some events related to Mall FreiCaneca administration's discontinuities with their peculiar audience⁶. In 2003, a couple of men were asked to leave the mall by security for exchanging kisses in public. This act translated in the prosecution of the

⁶ I use the term in its plural form to highlight the malleability of the so called sexual identities. However, in order to simplify the reading, I will use only the term generally used to refer to gay men, gay, since much of the assignment and discussion regarding identity of belonging to the locus of the research is related to this public. In addition, ethnographic data attest to a greater presence of young men, although the allocation of socio-sexual identities are subordinated to other issues such as gender performance, circulation spaces, etc. A deeper discussion on the subject can be seen in Fry (1982), Carrara&Simões (2007), Butler (2003), Newton (1979), McIntosh (op. cit.), Facchini (2009) and França (2006; 2012)

"gay street"¹⁴. However, the subject that proved important to be explored, and that still generates discussion is the controversy created around the project of turning FreiCaneca Street into officially gay street. Some actors became central in this discussion due to their use of the idea of a local gay ghetto. In order to provide a better understanding of the conflicts over the definition of the legitimacies around FreiCaneca Street, I recover onwards the major events on the subject, still in vogue, as well as my ethnographic data.

In July 2008 the newly created Associação GLS Casarão Brasil (Casarão Brasil GLS Association)¹⁵ president, Douglas Drummond, presented the project to the press to make a FreiCaneca Street an official thematic street, in this case, a gay street. Based on data from internet searches on what would be Sao Paulo gayest street¹⁶ and a visual investigation done by his assistant, Drummond defined FreiCaneca Street as a street "made by gays". In his own words, "just look at the street to see, there's no need to ask"¹⁷. Thus, in their view, in order to defend the project, a visual examination was enough to define the prevalence of this public. According to the press (PRONSATO, 08/13/2008), the project relied on the support of then town councilors Sonia Francine (PPS) and Netinho (PSDB)¹⁸.

Shortly after this presentation, the Sociedade dos Amigos e Moradores de Cerqueira César - Samorcc (Society of Friends and Residents of Cerqueira César), represented by its then president, Celia Marcondes¹⁹, stood against the project: "I hope the FreiCaneca Street is a street for everyone. The streets are public for everyone. They can't be a ghetto". Marcondes argued

that not all street residents are gay and that they could not live with this stigma. She also pointed out the existence of children and elderly and a centennial parish church at FreiCaneca Street data to be considered on the issue.

Associação da Parada do Orgulho LGBT de São Paulo - APOLGBT (LGBT Parade Association²⁰ of Sao Paulo) joined the discussion. Responsible for organizing the LGBT Pride Parade in Sao Paulo and one of the main articulators of homosexual militancy in the city, APOLGBT believed that the creation of a thematic gay street would generate a space for homosexuals segregation, a "ghetto", when in fact the community needed to fight the acceptance of "sexual minorities" in all public parks in the city.

Much of the literature with focus on gay ghettos at Sao Paulo took as an example the north-American researches on the paradigmatic case of some neighborhoods in the city of San Francisco (Levine, 1979). In the Brazilian case, the expression was not carried out without a series of mediations. Often, the concept of gay ghettos refers to a fluid grouping of shops aiming to or frequented by gays. The ghetto was, thus, either the expression of these individuals movement through leisure or an important political marker of public and visible²¹ existence. However, the notion of no madism characteristic of this group, as shown by Perlongher (2008 [1987]) about Sao Paulo's gay ghetto, if connected to the Chicago School's "moral region" conception²², provides an important starting point for reflection on the recent territorial changes at the gay city spaces of sociability. None the less, rather than presenting a ascertainment based on reliable data, to talk in the constitution of a gay ghetto in FreiCaneca Street indicates, primarily, political positions of actors who regard themselves as legitimated to talk about the street. There is no evidence of large contingent of openly gay residents, but only the observance of gay audiences presence and preference to various public spaces in the street, alongside other groups not directly related to homosexualities.

Even the notion of gay circuit in the region of FreiCaneca should be qualified. Although there is a concentration of establishments identified with a sticker,

¹⁴ Sao Paulo city has at least 52 thematic streets (Bride street, Brand street, etc). Only few of those are officially recognized as a thematic street.

¹⁵This association had its headquarters closed as a result of real estate investments in the area. Douglas Drummond was the owner of the "largest gay sauna in Latin America," the 269, a shed located at BelaCintraStreet. The sauna space was rented and was sold to a building company, who is completing the construction of a residential building with back view to Augusta Street, at the stretch of some still existent brothels. According to Drummond, on his personal page, the sauna income kept the Association Casarão Brasil site - a colonial style mansion - opened. Without these gains, it was not possible to keep the rented mansion. The attendance activities were terminated in July 2011. About a year later (April 2012), Douglas Drummond opened another project, also focusing on sexual entertainment (the "hotel for single men" Chill Pepper) in Arouche Square, at República district, a space that can be regarded as a counterpoint to FreiCaneca Street at the speech lines highlighted in this article.

¹⁶See the article "Gay Caneca", 07/21/2008. Available at *MixBrasil* website.

¹⁷Interview conducted in april/2009.

¹⁸PPS is the Popular Socialist Party (Partido Popular Socialista), which, despite its name, maintains a right ideological positioning, as well as the PSDB, Brazilian Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata Brasileiro).

¹⁹Marcondes is identified as one of the responsables for the court proceedings that forced most businesses targetting gays and homosexuals audiences to close during the last 15 years at Jardins district.

²⁰*LGBTs* is the acronym used by gay rights movement and brings together lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (transvestites and transexuals).

²¹On different approaches of this expression see MacRae(1983), Simões&França(2005), França (op. cit.) e Perlongher (2008). One might even infer a similarity between the notions of gay ghetto and circuit, as understood by Magnani, concerning the prevalence of commercial sites that targets in a given locality.

²²It is inevitable - Park argues - that individuals who seek the same forms of entertainment should, from time to time, meet at the same place. "These areas population - not necessarily its residents, but the ones who wander about this spot - tends to segregate not only according to interests, but according to tastes and temperaments" (Perlongherapud PARK, 1973, p.64).

and even though I was able to assess the constant changes in addresses of these locations, it was not possible to observe a contiguous or minimally localizable space with businesses that aimed preferentially gay audiences. Furthermore, most of these businesses lies on the sidewalk next to the mall and there are many proper establishments for this audience in various other parts of the city and many others at FreiCaneca Street and Augusta Street's neighborhood.

