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The Sérgio Buarque De Holanda's Weberian Thought as an Explanation for Corruption in Brazilian Society

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Abstract- The present article aims to expose more precisely the influences of Max Weber's thinking on Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's main work: Raízes do Brasil. Considering that the work of Holanda represents a fundamental contribution to the sociological studies on corruption in Brazil, it is necessary, in order to reduce recurring misunderstandings, a detailed presentation of the Weberian theoretical basis and its incorporation along Raízes do Brasil. Holanda's perspective on the constitutive elements of Brazilian culture and institutions is in constant dialogue with Weberian notions of "traditional domination," "affective social action," "patrimonialism," and "traditional social action". Such conceptions are circumscribed in the great theory of social rationalization produced by the german sociologist and, in the work of the Brazilian historian, result in the diagnosis of a society deeply oriented by personalism, traditionalism, patrimonialism and cordiality. Finally, we tried to demonstrate how these characteristics of Brazilian society still benefit the practice of corruption insofar as they do not produce the formally rationalized culture, guided by the valorisation of the legal norms compliance, and do not create rigid and impersonal institutions to limit the relations between the public sphere and the private sphere.

Keywords: corruption; roots of brazil; sérgio buarque de holanda; weberian sociology; brazilian social studies.

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The Sérgio Buarque De Holanda's Weberian Thought as an Explanation for Corruption in Brazilian Society

O Pensamento Weberiano De Sérgio Buarque De Holanda Como Explicação Para A Corrupção Na Sociedade Brasileira

Eduardo Lopes Cabral Maia [α], Eduardo Rosa Guedes [σ] & Jordana de Moraes Neves [ρ]

Resumo- O presente artigo visa expor, de modo mais preciso, as influências do pensamento do sociólogo Max Weber na principal obra de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda: *Raízes do Brasil*. Considerando que a obra de Holanda representa uma contribuição fundamental aos estudos sociológicos sobre corrupção no Brasil, faz-se necessário, para reduzir mal-entendidos recorrentes, um detalhamento da base teórica weberiana e sua incorporação ao longo de *Raízes do Brasil*. A perspectiva de Holanda a respeito dos elementos constitutivos da cultura e das instituições brasileiras dialoga constantemente com as noções weberianas de "dominação tradicional", "ação social afetiva", "patrimonialismo" e "ação social tradicional". Tais concepções circunscrevem-se na grande teoria da racionalização social produzida pelo sociólogo alemão e, na obra do historiador brasileiro, resultam no diagnóstico de uma sociedade profundamente orientada pelo personalismo, pelo tradicionalismo, pelo patrimonialismo e pela cordialidade. Por fim, buscou-se demonstrar como tais características da sociedade brasileira favorecem, ainda hoje, a prática da corrupção na medida em que não produzem uma cultura formalmente racionalizada, orientada pela valorização do cumprimento de normas legais, e não criam instituições rígidas e impessoais a ponto constranger relações promíscuas entre esfera pública e esfera privada.

Palavras-chave: corrupção; raízes do brasil; sérgio buarque de holanda; sociologia weberiana; pensamento social brasileiro.

Abstract- The present article aims to expose more precisely the influences of Max Weber's thinking on Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's main work: Raízes do Brasil. Considering that the work of Holanda represents a fundamental contribution to the sociological studies on corruption in Brazil, it is necessary, in order to reduce recurring misunderstandings, a detailed presentation of the Weberian theoretical basis and its incorporation along Raízes do Brasil. Holanda's perspective on the constitutive elements of Brazilian culture and institutions is in constant dialogue with Weberian notions of "traditional domination," "affective social action," "patrimonialism," and "traditional social action". Such conceptions are circumscribed in the great theory of social rationalization produced by the german sociologist and, in the work of the Brazilian historian, result in the diagnosis of a society deeply oriented by personalism, traditionalism, patrimonialism and cordiality. Finally, we tried to demonstrate how these characteristics of Brazilian society still benefit the practice of corruption insofar as they do not produce the formally rationalized culture, guided by the valorisation of the legal norms compliance, and do not create rigid and impersonal institutions to limit the relations between the public sphere and the private sphere.

Keywords: corruption; roots of brazil; sérgio buarque de holanda; weberian sociology; brazilian social studies.

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I. Introdução

A partir da primeira metade do século XX, um conjunto admirável de pensadores se dedicou a analisar os elementos constitutivos da sociedade brasileira, produzindo algumas das mais célebres obras sobre nosso país. Com diferentes ênfases, abordagens e perspectivas, tais pensadores expuseram aspectos, até então, obscuros de nossa formação econômica, nossa organização institucional, nossas práticas políticas e nossa cultura.

Estudiosos como Victor Nunes Leal, Caio Prado Júnior, Gilberto Freyre, Oliveira Vianna, entre outros, assumiram o desafio de pesquisar a complexidade de nossa sociedade em suas diferentes dimensões. Dentre esses estudiosos, destaca-se, aqui, o pensamento de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda como um dos mais ricos no intuito de compreender, a partir de elementos sócio-históricos, a cultura e as instituições brasileiras.

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Não à toa, as obras de Holanda (especialmente *Raízes do Brasil* e *Visão do Paraíso*) fundamentam grande parte das pesquisas contemporâneas sobre a realidade brasileira. Particularmente, os estudos sobre corrupção no Brasil tratam sua obra como fonte incontornável para o debate, seja para reafirmar sua validade, seja para tentar refutá-la. Um elemento fundamental para a compreensão de seu pensamento, embora muitas vezes mal interpretado, é o referencial weberiano utilizado pelo autor. As concepções metodológicas e teóricas de Max Weber perpassam toda a obra de Holanda, desde a construção de tipos ideais até a teoria da racionalização, e representam o “pano de fundo” teórico a partir do qual o autor analisou a sociedade brasileira.

O objetivo deste artigo é esclarecer os aspectos centrais do pensamento weberiano que influenciaram a obra clássica de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil*, e demonstrar a validade, ainda hoje, da teoria de Holanda para a compreensão do fenômeno da corrupção no Brasil. Para a concretização de tal objetivo, realizou-se: a) uma breve reflexão sobre a noção de “corrupção” visando explicitar os limites do conceito e seu entendimento neste estudo; b) um levantamento dos casos de corrupção de maior destaque no Brasil pós 1988 de modo a ilustrar a amplitude de tal prática na sociedade brasileira; c) uma sistematização da teoria weberiana e d) uma exposição do modo como a obra de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, influenciada pelo pensamento de Max Weber, contribui para a compreensão, ainda hoje, do fenômeno da corrupção no Brasil.

a) Corrupção como noção sociológica

Embora comporte certa polissemia, o conceito de corrupção, em suas diversas formulações, apresenta elementos fundamentais a partir dos quais é possível produzir uma definição que não seja específica a ponto de perder qualquer traço de generalidade, ou geral a ponto de abarcar uma ampla gama de comportamentos, reduzindo, assim, qualquer pretensão de sistematização da realidade.

Praça (2011) indica uma primeira definição do conceito de corrupção, uma vez que “*de acordo com a definição mais utilizada, um ato corrupto implica o abuso de poder político para fins privados. É a definição adotada por organizações como o Banco Mundial e a Transparência Internacional, bem como a imensa maioria dos analistas”. (p. 139).* Embora aponte os principais elementos definidores da corrupção (abuso de poder visando fins privados), a conceituação supracitada carece de precisão se analisada a partir do referencial sociológico, de acordo com o qual se entende “poder” como possibilidade de impor a própria vontade ao comportamento dos outros em diferentes tipos de relação. Ainda, a noção de “política” refere-se às ações visando o acesso e o controle do poder, em especial, mas não exclusivamente, do poder estatal (Weber, 1999a). Dessa forma, entende-se que nem todo poder político refere-se à esfera estatal, tampouco que seu uso abusivo visando fins privados represente invariável ato de corrupção, tendo em vista que a busca por fins privados, materiais ou ideais, movem a ação política de uma maneira geral.

Ribeiro (2010), por sua vez, apresenta algumas abordagens que, de modo mais detalhado, referem-se à ação de busca de benefícios pessoais a partir da função exercida pelos agentes:

> [...] como observa Jens Andvig, um ato é corrupto se um membro de uma organização ou instituição utiliza-se de sua posição, seus direitos de tomar decisões e seu acesso a informações, ou a algum outro recurso restrito, para obter vantagem para si ou para uma terceira pessoa, recebendo em troca uma vantagem econômica ou pessoal [...]. A corrupção, portanto, “envolve processos de troca baseados em lógicas específicas”, calcadas em incentivos negativos (ameaças, penalidades) ou positivos (materiais, como suborno, ou imateriais, baseados em laços pessoais). Os benefícios auferidos podem se referir ao favorecimento de terceiros, à negociação de “favores”, ou à concessão de benefícios a si próprio. Podendo dar-se sob a forma de “mercado”, em que o maior suborno conseguirá o favor, ou pela forma “paroquial” predominante no Brasil – que envolve laços de parentesco, amizade, patronagem, clientela, afeição, dentre outros. (p. 8413).

Problematizando a mesma questão, Glaeser e Goldin (2006), apresentam a seguinte definição de corrupção:

> Durante o século XIX, a definição de corrupção tornou-se especificamente relacionada ao suborno de funcionários públicos por agentes privados. O suborno era geralmente um pagamento ilícito em troca de algum recurso controlado pelo governo, como um serviço, uma propriedade pública ou uma isenção de regulamento do governo. [...]. Nós vemos a corrupção tendo três elementos centrais:(a) pagamentos a funcionários públicos além de seus salários; (b) uma ação associada a esses pagamentos que também viole leis explícitas ou normas sociais implícitas; e (c) perdas para a sociedade também a partir dessa ação ou de um sistema que torna necessário que as ações surjam apenas desse pagamento.(p.07).[1]

[1] Tradução nossa. No original: “During the nineteenth century, the definition of corruption morphed into one specifically related to the bribery of public officials by private agents. Bribery was generally an illicit payment in exchange for some government controlled resource, such as a service, a public property, or an exemption from government regulation. [...]. We view corruption to have three central elements: (a) payments to public officials beyond their salaries; (b) an action associated with these payments that violates either explicit laws

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A partir das definições apresentadas por Ribeiro, Glaeser e Goldin é possível identificar, de modo mais explícito, a relação entre público e privado, bem como o acesso à esfera estatal, como componente definidor da noção de corrupção.

Para fins do que se pretende com este artigo, sem desconsiderar a polissemia do conceito, é suficiente a definição que apresenta a corrupção como uma prática que utiliza o poder político junto à esfera estatal para a obtenção de benefícios privados em desacordo com o ordenamento legal vigente. Nesse sentido, a prática da corrupção envolve, como corruptos e corruptores, os agentes que atuam junto à esfera pública na busca pela obtenção de benefícios e privilégios à margem das leis, das normas e dos regimentos.

Fazendo uma breve síntese das tendências de análise do fenômeno da corrupção nas Ciências Sociais, Filgueiras (2009) identifica o seguinte percurso:

> A parir dos anos 1970, a literatura sobre o tema da corrupção deu uma guinada metodológica, direcionando-se para o tema da cultura e o tema do desenvolvimento passou a ser considerado na dimensão da cultura política, partindo da premissa de que a cultura é proeminente em relação ao político e ao econômico, ao definir valores dentro da estrutura social [...]. Ao lado do sistema institucional e legal, o sistema de valores é fundamental para motivar ou coibir as práticas de corrupção no interior de uma sociedade [...]. Dos anos 1980 para cá, ocorreu uma virada metodológica das pesquisas sobre corrupção, ao incorporar uma abordagem econômica para um problema político, centrada, principalmente, na análise dos custos da corrupção para a economia de mercado em ascensão (...). A corrupção é explicada por uma teoria da ação informada pelo cálculo que agentes racionais fazem dos custos e dos benefícios de burlar uma regra institucional do sistema político, tendo em vista uma natural busca por vantagens. (p. 395-396).

Alguns aspectos que embasam os estudos sobre corrupção, apresentados na síntese de Filgueiras, são particularmente relevantes para a análise do tema a partir da perspectiva sociológica e encontram respaldo na teoria de Buarque de Holanda. A importância da cultura como elemento de estabelecimento de valores sociais e o papel das instituições sociais como esfera definidora da relação custo/benefício para a ação corrupta fundamentam, em grande parte, dois aspectos centrais para a conduta individual na sociedade: o valor internalizado pelo indivíduo, como condicionante interno; e a coerção institucional, como condicionante externo. Ou seja, a partir da perspectiva cultural, a análise do fenômeno da corrupção recai, em boa medida, sobre os valores sociais que condicionam o indivíduo, estimulando ou refreando moralmente sua ação. Já a relação custo/benefício envolve, entre outros fatores, o cálculo do agente a partir da coerção e dos meios institucionais de controle e punição como obstáculo ou facilitação da ação. Nesse sentido, torna-se central para o estudo do fenômeno da corrupção a problematização dos elementos envolvidos na orientação social da conduta individual dos agentes. Tais elementos desfrutam de lugar de destaque em diversas abordagens das Ciências Sociais e, mais especificamente, na sociologia da ação de Max Weber.

or implicit social norms; and (c) losses to the public either from that action or from a system that renders it necessary for actions to arise only from such payment".

b) Histórico de corrupção no Brasil Pós-1988

Após o processo de redemocratização, o Brasil teve diversos casos de corrupção revelados. Os esquemas expuseram a atuação de políticos, funcionários e empresários que buscaram favorecimentos junto ao poder político e à esfera estatal para a obtenção de benefícios privados; a prática de corrupção, revelada pelos casos tornados públicos, trouxe à tona relações entre o público e o privado no Brasil que, em sua maioria, estão voltadas à busca de satisfação de interesses privados e privilégios à margem da lei.

Nesta seção, serão apresentados alguns dos casos de corrupção que foram revelados neste período pós-redemocratização no Brasil. Os são dados são referentes a casos cujas instituições brasileiras, Ministério Público, Polícia Federal, Sistema Judiciário e Congresso Nacional, proferiram investigações e trouxeram provas comprobatórias a público. Os casos apresentados são: "Anões do Orçamento", "Mensalão", "Operação Sanguessuga", "Operação Navalha", "Operação Castelo de Areia" e "Operação Lava Jato".

i. *Anões do Orçamento*

Em outubro de 1993 foi instaurada, no Congresso Nacional brasileiro, uma CPMI[2] (Comissão Parlamentar Mista de Inquérito) conhecida como "CPMI do Orçamento", que buscava apurar fatos contidos nas denúncias do Sr. José Carlos Alves dos Santos, referentes às atividades de parlamentares, membros do governo e representantes de empresas envolvidas na destinação de recursos do Orçamento da União. José Carlos Alves, era assessor da Comissão Mista de Orçamento do Congresso e, em entrevista à revista Veja, em outubro de 1993, denunciou um esquema de

[2] Uma Comissão de Inquérito possui, segundo a Constituição Federal de 1988, poderes de investigação próprios de autoridades judiciais, com isso, o Parlamento possui meios para realizar uma investigação, com arguição de testemunhas, analise de provas, etc. e suas conclusões devem ser enviadas ao Ministério Público que, quando for o caso, requererá a responsabilização civil ou criminal.

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corrupção que envolvia a apresentação de emendas ao Orçamento na Comissão de Orçamento. O esquema recebeu o nome de 'Anões do Orçamento'.

O grupo, que ficou conhecido como "Máfia dos Anões", segundo denúncias apuradas na CPMI, fazia a cobrança de propinas para assegurar que emendas milionárias fossem aprovadas e, com isso, favoreciam empreiteiras para a realização de obras. Segundo o relatório da CMPI[3], que teve como relator o deputado federal Roberto Magalhães e foi publicado em janeiro de 1994, "o sistema de apropriação funcionava de comum acordo com uma empreiteira, o parlamentar aprovava uma emenda e exercia sua influência para que determinada empreiteira realizasse a obra, pagando uma comissão ao parlamentar".

Foram acusados de envolvimento no esquema dezoito parlamentares, desse total: seis foram cassados, oito absolvidos e quatro renunciaram para evitar a perda dos direitos políticos. Não ocorreu nenhuma condenação judicial ou prisão.

ii. *Mensalão*

Um dos casos de corrupção que mais ganhou notoriedade nesse período pós-redemocratização foi o chamado "Mensalão". Neste esquema, agentes políticos beneficiaram-se dos seus cargos públicos e do acesso ao poder estatal para angariar benefícios ilícitos. Especificamente, o esquema do "Mensalão" consistiu na compra de parlamentares, por meio de recursos públicos obtidos em contratos de publicidade de empresas estatais, para a constituição de base de apoio aos projetos do Executivo.

As investigações começaram por meio de duas CPMI's instauradas no Congresso Nacional, a CPMI 'da Compra de Votos' e a CPMI 'dos correios'. Elas reuniram provas e material probatório que resultaram na Ação Penal 470. Nesta ação, o Supremo Tribunal Federal julgou e condenou os envolvidos no esquema de corrupção.

A CPMI "da Compra de Votos"[4] foi instaurada no ano de 2005 para investigar acontecimentos ocorridos a partir do final do ano de 2002. Segundo o relatório divulgado, ela foi "destinada a apurar denúncias de recebimento de quaisquer vantagens patrimoniais e/ou pecuniárias indevidas por membros do Congresso Nacional, com a finalidade de aprovar matérias de interesse do Poder Executivo"[5].

As investigações da CPMI derivaram de denúncias realizadas pelo, à época, deputado federal Roberto Jefferson. Pagamentos eram feitos, em períodos variados, a deputados da base de sustentação do governo com o intuito de assegurar o apoio às matérias de interesse do Poder Executivo. O dinheiro era arrecadado por meio de contratos de publicidade, firmados com empresas do publicitário ligado ao partido do então Chefe do Executivo, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva; eram contratações públicas feitas com favorecimentos, contratos superfaturados ou mesmo pagamentos feitos sem contraprestação, de forma a gerar excedentes de recursos que depois seriam aproveitados para alimentar um esquema de compra de votos de parlamentares.

As provas analisadas acabaram por demonstrar uma coincidência temporal entre um maior volume de transferências financeiras e votações no plenário da Câmara dos Deputados de especial interesse do governo.

A "CPMI dos Correios"[6], por sua vez, foi instaurada para investigar um episódio de espionagem que envolvia uma gravação de um ato de corrupção praticado pelo então Chefe de Departamento de Contratação dos Correios. No entanto, a CPMI acabou expandindo seu objeto de análise ao constatar diversas outras áreas, no Estado brasileiro, com as quais se conectavam as irregularidades inicialmente investigadas. Com isso, além dos Correios, fonte inicial de investigação, atos de corrupção foram encontrados em outras instituições: Banco do Brasil, Secretaria de Comunicação da Presidência da República, diretórios nacionais e estaduais partidários e o próprio Congresso Nacional.