There's even a local disagreement between which of the two streets (FreiCaneca and Augusta) have begun the changes and improvements process in the region. As could be seen on my field experience: Was it the inauguration of the mall, real estate constructions, and gay presence in FreiCaneca Street? Or the opening of bars and nightclubs, as well as the occupation of the street by individuals with progressively more purchasing power at the expense of prostitutes in Augusta? What is certain is that ethnography allowed to observe the continuous circulation of Augusta's and FreiCaneca's goes through the connection made by PeixotoGomide Street, a space where identity differences are particularly marked.

Augusta Street watched the capture of its spaces by a group generically called *emos*²³ after the opening of some nightclubs directed to musical styles such as rock and electronic music. Besides occupying much of its driveways on Friday's nights, some crowds sits on the pavements of PeixotoGomide block in connection with FreiCaneca, drinking and talking, while observing a steady stream of people towards the latter. Apparently mixed in this space, gays and *emos*, a attentive eye perceives a gradual change in public as you walk in FreiCaneca's direction. At this path, one can observe the decrease on the amount of *emos* due to the increase of gays. Vega (2008) discusses in a recent study the identity dynamics in Augusta. He was able to recognize identity dynamics as widely permeated by conflicts related to cleavages as gender, class and race performances, and also the perception of effeminate attitudes as negative. Conflictual relations between different groups are common and have been observed in my ethnographic field experience and also in the press.²⁴ A symbolic differentiation process was

observed between the groups, given that there are no attempts to prevent any group to settle on one or other space. In addition, it's possible to infer how individuals of either group wouldn't be able to recognize themselves, despite a more general discourse that undertakes fixed identity separations among those who understand themselves as gay or not, a kind of masculinity gradation to be witnessed accordingly to the space occupied in a same street.

"Hitting on at the mall": desiring flows and consumption spaces

The research and ethnographic field incursions initiated at FreiCaneca Mall. The study conducted into this business premises intended to understand the internal uses and dynamics between the various audience types, shopkeepers and other social actors with regard to the general idea of gay audience majority. Afterwards, it became essential to pay special attention on the movement flow of people on FreiCaneca Street and surroundings due to the context described above, and its importance to comprehend the conformation of identities fixed in a space.

Research on shopping malls, willing to analyze consumption, rarely are interested on sociability constitution among its audience, far fewer interested on the audience's symbolic ties. Except for the pioneering work of Frúgoli Jr. (1990), there is little research in this direction²⁵. We must stress the importance of Douglas & Isherwood (2004) critics on consumer relations in the western context. Usually seen as satisfaction of basic survival needs or hedonistic and superficial practice of assets acquisition; the two authors indicate this ideology, commonly linked to the 'rational individual' and economic theories, do not consider the possibility of social construction through symbolic valuation and acquisition of certain assets. Thus, Douglas & Isherwood (2004) attempt to demonstrate that the world of goods is endowed with cultural data and, therefore, "saying an object is fit for consumption is the same as saying that the object is likely to travel as a marker of particular sets of social roles" (p. 41). Similarly, it is possible to say that a place, such as a mall, is able to bring together certain "sets of social roles" not always predicted, as shown by Frúgoli Jr. (1990) through the analysis of the use of its spaces by diverse young groups. Moreover, it also can be seen in FreiCaneca Mall, in my attempt to understand how some markers brought together or set apart individuals from diverse groups.

either skin heads, punks or skaters, triggering various group identities present in that spot. For further information, see Redação – Folha de São Paulo (06/15/2009).

²⁵ The excellent work by Isadora Lins França, "Consumindo lugares, consumindo nos lugares: homossexualidade, consumo e subjetividade na cidade de São Paulo" (2012) is one of the rare examples that attempts to fill the gap in the subject.

²³ According to Vega (op. cit., 71): "Emo is a youth style derived from punk. Due to great commercial success among young crowds (...) the style eventually spread to several cities in the country. On account of disputes with other symbolic aspects of punk, *emos* were widely criticized and the term became pejorative outside style supporters circle". Though I highlight differences between gays and *emos*, I do not intend to state that the individuals present on my field experience cannot be understood in either group. I only aim to say that there's lines that could lead to the latter understanding. Nowadays, there's a perception of reduction in this audiences.

²⁴ On 06/12/2009 evening, the eve of the 13th LGBT Pride Parade in Sao Paulo, I witnessed a boy sitting on PeixotoGomide street, close to FreiCaneca street, being assaulted at the head with a skateboard. His acquaintances and other people at the scene said the attackers were

As social roles markers, the “temples of consumption” mark identities and political positioning spaces - as occurred with beijaço - as well as unanticipated uses of its spaces²⁶. Even the location of certain social identities can be observed in enclosed spaces of the mall, even though it is not fully outside the daily local dynamics. Withal, such socio-sexual identities in flow often overlap with other local audiences and must be understood relationally.

A way to define some groups and attempt to create a more precise classification, though not definitive, was watching body and dress codes. Wearing brand X or Y of clothing not only helped me to locate myself, but served to situate common groups. For example: showing off sporting muscles in a tight T-shirt creates a space interdiction of access to men if they are not using code similar. Another way is to observe the intensity of flows in some venues of the mall, the existence of meetings spaces and also interaction among individuals. Thus, to behave like common audience of FreiCaneca Mall, sitting on benches and in the food court, going to cafes and stores, allowed me a broader picture of the local dynamics. But it did not solve my insertion or interaction problems.

Some findings are noteworthy. The discovery that certain clothing stores were identified more closely with a certain group, as well as the observations of interactions and conversations between groups of friends and the confluence of male couples holding hands and even kissing occurred inside the mall, which is difficult to observe on the street. These data are crucial in the formation of a average homosexual identity of the mall audience. At an initial ethnographic process, knowledge of specific pieces of certain brands of clothing helped in the previous construction of some groups in affluence to the mall and its corridors; it also helped me to better determine local indices of masculinity, such as voice intonation, muscles on display, famous brands boasts, and attendance to certain spots.

Thus, one can recognize a very intense presence of young men commonly identified as gays (for themselves and to others) especially with three clothing stores. One has broad exposure in magazines and websites targeting gay audiences. This particular shop also publishes a calendar with pictures of men in underwear, one of the main items sought and highlighted at the shop's display window²⁷. The other store exists only in FreiCaneca Mall also sells male

clothing, but used to have an area of women's clothing. The last shop also has a significant attendance of gays, but in smaller numbers compared to the previous ones, and has a smaller foot print²⁸. The first two stores mentioned are opposite each other and form an intense circulation space.

These stores also serve as a meeting point and as reference for those who want information about nightclubs GLSparties. At these shops, an emphasis on consumption of underwear is common. Its acquisition is valued within the younger group of gay audiences who are used to working out at gyms. Two of these stores can only be found at FreiCaneca Mall and Franca Street, near the site of Jardins neighborhood that once had a large concentration of facilities geared to gays (FRANÇA, 2006, p. 49-51). There is also the presence of men defined as maricon as (effeminate and old gay, with no sex appeal) or tias (literally aunts, also old and effeminate gay men) by the groups of gays cited above, older gays, boasting beards and a less defined body²⁹ usually detected in cafes.

There is a both public and private feature of malls. On one hand, they allow access to certain people and, at the same time, they limit it to others. On the other, they expect that most of the regulars were in leisure moments on their use of the mall premises. As shown in many of the speeches I collected, the leisure ambiance became a reasonable obstacle in approaching informants and became a significant ethnographic data, since it is expected to be in this “closed, private” space without being bothered by others. This perspective also informs one of the mall use done by several regulars homosexuals, that is, to walk freely with their teammates, making flirting contacts and mutual cognition, and as I will address later, furtive sexual contacts in specific spaces. These actions were possible because, in this site, they are free of misfortunes, guaranteed by the security of the mall. Such dynamics, however, is not unambiguous.

It is important to stress that the ethnographic findings show, in the context of discourses and everyday relationships observed, a simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the idea that the FreiCaneca Mall's space and also FreiCaneca Street are especially frequented by gays. Many of the informants who recognized themselves as gays claimed there was a great contingent of this group at the sites, tracking it by certain aspects such as specific type of clothing, a particular hairstyles, mannerisms and voice intonation. Many of them didn't include themselves in the groups they classified, stating to makerestricted and sporadic use of the mall and bars in the surroundings. It became common to hear statements that addressed adversely

²⁶It is known that GLS happy-hours occurs on Mondays at MetrôTatuapéMallmall, located at the east side of Sao Paulo city and attended by low-income crowds (FRÚGOLI JR., 2008, 237-238). In Suzano, one of the cities that make up the metropolitan area of Sao Paulo, there are gay encounters on Saturdays in the town hall square for socializing and for discussion.

²⁷It's Foch Store.

²⁸It's Anjo da Guarda Store.

²⁹They usually define themselves as ursos (bears), but I wasn't able to deepen my relationship with this group at the research.

to the presence of gays, combined with a classification of the regular crowd by other terms, insulting and connected to an effeminate gender performance. The curious thing was to observe the transition of the informant from a discourse of self-definition as gay to claim that the FreiCaneca Street is full of gays and, shortly thereafter, to state a dislike of this ostensible presence of queer people. Since most of the time I had contact with young men, this is my base analysis, which I intend to expand to other age groups as far as possible.

Two lines exemplify this issue: when I talked with a lad, migrant from Rio de Janeiro and resident on the mall surrounding a few years ago, about what he thought of the mall, he claimed it was a place "full of crazy mariconas", referring to some of older men who he identified as gays circulating at the mall. Another respondent claimed the mall as "a place with a making-out climate, full of middle-aged gay men with money." Both stated that they used the mall just to go to the movies and eat at the food court.

Another exemplary speech about the mall importance came from a boy living in the neighborhood of Itaquera³⁰ claiming the reason to move about from his neighborhood to go to the movies, even with good offer this type of service in his district, to the FreiCaneca was "obvious". At the time of the interview, he was showing the place to a colleague of Santos, south coast of São Paulo, who had heard of the mall. The presence of people from other cities and states is common, due to their prior knowledge of a constant presence of homosexuals. Another young man from Rio de Janeiro said he was passing through town and used the opportunity to know the Sao Paulo "gay mall". He said he was disappointed because he thought the attendance was less intense than he imagined.

Allow me to quote two observations fairly recent and draw attention to the question: in one, I met a gay activist friend to walk around the region of FreiCaneca Street. He promptly asked to go to the Republic Square because he could not stand anymore that lot of bichaqua-qua (quack-quack fag, referring to a voice intonation). Surprised, I asked the reasons of his statement. He haven't elaborate on the topic, but associated the pejorative use of an expression frequently related to effeminacy to his view of the FreiCaneca audience as snobs. On another day, during the search field, as walked by FreiCaneca Street, a guy was talking on the phone and stated that he was leaving that street because it was "full of viados"³¹. These two

examples show the series of conflicts that exist and persist at sites recognized as intensely occupied by gays and other public homosexual.

Finally, the continuous observation of the space allowed to infer, for example, the low presence of women couples, walking hand in hand, unlike male couples. Among the latter, the highest frequency can be observed mainly on Sundays. On one of the Sundays that I conducted the ethnographic research there was about fifteen couples, holding hands or exchanging kisses, quietly circulated in the aisles. This is an important fact to be considered in order to highlight the positive and negative opinions regarding these gay flows.

II. Discussing Issues: Flows to the Restrooms and Shifting Boundaries

In addition to walking through the mall and other leisure activities, followed by flirt and paths by the mall corridors that provided the possibility of eyeing others up, there is a specific use of mall popular between the called gay domains: making out in public restrooms or banheiro³². This dynamic is not without conflict. There is a sign, visible at the entrance of the male toilets, warning about the penalties of practicing obscene acts in a public place³³ and a dynamic into and out movement of guards and janitors to suppress such acts. On one occasion an exalted janitor thundered against the "filth that viados (queers)" performed in bathrooms, claiming to be able to physically assault those who were caught there. However, this practice does not cease to exist and is typified by a series of unique signs: exchange of glances, gestures and signs shared in the silence.

Rather than indicating a feature common to gay ghetto's culture (POLLAK, 1983), the existence of banheiro has particular meaning to allow our understanding of some belonging and exclusion identity classifications. Although it was filled with negative values on the speeches, many informants directed themselves to restrooms to conduct such interactions. A native term that defines the regulars at restrooms looking for sex is age and gender performance marker: mariconalouca (crazy maricona). Other scholarly works have addressed

dynamic resemble the Newton (op. cit.) observations on the drag queens and difference production based on gender performances of the investigated individuals. In this sense, fairies can be viewed as an approximation to what pejorative term intend to purport.

³²The practice of banheiro (tearoom practices, in Anglo-Saxon studies), briefly consists in furtive sex between two or more partners within the urinal space. Such sexual exchanges are usually quick and silent and do not exceed the limits of touches and fellatio. It did not take long for me to perceive these practices in the ethnographic field. See Humphreys (2002 [1970]).

³³The sign says: "The practice of lewd act in a public or open place, is punishable by imprisonment for three months to a year" (Article 233 of the Brazilian criminal Code). To respect the laws of your country is to ensure your right of citizenship".

³⁰Itaquera is a district at the east zone of the city, known as a poor locality.