Os atos investigados pelas duas CPMI's, como já mencionado, culminaram na Ação Penal 470, aberta pelo Supremo Tribunal Federal, em novembro de 2007. Cinco anos após a abertura, em 2012, o STF encerrou o julgamento condenando vinte e cinco pessoas pelo esquema de corrupção. Segundo o Acórdão da AP 470[7], tratou-se de uma "associação estável – que atuou do final de 2002 e início de 2003 a junho de 2005". Comprovou-se, assim, um amplo esquema de distribuição de dinheiro a parlamentares que, em troca, ofereciam o seu apoio e o de seus correligionários aos projetos de interesse do Governo Federal.

iii. *Operação Sanguessuga*

Um novo esquema de corrupção foi descoberto em 2006 pela Polícia Federal. A PF deflagrou uma operação que recebeu o nome de 'Operação

3 Relatório disponível em: http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/84896 Acesso em: 07/03/2019.

4 Os dados foram consultados no relatório final, publicado em novembro de 2005 e relatado pelo deputado federal Ibrahim Abi-Ackel. Disponível em: https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/74578 Acesso: 07/03/2020.

5 Os dados foram consultados no relatório final, publicado em novembro de 2005 e relatado pelo deputado federal Ibrahim Abi-Ackel. Disponível em: https://www25.senado.leg.br/web/atividade/materias/-/materia/74578 Acesso: 07/03/2020.

6 Os dados foram consultados no relatório final da CPMI, publicado em 2006 e relatado pelo deputado federal Osmar Serraglio. Disponível em: http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/84897 Acesso: 07/03/2020.

7 Disponível em: http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/cms/verNoticiaDetalhe.asp?idConteudo=236494 Acesso: 07/03/2020.

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Sanguessuga', com o objetivo de desarticular um "esquema" de fraudes em licitações da área da saúde; ainda segundo a Polícia Federal, a quadrilha fazia negociações com assessores de parlamentares para que emendas individuais ao Orçamento da União fossem direcionadas para localidades específicas, o esquema teria movimento cerca de R$ 110 milhões.

A "Operação Sanguessuga" da Polícia Federal acabou se desdobrando na posterior abertura de uma CPMI no Congresso Nacional, a chamada "CMPI das ambulâncias"[8], instalada em junho de 2006, que teve como objetivo a investigação e a apuração das denúncias que envolveram a "Operação Sanguessuga". As revelações e denúncias sobre o "esquema das ambulâncias" resultaram na prisão de mais de seis deputados, após suas condenações em segunda instância. Ainda em 2019, houve desdobramentos sobre as condenações e julgamentos referentes à "Operação Sanguessuga".

iv. *Operação Navalha*

Outra operação, denominada "Operação Navalha", foi deflagrada pela Polícia Federal em maio de 2007. Na ocasião, a PF prendeu quarenta e sete pessoas. As investigações sugeriam que obras estavam sendo superfaturadas em troca de pagamentos de propinas a agentes públicos. O caso resultou em uma denúncia do Ministério Público Federal. Foram denunciadas sessenta e uma pessoas ao Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, acusadas de formação de quadrilha para fraudar obras em seis estados.

Em outubro de 2017, dez anos depois, dez pessoas foram condenadas em primeira instância, contudo, no ano de 2018, todos os réus foram absolvidos pelo Tribunal Regional Federal da 5º Região, com isso, nenhum agente foi punido pelos fatos revelados.

v. *Operação Castelo de Areia*

Outro esquema de corrupção foi denunciado pela deflagração da "Operação Castelo de Areia", no ano de 2009. Segundo as investigações, os executivos de uma das maiores empreiteiras do país, Camargo Corrêa, presos pela Operação, pagavam propinas para conseguir contratos de obras públicas; os pagamentos eram feitos aos partidos políticos com a ajuda de uma rede de doleiros. Os executivos foram presos acusados de cometer crimes de superfaturamento e lavagem de dinheiro. A Polícia Federal apreendeu, ainda, durante a Operação, planilhas que indicavam pagamentos ilícitos a políticos de sete partidos políticos. No entanto, a ação penal que decorreu dessa operação foi anulada em 2011 pelo Supremo Tribunal de Justiça com a alegação de que gravações telefônicas ilegais foram praticadas durante as investigações.

vi. *Operação Lava-Jato*

A mais recente operação anticorrupção com grande destaque no cenário brasileiro é a "Operação Lava-Jato". Segundo o Ministério Público Federal[9], "a Operação Lava-Jato é a maior iniciativa de combate à corrupção e lavagem de dinheiro da história do Brasil". Iniciada em março de 2014, a operação expandiu-se por diversos estados brasileiros: Rio de Janeiro, Distrito Federal, São Paulo e Curitiba. As investigações tiveram início com a suspeita do uso de postos de combustíveis e lava-jatos de automóveis para movimentar recursos ilícitos pertencentes a uma organização criminosa. No entanto, com o desenrolar das apurações, o MPF recolheu provas de um imenso esquema criminoso envolvendo a Petrobrás (empresa estatal de petróleo brasileira). O esquema era composto pela organização de empreiteiras em cartel e o pagamento de propinas para altos executivos da empresa estatal e outros agentes públicos.

Segundo dados do Ministério Público[10], atualizados em fevereiro de 2020, a "Lava-Jato" de Curitiba já condenou cento e cinquenta e nove pessoas; no Rio de Janeiro, foram quarenta e uma condenações; e, em São Paulo, quatro condenados. No Supremo Tribunal Federal, instância destinada às denúncias de políticos com foro especial, foram prestadas cento e vinte e seis denúncias até o momento, nenhuma condenação foi feita. Além do expressivo número de denúncias e condenações, a operação já tem a marca de R$ 4 bilhões de reais devolvidos aos cofres públicos e uma previsão de recuperação de R$ 14, 3 bilhões.

No âmbito da "Operação Lava-Jato", foram condenados diversos políticos, empresários, um ex-presidente da Câmara dos Deputados e um ex-presidente da República.

Eduardo Cunha, ex-presidente da Câmara dos Deputados, foi condenado na Ação Penal Nº 5051606-23.2016.4.04.7000/PR[11] pelos crimes de corrupção, lavagem de dinheiro e evasão de divisas. A denúncia foi proferida pelo MPF enquanto o Deputado ainda exercia o mandato e a presidência da Câmara. Ainda na sentença, o MPF esclarece o esquema que envolveu a Petrobrás e agentes políticos: "surgiram, porém, elementos probatórios de que o caso transcende a

[8] Os dados citados sobre a CPMI estão disponíveis no relatório, em: http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/88805 Acesso em: 07/03/2020.

[9] Dados consultados em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato Acesso: 07/03/2020.

[10] Dados consultados em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato Acesso: 07/03/2020.

[11] Disponível em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato/entenda-o-caso/curitiba/acoes/processo-penal-50/sentenca/ arquivo Acesso: 07/03/2020.

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corrupção"[12], pois, segundo o MPF, o esquema criminoso serviu também para "corromper agentes políticos e financiar, com recursos provenientes do crime, partidos políticos". Quanto ao papel dos agentes políticos, como o ex-presidente da Câmara, no esquema: "aos agentes políticos cabia dar sustentação à nomeação e à permanência nos cargos da Petrobrás dos referidos Diretores. Para tanto, recebiam remuneração periódica"[13].

Além de um ex-presidente da Câmara, a Operação Lava-Jato resultou na condenação de um ex-presidente da República. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva foi condenado em duas Ações Penais. Lula foi condenado, em um dos processos, pelos crimes de corrupção passiva e lavagem de dinheiro; segundo a sentença, proferida em primeira instância pelo juiz Sergio Moro, mais de R$ 3 milhões de reais teriam sido destinados ao Ex-Presidente. O MPF alegou, ainda, na Ação Penal, que o "ex-presidente dirigiu a formação de um esquema criminoso de desvios de recursos públicos, destinados a comprar apoio parlamentar, enriquecer indevidamente os envolvidos e financiar campanhas eleitorais do PT [partido político de Lula]"[14].

Outro ex-presidente, Michel Temer, acabou sendo preso por desdobramentos das investigações da 'Operação Lava-jato'. Temer, responde denúncia do MPF por corrupção passiva, peculato e organização criminosa.

Este levantamento pretendeu expor alguns dos casos mais relevantes da recente história política do Brasil visando demonstrar o modo sistêmico como se constróem as relações entre público e privado no Brasil. Todos os casos ilustram como a atuação é objetivamente construída, como os sistemas utilizados pelos grupos são complexos e, por fim, como envolvem agentes de diferentes campos: políticos, empresários, funcionários públicos, etc. Dessa forma, não se pode dizer que esse tipo de conduta pertence somente a um grupo social, mas sim que está disseminado em diferentes segmentos da sociedade brasileira, o que coaduna com a hipótese deste texto, de que a cultura e a introjeção de valores no Brasil não comporta uma clara separação entre público e privado.

c) *A perspectiva weberiana*

A teoria weberiana, ao identificar um processo de racionalização no Ocidente, diferenciando, na forma de tipos ideais, as diversas fontes orientadoras da ação social, distingue ações motivadas por valores e ações motivadas pela busca de uma finalidade específica, considerando custos e benefícios, como formas racionais de ação social em oposição às formas não racionalizadas, motivadas pela emoção e pela tradição[15].

Nesse sentido, Max Weber formula sua grande teoria da racionalização ocidental, cuja influência foi determinante no pensamento de Holanda, considerando a mudança, nas sociedades modernas, de uma racionalidade fundamentalmente material para uma racionalidade amplamente formal, produzindo a emancipação das esferas sociais em relação às determinações fundadas na tradição e na religião.

O que Weber procurou demonstrar foi que nas sociedades tradicionais as esferas do Direito, da economia, da cultura, do Estado, da educação, entre outras, são fundamentadas e legitimadas pelo costume, no caso da tradição, e pela revelação mística, no caso da religião. A partir da atuação dos profetas hebreus do antigo testamento[16], iniciou-se, de acordo com Weber, um processo de desencantamento do mundo que retirou a magia como meio de salvação e produziu uma lenta racionalização da vida.

> Enquanto o desencantamento do mundo fala da ancestral luta da religião contra a magia, sendo uma de suas manifestações mais recorrentes e eficazes a perseguição aos feiticeiros e bruxas levada a cabo por profetas e hierocratas, vale dizer, a repressão político-religiosa da magia (Thomas, 1985), a secularização, por sua vez, nos remete à luta da modernidade cultural contra a religião, tendo como manifestação empírica no mundo moderno o declínio da religião como potência *in temporalibus*, seu *disestablishment* (vale dizer, sua separação do Estado), a depressão do seu valor cultural e sua demissão/liberação da função de integração social. (Pierucci, 1998).

[12] Disponível em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato/entenda-o-caso/curitiba/acoes/processo-penal-50/sentenca/ arquivo Acesso: 07/03/2020.

[13] Disponível em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato/entenda-o-caso/curitiba/acoes/processo-penal-50/sentenca/arquivo Acesso: 07/03/2020.

[14] Disponível em: http://www.mpf.mp.br/grandes-casos/lava-jato/entenda-o-caso/curitiba/acoes/processo-penal-49/sentenca/arquivo Acesso: 07/03/2020.

[15] A respeito dos tipos ideais de ação social, ver: "conceitos sociológicos fundamentais" In: WEBER, Max. Economia e Sociedade, 1999a.

[16] De acordo com o exposto em *A Ética Protestante e o "Espírito" do Capitalismo* (WEBER, 2004, p. 96): "Aquele grande processo histórico-religioso do desencantamento do mundo que teve início com as profecias do judaísmo antigo e, em conjunto com o pensamento científico helênico, repudiava como superstição e sacrilégio todos os meios mágicos de busca de salvação, encontrou aqui sua conclusão. O puritano genuíno ia ao ponto de condenar até mesmo todo vestígio de cerimônias religiosas fúnebres e enterrava os seus sem canto nem música, só para não dar trela ao aparecimento da *superstition*, isto é, da confiança em efeitos salvíficos à maneira mágico-sacramental".

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Vinculados ao processo de racionalização, o desencantamento do mundo e a secularização produziram a intelectualização da vida, rejeitando elementos supersticiosos na relação com o sagrado e, em um momento seguinte, resultando no próprio declínio da religião nas sociedades modernas.

> A intelectualização e a racionalização crescentes não equivalem, portanto, a um conhecimento geral crescente acerca das condições em que vivemos. Significam, antes, que sabemos ou acreditamos que, a qualquer instante, *poderíamos, bastando que o quiséssemos*, provar que não existe, em princípio, nenhum poder misterioso e imprevisível que interfira com o curso de nossa vida; em uma palavra, que podemos *dominar* tudo, por meio da *previsão*. Equivale isso a despojar de magia o mundo. Para nós não mais se trata, como para o selvagem que acredita na existência daqueles poderes, de apelar a meios mágicos para dominar os espíritos ou exorcizá-los, mas de recorrer à técnica e à previsão. Tal é o significado essencial de intelectualização. (WEBER, 2011. P. 35).

Esse longo processo de racionalização identificado por Weber produziu sociedades, em boa medida, emancipadas em relação à tradição e fundamentadas no pensamento técnico-científico, dispensando os costumes e as revelações teológicas como fonte de legitimação. A economia, desse modo, torna-se racionalizada, orientanda pelo estabelecimento de equivalentes universais, materializados no "dinheiro", que permitem a previsão, a calculabilidade e a ampliação das relações econômicas de modo impessoal para além dos limites locais; o Direito, tradicionalmente definido pelo arbítrio de agentes orientados por revelações místicas, interesses prático-utilitários ou avaliações específicas (materiais) de cada caso em particular, torna-se formalizado, impessoal, com aplicação ampla e regras bem definidas, fixas e invioláveis; a cultura incorpora a Ciência e a técnica como padrões de legitimação e princípios de validação social, rejeitando as legitimações de ordem religiosa (com exceção da esfera da vida privada); o Estado torna-se racionalizado, burocratizado; as leis passam a ser revistas, definidas a partir de consensos produzidos sob regras bem definidas[17]. Enfim, em várias esferas das sociedades ocidentais a racionalização produziu uma transformação das fontes de legitimação baseadas no que Weber definiu como "racionalidade material" por fontes de legitimação orientadas por uma "racionalidade formal". Nesse sentido, a racionalidade material seria pautada por postulados valorativos a partir de elementos éticos, políticos, utilitários, hedonistas, estamentais, estéticos, entre outros, e se caracterizaria pela especificidade de cada situação e questão em particular. Já a racionalidade formal refere-se ao estabelecimento de regras e padrões gerais, abstratos, impessoais e ao cálculo dos meios mais eficientes para a obtenção de determinado fim, considerando as possíveis consequências e custos das ações. A passagem das sociedades tradicionais para as sociedades modernas ocidentais representou, para Max Weber, a passagem de sociedades imersas na racionalidade material para sociedades orientadas pela racionalidade formal. A ação individual orientada por novas motivações sociais produziu instituições emancipadas e esferas sociais que, cada qual a seu ritmo, passaram a prescindir da legitimação tradicional e teológica.

Da mesma forma, em sua análise sobre os tipos de dominação legítima, Weber identificou a mudança nas fontes de legitimação das sociedades tradicionais, pouco racionalizadas, para as sociedades modernas, racionalizadas. Enquanto que, nas sociedades tradicionais, as fontes de legitimação advinham de elementos pessoalizados, materializados na figura do líder tradicional ou do líder carismático, nas sociedades modernas a legitimação da dominação repousa sobre elementos impessoais, caracterizados pela lei e pela ordem institucional-legal. Em sua reflexão sobre os tipos de dominação, Weber questionou os motivos que levam os indivíduos a se submeterem à vontade de outros e identifica, no caso da dominação carismática, a crença nas qualidades excepcionais do líder como a fonte primordial da submissão. Já a respeito da dominação tradicional, Weber (1999a) escreve:

> Denominamos uma dominação tradicional quando sua legitimidade repousa na crença na santidade de ordens e poderes senhoriais tradicionais ("existentes desde sempre"). Determina-se o senhor (ou vários senhores) em virtude de regras tradicionais. A ele se obedece em virtude da dignidade pessoal que lhe atribui a tradição. [...]. Não se obedece a estatutos, mas à pessoa indicada pela tradição ou pelo senhor tradicionalmente determinado. (p. 148).

A dominação tradicional, portanto, se legitima pela crença dos indivíduos no costume que define e determina a figura do senhor e de seus servidores. Em uma das configurações mais destacadas por Weber, a dominação tradicional se caracteriza pelo chamado *patrimonialismo*:

> Ao surgir um quadro administrativo (e miliar) puramente pessoal do senhor, toda dominação tradicional tende ao *patrimonialismo* e, com grau extremo de poder senhorial, ao *sultanismo:* os companheiros tornam-se súditos; o direito do senhor, interpretado até então como direito preeminente dos

[17] A respeito da racionalização do Direito, da economia, do Estado e da cultura, ver WEBER, Max. Economia e Sociedade (Volumes 1 e 2), 1999. A respeito da burocracia, ver WEBER, Max. Ensaios de Sociologia, 2013.

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associados, converte-se em seu direito próprio, apropriado por ele da mesma forma (em princípio) que um objeto possuído de natureza qualquer, valorizável (por venda, penhora ou partilha entre herdeiros), em princípio, como outra oportunidade econômica qualquer. Externamente, o poder de senhor patrimonial apóia-se em guardas pessoais e exércitos formados de escravos (muitas vezes marcados a ferro), colonos ou súditos forçados ou – para tornar o mais indissolúvel possível a união de interesses perante os últimos – de mercenários (exércitos patrimoniais). Em virtude desse poder, o senhor amplia o alcance de seu arbítrio e de sua graça, desligados da tradição, às custas da vinculação tradicional patriarcal e gerontocrática. Denominamos *patrimonial* toda dominação que, originariamente orientada pela tradição, se exerce em virtude de pleno direito pessoal [...]. (WEBER, 1999a. p. 151-152).

Compreendendo o patrimonialismo como um modo de legitimação da dominação tradicional, Weber o identificou com o exercício amplo do poder pelo governante e por seu quadro administrativo pessoalmente estabelecido. Desse modo, não há distinção entre os interesses pessoais do governante e os interesses dos súditos, tampouco uma distinção bem definida entre funcionários públicos e meios privados de administração[18].

A respeito da administração no tipo de dominação tradicional patrimonial, Weber afirma:

Ao cargo patrimonial falta sobretudo a distinção burocrática entre esfera "privada" e a "oficial". Pois também a administração política é tratada como assunto puramente pessoal do senhor, e a propriedade e o exercício do seu poder político, como parte integrante de seu patrimônio pessoal, aproveitável em forma de tributos e emolumentos. A forma em que ele exerce o poder é, portanto, objeto de seu livre-arbítrio, desde que a santidade da tradição, que interfere por toda parte, não lhe imponha limites mais ou menos firmes ou elásticos. (1999b. P. 253).