³¹*Bicha qua-qua*s a pejorative term used by gays. It refers to an individual with effeminate mannerisms and low income, poorer. *Viado* (queer) is a very derogatory term widespread in the general population and it refers to homosexuals men and also generally used when someone wants to offend a supposedly heterosexual. This

the types of deprecating categorization of homosexual men seen as very effeminate, sometimes defined as "bichas quack-quack" or "poc-poc", not always situated as gays, but as viados (queers), bichas (fagots), mariconas. As previously mentioned, such terms were destined to the other, and never meant a self-identification with these categories. The site observation allowed the questioning of this arrangement at the mall, since some of the regulars who place themselves on a positively valued category were also users of sexual practices at the mall bathrooms.

Rubin (1998), in his assessment about healthy sexuality, builds a framework that enlightens the reality presented here. The author presents a framework in which not monogamous, non-heterosexual and non-vaginal sexuality just only can be allocated as wickedness. In the case of sexual exchanges between some of the individuals mentioned here, taken either as gay or as mariconas, puts in perspective the effeminacy as the nerve centre of identity definition that can downgrade: those evaluated negatively are precisely the effeminate, from whom it is expected a sexual passivity. Despite this assessment of the speeches, I must point out the field aspect of the observations in the sense of deconstructing behavior and acquiring more polite and politically correct conduct about what is said. Nonetheless, it is significant the permanence of effeminate individual at perverse, negative and wrong spectrum. This portrait might not exist in fact, is not known to the speaker, but built by speech.

FreiCaneca Street case is significant: generally speaking the street becomes a gays' space. It is also well perceived by those who walk through it and present themselves as gay, although it does not translate necessarily in a positive sense. It is seen by some individuals self-defined as gay as a space for the presence of homosexual men classified in a effeminate, and therefore negative, sense. Moreover, these divisions conform spaces of identity fixity: a street corner, mall bathrooms, mall shops or mall cafes, as quoted above.

Below, I address how this observed relationship at the mall is very similar to the differentiation process at the space of the street, especially corner with intense flows between FreiCaneca Street and PeixotoGomide Street, site of overcrowding at night and on week ends.

Society at Corner Street³⁴: paths convergence on the street, differing senses identities.

From where can one start to tackle the study of a street or a corner? Would this definition be a methodological exaggeration to fit an ethnography, as this would not account for an entire street, even in the slightest? And in this case, FreiCaneca Street has a mile long, dozens of residential, commercial, hotels buildings, a mall, and premises being built, in short, a

plethora of possibilities to be explored. My choice for this street study was set on two fronts: (1) to treat it as a discursive agent, taken in its whole regarding a broader city context and (2) address the street, in a specific context, most located, aiming mostly its nightlife. Thus, it was possible to enlighten the street, its places and its agents moving, embodying what I call a procedural ethnographic approach³⁵. My approach to the field at the corner follows Lopes (2013), referring to his research, conducted in two urban centers located in different national realities, Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Porto (Portugal):

"therefore, it's sociologist-ethnographers skill to transform the novelty (...), the surprise and the shock into new problems that the research will try to clarify. (...) The immersion that I just spoke off lead me to carry out the walker methodology, similar to what Monica de Carvalho calls the 'roving narrative' (...). The roving narratives address territories as empirical settings (in Elias sense: from the simplest networks of interaction and interdependence - meetings, conversations - to the most complex urban societies) and will have omnipresent concern to understand individuals trajectories in the vein of space-times and interaction scenarios, that is, the singularities that the contexts stimulate by triggering certain arrangements at the expense of others." (p. 52-53)

The notion of "itinerant narrative" seems interesting to consider the process of methodological and analytical insertion. Moreover, yet dissimilar, it can be brought closer to what Perlongher understands as "itinerant territoriality", by thinking city spaces without fixing them. But a research includes necessarily a personal approach, whether familiarity or estrangement. In my case, there were two processes in congruence: recognition of space and estrangement of FreiCaneca. I lived for many years on a street very close to FreiCaneca Street. It has always been an easy, simple, quiet, accessible path to me; but even this familiarity did not prevent some completely unexpected contexts, monitoring the dynamics of the street, of the public and open urban space.

I tracked some paths that arrive at or depart from the Bar d'ALoca. Gathering place, it is also as differences marker not per se, but through a context that elected it as part of the transitional so-called gay fauna at Sao Paulo city. The bar is nothing more than another one of the pubs style "pé-sujo"³⁶ that thrived through the

³⁵This is an ethnography at the in between. It doesn't attempt to address an ideal reconstruction of past symbols linked to the street, as well as to the "gay street", nor wishes to introduce a static present and much less a future prediction.

³⁶Native term used to describe a bar that serves cheap alcoholic beverages and snacks and is fairly marked by slovenliness of the owners about the caring for the premises. Most of the staff is formed by men. There are a few iron tables and chairs and white light

³⁴Freely inspired by Foote-White's famous work, "Street Corner Society" (Portuguese edition: Sociedade de Esquina, 2005).

Huge amount of people who attends it in weekend's nights. As is very close to the A Loca nightclub, it became known as the Bar d'ALoca, but has no direct relationship with the owners of the nightclub.

It's used as a sort of "first stop" before the club, a meeting place, and one of the indispensable tour destinations for those who want to present night clubs from a less glamorous point of view.



Map 4 - FreiCaneca Street highlighted in red, PeixotoGomide street highlighted in blue, portraying some of the spots addressed in this article.

Two years ago the bar underwent a renovation that expanded its inner hall as a result of the acquisition of the next door premises. However little has changed in the general characteristics of the place. Blue and white tiles were placed, as well as more tables and chairs, although most people prefer staying outside by the sidewalk. There are few tables on the sidewalk and few tables in the site closer to the exit spot. However, combined, these are the ones that raise more competition among the visitors. Depending on the amount of public, even the street space is taken by the regulars. In the surroundings, drinks and food are informally sold and a chewing gum, candy and cigarettes seller has become part of the night landscape through the catchphrase: "Black Halls for blowjob, Green Halls to cunete and Red Halls to roll down the padê"³⁷.

She is part of the street attractions, besides the very men and women that circulate in the bar all the time. Because the public on the street is located outside the service area, one must go into the bar and pay for

the beer, bringing the beverages to the street afterwards. This creates an intense and constant movement until closing time at 01h in the morning, in accordance with city law that prevents bars without external acoustics insulation from remaining open all night.

At one Sunday late afternoon, circling on FreiCaneca Street, I met Silas³⁸ (25 years old, Jabaquara) and Cássio (22 years old, Jardim Miriam)³⁹ leaving the mall after giving information about the region (both wanted to know where was the sauna 269). I told them I was conducting a research regarding the street and asked if I could talk with them a little. Initially reticent, they accepted that I talked to them whilst accompanying them until the sauna proximities. Both defined themselves as gay when referring to their own sexuality. As a methodological mean to comprehend how they understood the street and being at the street I asked them to indicate the places they knew or liked:

³⁸All names are fictional.

³⁹Jabaquara and Jardim Miriam are two neighborhoods located in the south of the city. Close together, they are both known by its lower class population and to their proximity to cities of the metropolitan area, defined as outskirts of São Paulo.

³⁷That seller uses a widely known lexicon for most regulars in the region, as gay slang. This lexicon made her famous. In the highlighted line, "blowjob" is fellatio, "cunete" is the act of licking the anus and "padê" is cocaine.

Silas: "Ah, ALôca, the corner bar, sometimes, the Bar Verde (Green bar)⁴⁰, since it is cheaper. But things here are expensive. The good thing is that it has beautiful boys! Even at the street, drinking, there's no need to get into the club."

Cássio: "I've been at the mall from time to time. At Saturday, I meet Silas, we come here to have some drinks, meet up with some friends, and, there's also the possibility of meeting people we know at the bar, do you want to see?"

Indeed, on Bard'ALoca sidewalk there was two Silas and Cássio's friends, Jorge and Mate us. They both lived near by:

Jorge (27 years old): "At FreiCaneca, down the street, we share"

Silas: "Frei Canecamyass, viado (fagot). The madam here lives at Paim Street⁴¹ ! Tell him already that you are a transvestite! "

Jorge (embarrassed, he assumes living at Paim Street): "But it is in a very good place, okay!"

Mateus, 23 years old, Jorge's flatmate, laughs, does not comment on anything, but Silas insists:

Silas: "Come on, Matt, tell him that you live in a slum tenement!"

Mateus: "It is a kitchenette, with Nove de JulhoAvenue⁴² land scape, it is beautiful! [Laughs] Before, I got a bitfrightened, we would go out and became a bit suspicious, I had the chills from the idea of getting robbed. But it has been a while that the are some coxin has (cops)by the 14Bis⁴³. Although I have a friend that lives there, I know another who lives here lower down, at FreiCaneca Street, no kidding. He was a salesman at Anjo da Guarda Store, you know?"(I say no, despite having done research at the mall.)"He was a doableboy, but not a handsome guy. He was a salesman and he fancied himself! But we used to go to talk in the store, tried to get some VIPs tickets, get good deals, you know? It was cool, now the store has

changed a little, but we stop by there from time to time to talk to other friends".

Me:"Women friends?"

Matthew: "No, viada (queer) friends! We hardly know sapatão (butches). If you want to see some dykes you have to go in Tirrenos bar. Here at the Bar Verde, or at the Bar d'ALoca there have little attendance".

At the Bard'ALoca bustle, there are two spaces that people recognize as lesbians spots: the "pool bar" and, to a lesser extent, the Tirrenos, bar restaurant businesses. I use the idea of less intensity as a means to "measure" the understanding that people have of this or that site, since this is not a quantitative survey, but a perception of perceptions. Conducting an ethnography in a busy environment, at a sidewalk, space of intense circulation at the prioritized periods of time for research, transformed my field experience in an act of intelligibility. Through the apparent chaos, it was impossible not to notice a target in various speeches about the closest "pool bar". One shouts: "It is true, there are only "racha"⁴⁴ and boys, these punks who lay there on the street". "If you're going to end up there in the street, is open all night, so is a end of evening program!"said another. "I thought it was cool!"says a woman. These are lines that appear at one point, and fades in the other, but they assisted the formation of the spectrum of notions about the spaces and the street.

Silas and Cássio gave up going to the sauna and stayed at the bar itself, with Mate us and Jorge, who also defined themselves as gay, despite the jokes of friends. The idea was to drink a bit, it was still 20h00, and then they would decide where to go:

Cássio: "If we booze up there is still A Loca next door. But I don't like so much there, I never know what kind of music they will play. Sometimes it is the best, but sometimes it sucks. What saves it is the audience, there are some cute guys some hunks, but I think we're going to Bubu⁴⁵."

Me: "And how do you know what will play at Bubu today?"

Cássio: "Some people hands over flyers in here, but it doesn't change that much. Maybe we head to Blue⁴⁶ "

Me: "Any others? No clubs here?"

Cássio: "Well, there is always the Bofetada⁴⁷ next door, but it is little odd ..."

⁴⁰The Bar Verde is located at PeixotoGomide Street, on the opposite corner of Bard'ALoca. Nowadays, it has parties that goes on through the night, like a nightclub, but before it was just a bar.

⁴¹Paim Street crosses FreiCaneca Street in its central portion, and differs from the latter for its higher concentration of slum dwellers and brazilian northeast migrants, discriminated by their origins. Currently, Paim Street undergoes through a very strong process of residential change, with the destruction of several of these tenements for the construction of apartment buildings targeted at people with higher purchasing power, similarly to FreiCaneca Street concerninghousing and housing population profile.

⁴²Nove de Julho Avenue, in its central portion, is characterized by buildings with kitchenettes and residentes of lower middle class.

⁴³One of the best known buildings at Paim Street, with many kitchenettes units and a shopping arcade on the ground floor. The 14 Bis building is known for its alleged massive presence of transvestites residents and drug traffic. Some people defined the building as a occupancy invasion, because of its worn appearance, but this does not correspond to reality.

⁴⁴Pejorative slang for women which refers to the vagina as a "crack", a defectin the woman.

⁴⁵Bubu Lounge is a self-defined gay nightclub located in Pinheiros, in the west area of São Paulo city, and high-priced locality.

⁴⁶Blue Space, self-defined gay nightclub e located at Barra Funda neighborhood, at west area of São Paulo.

⁴⁷Opened in 2011, o Bofetada Club is at the opposite corner of Bar d'ALoca and is characterized by low light, older couples presence on the ground floor (bar area), and the presence of younger men and women (from 18 to 25 years on average) on upstairs dance floor. The nightclub is quite muffled and attracts a large and loyal public, despite

Silas: "It's dreadful there! Only poor, ugly bichas (fags), it seems like you are to República district! And no air conditioning, it's all in cooling fan base! I'm not going there!"

Me: "But nowhere else around here? Augusta?"

Silas: "But Augusta [Street]has viado (queers)⁴⁸ ? I see only skaters, bros, those sort of people. No, viado (queers) clubs aren't at Augusta."

This seems to be a widely shared view among the street regulars, and this corner (FreiCanecastreet with PeixotoGomide street) of the region. Not necessarily about the Bofetada, but about the sites that on will not, or would not go, acknowledging these as ugly, similar to places located Arouche-República's region, with "shitty people".

This definition and antagonism toundesirable types and places became clearer in conversation with other informants, like Adriano. White, tall, clear-eyed, self-defined as gay, Adriano was 23 years old, lived with his parents at Bela Vista neighborhood and had graduated in Journalism at FundaçãoCásperLíbbero, number 900 of Paulista. As a better place for us to talk, he chose another bar, the Frey Café & Coisin has, quite close to FreiCaneca Mall, because it was "tidier": "The Bar d'ALoca is also gay, but is very 'shitty'."