A dominação tradicional patrimonial[19], portanto, reproduz um tipo de poder pessoal, personalista, amparado pela tradição e caracterizado pela indistinção entre interesses e meios de administração privados e "públicos".

Dominação legítima tradicional e dominação legítima carismática representam tipos ideais de dominação baseados no afeto, no costume, ou na racionalidade material, característicos de sociedades tradicionais cujas instituições não produziram a emancipação em relação ao domínio da religião e da tradição. A característica mais destacada desses tipos de dominação é a pessoalidade com que são exercidas e legitimadas, pois é às figuras do líder carismático e do líder tradicional que se dirige a obediência dos indivíduos.

A dominação legal (ou burocrática), por sua vez, fundamenta sua legitimidade, não em líderes pessoais, mas em regras impessoais, aspecto típico das sociedades modernas, orientadas pela racionalidade formal. Weber (1999b) apresenta uma comparação entre dominação legal e dominação tradicional patriarcal que, segundo ele:

Em sua essência, não se baseia no dever de servir a determinada "finalidade" objetiva e impessoal e na obediência a normas abstratas, senão precisamente no contrário: em relações de piedade rigorosamente *pessoais*[20]. [...] ambas encontram seu apoio interior, em última instância, na obediência a normas por parte dos submetidos ao poder. Estas normas, no caso da dominação burocrática, são racionalmente criadas, apelam ao senso da legalidade abstrata e baseiam-se em instrução técnica; na dominação patriarcal, ao contrário, fundamentam-se na "tradição"; na crença na inviolabilidade daquilo que foi assim desde sempre. E a significação das normas é nas duas fundamentalmente diferente. Na dominação burocrática é a norma estatuída que cria a legitimação do detentor concreto do poder para dar ordens concretas. Na dominação patriarcal é a submissão pessoal ao senhor que garante a legitimidade das regras por este estatuídas, e somente o fato e os limites de seu poder de mando têm, por sua vez, sua origem em "normas", mas em normas não-estatuídas, sagradas pela tradição. (p. 234).

Como fica evidente no pensamento de Weber, a partir do desenvolvimento da racionalidade formal a dominação legal produz um quadro administrativo desvinculado dos meios de administração e passa a ser pautada por um direito formalizado e por regras abstratas que caracterizam o aspecto impessoal da administração pública. O contraste entre dominação pessoal, personificada, por um lado, e dominação impessoal, técnica, por outro lado, é central na distinção weberiana entre sociedades tradicionais e sociedades modernas.

d) Influências weberianas em Raízes do Brasil

Tratar da influência weberiana na obra de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, especificamente no livro *Raízes do Brasil* (1936), exige alguns apontamentos sobre sua biografia e carreira acadêmica. O autor nasceu em 11 de julho de 1902, na ladeira de São

[18] A esse respeito, ver: WEBER, Max. "Política como vocação". In: Ensaios de Sociologia. 2013.

[19] Para uma interpretação alternativa do conceito de patrimonialismo, ver: SELL, C. E. *As duas teorias do patrimonialismo em Max Weber: do modelo doméstico ao modelo institucional*. 2016.

[20] Grifo nosso.

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Joaquim, bairro da Liberdade, São Paulo[21]. Em 1922, após ter se mudado com a família para o Rio de Janeiro, o autor participou do Movimento Modernista, tendo sido nomeado, por Mário de Andrade e Oswald de Andrade, representante da Revista *Klaxon*. Mais adiante, em 1925, obteve o grau de bacharel em direito pela Faculdade Nacional de Direito da Universidade do Brasil (atual Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – UFRJ).

Após se formar em direito, Sérgio Buarque Holanda começou a trabalhar como jornalista para *O Jornal*. Por volta de 1928 e 1931, a convite de Assis Chateaubriand, foi para Berlim, na Alemanha, trabalhar como correspondente brasileiro. Naquela época, segundo Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (2004, p. 05), "[...] *assisti a toda a propaganda nazista, às passeatas que faziam nas ruas, inclusive brigas de nazistas com não-nazistas, lutas corporais mesmo*". Durante sua estadia na Alemanha, o autor frequentou, como ouvinte, alguns cursos de história na Universidade de Berlim e teve contato com alguns dos maiores nomes da historiografia alemã, como Ernest Curtius, Gustave Droysen e Wilhelm Dilthey (Pesavento, 2005). Por consequência, tomou contanto com a sociologia alemã e com o debate[22] sobre os nexos psico e sociogéticos que, segundo Waizbort (2011, p. 41), era "*um dos núcleos fortes em torno do qual gravitavam os debates acerca da interpretação histórico-cultural-social, debate esse difuso por toda a plêiade das humanidades*".

Especificamente sobre o debate supracitado, isto é, acerca dos nexos psico e sociogenéticos, fica evidente a transposição do debate e a influência weberiana[23] quando, em março de 1935, na revista *Espelho*[24], Sérgio Buarque de Holanda publica o ensaio "*Corpo e alma do Brasil: ensaio de psicologia*". Ali, de modo embrionário, estavam delineadas a estrutura da personalidade e a estrutura da sociedade brasileira. O "pano de fundo emocional" que embasava a descrição dada pelo autor no ensaio, ou melhor, a precedência da dimensão psicogenética, conforme Waizbort (2006, p. 41) "*poderia ser explicada pelo próprio argumento desenvolvido, a saber, que privilegiamos o individual ao coletivo*".

A obra de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, portanto, sofreu grande influência do pensamento weberiano. Os tipos ideais de racionalidade, com suas diversas manifestações nas esferas da sociedade, serviram de referência para o estudo da constituição da sociedade brasileira a partir de elementos sócio-históricos.

Já no primeiro capítulo de *Raízes do Brasil*, ao tratar dos colonizadores da América do Sul, Holanda apresenta, em tons nitidamente weberianos, uma distinção entre a Europa protestante, racionalizada (desencantada, intelectualizada, poderia acrescentar Weber), e a Europa ibérica, católica, não totalmente racionalizada: "*nas nações ibéricas, à falta dessa racionalização da vida, que tão cedo experimentaram algumas terras protestantes, o princípio unificador foi sempre representado pelos governos*" (1995, p. 38). Ainda no primeiro capítulo, Holanda identifica a cultura do personalismo como traço fundamental da cultura ibérica e obstáculo ao estabelecimento de instituições sólidas e racionalizadas:

> É que nenhum desses vizinhos soube desenvolver a tal extremo essa cultura da *personalidade*[25], que parece constituir o traço mais decisivo na evolução da gente hispânica, desde tempos imemoriais. [...]. É dela que resulta largamente a singular tibieza das formas de organização, de todas as associações que impliquem solidariedade e ordenação entre esses povos. (ibid. p. 32).

Considerando a influência do colonizador português como elemento determinante para a constituição cultural e institucional do Brasil, Buarque de Holanda se utiliza de tipos ideais, a exemplo de Weber, para indicar características próprias dos colonizadores que foram disseminadas na cultura brasileira. Nesse sentido, Holanda apresenta a distinção entre o tipo ideal do trabalhador, característico do espanhol, e do aventureiro, característico do português[26]. De acordo com a síntese de Carvalho (2011):

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[21] As informações biográficas e acadêmicas, resumidamente apresentadas aqui, podem ser encontradas no depoimento dado em 1981 por Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, mas somente publicado em 2004, para a Revista *Novos Estudos*. A entrevista ficou guardada durante longo período no Museu da Imagem e do Som (SP). Na íntegra, a entrevista pode ser encontrada por meio do link: http://novosestudos.uol.com.br/produto/edicao-69/

[22] O debate pode ser observado em Georg Simmel, Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Werner Sombart, Hans Freyer, Karl Mannheim e Norbert Elias. Como estamos tratando da influência weberiana no pensamento e na obra de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, a discussão acerca da psicogênese em Weber, por exemplo, pode ser explicitamente encontrada no livro *"A psicofísica do trabalho industrial: escritos e discursos 1908-1912"* (2009). [*Zur Psychophysik der industriellen Arbeit. Schriften und Reden 1908-1912*].

[23] Vale ressaltar que o próprio Sérgio Buarque de Holanda afirma ter lido a obra de Max Weber quando estava na Alemanha: "[...] quando estava na Alemanha lia muito o Weber. E sobre marxismo lia coisas mais recentes. Em alemão, naturalmente, porque russo eu não sabia..." (HOLANDA, 2004, p. 12).

[24] O ensaio foi publicado na "edição comemorativa 70 anos" (2006, p. 399-420).

[25] Grifo nosso.

[26] Nos termos de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1995, p.44): "Nas formas de vida coletiva podem assinalar-se dois princípios que se combatem e regulam diversamente as atividades dos homens. Esses doisprincípios encarnam-se nos tipos do aventureiro e do trabalhador. [...]. Para uns, o objetivo final, a mira de todo esforço, o ponto de chegada, assume relevância tão capital, que chega a dispensar, por secundários, quase supérfluos, todos os processos intermediários. Seu ideal será colher o fruto sem plantar a árvore. [...]. O trabalhador, ao contrário, é aquele que enxerga primeiro a dificuldade a vencer, não o triunfo a alcançar. O esforço lento, pouco compensador e

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> Holanda especifica claramente que o aventureiro representa o português e o trabalhador o espanhol, ambos localizados pelo autor no período colonial. As características desses tipos marcaram profundamente o tipo de colonização que os dois povos estabeleceram. Holanda aponta que a exploração do Brasil pelo português aventureiro não foi um empreendimento metódico e racional e que o brasileiro é herdeiro deste tipo. (p. 84).

Embora o tipo aventureiro tenha produzido as bases de um comportamento pouco afeito ao trabalho árduo, metódico e lento, suas características foram fundamentais para a adaptação e a colonização do território brasileiro, empreendimento que, quando produzido por outras culturas, resultou em fracassos notórios.

Ao obter sucesso na colonização do Brasil, os portugueses, de acordo com Holanda, influenciaram determinantemente nossa cultura e ajudaram a produzir um tipo de sociedade distante daquilo que Weber definiu como moderna. Ao personalismo, que rejeitava a impessoalidade e valorizava o individualismo, e ao caráter aventureiro do português, pouco afeito ao trabalho árduo e metódico, somou-se, no período colonial, a escravidão e a atividade rural. Os grandes engenhos passaram a se organizar de forma autônoma, através de uma lógica patriarcal, com o poder legitimado na figura do senhor de engenho. A expansão dessa lógica patriarcal para as cidades determinou, segundo Holanda, a ampliação, para o conjunto da sociedade, da cultura personalista, das relações pessoais junto à *coisa pública* e, consequentemente, da fraca distinção entre público e privado[27].

Sobre os efeitos do personalismo português no período colonial, Buarque de Holanda escreve:

> Em sociedade de origens tão nitidamente personalistas como a nossa, é compreensível que os simples vínculos de pessoa a pessoa, independentes e até exclusivos de qualquer tendência para a cooperação autêntica entre os indivíduos, tenham sido quase sempre os mais decisivos. As agregações e relações pessoais, embora por vezes precárias, e, de outro lado, as lutas entre facções, entre famílias, entre regionalismos, faziam dela um todo incoerente e amorfo. O peculiar da vida brasileira parece ter sido, por essa época, uma acentuação singularmente energética do *afetivo*, do *irracional*, do *passional*, e uma estagnação ou antes uma atrofia correspondente das qualidades ordenadoras, disciplinadoras, racionalizadoras. Quer dizer, exatamente o contrário do que parece convir a uma população em vias de organizar-se politicamente. (1995, p. 61)[28].

O resultado dessa acentuação na dimensão afetiva, irracional e passional se verifica no tipo ideal formulado por Holanda para caracterizar o brasileiro, o homem cordial: *"já se disse, numa expressão feliz, que a contribuição brasileira para a civilização será de cordialidade – daremos ao mundo o 'homem cordial'"* (Ibid. p. 146). A respeito da noção de homem cordial, profundamente ligada ao tipo ideal de ação social afetiva, não racionalizada, formulado por Weber, Holanda escreve:

> A expressão é do escritor Ribeiro Couto [...] pela expressão "cordialidade", se eliminam aqui, deliberadamente, os juízos éticos e as intenções apologéticas a que parece inclinar-se o sr. Cassiano Ricardo, quando prefere falar em "bondade" ou em "homem bom". Cumpre ainda acrescentar que essa cordialidade, estranha, por um lado, a todo formalismo e convencionalismo social, não abrange, por outro, apenas e obrigatoriamente, sentimentos positivos e de *concórdia*. A inimizade bem pode ser tão *cordial* como a amizade, nisto que uma e outra nascem do *coração*. (Ibid. p. 205).

O homem cordial formulado por Sérgio Buarque de Holanda representa, portanto, o resultado da influência portuguesa somada às contingências sócio-históricas que criaram uma sociedade avessa às hierarquias, ao rigor formalista, à impessoalidade e à ética do trabalho[29]. Tais características refletem-se na cultura e nas instituições e reproduzem-se, por sua vez, nos indivíduos formados por essa cultura.

persistente, que, no entanto, mede todas as possibilidades de esperdício e sabe tirar o máximo proveito do insignificante, tem sentido bem nítido para ele [...]. Existe uma ética do trabalho, como existe uma ética da aventura. Assim, o indivíduo do tipo trabalhador só atribuirá valor moral positivo às ações que sente ânimo de praticar e, inversamente, terá por imorais e detestáveis as qualidades próprias do aventureiro – audácia, imprevidência, irresponsabilidade, instabilidade, vagabundagem [...].

[27] Para uma visão alternativa da relação entre patrimonialismo e personalismo, ver: SOUZA, J. Weber. In: Avritzer; et al. Corrupção: ensaios e críticas. 2012.

[28] Grifos nossos.

[29] Sobre a ética do trabalho, Holanda apresenta uma breve e interessante avaliação da afinidade eletiva entre religião e ética do trabalho em padrões muito próximos aos dos principais argumentos propostos por Weber em *A ética protestante e o "espírito" do capitalismo*. Ao tratar da cultura hispânica, profundamente católica, em oposição à Europa protestante, Holanda argumenta que: "a ação sobre as coisas, sobre o universo material, implica submissão a um objeto exterior, aceitação de uma lei estranha ao indivíduo. Ela não é exigida por Deus, nada acrescenta à sua glória e não aumenta nossa própria dignidade. Pode-se dizer, ao contrário, que a prejudica e a avilta. O trabalho manual e mecânico visa a um fim exterior ao homem e pretende conseguir a perfeição de uma obra distinta dele. É compreensível, assim, que jamais se tenha naturalizado entre gente hispânica a moderna religião do trabalho e o apreço à atividade utilitária. Uma digna ociosidade sempre pareceu mais excelente, e até mais nobilitante, a um bom português, ou a um espanhol, do que a luta insana pelo pão de cada dia. [...] E assim, enquanto povos protestantes preconizam e exaltam o esforço manual, as nações ibéricas colocam-se ainda largamente no ponto de vista da Antiguidade clássica". (HOLANDA, 1995. P. 38).

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Submetida ao patriarcalismo, ao patrimonialismo e ao personalismo (que atua como base das práticas anteriores por estabelecer um poder pessoal e rotinizado), a sociedade brasileira produziu instituições frágeis e práticas pouco orientadas pelo cumprimento das normas formais[30].

Buscando demonstrar os reflexos de tais práticas para a sociedade brasileira de seu tempo, Buarque (1995) apresenta uma avaliação profundamente vinculada às categorias weberianas de dominação:

> No Brasil, onde imperou, desde tempos remotos, o tipo primitivo da família patriarcal, o desenvolvimento da urbanização [...] ia acarretar um desequilíbrio social, cujos efeitos permanecem vivos ainda hoje. Não era fácil aos detentores das posições públicas de responsabilidade, formados por tal ambiente, compreenderem a distinção fundamental entre o domínio do privado e do público. Assim, eles se caracterizam justamente pelo que separa o funcionário "patrimonial" do puro burocrata conforme a definição de Max Weber. Para o funcionário "patrimonial", a própria gestão política apresenta-se como assunto de seu interesse particular; as funções, os empregos e os benefícios que deles aufere relacionam-se a direitos pessoais do funcionário e não a interesses objetivos, como sucede no verdadeiro Estado burocrático, em que prevaleçam a especialização das funções e o esforço para se assegurarem garantias jurídicas aos cidadãos. (p. 145-146).

A indistinção, por parte do funcionário público, entre domínio público e domínio privado é uma das características encontradas por Holanda na cultura brasileira como resultado da expansão do patrimonialismo para a esfera administrativa. Ainda, sobre essa questão, Holanda (1995) complementa:

> A escolha dos homens que irão exercer funções públicas faz-se de acordo com a confiança pessoal que merecem os candidatos, e muito menos de acordo com as suas capacidades próprias. Falta a tudo a ordenação impessoal que caracteriza a vida no Estado burocrático. O funcionalismo patrimonial pode, com a progressiva divisão de funções e com a racionalização, adquirir traços burocráticos. Mas em sua essência ele é tanto mais diferente do burocrático, quanto mais caracterizados estejam os dois tipos. No Brasil, pode dizer-se que só excepcionalmente tivemos um sistema administrativo e um corpo de funcionários puramente dedicados a interesses objetivos e fundados nesses interesses. Ao contrário, é possível acompanhar, ao longo de nossa história, o predomínio constante das vontades particulares que encontram seu ambiente próprio em círculos fechados e pouco acessíveis a uma ordenação impessoal. (Ibid. p. 146).

Os reflexos do processo histórico de colonização do Brasil foram identificados, por Buarque de Holanda, de forma precisa na cultura e, consequentemente, nas instituições nacionais. A relação entre público e privado, a pessoalidade no trato da administração pública e a ausência de atuação em favor de interesses objetivos marcam, claramente, a visão de Holanda sobre o Brasil.

É bastante evidente o exercício de Holanda no sentido de produzir tipos ideais envolvidos no processo histórico de "construção" do Brasil para compará-los aos tipos ideais weberianos de racionalização, dominação e gestão. Desse modo, Holanda identifica na cultura brasileira elementos característicos das sociedades tradicionais definidas por Weber, orientadas, em boa medida, por aspectos irracionais ou pela racionalidade material.

Nada é mais próximo da perspectiva sociológica de Max Weber do que a busca por elementos orientadores da ação social, considerando a racionalidade envolvida no sentido dessa ação. Desse modo, é possível identificar, pelo menos, dois elementos fundamentais na orientação da conduta: a) a moral, incorporada como valor pelo indivíduo e b) as instituições, atuando como força coercitiva externa ao indivíduo. Nesse sentido, a ação social racional pode ser orientada, por exemplo, pelos valores constituintes da cultura e absorvidos pelo indivíduo ou pelo cálculo do meio mais eficiente para se realizar certo objetivo, considerando, inclusive, as possibilidades de coerção institucional. Ainda, é possível pensar a ação social, em termos weberianos, orientada por elementos não racionalizados como a tradição, caracterizada pela reprodução irracional dos costumes, ou pela emoção, pelo afeto, enfim... pela *cordialidade*, no sentido empregado por Holanda.