Adriano relates his purchasing power to a greater tolerance, information and "culture." In his view, there was a clear circulation of people with lower income and therefore less information and training at the FreiCaneca Street are and the mall:

Adriano: "People of lower income are more ignorant, have more prejudice, and are very misfortunate, "poor ones". Still, I think there are people with less purchasing power with more open-minded at FreiCaneca Mall. In my opinion, someone with more money, a family-type, is more prone to feel good about being gay, and about their own situation as a gay person. Actually the mall has become a 'gay den', but this is good because people can greet with kisses, exchanging affection without major problems. At first I thought it was a normal mall after I realized two flirting practices. One was in the mall bathroom. I was at the urinal and the guy at my side began to show his hard cock, trying to pick on me. I got out of there quickly and realized that it was a common activity there. [Laughs] I do not come here for sightseeing. Because, well, everything is related to money, to

purchasing power. The lower the social class, the more bichapco, bichapoc-poc⁴⁹, and the less education and culture. It happens because there are effeminate gays and gay men, but these have difficulties on recognizing that they are gay."

Me: "And how would you define FreiCaneca Street, where it is in town?"

Adriano: "The street is at the centre, at old Augusta, downtown Augusta, theoretically poorer. The Augusta has Centre feel: it has beggars, bitches, it gives fright of being mugged as you go down the street. However FreiCaneca Street is gay, so if you go down the street is not so scared because gay is not violent, you feel at home. The street is quiet even when it's crowded. The FreiCaneca Street is warm, you feel at ease. Even trade employees here have a more open-minded view of world because of their constant contact with gay audiences. The street became a way of gay audiences having their spot. Every city has a gay spot, at São Paulo, the most famous, is here, the FreiCaneca Street. In the centre, there was a gay street previous to FreiCaneca, I can't recall its name, but here's the gay street now here, because, at downtown, there's only a minor crowd, very marginalized and FreiCaneca offers a better option."

In Adriano speech, FreiCanecais positively identified at some spots, like FreyCafé &Coisinhas, chosen by him for the conversation and the Barão de Itararébar, located at PeixotoGomide Street and characterized by its higher prices and an older audience. It's Centre, downtown Augusta and has in itself a movement of people with less acquisitive power, more "ignorant", more "misfortunate". But still, there is something positive in this less desirable position.

A similar idea was introduced to me by Fernando, who was even more definitive in his Centre definition, as well as his definition about the location of FreiCaneca and its unwanted people. I met Fernando through acquaintances. He was introduced to me because of his frequent visits to FreiCaneca Street, especially to the Bar d'ALoca and ALocanightclub. At 22 years old, self-identified as gay, Japanese descendent, Fernando resided at Penhadistrict, at Sao Paulo city east zone, and worked at Paulista Avenue. At his suggestion, we went to the Mall Center 3⁵⁰. In his view, this mall is part of the same space that was going to be our topic of conversation, the FreiCaneca surroundings. I asked him what was the FreiCaneca Street:

of several informants lines that characterize it as undesirable place. After Bofetada's inauguration, three other bars started their businesses right next to it. These bars are mostly frequented by gays and lesbians, having a larger number of the latter regarding other bars in the area.

⁴⁸Other respondents claimed to perceived a heavy gay flow in Augusta Street, parallel to FreiCaneca Street. In fact, Augusta Street congregates more intense and diverse crowds, aside from being part of the paths leading to FreiCaneca Street and vice versa.

⁴⁹Both "ploc-ploc" and "poc-poc" are adjectives that accentuate the effeminacy of a bicha (fag), as a reference to the sound of high heels. "PCO" is an abbreviation for "bread with egg", a term that refers to poverty. That kind of food is seen as the only food option to the poor crowd.

⁵⁰Center 3 is a mall located Paulista Avenue, at a block between Augusta and FreiCaneca streets.

"To me, it comes down to the mall. Bar d'ALoca only if I'm going to meet friends, I do not like it there. I prefer the Barão deltararébar. It is quiete, you can go there with your boyfriend, it has a different audience. At the bar d'ALôca, there's too much ploc-ploc, I think all this faggot way is unnecessary"

Fernando says the mall has a gay history and even people from country side know that reputation, even though they haven't been to the site: "There are a lot of gayzinho (little gays) down there, but it is a more open place. I'm always meeting friends at the mall, but I will not go for a walk there. It is shameless there, you go to the bathroom and see a crowd at the urinal."

He said he have gone only twice to ALoca (nightclub):

"A Loca is full of cockatiels⁵¹, people with colored hair. But I what I really enjoy is going to The Week⁵², when there's the Gambiarra party. There is a difference between publics on one place and another. The Week covers people of a higher economic class. You can tell it by the goers' conversation, and also by people's training. Actually, gay clubs at FreiCaneca [Street] I only know A Loca. There's the Bofetada, but it is a bar, the climate there is cool, relaxed, and the audience is very different from ALoca, less over the top. Gay bar, to me, there's only Bar d'ALoca."

And FreiCaneca street differs much from Augusta street?

"A gret deal! FreiCaneca Street is gay, has more club options and prettier things. The street itself is prettier. Augusta Street is more underground, more dark, with old buildings. Its crowd is ... more indie rock, over the top. But there are crowds from both streets that moves between them. But it is impossible not to know that the FreiCaneca is a gay street, it is even in tourist guides. Here is the gay area of Sao Paulo. Here, at Paulista, it's the southern area of Sao Paulo. But FreiCaneca Street is as the center. I live at Penhadiscrit. It has much more elite features here than there, and I could perfectly live here, specially because in my neighborhood, I live alone. I do not do anything there, I go out much more here. Besides this area, there are also gays at Centre-República site. This region has a concentration of dirty gays, if you talk for too long with them you can even catch a disease, AIDS, for example. At Centre-República surroundings, people dress in a more flamboyant, more colorful way and are less educated. There is also very thin people, who resemble to be sick. República district is also packed with transvestites

⁵¹Fernando refers to a white bird with yellow fluff at the top of the head, comparing it to people with decolored or bright colors dyed hair, regulars of A Loca nightclub.

⁵²A large self-defined gay nightclub located at Lapa district, west area of São Paulo, known by its affluent audience. França (2012) has an interesting comparative analysis between different parties and nightclubs in São Paulo, including a detailed analyses about The Week.

and male prostitutes, something you do not see here in Paulista Avenue. "

Márciocan be spotted at the front of the Bar d'ALoca, smoking and drinking a beer at the end of a Saturday afternoon. He is alone, but waits for the arrival of two more friends with similar age to his, 26 years. He lives with his parents and a younger brother at Vila Matilde⁵³ neighborhood and everyone knows that

Márcio: "I come down here. Working all week in a bank, I make my aqué (a slang for money), they did not even bother me. But they have bothered me a lot, including because I'm gay."