No que se refere à questão das condicionantes internas, Holanda procurou demonstrar, através da análise do desenvolvimento do personalismo, a forma como a cultura brasileira produziu uma ética da pessoalidade, negando a abstração impessoal no trato entre os indivíduos e na gestão pública. A figura do "homem cordial" vai além e se caracteriza, de forma

[30] Convém destacar que, após a proclamação da República brasileira, em 1889, ocorreu, do ponto de vista formal, a transição de uma dominação personificada na figura do imperador, para uma dominação fundada nas normas legais e institucionais, distanciando-se, portanto, de um poder pessoal que se legitima pelo patriarcalismo ou pelo patrimonialismo. Porém, e este é o ponto de Buarque de Holanda muitas vezes incompreendido pelos críticos, as práticas personalistas se mantiveram como elemento legitimador da esfera da cultura, com reflexos na esfera institucional. Não à toa, o período posterior à proclamação da República se caracterizou pela alternância oligárquica no poder e, em seguida, por uma dominação, novamente, personificada na figura de Getúlio Vargas. A publicação de *Raízes do Brasil* ocorreu 6 anos após a "revolução" de 1930 e 1 ano antes do Estado-novo varguista, que vigoraria até janeiro de 1946.

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ainda mais profunda, pela ação afetiva, irracional em certo sentido, ligada à passionalidade avessa à disciplina e à imposição de normas legais:

> [...] toda a nossa conduta ordinária denuncia, com frequência, um apego singular aos valores da personalidade configurada pelo recinto doméstico. Cada indivíduo, nesse caso, afirma-se ante os seus semelhantes indiferente à lei geral, onde esta lei contrarie suas afinidades emotivas, e atento apenas ao que o distingue dos demais, do resto do mundo. Assim, só raramente nos aplicamos de corpo e alma a um objeto exterior a nós mesmos. E quando fugimos à norma é por simples gesto de retirada, descompassado e sem controle, jamais regulados por livre iniciativa. (...) a personalidade individual dificilmente suporta ser comandada por sistema exigente e disciplinador. (ibid. p. 155).

Relacionada aos elementos orientadores de conduta internos, a visão de mundo produzida pela cultura se reflete nas próprias instituições (elementos coercitivos externos), caracterizadas pela pessoalidade e pela indistinção entre público e privado. A construção do Estado nacional a partir de fundamentos patriarcais representa, para Holanda, um problema fundamental:

> O Estado não é uma ampliação do círculo familiar e, ainda menos, uma integração de certos agrupamentos, de certas vontades particularistas, de que a família é o melhor exemplo. Não existe, entre o círculo familiar e o Estado, uma gradação, mas antes uma descontinuidade e até uma oposição. A indistinção fundamental entre as duas formas é prejuízo romântico que teve os seus adeptos mais entusiastas durante o século XIX. De acordo com esses doutrinadores, o Estado e as suas instituições descenderiam em linha reta, e por simples evolução, da família. A verdade, bem outra, é que pertencem a ordens diferentes em essência. Só pela transgressão da ordem doméstica e familiar é que nasce o Estado e que o simples indivíduo se faz cidadão, contribuinte, eleitor, elegível, recrutável e responsável, ante as leis da cidade. (ibid. p. 141).

A própria presença de um sistema legal bem definido, segundo Holanda, não é suficiente para produzir uma conduta racionalizada nos indivíduos, visto que "*não são as leis escritas, fabricadas pelos jurisconsultos, as mais legítimas garantias de felicidade para os povos e de estabilidade para as nações*" (Ibid. p. 178). Ainda que leis formais e abstratas possam ser criadas, a prática cotidiana, tanto de cidadãos, quanto de funcionários públicos, orienta-se, acentuadamente, pela *cordialidade*, pela pessoalidade e pelo afeto. Ou seja, a possibilidade de coerção externa através das instituições encontra obstáculo na visão de mundo produzida pela cultura fortemente influenciada pelo personalismo.

Mesmo modificando sua fonte de legitimidade da figura personalizada do imperador para a figura impessoal e abstrata da Lei, o Brasil republicano, segundo Holanda, manteve a prática personalista como elemento central, tanto da cultura, quanto das instituições sociais:

> [...] o Estado não teria rompido com a família, o que implica, necessariamente, que as relações de sangue não foram substituídas por instituições e relações sociais impessoais. Mais do que isso, o caráter das leis não é universal, já que elas só são aplicadas àqueles que se encontram fora desses círculos de parentesco e amizade. (CARVALHO, 2011. P. 89).

Tanto a esfera institucional, quanto a esfera cultural foram, portanto, influenciadas pela cultura ibérica e pelos elementos patriarcais e patrimoniais. A cultura, a partir do patriarcalismo típico dos engenhos, produziu o "homem cordial" e este, com a ampliação da lógica patriarcal para a administração pública, produziu instituições que negam a racionalização objetiva e a impessoalidade.

O estabelecimento de uma sociedade brasileira de acordo com a definição weberiana[31] de sociedade moderna, baseada na racionalização das esferas sociais, caracterizada, em particular, pela dominação legal, pelo Direito formal e abstrato, pela economia capitalista racionalizada, pela democracia e pela administração pública técnica e impessoal encontra, de acordo com Holanda, um profundo obstáculo na cultura brasileira, fundada no patrimonialismo, na pessoalidade, na indistinção entre domínio público e privado e na figura do *homem cordial,* avesso a grande parte dos elementos racionalizantes da sociedade. Nesse sentido, a análise de Buarque de Holanda aproxima o Brasil muito mais das sociedades tradicionais, patrimoniais, não racionalizadas, estudadas por Weber do que das sociedades modernas pautadas pelo rigor formalista impessoal.

II. Considerações Finais

A perspectiva de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda a respeito dos elementos constitutivos da sociedade brasileira, fortemente influenciada pela teoria weberiana, permite lançar luz, ainda hoje, sobre comportamentos individuais e práticas sociais.

Sem ignorar o longo período de mais de oitenta anos que separa a publicação de *Raízes do Brasil* do período contemporâneo e, portanto, sem ignorar as

[31] Convém sempre acentuar que a perspectiva epistemológica de Max Weber possui viés sócio-histórico e empírico, não representando qualquer formulação de tipo normativo, teleológico ou valorativo. Nesse sentido, os diferentes arranjos sociais são resultado de contingências históricas, não sendo possível estabelecer critérios científicos de superioridade ou de preferência ética entre as diferentes sociedades.

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modificações profundas por que passou a sociedade brasileira durante esse período, é possível buscar na obra de Holanda elementos que ainda contribuem para a explicação do fenômeno da corrupção no Brasil.

Se entendermos a prática da corrupção como proposta neste artigo, ou seja, como *uma prática que utiliza o poder político junto à esfera estatal para a obtenção de benefícios privados em desacordo com o ordenamento legal vigente* e se buscarmos as abordagens constituintes da análise do fenômeno de corrupção nas Ciências Sociais, em particular a dimensão cultural e a perspectiva da escolha racional, encontraremos em *Raízes do Brasil* indicações preciosas para a compreensão do fenômeno.

Do ponto de vista da conduta individual, ou seja, do valor que atua internamente na orientação da ação, o patrimonialismo presente em nossa cultura obscurece uma diferenciação apropriada entre domínio público e domínio privado, além de reafirmar a dimensão do interesse pessoal sobre o interesse coletivo. Caso se entenda tal perspectiva como válida ainda hoje, é plausível considerar que o refreamento pessoal da conduta (no caso, a prática da corrupção) não seja predominante em virtude da ausência do respeito à *coisa pública* como um valor em si, culturalmente hegemônico. Ou seja, um dos elementos centrais para a orientação da conduta individual, o respeito a certos valores socialmente consagrados e incorporados pelo indivíduo, não incluiria de forma profunda e contundente a diferenciação entre público e privado e o consequente respeito ao que pertence à esfera pública. Nesse sentido, o pensamento de Holanda representaria uma contribuição valiosa ao apontar o fundamento sócio-histórico desse traço de nossa cultura.

Do ponto de vista institucional, considerando tais instituições como agentes externos ao indivíduo, a coerção a partir do conjunto de leis, normas, regras, regimentos, vigilância, fiscalização, punições, entre outros, levaria os indivíduos a calcularem os custos e benefícios da ação corrupta. Como afirma Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, em trecho já citado neste artigo, nossa conduta não é afeita à submissão a normas que não nos beneficiem. Desta forma, a tendência a se beneficiar do ato corrupto se contrapõe aos custos do mesmo ato. Porém, como deixa claro Sérgio Buarque, as instituições brasileiras, originadas da expansão do patriarcalismo, apresentam pouca ameaça ao agente corrupto, tornando consideravelmente baixos os custos e atrativamente altos os benefícios. A frouxidão das leis, da vigilância e das punições em relação à corrupção tem caracterizado amplamente nossa vida pública nos mais de oitenta anos posteriores à publicação de *Raízes do Brasil*, o que indica que, de alguma forma, a dimensão institucional não vem produzindo um condicionamento da ação individual nos níveis adequados quando se trata de inibir a corrupção.

A conjunção entre flexibilidade moral e cultural, de um lado, e frouxidão (ou tibieza, para usarmos o termo de Holanda) institucional, de outro lado, propicia e torna atrativa a corrupção. Embora não tenha sido o objeto do estudo de Holanda, sua análise dos fundamentos do comportamento brasileiro possibilitou uma ampliação do estudo da corrupção para além do ato em si, buscando suas raízes em nossa própria constituição sócio-histórica e produzindo tipos ideais de sua época com os quais podemos comparar as práticas contemporâneas.

Se, por um lado, entender uma obra clássica como definição conclusiva e imutável de certo traço social ou cultural representa um inaceitável determinismo, ignorar, por outro lado, as contribuições de tal obra, ou tratá-la apenas como instrumento histórico desprovido de valor explicativo contemporâneo, significa negar o próprio desenvolvimento científico como conhecimento cumulativo.

Ao identificar a figura do *homem cordial*, orientado pelo afeto, e situá-lo como produto e produtor de uma ética, de uma cultura, de instituições e de práticas, hoje, visceralmente ligadas à corrupção, a obra de Sérgio Buarque representa uma perspectiva analítica basilar para as Ciências Sociais brasileiras. Nesse sentido, sua abordagem pode ser considerada como uma contribuição de raro valor que, ainda hoje, nos permite entender melhor nossa própria sociedade.

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The Effects of Migration Management and Community on Quality of Life; A Study on Bangladeshi Construction Workers in Malaysia

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Abstract- Despite having substantial strategy and policy on human resource development, Bangladeshi (BD) workers in Malaysia mostly migrate in the unskilled category. Their capability development training in Malaysia takes place in an informal and unorthodox way through Community of Practice (CoP). This research attempts to investigate the effect of migration management and the workers training and community activities of Terengganu, the east coast of Malaysia, on the QoL of BD migrant workers. Thematic analysis is used in this qualitative research, with the help of atlas ti version seven for data analysis. The research could hardly reveal any existence of community resilience, though hundreds of them are staying together in many construction sites. Meaning, they are staying together but forming a 'Solitary Community' and leading a lower QoL. The outcome of this research will be useful for experts to further enhance migration, capability expansion, and community development philosophy to improve the migrant workers QoL.

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The Effects of Migration Management and Community on Quality of Life; A Study on Bangladeshi Construction Workers in Malaysia

Md. Wahidul Haque [α] & Norizan Abdul Ghani [σ]

Abstract- Despite having substantial strategy and policy on human resource development, Bangladeshi (BD) workers in Malaysia mostly migrate in the unskilled category. Their capability development training in Malaysia takes place in an informal and unorthodox way through Community of Practice (CoP). This research attempts to investigate the effect of migration management and the workers training and community activities of Terengganu, the east coast of Malaysia, on the QoL of BD migrant workers. Thematic analysis is used in this qualitative research, with the help of atlas ti version seven for data analysis. The research could hardly reveal any existence of community resilience, though hundreds of them are staying together in many construction sites. Meaning, they are staying together but forming a 'Solitary Community' and leading a lower QoL. The outcome of this research will be useful for experts to further enhance migration, capability expansion, and community development philosophy to improve the migrant workers QoL.

I. Introduction

Over a few decades, labor migration is occupying an essential part of the global economy (Islam, 2014). Worldwide, the number of international migrants continued a rapid growth in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 (United Nations, 2017). Around the globe, BD workers are engaged in 143 countries, but about 90% of the migration takes place in Islamic countries like the Middle East and Malaysia (Islam, 2014). According to an estimation of the Malaysian Employers Federation, around six million documented and undocumented BD labor work mainly in the labor-intensive sectors (Tan Heng Hong, 2017), which might include the Rohingyas without UNHCR card (migrated following unsafe route). Whereas, Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 2030 aims to promote safe, regular and orderly migration to reduce their vulnerabilities (Smale & Hilbrecht, 2016).

BD migrant workers in labor-intensive sectors of Malaysia are mostly unskilled and leading a poor QoL (Sultana, 2008). Researchers found 71% of BD migrant workers draw a salary between RM 800 to RM 1200. It was also revealed that 57 % of the workers left their first job due to lower wages and employers' misconduct (Rahman et al., 2014). After leaving the first workplace, workers remain floating and keep looking for a better opportunity. In this initial unstable condition, somehow, they learn the trade from older BD workers informally. It takes a varied amount of time, depending upon the situation, to learn simple job traits. A digital device like mobile could be an aid of learning, by which they primarily keep communication and connection. On the other hand, the virtual community of friends and family pulls them out of the community (of Malaysia). This research aims to investigate the effect of migration management, and community life in Malaysia on QoL. The study is limited to the BD migrant workers in the construction sector of Malaysia who are staying for less than ten years.

II. Literature Review

a) *Migration Management*

To manage the migration system, a set of norms, rules, principles, decision-making procedures are implmented for ensuring safe, orderly, and regular migration (Kunz, R., Lavenex, S., Panizzon, 2011). Overall safety mainly depends upon the team of actors who are involved in translating rules and regulations into actions. A wide range of performers such as individuals, governmental and non-governmental bodies, and private sector organizations constitute migration governance to manage the system (Betts, 2011).

Irregular migration is the result of the bad governance. In a governance-deficient system, migration management is taken over by unscrupulous recruiting agencies (Zehadul Karim et al., 2015) by pumping in huge money down the channel. This situation increases the risk of migration; irregular migration soars up, which ultimately victimizes the migrants (Laczko, 2014). Dishonest recruiting agents naturally manage this influx of money from the potential migrants. As a result, workers try to recover the money by extending their stay with documented or undocumented status. Alongside the unsafe and illegal route of entry, documented workers also many a time become undocumented because of unscrupulous agents' and employers' misconduct, and the high cost of the visa renewal fee (Rahman et al., 2014).

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Researchers found that migration management in BD is tumbled-down by unscrupolous recruiting agencies. Complains against them are taking excessive fees, pushing migrants into unsafe journey, a false offer of job and wage (Wickramasekara, 2016). Lack of actions against them soared up the level of migration-related crimes in BD. The migration sector in BD suffers from a myriad of governance challenges ranging from legal, institutional, and procedural limitations, coupled with rampant corrupt malpractices by intermediaries (Transparency International Bangladesh, 2017). Unauthorized transactions of money at every level of the migration process adds extra financial burden to the potential migrants. This burden has a long-term impact on the financial state, leading them to borrow money from multiple sources on unfavorable conditions (Rahman et al., 2014). High cost in labor migration also instigates unsafe overseas passage as alternative means.

Migrants rights include access to basic social services, rights of the family, the right to work, residency permit and paths to citizenship (Misafir, 2019). Orderly and safe migration include border control and law enforcement mechanisms, combat human trafficking, and re-integration system (Rahim, 2015). Labor migration management includes policies for managing labor migration, skills and qualification recognition schemes, migration regulation, bilateral labor contracts, and remittance issues (Manolo Abella, 2005). International and regional co-operation and other partnerships are the dimensions of migration for analysing of international conventions, treaties and laws, and bilateral agreements.

b) Community and Capacity Expansion

Community implies an undifferentiated identity, with the emphasis on unity, spontaneity, reasoning, and cohesion. Bettez (2011), Nowell & Boyd (2010) and Townley (2011) noted that community is an individualistic and collective concept, addressing the needs of individuals as well as providing an opportunity for promoting responsibility and contributing to every ones' well-being. Chavis (2000) defined community building as the machinery for the bottom-up approach to social change, which can promote personal growth and enhance the community. Chavis referred to a set of criteria relating to community development, including creating opportunities for members to influence their community, having needs met, and developing and sharing emotional ties and support.

The UN defines community development as "a process of community members coming together and solve common problems through collective action." (Intellectual 2017). It is a broad term given to the practices of civic leaders, activists, involved citizens and professionals in improving various aspects of communities, typically aiming to build stronger and more resilient local communities. "Community development is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes sustainable development, democracy, economic prospect, equality, human rights, and social justice, through the education, organization, and empowerment of people." The International Association for Community Development (www.iacdglobal.org).

Community capacity building, on the other hand, focusing on helping communities obtain, strengthen, and maintain the ability to set and achieve their development objectives (United Nations Development System, 2009). Community engagement is a concept used in higher education contexts as an umbrella term to include various activities pursued in partnership with local communities (Lazarus, Taliep, Bulbulia, Phillips, & Seedat, 2012; Seedat, 2012). Universities and communities are increasingly forming partnerships to address various social needs while offering students the opportunity to engage in community or civic activities, gain practical experience and link theory to practice in their specific field of study (Göransson, Maharajh, & Schmoch, 2009; Suárez-Balcázar, Harper, & Lewis, 2005).

The community of Practice (CoP) also known in various other terms, such as learning networks, group learning, or tech clubs (Wenger, E., & Wenger, 2015). Many practitioners and academics have defined the concept of CoP in different ways (Agrifoglio, 2015). Learning or training is not only the acquisition of knowledge, but rather it occurs through certain forms and types of social co-participation and embedded within both a social and physical environment (Lave, J., & Wenger, 1991). According to Etienne Wenger, the proposer of CoP has identified three major components, like (a) Members interact and establish norms and relationships through reciprocated engagement. (b) Bound together with a sense of a joint enterprise. (c) Through artifacts, routines, stories and language produce a shared repertoire of communal resources (Wenger, 2011).