Márcio says he comes frequently to FreiCaneca Street from Augusta Street, but he uses the path between Augusta - PeixotoGomide to get to the Bar d'ALoca, for example.

Márcio: "There's nothing at FreiCaneca! If you go down by Augusta it is already half the fun, you meet someone, it's great. In FreiCaneca Street you do not see anyone. "

Me: "But we are at FreiCaneca Street ..."

Márcio: "Ah, but it is the Bard'ALoca, it is the mall, that's it, here is the spot that congregates everything. I mean, there is some punks there on the street, nearby..."

Me: "InPeixotoGomide?"

Márcio: "Yes, right there, a people hanging loose. Now it is ok, it is quiet, but soon enough they will arrive."

At the corner, a man is walking a cat and stops to have a beer. The cat, siamese, is loose, approaches with curiosity some people. Some people approach the black, medium height, dressed casually man. Come near the cat, and it seems to does not care much, its owner has a half smile on his face. The cat almost meets me in his path, but it goes away. It climbs the table, gets into a woman's lap, dandling itself, and, afterwards, it gets back to its owner. I stand up and ask, "Do you live around here?" He replies without paying much attention: "Yes, one block away." I realize that I'm disturbing and I return to the table.

The street dynamics goes on. People go, stop, talk to each other. Some follow other paths, heading for the continuation of PeixotoGomide Street, going towards the Barão de Itararé street. Others sit on sidewalks, where nearly a hundred very young boys and girls must be right now. They drink, they laugh, they walk to the other sidewalk. The movement seems to indicate very different paths, but the concentration shows certain spots of interest and must stop places, such as the Bar d'ALoca. You can get in or not, but when you pass by it, just by being there, you define who you are. Being in another bar, in another part of the corner may imply another configuration, even another mapping of the city.

⁵³East sideneighborhood of São Paulo.

III. The Street that Does not Stand Still: Some Final Thoughts

The legitimating topic concerning the belonging to FreiCaneca Street found at the field visits and talks with interlocutors its answer through the observation of actors empowered to talk about it, define it, act on its behalf, be part of its life, and circulate by it. At the heart of the matter is the Centre: FreiCaneca is a geographical and symbolically center. And at the core of the discourses is also the definition of permitted sexuality, but not permissive. Controlled and very homogeneous, closely connected to what Rubin (op. cit.) conclude concerning "good" or "bad" sexualities. Although I reckon that I am describing novelties at this direction, but I believe I can bring up new epistemic conformations: city and sexuality, two converging points of social life understanding.

As in the previously described talks with goers, the speeches of Bard'ALoca staff during Sao Paulo LGBT Pride Parade set the tone to this convergence spot of the place studied. A great part of the bars of this site boast flags, balloons, inflatables, except the Bar d'ALoca. "No need," said a waiter, "people come here anyway." In front of the bar O Freia stage presentation of drag queens and gogo boys followed electronic music was set in this day two consecutive years. The street corner gets filled up. Following the initiative, Bofetada bar also put in speakers; but the public chooses to pullulate at Bard'ALoca.

Part of this FreiCaneca Street's dynamics has changed its intensity during the time of the LGBT Parade, since this space is in the middle of the protest route⁵⁴. The town gets quite hectic, but, certainly, not the whole city. Yet most of the participants of the event who are not from Sao Paulo city and also visiting the city.

The event program is prior to the march. The prior wednesday before Corpus Christi holiday⁵⁵ - temporal point of reference to the realization of the Parade - there is a large movement of people, parties and side events that intends to attract the flow public at Sao Paulo. Part of these events, for many visitors, is being on the street, like strolling at FreiCaneca Street. There are several guides for foreigners that indicate a walk in this street as a way to meet gay life that vibrates at Sao Paulo. This guide can include the mall,

sometimes defined as a mall that targets the gay audience, and even bars and nightclubs in the vicinity⁵⁶.

It would be frivolous to assert that the city's program turns exclusively to the environs of Paulista Avenue and FreiCaneca Street because of the parade. There is a spreading of consumption possibilities and private fun at the Sao Paulo west area, as well as an intense and historical occupation of Vieira de Carvalho Avenue, at Arouche-República surroundings. However, the presence of a large number of people circulating through FreiCaneca and Augusta streets, though resembling the movement at Vieira de Carvalho times, sharply differs from the flow of the latter avenue if we consider the space occupied by the crowds.

This discovery became clear in 2011, when some of the Parade public who weren't following anymore the convoy of electric trios toward Franklin Roosevelt Square changed their path at FreiCaneca Street. Groups of six, seven, fifteen people would go down through FreiCaneca Street to reach the March at Consolação Street. Some called it a day at FreiCaneca Street, going to Frey bar. "Now the fad is to hang about at FreiCaneca, nobody goes to República district, there has only ugly people", said a young man with a friend. Fact is that much more people continues their path down to República and its surroundings instead of remaining at FreiCaneca Street, crowding bars, saunas, nightclubs, porn cinemas, and mainly the streets of this district. But being at FreiCaneca Street is to be among the beautiful, attractive people, the interesting ones.

Sexuality is producing the city. What stands out at FreiCaneca Street is the emphasis on sociability places known and recognized as gay, or by its homosexual massive presence. It is the possibility of a social and geographical comprehension of São Paulo from a semantic matrix based on differences. Such differences are expressed, primarily, through an understanding about attitudes, behaviors and sexual identities rates that flow around a general idea of male homosexuality, a notion of being gay. This research express very clearly that being gay can be better comprehended as a state, the state of being gay. This states can be grasped when one refers to oneself, or when one refers to the individual that speaks of himself through contrast with others that are allocated in a different space, elsewhere. Roving narratives emerge allocating territoriality. Identity place may change, though they may seem fixed in the same spot. I don't intend to suggest that this is a universal movement, neither in the scope here presented, nor in the relationship dynamics and sociability gay sites, but there seems to be a more general process of defining oneself

⁵⁴ Gay Parade path starts at Avenida Paulista avenue and goes through Consolation street in direction to República neighborhood. FreiCaneca Street is right in the middle of this path.

⁵⁵ Catholic Holiday with different dates every year, most frequently occurring in May or June. This date was chosen a while ago by APOLGBT as a strategy to gather a greater amount of public.

⁵⁶ Catholic Holiday with different dates every year, most frequently occurring in May or June. This date was chosen a while ago by APOLGBT as a strategy to gather a greater amount of public.

in opposition to one another that is not semantically close.