Today, computer mediated communication is presenting us a Virtual Community (VC), where the people with same interest share information related to activities, events, entertainment and even history (Mulyadi & Fitriana, 2018). VC is somthing, which connects through a social network of persons without any geographical limit. The aim of VC is to achieve socialization like sharing a personal feelings, an opinion and knowledge, breaking the boundaries of conventional community. Geographically dispersed frontierless community of people and organization connected via internet or other network are called Virtual World or Web World or VC (Somani, 2012).

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III. Methodology

A qualitative study was conducted in Terengganu, east cost of Malaysia to find out the effects of migration management and community on QoL of BD migrant workers. Two focused group discussions (FGD), 12 in-depth interviews and two years observation triangulated the research. One FGD took place in the construction site of the University of Sultan Zainal Abidin (UniSZA) hospital complex at Gong Badak, and the other one in the accommodation of construction workers at Marang, Terengganu. Eight workers and four intellectuals from the field of migration management, community developemnt, and QoL from home and abroad took part in indepth interview. This reaesarch used Atlas ti version seven to conduct the thematic analysis of the primary data.

IV. Findings

a) Come from Different Communities

Though the BD government is focusing on less progressed districts for migration, people from all over the country are migrating, not forming any pattern (R-2). So, there is almost no forecast or mutual communications before migration. Some are following Network Theory and communicating with relatives and friends at Malaysia, and getting some advantages of reduced costs and risks. Unfortunately, many of them finally come through fraud the agents and undergo sufferings (R-1).

b) No Training and No Connection Established

Ministry of Expatriate's Welfare and Overseas Employment (MEWOE) of BD are doing gigantic works including policy, strategy, and research activities through the government officials, scholars, academicians and NGOs on overall migration management around the globe (R-1). International bodies like World Bank (WB), European Commission (EC), International Labor Organization (ILO), Asian Development Bank (ADB) are funding for capacity building and improving QoL of BD migrant workers (R-3). Unfortunately, the quality output of these strategic, gigantic, and relentless efforts for BD workers is not visible in Malaysia because Malaysia is mostly importing unskilled workers (R-1). So, many people migrating to Malaysia are untrained and unskilled and not grouped in BD before coming here. If there would be a training season before migration, there could be a possibility of communication and understanding one another in BD, which could ultimately lead to a better community engagement and better QoL in Malaysia.

c) Mistrust and Frustration in BD

Trust is one of the most significant quality to build a community. False commitments of unscrupulous agents create distrust and bring barriers to a harmonious community after the migration (R-2). Mismanagement of the migration process provokes agents in BD to recruit workers with various false commitments from the beginning. Following are some example (R-1):

a. They showcase older migrants and commit big amount of salary.
b. Promise a higher category of skills.
c. Promise a little time required for migration.
d. Collect money much before the actual time of departure.
e. Commit a new date every time they meet but fail to keep the commitment.
f. One the process, many give up hope and go back to the village, losing all or a big part of the money deposited.

d) Theme of Migration Management in BD

Mistrust, no community affiliation, no training, and irregular migration tends to single out people in the destination country and lowers QoL. Table 1 shows the theme and sub-themes developed from the pre-migration primary data.

Table 1: The Theme and Sub-themes of Migration Management in BD

Ser	Theme	Sub-themes
1	Theme 1. Irregular migration tends to single out people from his community in the destination country.	1. Comes from different communities, not knowing anyone. 2. Mistrust and frustration grew in BD for the sub agent's false commitment and fraudulence. 3. No formal training in BD 4. No mutual network established before migration

Source: Theme Emerged from Primary Data of Field Survey

e) Mistrust and Frustration in Malaysia

Many of the irregular migrations occur following unsafe routes with a lot of hardship and pain; it might even take 40 days to reach Malaysia from BD (R-6). After the long battle, once a worker migrates to Malaysia, he again gets the shock of his life. The ground reality is different from the promised job, salary, and the skills category. Many of the older migrants' sufferings, low pay, insecurity, and low life standard drops him from the sky (R-5). Dreams fall apart, so as the trust and faith towards the people. Because of the agent's and his counterpart's false commitment many of the migrants workers switch from the initial job placement in search of better opportunity. Community building possibility again

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crashes down and the migrant become lonely though surrounded by many BD workers around him.

f) Relation with Instructors

As most of the migrants are unskilled and get lower pay then the expectations, they continue to thrive for learning and being trained (R-7). Because of the unfamiliarity with the modern-day free facility of m-learning or e-learning, these are unreachable to them. The only way that remains open to them is through Community of Practice (CoP) or on the job training (R-6). Some believe that better learning opportunity exists in big projects because mistakes are not noticed everytime, and there are diversities of jobs with a variety of experts. On the other hand, some believe that small projects offer better learning opportunities because a better tie is possible with the Guru/ instructor (R-5). The relation between Guru and the trainee is the most significant element for better training because the trainee is not paying in cash. Showing respect to the Guru, obeying his words and helping him in the accommodation are the intangible payment (R-6). This attachment with the Guru in the workplace and house, detach them from the co-workers and singles out them. Workers carry forward this attitude throughout the migrant life, which creates a hindrance in increasing community engagement and in turn the better QoL.

g) Better Management of Daily Life

In the process of mismanagement of migration, migrant workers are frustrated and dears to believe others. Training through CoP further detaches them from other co-workers in the workplace and living area. Field study observed that they feel better to manage their daily life (for cooking and dining) alone or at the most two to three men together (R-7). Though there is a huge arrangement of dining and cooking facilities in the UniSZA under-construction hospital site, multiple groups of only two/ three men use those facilities. These workers can not make a bigger group, shop, and cook together to improve the QoL.

h) Effect of Virtual Community

During the leisure time, most of the BD workers talk either to family and friends back home or fiddle social media like Facebook (R-5). Cheaper and free communication platforms like Facebook, IMO, and Viber in this era of digitalization allow them to form a virtual community and a means of recreation (R-9). 200 BD peoples' community at UniSZA under-construction hospital complex meet and greet each other only during cooking and dining. Engagement in this virtual community is the final step of making them apart, individualistic and pushes them towards a community less world, which is a 'solitary community'.

i) Theme of Capability Expansion and Community Engagement in Malaysia

Table 2 shows the theme and sub-themes of capability expansion and community engagement in Malaysia. Frustration in Malaysia for visa agent's false commitment; relation with instructors during the learning process through CoP; forming a small group of two to three persons for better management; and communicating through the smartphone in the virtual community are the steps of getting separated. So, during the process of irregular migration, informal training through CoP, ease of small group management and engagement in Virtual Community, BD migrant workers get separated and live in a 'solitary community' in Malaysia, lowering their QoL.

Table 2: Theme of Capability Expansion and Community Management in Malaysia

Ser	Theme	Sub-themes
1	Theme 2. In the process of irregular migration, informal training through CoP, ease of small group management and engagement in virtual community, BD migrant workers get separated and live in a 'solitary community' in Malaysia.	1. Frustration in Malaysia for a visa agent's false commitment makes them switch from the initial workplace and look for better opportunity. 2. Relation with instructor during the learning process through Community of Practice (CoP) detach them from co-workers. 3. For better management of daily life, forming a small group of two to three persons. 4. Engagement in the virtual community and communicating through smartphone drag the workers out of the real community.

Source: Theme Emerged from Primary Data of Field Survey

V. Discussion

In the migration management, a set of norms, rules, principles are followed to ensure safe, orderly, and regular migration (Kunz, R., Lavenex, S., Panizzon, 2011). Irregular migration is the result of poor governance and mismanagement, where dishonest recruiting agencies take over the system (Zehadul Karim et al., 2015) and push out workers without formal training and mutual networks. Reinforced by secondary data, theme one also figure out that irregular migration tends to single out people in the destination country, because of mistrust, no community affiliation in BD, and no training before migration.

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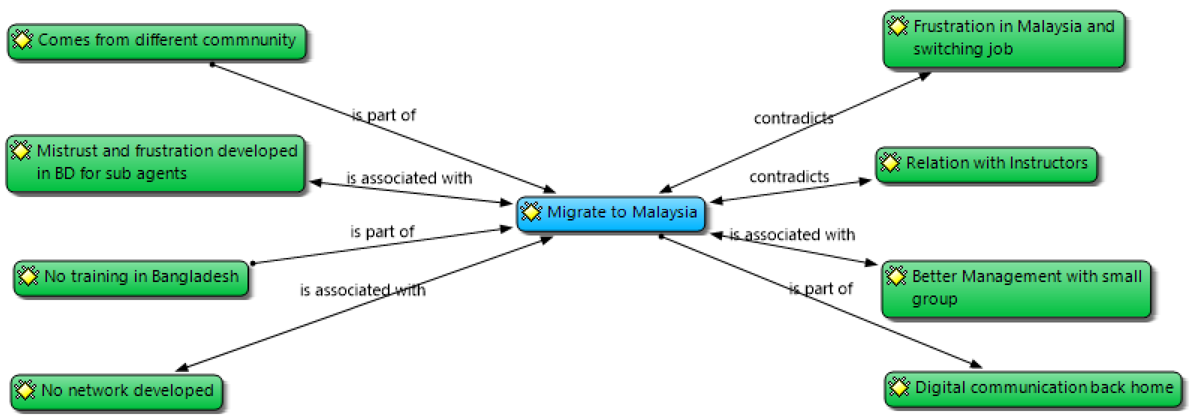
Training or learning, on the other hand, is not just the acquisition of knowledge, rather occurs through certain, methods and natures of social co-participation and embedded within both a social and physical environment (Lave, J., & Wenger, 1991). Unskilled BD workers learn the trade and get the training through the social co-participation, meaning Community of Practice. This training process (informal and free) forms the psychology of the trainees to create solid bondage with the instructors rather than other co-workers. Community development, on the other hand, is a bottom-up approach to promote personal growth and enhance the community (Chavis, 2000). Though CoP is promoting personal growth, it is not bonding and creating the community of BD workers in Malaysia. Field study of this research observed that they are not coming close to solve a common problem of being cheated by the employers or agents; whereas, community development is a process of community members coming together and solve common problems through collective action (Intellectual 2017).

Frustration in Malaysia for visa agent's false commitment (R-5); relations developed with instructors during the learning process through CoP (R-6); forming a small group of two to three persons for better management (R-7); and communicating through the smartphone in the virtual community are the steps of getting separated (R-9). So, during the process of irregular migration, informal capability expansion, and engagement in the virtual community, BD migrant workers get separated and live in a 'solitary community' in Malaysia. Figure 1: shows a combination of both the themes and their relations with migration. Four factors before migration, including mismanagement and four factors after immigration, including capability expansion and community engagement, lead the workers towards a solitary community and ultimately lowers their QoL.



Source: Output of Atlas ti from primary data

Figure 1: Migration to Malaysia and Related Issues

Figure 2 is showing that the community of practice (as a means of capability expansion) is overlapping on the community of Malaysia. A virtual community is further overlapping on the mutual space resulting solitary community and ultimately lowering the QoL. The same phenomenon is also observed with students in a hostel, soldiers in a barrack and religious workers of most of the religions who spends quite a bit of their lifetime in the solitary community. They spend majority of that time behind learning and training, staying without a family.

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Source: Researchers' Concept Developed from the Research

Figure 2: Effect of Community of Practice and Community of Malaysia on QoL

VI. Conclusion

Mismanagement of migration, informal way of capability expansion through CoP, and community activities in Malaysia are leading the workers towards a new community, named as the solitary community. Initially, unscrupulous and fraud agents recruit unskilled workers from different backgrounds and places. They are not grouped and trained before migration, further more, mistrust leads them towards a lonely life. Frustration after migration, attachment with the Guru for their informal capability expansion training through community of Practice (CoP), easy management of two or three persons, and engagement in the virtual community through digital platform farther apart them and push them towards a solitary community. In a nutshell, when the CoP intersects the BD migrant workers community of Malaysia and further overlapped by the virtual community, they form a solitary community.

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The Effects of Globalization on Youth Culture and Identity: A Zimbabwean Experience

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Abstract- This study sought to understand the effects of youth culture and identity on the Zimbabwean youth. A case study of Harare urban in Zimbabwe was used in order to have an in-depth understanding of the subject. The globalization era has both exerted a great effect upon and has been greatly affected by youth. Globalization has visibly changed the nature of the relationship between the world's youth and their sense of identity. The Zimbabwean urban youth can be regarded as that part of the community who are most receptive, or, alternatively, susceptible to, foreign cultural practices.

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Abstract- This study sought to understand the effects of youth culture and identity on the Zimbabwean youth. A case study of Harare urban in Zimbabwe was used in order to have an in-depth understanding of the subject. The globalization era has both exerted a great effect upon and has been greatly affected by youth. Globalization has visibly changed the nature of the relationship between the world's youth and their sense of identity. The Zimbabwean urban youth can be regarded as that part of the community who are most receptive, or, alternatively, susceptible to, foreign cultural practices.

Keywords: globalization, youth, culture, localization, identity, adolescence identity crisis, influence, life style, global factor scale.

I. Introduction

This study sought to understand the effects of globalization on youth culture and identity. Culture is the ensemble of practices – linguistic, stylistic, and religious, among other factors combined to form a way of being for a given social community. Culture is conceptualized as the ontological foundation of a person's lived existence. Such an analysis is used to form a proper appreciation of how culture produces identities, societies, and realities. Youth culture is more than the dressing that adorns the window through which they perceive their lived existence. It is not just the clothes that youth wear, the songs they sing, or the holidays that they observe. Youth culture is the language through which they learn to read the world. It is the collection of learned assumptions that youth bring to their daily practice of interpreting the meaning of their reality and themselves (Solomon & Scuderi, 2002:13). The youth sub-cultures developed during the 21st century have become implicitly rebellious, born as much from a desire to reject the culture and identity of the previous generations. Zimbabwean youth are seen as the part of society that is most likely to engage in a process of cultural borrowing that is disruptive of the reproduction of traditional cultural practices, from modes of dress to language, aesthetics, music, and ideologies.

II. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by the Adolescence Identity Crisis theory. According to Erikson (1956, 1963), individuals go through eight life stages whereby they are faced with an existential psycho-social crisis in each stage. Adolescents aged 12 to 18 years are faced with the crisis of identity formation versus role confusion. The successful resolution of the stage-wise crisis is the key to beneficial psycho-social adjustment. Marcia (1964) utilises two dichotomized concepts: exploration and commitment to elucidate adolescents' journey to identity formation. Exploration is characterised by adolescents actively seeking out experiences with and exposure to different value systems, ideologies, and role models in an attempt to find out the best fit for them. Commitment, on the other hand, refers to the dedication, devotion, and group loyalty one has chosen in relation to goals, roles, values, and beliefs. Ideally, individuals start from a state of 'diffusion' (low in exploration, low in commitment), move through the stage of 'moratorium' (high in exploration, low in commitment), and reach a stage of resolution, i.e. 'achievement' (high in exploration, high in commitment). For those who have prematurely committed to a set of pre-conceived goals, values, and beliefs, they are described as 'foreclosed' (low in exploration, low in commitment). Throughout the process, 'crisis' is considered to be the driving force behind identity formation. In a globalized world, exposure to new information and novel ideologies creates an awareness of the 'unknown', which can lead to a state of anxiety that expedites the process of identity formation.

In many ways, a cultural identity includes the key areas that Erikson (1968) emphasised as central to the formation of an adolescent's identity. These key areas pertain to ideology (beliefs and values), love (personal relationships), and work. Erikson's focus was on how adolescents make choices about ideology, love, and work in order to arrive at an independent and unique sense of self within the culture in which they live (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Forming a cultural identity, however, involves making choices about the cultures with which one identifies. Put another way, the Eriksonian identity formation task centres on the process of developing an individual identity within one's cultural community, whereas the process of forming a cultural identity involves deciding on the cultural community to which one belongs.

Adolescence and emerging adulthood may also be a time of life with a pronounced openness to diverse cultural beliefs and behaviours. Researchers have noted that, in many ways, adolescents and

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emerging adults have not yet settled on particular beliefs and behaviours (Arnett, 2000; Cote, 2000, 2006). Some research with immigrants in the United States of America (USA) has also shown that adolescents change their behaviours; beliefs, values, and identifications more than adults (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). This phenomenon, also known as dissonant acculturation, may apply not only to immigrants but also more generally to adolescents and emerging adults who have been exposed to globalization (Portes, 1997).

a) Understanding Globalization

Globalization, as defined by Malcolm Waters (2001, p. 5), is a "social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social, and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly." Globalization describes the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of people and countries. It is generally understood in terms of the increased mobility of goods, services, finance, people, and ideas across borders. It affects not only economic but also political, cultural, environmental, and security activities. Globalization has increased rapidly in recent years, driven by advances in technology and the increased mobility of capital (World Health Organisation, 2014). In general, the term globalization refers to the transformation of temporal and spatial limitations, that is, the shrinking of distance due to the dramatic reduction in the time needed to bridge spatial differences which has, in turn, resulted in the gradual integration of political, economic, and social space across national borders. Although globalization is often exclusively associated with the economic sphere, that is, with processes of production, distribution, and consumption as well as with ever-increasing global trade, and financial services, economic globalization is intricately interwoven with changes within the social, cultural, and political spheres (Featherstone, 1990; Waters, 1995; Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999).

Globalization has brought with it both opportunities and challenges. Many youths are migrating for better work, and education opportunities which allow them to acquire greater knowledge, and skills, and expand their networks (United Nations, 2010). While youths benefit from the immense opportunities that accompany employment and education options available internationally, competition has also stiffened. Youth now need to compete with a global pool of talent, and ensure that they remain competitive internationally. A survey carried in 2013 across four countries (USA, Brazil, Switzerland, and Singapore) by Credit Suisse found youths in Singapore concerned over the issue of immigration from the increased competition for jobs, and housing. In the USA, organisations such as World Savvy have started pushing for students to gain global competence. Tensions have arisen among youths who miss out on the benefits of globalization (Brown, 2014).

Globalization brings with it diversity. The 21st century society is more diverse culturally than generations ago. Youth culture and identity are being changed. Rather than pledging allegiance to a single national identity, youths today are embracing hybrid cultural identities. This is part of the influence from the global youth culture facilitated by the internet. Globalization offers clear economic opportunities, and benefits, but comes with substantial social costs that often appear to affect young people disproportionately, given their tenuous transitional status within an uncertain and rapidly evolving global context.