Take the example of relationships built on a spatiality as a corner, the intersection of two quite narrow streets that earn the definitions presented here by its use, occupancy and seizure, definitions whose vector are meetings mediated by leisure, consumption and affective-sexual interests. In a few meters site, one can find a gay spot but also a bicha spot, a viado spot, a "poco" spot, a "ploc-ploc" spot. Who speaks at Bar d'ALoca and looks to the opposite corner, just ahead, defines himself as gay, but do not see gays or observes them. The dynamics of this bar shuffles what could suggest a contrast setting: consumers and strollers of these streets (FreiCaneca and PeixotoGomide) circulate among the people of Bar d'ALoca and also moves to the other corner, follow the PeixotoGomide path to Augusta street and go to FreyCafé & Coisinhas.

But not all do: Adriano, in FreyCafé & Coisinhas, is categorical in saying that he doesn't go to Bar d'ALoca, Fernando describes displeasure when sitting at the spot and the nightclub that gives its name. Both Adriano and Fernando, show that they are gay, and not something else, because there are not in those spaces for which they assign another illegitimate sexuality understanding. The space they occupy and demonstrate interest, as well as their own social identity definitions related to their sexuality undergo a process of self legitimacy and their choices while delegitimizing others that do not seem to have made similar choices. These speeches are marked by a sense of space and sexuality fixity that can't find support on observance of local dynamics.

In addition, the emerging city of this data is as diverse as the possible paths to the sites described, that is to say, they obey certain standards, but do not enclose a single definition. For instance, take the idea of city Centre: being at the Centre can be stating where you are, while the place where one do not want to be. Once more Adriano and Fernando unfold the street and its surroundings on an idea of city Centre as, among other things, undesirably mainly because of its crowd. FreiCaneca and Bar d'ALoca boast people who are not like them and they are Centre people. In their turn, the latter hold a fixed homosexuality based on femininity and poverty, on a tacky taste and lack of information, as well as instruction. Features that can be summarized by expressions such as bicha, viado, "poc-poc". There is no doubt that these other people, these other homosexualities, are not on the center of interest and therefore are not in the same position of the speaker, even if they are at the Centre.

Other lines assign these people, the Centre ones, as well as the City Centre, as distant from the informants and congregate another definition to what they mean by this centrality: it is Arouche - República

conclude, these people are from there. They come to closer spots as Bofetada bar, for example, but are far from equal. Gupta & Ferguson (2000) point out the aspect of social construct on the understanding of spaces, which can be grasped through the relations they enclose and not as something in itself. Furthermore, once such space production infers hierarchy and differentiation, "understanding the sense provision as a practice, how spatial meaning can be set? Who has the power to make places on recognized spaces? Who denies it? What is at stake?" (pp. 37).

I must stress the idea of Sao Paulo Centre has changed a lot, but it is generally defined by dirt, danger and violence. On one hand, images broadcasted by the major media summarize Sao Paulo Centre to Cracolândia⁵⁷, to drug traffic, to homeless and beggars folks, to pickpockets and punks, to popular businesses at 25 de Março and Direita streets, to buildings' occupancy by social movements, to prostitution of men and transvestites. On the other, there is also discussion about slight processes or a generalized process known as city "rehabilitation" or city "revitalization". These processes⁵⁸ have as main vehicles of acknowledgement the cultural increase via institutions. Reform and new uses for historic buildings, renovation of squares aiming the expulsion of undesirable people as homeless ones, purchase of properties seen as degraded for very low prices - such as cinemas-palace used as porn cinemas - for the creation of new cultural centers, of events that bring "other crowds" to the Centre, people with alleged greater acquisition power and instruction, as street parties and the Virada Cultural⁵⁹ event. The latter, for example, carries in itself a occupancy mark of the city, though this use happens essentially on the streets that make up this historical and abandoned Centre.

What emerges from these statements is not a geographical Centre, defined by a territorial limit. One must understand the official marks that locate the Center. The Sé Cathedral, to which all the street numbering of the city refers to. Zero point and reference Center, this historical spot vanishes at the conducted field as reference. But even Sé can't be view as a center. The Center district is defined at south by its frontier with Bela Vista neighborhood, at west until Santa Cecilia surroundings, at the north to its boundaries with Bom Retiro and Tietê river, finally, at east, it is marked by

⁵⁷ Cracolândia (crackland) is located in the surroundings of Luz subway station, central-north side of the city. It is internationally known by the ostensive presence of crack consumers at the street. See Frúgoli Jr. & Spaggiari (2011).

⁵⁸ These process are related to different international contexts of gentrification, as described by Zukin (2010).

⁵⁹ Virada Cultural is 24h large event created in 2005 by Sao Paulo city hall. It features hundreds of concerts, theater performances, film showings and interventions mainly in the Center streets. The event uses as a key discourse the occupancy of the Sao Paulo Centre, as if it was void with no residents.

its border with Glicério and Parque Dom Pedro II neighborhood. In these limits, the eastern segment of the Centre is the smallest, while the west one, that comprise Arouche and República, is greater⁶⁰.

Thus, FreiCaneca gathers and set apart from the Centre. It congregates and distance different forms of sexuality expression. But these distances are not created without hierarchical mediations, marked by symbolic meanings of what it means to be gay and be in the town Centre. It is also marked by one being at interpretations core about the city and life and by one being able to assign the other to a "periphery", out of one own interests. There's the street: within the limits of Paulista Avenue and Caio Prado Street, parallel to Augusta, in Consolação neighborhood. But then, suddenly enough, the street is also not there: it moves to República surroundings, for the Centre. FreiCaneca Street centralizes and creates periphery is at the same time, within a few meters. More than a way of understanding sociability built at a space, or among different spaces and places, the analysis of two bars, apparently diametrically opposed regarding the social-sexual definitions of their goers, shows the city difference dynamic from another point of view, that is, from the perspective that sees sexuality definitions as producers of cities. Sexuality is, after all, good to think about space.

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- Footnote: ⁶⁰I was born and raised in Barra Funda district, which nowadays is commonly linked to a proximity to the city Centre, but it was not always like that. During my childhood, my parents said they would have to "go to town" to buy gifts on festive events when they wanted to refer to the big department store Mappin, located at Ramos de Azevedo square, now closed. For them, we did not live at the Centre or in its surroundings. For them, we needed to go to the "city", a purchase site with lower prices, but also of dangerous and dirty. At that time, there were already subway lines that connected my house to the Centre and even so it was seen as a great distance. Today this understanding has changed and Barra Funda does not appear in discourse as displaced from Centre of the town.
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- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.

Author Guidelines:

1. General,
2. Ethical Guidelines,
3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
6. After Acceptance.

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- (e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.
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- One should avoid outdated words.

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

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

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- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

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- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
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- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
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- Describe the method entirely
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- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

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

What to keep away from

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

Results:

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

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



Content

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

What to stay away from

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

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

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

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.



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