According to Hermans & Dimaggio (2007), although globalization expands many people's vision through economical, ecological, educational, informational, and military connections, it inevitably hampers and encapsulates other's horizon as a reaction to new information and experiences that pose potential threats to their values and beliefs. As globalization gathers its momentum, few people are immune to the force of becoming multi-cultural individuals. In many countries across the world, people are experiencing the so-called cultural shock. Hermans & Dimaggio (2007) proposed that the impact of globalization on self and identity is creating an uncertainty that motivates individuals and groups to construct a counterforce of 'localization.'

b) Understanding Culture

Culture is the ensemble of practices – linguistic, stylistic, and religious that together forms a way of being for a given social community. Culture is the language through which we learn to read the world. It is the collection of learned assumptions that we bring to the daily practice of interpreting the meaning of our reality and ourselves (Arnett, 2003). The degree to which culture exerts effects upon the way in which we interpret the world is made apparent when we compare the different ways in which a language can present reality to a linguistic community. Culturally specific assumptions, contained within a diverse range of interrelated practices (such as language, religion, sexuality), mean that a person's identity is always a multi-dimensional conglomerate of many identities. Cultural diversity further compounds the complexity of identity insofar as it opens up gaps and discontinuities between the way in which a particular community might perceive itself and the way it is perceived by others. Physical characteristics, styles of dress, and behaviour, language, and communicative accents, and, numerous other distinguishing phenomena, act as symbolic triggers in practices of cultural interpretation that attribute collective characteristics to the members of a particular community in a way that locates them within

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relationships of class, gender, and ethnicity among other issues (Fong, 2004).

Arnett (2003) proposes that for youth in non-Western traditions, globalization is culpable for an increased level of identity confusion as youth struggle to find the delicate balance between local culture and global culture. On one hand, some elements of local culture have lost their original charm. For example, as discussed by Fong (2004), state-sponsored discourses of nationalism have lost appeal for many Chinese youth who identified with a global community where China is usually put on an inferior place. On the other, many youth find it difficult to relate to the global culture because it differs drastically from and sometimes contradicts their local culture (Arnett, 2002). For example, global culture has as its characteristics individualism and consumerism, which is in contrast to the cultural tradition of collectivism and frugality in Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, and China. As a result, youth in these countries are faced with a cultural dilemma that puts added stress to their identity formation process. Arnett (2002) attributes the rise of social problems among youth in non-Western countries, such as substance use, prostitution, homicide, and suicide to the prevalence of identity confusion as a result of globalization.

Kjeldgaard & Askegaard (2006) challenge the myths of a homogenized 'global youth culture'. They point out that global youth culture usually becomes localized as youth in different parts of the world try to incorporate the global culture along with its symbols and meanings into their locality and everyday life (Bennet, 1999). Either 'globalized' or 'localized', youth culture seems to have become an integral part of the discussion on globalization and global economy.

Arnett (2002) suggests the development of a typology similar to one that has become popular in the ethnic identity/acculturation literature (Berry, 1993; Phinney, 1990) whereby people are surveyed in terms of strength of identification with both the dominant national culture and their particular sub-group minority culture. According to Berry (2003), research on the acculturation process originated from studies on the cultural impact of European colonisation in the mid-1940s, moved towards investigations of immigrants and cultural ethnic minorities, and evolved into a new focus on globalization and the resultant intensification of interconnections between diverse ethno-cultural groups. Berry (2003) advocates a multi-dimensional or multi-linear view of the acculturation process, whereby people adopt different acculturation strategies including assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. According to Berry (2003), acculturation is not measured in a uni-dimensional fashion such as 'level' or 'degree'. Rather, individuals take different paths in their attempt to cope with the changed cultural climate. A person who identifies strongly with both cultures is referred to as having a 'bicultural' identity (integration), while others may identify far more strongly with one over the other (or with neither) culture.

According to Berry (1997), minority members who embrace a 'bicultural' identity experience the least acculturative stress, as compared to individuals who employ the strategies of assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Berry's proposition was further supported by studies conducted in other countries of the world. For instance, Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond (2008) found that in highly developed multi-cultural societies such as Hong Kong, integrated bicultural identities are positively associated with better psychological adjustment. That is, individuals who are successful in balancing and harmonizing their multiple cultural identities tend to adjust better psychologically. It is important to note that Berry (2003, p. 24) also points out 'the portrayal of acculturation strategies was based on the assumption that none-dominant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate'. In other words, the acculturation strategies used is not just an individual preference/choice. It is in many ways shaped and limited by the attitudes and expectations of the larger culture (dominant culture).

Based on Berry's model, Arnett (2002) argues that with the intensification of globalization, people around the world are increasingly exposed to and involved in the global culture (especially Western and American culture), while local cultures continue to exert strong influence as well. He speculates that the 'bicultural identity' not only describes identity adopted by immigrants and members of minority groups, but also is applicable to research on globalisation. Arnett raised the question of whether the same relationship between bicultural identity and acculturative stress holds for the global culture.

Based on Arnett's (2002) suggestion, Cheng, Briones, Caycedo, & Berman (2008) have developed a paper and pencil measure, the Global Identity Survey (GIS), which asks participants about the degree to which they identify with either the local or global culture. A new typology was proposed, with behaviours and attitudes falling into one of the four following categories: 'locally encapsulated' (high in local identification, low in global identification), 'globally assimilated' (low in local identification, high in global identification), 'alienated' (low in both local and global identification), or 'bicultural' (high in both local and global identification).

c) *Understanding Identity*

Within the fast globalizing world with all its contradictions, struggles for identity have emerged as one of the most striking characteristics of the social, cultural, and political scene. One of the most important features of the identity discourse is the relative recency of its emergence and proliferation. In 1996 the

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prominent British cultural scientist, Stuart Hall (1996a:1), remarked that there was a veritable discursive explosion in recent years around the concept of 'identity'.

A proper appreciation of the ontological significance of culture engenders an equally significant conceptualization of the role of identity: the specific instance of interpreting the world that invests a person and those around them with meaning. Identities structure the way a person understands themselves and their world in both a descriptive and a prescriptive sense. From infancy onwards, a person is addressed by others through identities that invite the addressee to regard them in a certain way. Culturally specific ways of being masculine or feminine are among the first identities that most people will encounter, along with the identity of infancy itself. In the course of a person's biological and social development, the identities in which they will invest themselves will change according to circumstance, and to some extent, preference – resulting in an always complex, often contradictory and typically deep seated understanding of the nature of themselves, others, and their world. In this way, identity negotiation is a dynamic process.

The term identity first gained salience through the work of the psychologist Erikson in 1968. While Erikson associated identity as a definition of personhood that is, with sameness or continuity of the self across time and space, other authors also emphasised uniqueness, that is, those characteristics that differentiate a person from other people or the whole of humankind (Baumeister, 1986; Brewer, 1991, 1993; Rouse, 1995). Erikson (1968) used the term identity crisis to refer to individuals who had lost a sense of sameness or continuity. While he regarded an identity crisis as a normal and passing stage in adolescent development, he held that it should be regarded as pathological in adults. He typified a healthy state of identity development as an invigorating subjective awareness of sameness and continuity. Although Erikson (1968) theorised on identity from a psychoanalytic point of view, he also emphasised the role of the environment, and particularly the social environment, in the development of identity. He used the term psycho-social identity in this regard. Psycho-social identity refers to the awareness of who a person is, both as an individual, and as a member of a family, various societal groups, and a particular society. The prominent role of social groups in identity formation has been emphasised by other social psychologists such as (Tajfel, 1981). Tajfel held that membership of social groups is internalized as part of the self-concept and as such forms an integral part of the identity of an individual.

As scholars continue to discuss and theorise the effects of increasing globalization in the world, some psychologists have questioned its effects on people's sense of identity (Jack & Lorbiecki, 2007; Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; Nett & Hayden, 2007). Arnett (2002) argued that globalization had a major influence on people's sense of identity. Notwithstanding the fact that globalization as well as struggles for identity is mostly associated with the economic, political, z and social spheres, these processes also have far-reaching effects in the lives of individuals. According to Bauman (2001), disruptions in identity formation on the individual level can be ascribed to the combined effects of globalization, on the one hand, as well as to the new and extreme forms that liberal ideas on individualism have acquired in the modern age.

Traditionally, studies of identity formation focused primarily on factors such as career choices, social-political ideologies, religious beliefs, value systems, worldviews, sexual orientation, role-stereotypes, and ethnic identities. However, with the expansion of globalization, multi-culturalism has become an inseparable component of youth existence and identity formation. Arnett (2003) suggested two reasons why youth are most receptive to the global culture. First, they are more curious about and interested in popular culture and media influence than children, and adults. Secondly, youth are at a time in their lives where they are most open to new ideas, beliefs, and values. A third explanation of why youth are at the forefront of globalization is that English has been included as a prerequisite course of study in primary, secondary, and higher education in many African countries. For these African countries, English is used either as the tool of formal instruction or required as a major course at various levels of educational institutions.

Arnett (2003) argues that due to the intensification of globalization, youth around the globe now face greater risks and more opportunities simultaneously in their journey to develop a coherent cultural identity. Arnett (2002) argued that while Erikson's theory on youth identity formation centres primarily on how youth develop a firm sense of self in relation to others *within* their own cultural context, forming a multi-cultural identity requires youth to choose among different cultural patterns and eventually determine their group loyalty to one, some, or none of these diverse cultures. In other words, youth today are faced with a much more complicated world when they attempt to make choices about their values, beliefs, and ideologies.

Finally, information brought in by globalization may work to shatter youth sense of nationalism, sense of pride, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. In honour-oriented cultures such as China and Japan, a sense of shame is usually incurred as a result of comparing one's own country to other more advanced societies. Becoming locally encapsulated, therefore, could be seen as a cultural defence mechanism to protect the cultural ego. Youth culture is highly globalized in many parts of the world. Not only are youth major consumers

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of global culture, they are sometimes advocates and creators of the global culture. Youth utilize a variety of avenues to express and promote their newly hybrid identities, such as the Quebec Hip-hop described by Sarkar & Allen (2007) in their studies of rappers of Haitian, Dominican, and African origin.

d) Global Identity

Arnett (2002, p. 777) defines 'global identity' as 'a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles, and information that are part of the global culture.' In other words, individuals who have achieved a 'global identity', those who are capable of formulating an identity that moves about smoothly and freely between cultures are called 'global citizens' (Suárez-Orozco, 2004). However, some scholars have questioned the validity of the very concept of 'global identity'. Watson (2004) distinguished between adolescent consumers' preference for global brands such as Nike and McDonald's and a more deep-seated sense of cultural identification. He posed the questions of whether this external attraction to popular brand names can be taken as an indication of a more sophisticated psychological process that characterizes identity formation. On the other hand, 'local identity' is seen as "one based on the local circumstances, local environment, and local traditions of the place where they grew up" (Arnett, 2002, p. 777). Furthermore, a third category named 'hybrid identity' (Arnett, 2002) or 'trans-cultural' identity (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) is formulated by scholars to describe the combination of local culture and aspects of the global culture.

Global culture has emerged as a dynamic and fluid concept that encompasses interconnecting, contradicting, and often competing cultural models and patterns around the globe. In a globalized world, both immigrants and youth living in their home country are impacted and challenged in unique ways by globalization (Suárez-Orozco, 2004). It is important to point out that during the interplay of globalization, 'global culture' and 'local culture' are not equal in status, and power. For most non-Western societies and cultures, global culture is usually associated with glamour and status. For example, people with fluency in English (usually considered the 'global language') are usually more competitive in the job market. Another example can be found in consumption patterns of urban adolescents around the world. Today, young people around the world are fascinated with 'global brands' such as Apple, McDonald's, KFC, Pizza Hut, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Levis, Nike, Adidas, and IKEA.

e) Youth in the Developed World

Like all identities, youth is a culturally relative manifestation whose meanings and applications are specific to certain times and locales. For those living in present-day Western cultures, the term youth refers to persons who are no longer children and not yet adults. In a strictly legal sense, the term is typically applied to a person from the time of their early teens until a point between the age of 16 and 24, after which time the person is legally an adult. As an adult, they are endowed privileges such as the right to vote and consume alcohol among other issues. Used colloquially, however, the term generally refers to a broader, more ambiguous, field of reference – from the physically adolescent to those in their late 20s. The United Nations, for example, defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24 years inclusive (UNESCO, 2002). Traversing both sides of the legal distinction between childhood and adulthood, the youth identity presents those in their teens and their 20s as participants in a shared social experience that is distinct from that of other age groups.

To be a youth in this colloquial sense of the term is to be distinguished from the remainder of the population not just by age but by a certain level of agency (youth typically enjoy a greater amount of agency, or social power, than children but less than adults); a particular relationship to the labour market (youth are more likely to be unemployed, earn less or be engaged in study than adults); and youth-specific cultural pursuits (youth typically consume cultural phenomena and assume styles of behaviour and dress that are different from the comparable habits of children and adults). This final characteristic, along with age, is the most visible and obvious criterion that invites the application of the youth identity as it is currently employed in Western cultures.

It is also the criterion that is most specific to the experience of youth in the developed world, and it is a phenomenon that is fundamentally linked to the globalization age. Hebdige's (1979) seminal study of youth identity and culture, argues that present-day Western youth first appeared as a social phenomenon in the period following the Second World War. Hebdige (1979) cited a number of globalization's emergent social conditions as causal factors in the historical manifestation of youth culture and the youth identity in the West. He indicated that the advent of mass media, the disintegration of the working-class community, the relative increase in the spending power of working class youth, the creation of a market designed to absorb the resulting surplus and changes in the education system, contributed to the emergence after the War of a generational consciousness among the young (Hebdige, 1979:74).

f) Youth in the Developing World

The market place of dominant youth culture produces experiences which are enabled by the disproportionate levels of surplus capital being supplied to the West by the economically and politically marginalized African countries. The African youth are mostly excluded from the youth experience that their

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economies make possible in the developing world. According to the UN, the majority of the world's youth live in developing countries, with approximately 60 percent in Asia and 23 percent in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The UN estimated that by 2025, the number of young people living in the developed countries would increase to 89.5 percent (UNESCO, 2002). In *Rethinking Youth,* Wyn & White (1997) pointed out that for the majority of the young people living in the developing countries, the universal stage of development was and remains an inappropriate one.

III. Methodology

The study relied on qualitative methodology, while a case study design of Harare urban in Zimbabwe was used to understand the effects of globalisation on youth culture and identity. The choice of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe was based on the assumption that the youth sample would be significantly higher in exposure to global factors, identity exploration, identity distress, and openness than those in other areas, and lower in identity commitment. Another assumption was that youth in Harare urban would have higher percentages of bi-cultural, and globally assimilated, while the other samples would have higher percentages of locally encapsulated. Primary data was gathered using a semi-structured questionnaire while secondary data was gathered through documents such as peer reviewed journal articles, books, book chapters, and newspapers.

The Global Factors Scale was designed to assess participants' exposure to global factors in terms of television watch, internet use, exposure, and familiarity with people from other countries, as well as international travel (Cheng, Briones, Caycedo, & Berman, 2008). A number of questions were asked. These included: What is your understanding of globalization? Which television channels do you watch? How often do you use the internet? How many people do you know who are not from your own country? Which are your favourite clothing brands?, and How many times have you travelled abroad? Questions were also asked in order to assess the degree to which participants identified with either the local or global culture.

IV. Discussion

This section is based on the key findings of the study. Some of the key questions asked the youth and their responses are indicated below.

a) *Understanding of Globalization and its Effects on Culture and Identity*

The majority of research participants indicated that they had no clear understanding of globalization. However, they showed an appreciation of what was happening globally. They indicated an appreciation of the various cultures and identities of different countries. The impacts included those of consumerism, family breakdowns, vast leaps in technology development, tribalism (wanting to know its roots), globalization (one-world), moral decline, incarnational (living it out through public lifestyle and actions) and relational issues – both globally and locally. One of the youth who participated in the study indicated that:

> *Globalization has seriously affected the way we think, walk and talk as youth. If you listen to our type of music, it's mainly western. Our dressing is western and our accent is American.*

Another participant in the study alluded to the negative effects that globalization has had on youth identity. He indicated that:

> *Most urban youth have lost their identity. Look at how they dress and walk. Youth are no longer respecting their elders. The moral fabric is decaying because of trying to imitate European and American cultures.*

A key informant who participated in the study showed that those organizations dealing with lacked information on how to deal with the effects of globalization. He mentioned that:

> *Despite the fact that globalisation has manifold effects on young people's daily lives, actors in the youth sector lack information and understanding about the specific effects of globalisation and their implications to be able to initiate sufficiently informed youth work.*

Technology has played a significant role in the life of youth. The youth who participated in the study showed an appreciation of the current developments in the latest technological trends – computers, mobile phones, DVD players, games consoles. These form part of their everyday lifestyles, and in which they operate fluently. The youth showed a high level of their knowledge within these technologies. Their knowledge in the field of computers operates on a mosaic of different levels, and competent to switch between these levels, rather than in a linear (step-by-step) pattern. One participant in the study argued that:

> *As youth we need to be kept up to date with the global events. We rely mainly on social media such as twitter, face book and whats App to link with the rest of the world. Imagine I am able to communicate with my friends and relatives who are far away. Technology has made communication easy.*

Some youth showed an appreciation of both the local culture and global cultures. One participant indicated that:

> *I appreciate my culture more that the Western culture. I know how to dress properly. You see I am not wearing shredded jeans like my friends do. Even the type of music I listen to is local though it carries Western flavour.*

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Another youth who participated in the study opined that:

Globalization has had a very strong effect on me. It has allowed me to live with my friends and extended families that live in very different cultures and settings. The extended exposure to these different cultures and languages has opened my eyes to the value and diversity we have as a human race.

Youth in Harare had significantly higher levels of exposure to global factors (Internet use; familiarity with people from other countries; overseas travelling, etc.). Therefore, it seemed that participants who identified primarily with the global culture as well as those who identified with both the global and local cultures tended to have higher exposure level to Internet use, to friends, and families from other counties, as well as to overseas travelling. Therefore, youth who identified primarily with the global culture, as well as those who identified with both the global and local cultures tended to be more active in terms of identity exploration in general. These are youth who seek out opportunities to enrich their experiences; those who are willing to challenge the "status quo;" and those who are on the front line of experimentation with new ideas, new values, new ideologies, and new ways of being.

b) The Impact of Globalization on Education

Globalization and major improvements in access to education have allowed many Zimbabwean youth to both benefit from and contribute to the development of their country. The Zimbabwean culture, values and ways of life have changed considerably as a result of increased economic openness and exposure to foreign goods, services and information. The new perspectives and modes of behaviour adopted by youth sometimes place them at risk but have also allowed them to become a strong, positive force in the development of their societies. Youth constitute a ready pool of human capital and are industrious, competitive, adaptable and technologically savvy, but they are often underutilised or exploited in the labour market. One of the youth who participated in the study mentioned that:

We now have a lot of Zimbabwean youth studying abroad in countries such as China, Singapore, America and Britain. These youth learn the various cultures of these countries and have a better appreciation as compared to us who are studying here in Zimbabwe.

Another youth appreciated the importance of education. She mentioned that:

Our education system is mainly influenced by western ideology. We are taught in English at school. You cannot be admitted to University without English. Most of the communication is now English. It's now very difficult for youth to speak in their local languages.

Globalization has probably brought together more people of mixed backgrounds, and ethnic differences. Because of the power and influence of the media and music industries, young people all over the world are watching the same films and listening to the same music. At the same time they are trying to find their place, to belong to a group where they are accepted, known and valued. There is fear in the lives of young people. Youth are longing for partnership, the right kind of partnership and want to see it modelled, rather than the mentality of living independently and totally self-reliant. They are individuals in their own right, but they want to be part of something bigger. The current youth culture promotes a lack of personal (one to one) communication, in favour of communication on a group basis, a larger gathering of friends operating a 'family' mentality. Popular culture has attained an immense global following precisely *because* it is popular. The near take-over of the Zimbabwean youth cultural industries is of great concern. Berger (1997) points out that popular culture carries a significant freight of beliefs and values. Take the case of rock music. Its attraction is not just due to a particular preference for loud, rhythmic sound and dangerously athletic dancing. Rock music also symbolises a whole cluster of cultural values—concerning self-expression, spontaneity, released sexuality, and perhaps most importantly, defiance of the alleged stodginess of tradition.

The contemplation of struggles for identity within the age of globalisation brings Bauman (2001a) to the conclusion that the term identity should be replaced with identification. Identification implies a never-ending, open-ended activity that is always incomplete and never finished. Human's frantic search for identity in the current age cannot be regarded as a residue of pre-modern and pre-globalization times. It is a side-effect and by-product of the combination of globalising, localising and individualising forces themselves and their concomitant tensions. They are legitimate off-springs and natural companions of the multiple and often contradictory processes associated with globalization. They are in reality the oil that lubricates the wheels of globalization.

V. Conclusion

Globalization has affected certain values rooted in major religions and cultures of the world. Concepts of good and evil, right and wrong, individualism and pluralism, individual interaction with the society and the very meaning of life are all warped and corrupted by global capitalism, international markets, mass media and the promotion of excessive consumption. Even some local languages, and valuable traditions are on the verge of disappearance as the result of globalisation. Global consumerism is now forming a homogeneous global culture where the Zimbabwean culture is being replaced by Western cultures (Muzaffar, 2002). There has been alienation of societies with their

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history because of fascination with foreign values. These new values and beliefs have no root or connection to the African and the Zimbabwean identity. Globalization weakens the traditions and values of local cultures for the sake of universal uniformity and dominance of a commanding culture through the formidable power of international media.

Globalization can intensify social divisions, and as youth are struggling to establish themselves in a new social context, the sometimes intimidating adult world they may be perceived as being particularly vulnerable to the threat of segregation or exclusion. However, in any analysis of young people's relationship with globalization, two key points must be borne in mind. First, there is a tendency to assume that the effects of globalization are unstoppable, and that globalization is a process young people react to rather than actively negotiate.

Young people and relevant actors in the youth field at local, national, and international level have few opportunities to meet, network, and exchange experiences on globalization. This limits the extent to which they have the capacity to promote responses to the consequences of globalization, intercultural dialogue, and solidarity. Actors in the youth sector have few opportunities to reflect on how the instruments traditionally used for the promotion and implementation of youth policies can be adapted to the new and changing context of globalization. Some actors in the youth field are already working to promote universal values such as equality, justice, peace, and respect for human dignity.

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Communication as an Obstacle for Education: An Analysis on Participation of Hijras in Mainstream Education System of Bangladesh

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Abstract- Hijra is a term given to the intersex, hermaphrodite and, transgender people who are part of the Hijra community in Bangladesh. In 2013 Bangladesh government gave the official recognition of Hijras as a third gender community. But the society still thing Hijras are aliens they are not supposed to live in society and have a life. Though Hijras have official recognition of their sexual identity they are far away to get social recognitio n. Educatio n is a basic need for every single person in the world, and education is the best medium of communication to construct the social identity of a person. According to Bangladesh, education policy education is for all. Hijras are also included in the term 'all.' Though they have all the r ight of being a citizen of the people republic of Bangladesh, we never seen a Hijra in school, college, or any other educational institution. Using a qualitative analysis, this study will focus on why Hijras are not participating in the mainstream education system of Bangladesh though they have official recognition as a third gender community. This paper will also focus on the role of society in making this decimation in the education system.

Keywords: *hijra, participation, education, communication.*

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COMMUNICATIONASANOBSTACLEFOREDUCATIONANANALYSISONPARTICIPATIONOFHIJRASINMAINSTREAMEDUCATIONSYSTEMOFBANGLADESH

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Communication as an Obstacle for Education: An Analysis on Participation of Hijras in Mainstream Education System of Bangladesh

Md. Ashraful Goni [α] & Mehnaz Hoque [σ]

Abstract- Hijra is a term given to the intersex, hermaphrodite and, transgender people who are part of the Hijra community in Bangladesh. In 2013 Bangladesh government gave the official recognition of Hijras as a third gender community. But the society still thing Hijras are aliens they are not supposed to live in society and have a life. Though Hijras have official recognition of their sexual identity they are far away to get social recognition. Education is a basic need for every single person in the world, and education is the best medium of communication to construct the social identity of a person. According to Bangladesh, education policy education is for all. Hijras are also included in the term 'all.' Though they have all the right of being a citizen of the people republic of Bangladesh, we never seen a Hijra in school, college, or any other educational institution. Using a qualitative analysis, this study will focus on why Hijras are not participating in the mainstream education system of Bangladesh though they have official recognition as a third gender community. This paper will also focus on the role of society in making this decimation in the education system. This research paper utilizes the co-cultural theory by Mark Orbe and Muted group theory by Ardener. This study use these theories to understand how social influence is responsible for a minority community to stay out of the mainstream education system. The theories used also helped with explaining the reason how sexual Identity became the main obstacle in the path of education.

Keywords: hijra, participation, education, communication.

I. Introduction

Man, women, and Hijras are humans of the same society, but society has created the gender identity of men and women differently. Till now, society has not given the gender recognition of Hijra people in Bangladesh, though they have an official identity as a third gender according to the law of Bangladesh. When we dig deep to understand this problem, we have found that our education system is the biggest catalyst to construct the gender identity of a human being.

Education is a basic human right for every human being but unfortunately, we don't see third gender people in school though they have all the constitutional right to study into school as their preferred gender or third gender. Create equal opportunities of education for all including any gender identity to establish a society free of discrimination is one aim and objectives of the education policy of Bangladesh.

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II. Research Questions

This research will try to answer the following questions-

1. What is the rate of participation of Hijra people in mainstream education and how educated are they?
2. What are the obstacles they face if they take part in a mainstream education system?
3. Is there any alternative education program available for Hijra people? How many of them want to study farther?

a) *Research Gap*

Some dissociated researches on gender sensitivity found in textbooks or in the curriculum of mainstream education in Bangladesh. But No one has done yet no continuous research on this topic. Researchers have discussed only two genders in all these researches. None of them worked on the third gender. They also limited those researches into content analysis only. No research on Hijra population's participation in mainstream education in Bangladesh has done before.

This study will serve as a primary source of information to future researchers. The recognition of Hijra people as a human largely depends on the awareness of mass people. My research is crucially necessary to increase awareness among people, to ensure human rights of Hijra people and to make the right guidelines for this community.

b) *Research limitations*

There some problems and limitations of this research.

1. Interviewing Hijra people was the most challenging task of this research. Many of them did not answer all my questions properly, which may affect the result and this a limitation of my research.
2. Hijra children are often remain hidden in our society. For this reason, I could interview none of them. Those children could have done significant contribution in this study with information. So this was another limitation.

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3. Hijras have complained that the information they provide sold by NGOs to earn money. They keep this in their mind while answering the questions, which increases the chance of getting false or misleading information.

III. Literature Review

In the research article titled `Education of Transgenders in India: Status and Challenges', Dr. Rajkumar (2016) shows that despite the laws in the constitution of India, the other sex (transgender) continues to stigmatize. Transgender people faced discrimination and harassment at family, school and community force them to move to the other places. The nature of the harassment includes verbal, physical and sexual abuse which has a serious impact on the mental health. In a democratic country like India, Transgender has no access to the social and political rights. They are not the part of any welfare scheme. So the researcher suggested for an immense need to intervene at individual, community and policy level to safeguard the rights of transgender.

Md. Ikramul Islam (2016) in, his research `Right To Education of The Third Gender of Bangladesh: An overview shows that -The eunuchs who also known as the third gender is far and beyond the realm of education in Bangladesh. We know the term third gender uses as Hijra in Bangladesh. They have always remained a fundamental part of the Bangladeshi society from ancient time. But unfortunately their present state of existence is reduced to wretched poverty, illiteracy, hatred and mockery. The Hijras are still living in the shadow of rejection from every basic right to equality and education. Our education system is still incompatible for eunuch people of our country. In most of the cases they become the topic for exploration and research for their strange appearances. The government has only given them the right to vote, but they face a desolate future with no access to education. This article describes the steps the authority might take, which for their betterment and to ensure their right to education. To ensure the implementation of human rights and to use the internal capacities of the hijras of our country, we should go forward effectively as early as achievable.

The right to education for the eunuch people is the human rights issue. In Europe, Article 2 of the primary Convention of 20 Walk 1952 to the European Tradition on Human Rights states that the proper to education is recognized as a human right and is caught on to introduce a privilege to education. Concurring to the International Pledge on Financial, Social and Social Rights, the proper to education incorporates the proper to free, obligatory primary education for all, a commitment to create secondary education reachable to all in specific by the illuminated presentation of free secondary education, and an obligation to create legitimate to get justiciable access to higher education in specific by the reformist introduction of free higher education. The right to education moreover incorporates an obligation to supply essential instruction for people who have not completed primary education (http://emmashopebook.com).

"Everyone has the right to education", says Article 26(1) of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Declaration of the Rights of the Child proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in 1959 states, 'they entitle the child to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages.' From the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989, all international declarations and covenants on rights of the child acknowledge children's right to education (Emma, 1996). It echoes the same in the Dakar Forum on Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals in 2000. Bangladesh has been trying unremittingly to uphold the cause of education for all since its emergence as an independent country. Article 17 of the Constitution of Bangladesh stipulates that primary education shall be the delicacy of the State. To bear this responsibility, primary education in Bangladesh underwent a great deal of changes and development during the last few years. Bangladesh is a signatory to the world declaration on education for all held at Jomtien, Thailand in March 1990. Bangladesh is also a signatory to the summit of 9 high populous countries held in Delhi. So, as a human being eunuch, people can claim educational right. But practically they are the ignored class of people.

The right to education is crucial to allow eunuch persons to develop to the full of them soon they will include the community. States must guarantee an effective exercise of their right to education in mainstream schools, and/or in special schools only if inclusion in mainstream schools is not possible and if they agree this decision with the parents. This also means that apart from teaching academic skills, education of eunuch people must include grounding for an independent life, adaptive behaviors and social skills. Adult education should provide the utmost range of opportunities and include not only special education or participation in mainstream adult educational programs but also training in basic skills, self-management, living skills, at all ages. Lunch discrimination gratis educational system to ensure basic rights initiatives to introduce formal, informal and technical educations & create a quota system to enroll hijra in educational institutes and for higher studies in all Universities (Mckeown, 1988).

In Bangladesh, the spirit of the Constitution is to make certain the fortification of fundamental rights of every citizen. Article 27 of the Constitution provides that all citizens are equal before law and may equal

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State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex (Kelly, 2009). So, as a citizen eunuch, people may definitely get educational right like others. From statistics, there are at least 10,000 hijras in Bangladesh and they are being denied their rights in various sectors including education because of being a marginal group which is inconsistence with the constitution

IV. Theoretical Framework & Methodology

This study uses Co-cultural Communication Theory to examine the experiences of Hijra people in the mainstream education system of Bangladesh. Co-cultural theory serves as an analytical framework that looks at culture as an uneven site of communicative relations. One of its central assumptions is that it structures societies in hierarchical terms. This creates a dominant position for certain cultural groups while they marginalize other groups (Rubén, 2008). In this research, the researcher focus on how the Hijra or third gender people traditionally marginalized in our mainstream education system. And with the help of the Muted group theory, the research provides insight into the dynamics of the perceptions and experiences of Hijras who sit in silence in the education system of Bangladesh. According to Social anthropologists, Ardener and Ardener advanced the notion of muted group theory based on the observation that there is a dominant group in society and there are groups silenced by the dominant group (Mears et al., 2004). This study draws several phenomenological inquiries that inductively gathered from the in-depth interview from hijra people of Bangladesh.

V. Data Analysis and Discussion of Interview

We have analyzed the data in the light of purpose and question of this research, theoretical framework and selected research method. Co-cultural communication theory and muted group theory have been used to analyze the in-depth interview of Hijras to understand their participation in mainstream education system. We have presented overall result as the answers to research questions.

Here, to analyze the data found from the in-depth interviews of 9 people from Hijra community researcher have used the theoretical framework of Co-cultural communication theory and muted group theory. Researcher has measured the participation of Hijra people in mainstream education system using some indicators. Those are –

a) Sexual identity is the prime obstacle

Sexual identity is the largest obstacle for Hijra people to take part in mainstream education. Society have forced many Hijras to drop out from schools just because they are “Hijra”, as they do not behave like proper “man” or “woman.”

Hijra Anonna (39) said, ‘My sexual identity was the main problem to get the education. My male classmates have done their masters and doing a good job; female classmates are doing great work or living in abroad. But I’m the only ill-fated Hijra who didn’t finish education or to reach my desired goal.’

A person is being deprived of basic rights like education just for his/her sexual identity. From teachers to students, everyone used to misbehave with the Hijra students in schools. Such as nobody wanted to sit beside a Hijra student, verbal bullying and so on. We can define this treatment using muted group theory, as the culture of definitive male-female is the dominant one in our society and they will always try to oppress the culture of sexual minorities.

Another Hijra, who has received no education at all, HijraMunni (23) said, "I could not study because I am Hijra. They wouldn’t let me sit in class. I’ve always had the confusion of whom to sit with, boys or girls? If I sit beside boys, they would say that I was a girl. If I sit beside a girl, they would say I was a Hijra. They used to taunt me a lot. So much that I had to quit school in just a few days.”

Hijra Kajol (28) was saying, ‘I couldn’t go to school because I was Hijra. Classmates used to misbehave. Therefore, I couldn’t study.’

According to Hijra Choto (23), “I am Hijra. Both boys and girls used to tease me if I sit beside them. Where would I sit then? Even my teacher used to tease me saying why am I like this. But he never understood I differed from others. And this continued for a while, and then I left school. I cannot study in a place where everyone teases me.”

Hijra people are being mistreated for their sexual identity for a long time now. Everyone in school used to avoid them. Like other boys and girls, education is a basic right for Hijra people. But the dominant men and women of the society is keeping them away for their basic rights.

Hijra Kotha (27) said, ‘I used to get ignored by my classmates. Some would say they wouldn’t sit beside a girlish boy like me. I didn’t understand what they meant properly, but I felt bad. And after some time, I had to leave school because of this.’

Hijra Khushi (26) was saying, ‘I was too poor to study, still used to go to a government school. I used to always mix up with girls and went to school with them, sit beside them. Boys used to disturb me by asking why I am always with girls or behave girly. They called me half ladies. At some point, I couldn’t bare anymore and left school.’

To summarize all these statements, sexual and social identities and their behaviors were the biggest problem for Hijra people to take part in mainstream

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education system. We can define these using Co-cultural communication theory as the dominant gender culture of our society keeps Hijra people away from mainstream education. Also, using the muted group theory, we can say that, dominant gender of our society, precisely men are making an environment for Hijra people to leave mainstream education system and eventually leave schools.

b) Society Harassed Hijra People

Teacher and classmates often harasseHijra student in the School. Sometimes this extends to sexual harassment. Society is very much concern about eve teasing with girls, for Hijra people it is very common. Some terrible stories unfold upon asking for the harassing experience Hijra people faced in schools.

Hijra Anonna (39), working in Bondhu Social Welfare Society, said, 'A Hijra person doesn't understand what she is at the young age. Everyone from teacher to classmates makes her understand that she is a sexual minority, she doesn't belong to school, she belongs to street, what she will study in school? Society won't give you validation. Ultimately, you got to be in the streets, begging for money. So there's no point of studying. Entire society uses the word Hijra as a slang.'

Sexual harassment is a lifelong scar for anyone. Women give up workplace, family or even society being the victims of sexual harassment. Hijra students cannot tell anyone about their sexual harassment since society consider them as 'male' in our society. Dominant gender group of society oppresses sexual minorities like that to keep them away from mainstream society.

Hijra Kajol (28) was saying her terrifying experiences, 'I was in class six that time. One day some 4-5 classmates got me in the toilet and wanted to see exactly what I am. They harassed me sexually that day. I was in a terrible place but couldn't tell anybody. Who would take seriously that a boy got harassed in school?'

Verbal abuse was also a common phenomenon alongside sexual harassment. They get insulted every day. Since the word 'Hijra' itself is a slang in our society, it is no big deal shaming Hijra people for their sexual orientation. They get shamed for not behaving properly like a 'man' or 'woman', which we can consider as the 'standard' in our male dominant society.

Hijra Joya (24) was saying, 'I used to study in a boys' school. There was no problem until I was in class five. Problems started when my women-like features became visible. It wasn't sexual harassment, but more like stigmatizing me for my behaviors. They used to call me bitter names like half-ladies, girly boy, etc. I felt so bad and asked myself if I really am different from them. What if I belong to a different society?'

Another Hijra person, Hijra Bithi (18) said, 'They used to tease me with all the dirty words. Even my teacher used to harass me if I did not submit my homework. He would say things like dancing in front of the class or to sing a song. They used to make fun of me, and I couldn't take it easy."

Our male dominant society was not happy just abusing them verbally or physically. Showing physical force is the ultimate way to dominate over someone. And they did exactly that. Male students in schools beat those Hijra students.

Hijra Choto (23) was saying, 'Boys used to throw stones at me. They wouldn't take me to play cricket with them. They didn't let me sit with them to have tiff in saying I am Hijra, I cannot sit with them. Both girls and boys treated me the same way. My teacher used to beat me for behaving like girls.'

From all this discussion above Hijra people face a tremendous amount of harassment to take part in mainstream education system, such as, stigmatizing, teasing, sexual harassment. In the light of muted group theory, we can say that dominant gender group creates an environment of harassment for the weak and minor gender group so they steer away from social institutions like school and thus the dominance continues.

c) Hijra people have no alternative option to take education

It should be natural to have an alternative education system for Hijra people since they cannot do so in mainstream system. But unfortunately there is not any such institution. For instance, there are specialized schools for special needs children, but none for Hijra children. Also, there is no adult education system for Hijra people either.

Hijra Kotha (40) was saying, 'There is no school for Hijra people. Though government has said they will give some money to Hijra children for education expenses. That means government will provide special scholarship to Hijra children so they can continue their study. But till now there is no attempt to open a specialized school for them. Neither from government nor from NGOs.'

Hijra Khushi (26) said, 'I've never seen such thing in my entire life. I've been active in this community for like 10-12 years but seen nothing like that. I cannot even rent a house and open a schools for us.'

Hijra Munni (23) said, 'There is no separate school for Hijra children. No government or NGO haven't been able to provide us such a facility.'

Hijra Joya (24) was saying, 'There is no such school for Hijra children to exist in our country. There are special schools for transgender people in foreign countries. They build those schools for them.'

There are no alternative schools for Hijra children and for adults. Adult education program is running on many parts of our country, but none for Hijra people. Different NGOs in Bangladesh provide them different facilities but not adult education.

Upon asking on the availability of an adult education program for Hijra people, HijraAnonna (39)

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was saying, 'Some NGOs provide HIV awareness program, sex education, mental and physical health programs but no formal education program for us. Government has taken no steps either. In Bangladesh there's no scope for adult education for Hijra people.'

Hijra Kajol (28) was saying, 'There's no way I can take an education at this age. I couldn't study when I was a child, neither I have any scope now. There is no such school for Hijra people of my age.'

From the discussion above we can see there is no alternative education program available for Hijra people. They cannot study in schools neither in young age nor there is any school for them after being an adult. We can define this using muted group theory as a dominant gender group like men are making them stay out of school and the communication among these powerless group of people are being controlled and behaviors are being imposed on them by the dominant group.

d) Less educational qualification yet eager to be literate

During the literature review for this research we have seen that rate of literacy is very low among Hijra people. We have taken an in-depth interview of nine Hijra persons for this study and only two (Ananna and Kotha) of them have passed Higher Secondary (HSC). Rest of them could not continue to study more than 8^{th} grade. Munni did not receive any education at all. She cannot even write her name. We cannot make literacy percentage among Hijra people since researcher did not do any survey here. But from the data of interviews, we can say that the percentage is very low. One more notable point is, despite the low literacy rate Hijra people Hijra's are egger to be literate.

Hijra Choto (23) was saying, 'I've studied till class eight and wanted to go farther. I will study again if I have given a chance.'

Hijra Nodi (19) saying, 'I studied till class seven and wanted to do more because of all the mocking from boys. I left that place cause nobody liked me there. They forced me to leave.'

Those who have passed HSC are in a better place than others. They don't have to beg on streets or be sex workers. But they wanted to study more. Pressures from society and lack of family support was the main culprit for them to be in darkness. But they believe that they have the potential to be a national asset by educating themselves if the society gave them a chance.

Hijra Anonna (39) was saying, 'I have passed my HSC. But I, Anonna, believe that I am not literate at all. I didn't get any facilities to study. But now if I had time to study in a university I hope I would do good. There are so many like me who have passed secondary or higher secondary but couldn't go farther. If government could ensure a warming environment for us to study, I'm sure there wouldn't be so much of us uneducated. We don't want to be the burden of society, rather we want to be an asset. We have that ability and courage. Just give us a chance to grow up.'

Hijra Kotha (40) was saying, 'I've studied till HSC by my willpower and courage. I wanted to be a doctor. But family society; nobody helped me. My willpower wasn't enough, and I had to drop out. Then I got separated from my family. I used to learn to dance and was a listed dancer in Shilpokola Academy. I got involved with those cultural activities and eventually gave up studying.'

We can define these statements using Co-cultural communication theory and muted group theory as the dominant class of our society negatively influences this powerless community of people of their mind setup of taking education. These results huge drop out rate against their will. Thus the literacy rate stays low. In short, uneven distribution of resources and unfair implementation of force from the dominant class is the main reason of a low percentage of literacy among Hijra people.

e) Hijra people have their own idea of an education system

As answers to the question of how Hijra can be a part of our mainstream education system, they have given some different ideas. All of them believes a change of perspective in society and government efforts like: specialized school, adding lessons about Hijra people in textbook among others will help them take part in mainstream education system.

Hijra Kajol (28) said, 'If they gave us a separate school and colleges we could have continue studying even after leaving our families, as we have something to hold on to.'

Hijra Munni (23) said the same, 'It will be a helpful if we get a specialized school. We could study well then.'

Hijra people understand that there is no alternative of education to improve their lives. At the same time they hope for help from both government and mass people. Government has to take efforts and people in our society need to change their perception to Hijra persons. Hijra people gave some ideas to implement these.

Hijra activists Anonna (39) was saying, 'Government has no magic wand that can change the situation overnight. First, we need to work on minimizing the distance between us and other people through heavy campaigning. We need to aware people in every sector of the government system. Along with that, to ease to life of next generation we can add a chapter in the primary education discussing the life and culture of Hijra people. If we can educate mass people from the elementary level, we will change the situation in a good way in next 10-20 years.'

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Hijra Khushi (26) was saying, 'To improve the lifestyle of newborn Hijra children we need to convince our civil society to look at them as a general human being. Ensuring them a proper education. Government gave us some rights, but we cannot use them. Only giving rights aren't enough, they get to implement those.'

Hijra Kotha (40) said, 'Teachers in school should know about the rights given by the government for Hijra people, so that those who need the right can claim. There should be an option to register Hijra children as a separate gender from male or female in the school admission form. That will minimize the hassle for the guardians of Hijra children.'

If we analyze these statements with Co-cultural communication theory and muted group theory, we can say that dominant gender class has gagged the voice of Hijra people by forcefully implementing a communication system that even eventually makes them leave mainstream society. But now, if these dominant gender class helps the Hijra community then they will be no more a muted group. Rather, they have the potential to become an important part of the society.

VI. Recommendations to Associate Hijra People with Mainstream Education System

Many people from Hijra community have given their different ideas on how we can associate them into the mainstream education system. Here's a list of recommendations for associating Hijra Population into mainstream education.

1. We need to change our perception towards Hijra people. We have to remember, Hijra people are human being like ourselves. Their sexual identity differs from men and women. We should acknowledge that and protect them from the social harassment.
2. We need specialized schools for Hijra children and adults. We need to implement The Hijra development Act to ensure their safety and development.
3. We can include a chapter or a story of Hijraculture in primary level textbooks so that all children can know about these people. That will help to change the perception towards Hijra people positively.
4. There should be an option to register third gender in any educational institution's admission form, so that teachers will have a clear idea about students sexual orientation.
5. Government should launch a campaign and other social events to minimize the distance among Hijra people and mass population.
6. The government can take steps to educate Hijra children about sensitive topics like eve teasing, sexual harassment, etc. So they can claim legal help in need.
7. Hijra rights must not stay limited into pen and paper, rather government has to take efforts to implement them.

VII. Conclusion

The research found that Hijra people have next to no participation in mainstream education in Bangladesh. They cannot continue to study much longer because of their sexual orientation. And through this the society marginalized them and make them deprived from basic right like education just because they are Hijra (third gender). Teachers, students and every other citizen of society believe that schools are not for Hijra people and this dominance ideology of the society eventually makes Hijra community invisible. Without the right to education it will be difficult for them to survive with respect, dignity and generous life. As a result, they leave schools; they leave society and start living on their own. But the situation is changing slowly. Now the people of the third gender should be positively welcome in the society, media is trying to create their presence in our society; and the government, the civil society and the Non-Governmental Organizations should stand by them through ensuring their rights to education. And the assurance of right to education to the Hijras (third gender) may support and preserve the image of liberal Bangladesh.

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Contribution of Sufisim to Kashmir: Historical Perspective

By Amrik Singh & Jaspreet Kaur
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Abstract- This paper focuses on the perception of Kashmiri Pandit participants on Sufism and Rishi culture of Kashmir. This generation of Kashmiri Pandit have lived significant years of their lives in Kashmir and have remained closely associated with the Sufi and Rishi traditions of Kashmir. They have had immense faith in the shrines of Sufi saints. The shrines of Sufi saints were revered by Kashmiri Pandits not only in a similar manner but more than their Kashmir i Muslim compatriots as told by the o lder generation of Kashmiri Muslims participants. Kashmiri Muslims had deep faith in these shrines. That has also contributed towards strengthening the of bond of brotherhood/bahichara between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits, as both had close association with these practices irrespective of their own religious faiths.

Keywords: *kashimiriyat: term, meanings, sufisim, islamism, culture, harmony, rishi-sufi, lalla ded.*

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CONTRIBUTIONOFSUFISIMTOKASHMIRHISTORICALPERSPECTIVE

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I. Introduction

Kashimiriyat´s idea can be traced to the historical past of Kashmir. In the 13th century, the main religions of the valley (Hinduism and Buddhism) encountered Islam[1]. The new religion seemed appealing to many of the inhabitants of the region who converted to Islam. Such religious and cultural encounter created a new culture by assimilating various ethno religious traditions and beliefs that were shared among the different communities.

This idea of sharing traditions came to be called the Hindu-Muslim "Rishi-Sufi" movement[2]. The most important part of such movement was experienced between the 14[th] and 15th century. It was during this period that there was a clear socio-cultural assimilation process in Kashmir.[3] Certain characters such as Lalla Ded influenced this concept. Ded was a Sufi mystic (born in a Hindu household) from the 14th century. She managed to prove that there could be an in between among Hindu Vedic traditions and Muslim mysticism. Among her legacy relies the foundation of Kashmir's biggest Sufi order[4].

Indeed, the success of Islam in Kashmir is strongly linked to the fact that Sufi Saints were able to cope with the cultural differences and managed to live collectively together[5].

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Also, Sufism is a division of Islam which does not preach strict orthodox values. Hence, this facilitated cultural assimilation. Just as Ahmed and Saklani state:

> "So, the Islam practiced by the people of Kashmir has been predominantly Sufi in nature rather than orthodox, that led to the development of the composite culture and more a kind of society in which people were well aware of their religiosity, but never let come in between their relationships with each other.[6]"

For some scholars, *Kashmiriyat* was a synonym of cultural void and religious significance. For a long time, this term became a binding force between the peoples of various religious and cultures. Yet, now it is less encompassing because some of the groups (the Pandits) that were part of the notion *Kashmiriyat* have fled the valley after the first set of violent episodes[7]. Just as Kashmiri historian Mohammad Ishaq Khan explains:

> "Our earnest participation in each other's festivals and marriage ceremonies was proverbial until the mass exodus of Pandits from their homeland, following the onset of militancy in Kashmir Valley in 1989.[8]"

For other scholars, *Kashmiriyat* was the mainstream definition of shared religiosity between Hindus and Muslims. Kashmir was always portrayed as the best example of a place where Hindus and Muslims could coexist in a peaceful way. Indeed, the region's essence is a mix of religious Hindu and Muslim costumes, beliefs, manners and rituals.[9] In fact, this idea is strongly supported by the Indian government as a mean to justify unity among Kashmiris.

In his piece, Hangloo cites the work of T. N. Madan (a Kashmiri himself) who elaborately describes the term Kashmiriyat.[10] Other authors such as M. I. Khan believe that *Kashmiriyat* was the gradual outcome of mutual adaptation of various pre-Islamic religious traditions and the great tradition of Islam. To him, the *Rishis* (holy Vedic Hindu sage, saint or inspired poet) were the main exemplars of the developing of such a dialectic process. In fact, the spirit of this dialectic was mystical religious experience and universal love.[11]

Regardless of the different opinions aforementioned, they all designate *Kashmiriyat* as an "ideology" (an ideology is composed of three key elements: body of doctrine, myth and belief)[12].

Another view is that *Kashmiriyat* is not an ideology, but rather a behavior pattern shared by Pandits and Muslims in the region[13]. Besides,

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Kashmiriyat is also perceived as the sense of mutual support which still not wholly free of tensions. In other words, this notion refers to a pluralistic culture of tolerance, but does not represent syncretism.[14]

As mentioned before, defining *Kashmiriyat* can be extremely complex because of its vagueness. Everyone can use the term according to their own view and interests while claiming jurisdiction on Kashmir.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, many of the elements belonging to the concept of *Kashmiriyat* are cultural aspects. *Kashmiriyat* was the result of shared religiosity and cultural practices between Hindus and Muslims. Even though many centuries have passed (and there is a religious difference among the diverse ethnic groups in Kashmir) most of the Kashmiri traditions remain very close to their original form. Indeed, modernization is transforming costumes and rituals at a fast pace. However, the whole of the native people (who call themselves Kashmiri) are trying to stick with their traditions.

Just as aforementioned, most of this cultural legacy can be traced back to the early 13th century in Kashmir. It was during this period that Islam finally reached the Kashmir region. There were several previous attempts by the Arabs and other Muslim people to conquer the Kashmir region. However, the mountains served as natural barriers to keep away foreign Invaders.[15] In truth, there were invasion trials done during the Caliphate of Walid I (705- 715), yet, the Umayyad offensive fell short.[16]

During the 11th century, the Turks also attempted to invade India and failed. Some soldiers decided to leave the army and remain in the Kashmir region[17]. These new inhabitants began to give military assistance to Kashmiri rulers. In return, the authorities would allow them to practice their own traditions freely, which were generally linked to the Sufi traditions from Turkistan [18]. This also gave rise to having intra religious interactions.

Indeed, the transition process from a Hindu kingdom to the first sultanate happened in 1339[19]. This came out after the death of Hindu King Suhadeva and subsequently his brother. Since he did not have any heir to the throne, he appointed a loyal Muslim servant as his successor: Shah Mir [20]. The outcome of the arrival of a Muslim to the throne was a massive conversion of the region into Islam.

The Muslim practices became quite appealing to the Kashmiris in a very short amount of time. This was mainly linked with the fact that Islam was a suitable alternative to the ongoing Medieval hierarchical Brahmanical society[21]. The central problem of the Brahmanical society was that its socio-political order was incredibly elitist, hierarchical, privilege-based and deeply grounded into an unjust cast system[22]. The fact that Islam did not have any hierarchy among the different people composing the society, made the religion appealing for those without privileges and for the massas.

The interactions of the distinct cultures and religions with Islam changed completely the cultural dynamics of the Kashmiri region. Indeed, we cannot deny the fact that Islam came soon to be the dominant religion in the area. However, cross-cultural interactions were not unusual for Kashmiri people. Buddhist traits among Kashmiri Shivaism are easily distinguishable based on Trika philosophy[23]. This Buddhist thinking process emphasizes the idea of experience, reason and comprehension in the course of realization of ultimate reality[24].

Likewise, Sufi practitioners were influenced by the ascetic and meditative practices of Mahayana Buddhism[25]. The arrival of Sufi saints and missionaries marked the creation of a new Sufi order within the sect. In this division, Sufi people would integrate traditions based on Islam as well as former Buddhist and Hindu practices[26]. This assimilation and adaptation mechanism can be interpreted as the Islamization process of Kashmir as well as the Kashmirization of Islam.

Therefore, just as Webb states, the resultant syncretic Hindu-Muslim culture did not exclude the presence and influence of other religions, but rather led to the development of indigenous philosophies, practices and traditions of Hinduism and Islam that differentiated both religious communities from their counterparts elsewhere[27].

With the advent of Islam in Kashmir, which was an outcome of the movements of Muslim traders, craftsmen and the soldiers as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the Kashmiri society felt new changes and transformation in their social organization.[28] Since the time, the valley of Kashmir received the eternal message of Islam; it had witnessed influx of highly learned Sufi saints particularly from Central Asia and Persia, who had left an indelible influence on the social organization of the evolving Muslim community of Kashmir.[29]

In the early fourteenth century, it was the Suhrawardi order which was first to be introduced in Kashmir among all the Sufi orders. Sheikh Sharaf-ud-din was the first to introduce this order in Kashmir. He was popularly known as Bulbul Shah. Another order which gained a widespread popularity in Kashmir was Kubravi order in which Saiyid Ali Hamadani, popularly known in Kashmir as Shah-i-Hamadan was prominent Sufi Saint. He did not come all alone but he was accompanied by so many others Sufi saints. Islamisation through Sufism gained momentum in the fourteenth century, due to which a large number of people got converted to Islam in the search of liberation from the shackles of the caste system and the Brahmanical religion. It is also worth mentioning what M. A. Stein says, “Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquests but by the gradual conversions, for which the foreign adventurers

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both from the south and central Asia prepared the ground."[30] It was the philosophy of Sufi saints which revolutionized and brought about a great transformation in the lives of the Kashmiri people, both the Muslims and non-Muslims. The Sufi saints had influence not only on the social and others aspects of Kashmiri society but on the administration as well as it was the political necessity to make a concord between the Kashmiri people. With this, there started an era of Persianisation of the Kashmiri administration in addition with the cultural conquest.[31] The Hindu society was split into two groups; the Persian speaking Hindus who were called *Karkun*, and the Sanskrit speaking who were called *Pandits.*[32] It created a type of gap between them as some of them learnt Persian for economic reasons. And the rest were devoid of the jobs or work in administration. They lost their previous status in the society. It resulted in the change in their entire culture after the coming of Islamic culture.[33]

Traditionally, the origins of such intra religious tolerance can be traced to the marvelous works of a Sufi sage. Lalla Ded was one character which played a significant role in the social revolution of 14th century in Kashmir. Ded was born in a Hindu Brahmin household, where she was briefly educated and then forced to get married at age 12 according to the tradition. While she joined the new household, both her mother in law and husband mistreated her.[34]

The legend says she was half-fed and that she never complained about it. Instead of having any sort of confrontation with her family, husband or mother in law, she decided to abandon them and become a shelterless mystic without any possessions, wandering in rags and reciting poetry.[35] Kashmiris consider Ded as the mother of cultural and religious tolerance. Indeed, she was the first registered historical character to have challenged and changed the dynamic in the region. In fact, Lalla Ded is the perfect example of the mainstream definition of *Kashmiriyat.*

The shrines of Sufi saints were integral part of Kashmiri Pandits‟ life and of culture in Kashmir. They used to visit these shrines frequently. However, after the migration, being out of Kashmir, these shrines are absent in their lives. This part would reflect on the impact of migration on their belief system at present. Being out of that cultural context in which various *ziayarat*/shrines of Sufi saints were an important part of their belief system, it is important to know the significance of Sufi practices and belief system for them in the present context and how they perceive Sufi practices now. How Kashmiri Pandits who are still in Kashmir perceive the Sufi Practices and do they still go to these shrines? The part would reflect on the answers to questions like "How did the Sufi practices contribute in developing the bond between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits in the past?" "If they ever visited Kashmir after migration, did they also visit any of these shrines that they used to visit when they were living in Kashmir?" "Do their children know about these Sufi saints of Kashmir?"

> *"Kashmiri Pandits have given their own name to these saints, but they used to go together [that is with Kashmiri Muslims] in these shrines", "Nund Rishi/ Sheikh-ul-Alam has said that there should be no bifurcation in the name of religion*"

Dev Sopori said that, before migration, he had been to these shrines: "Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits both believed in these shrines.... I had been to Rishi Mol Sahib and Dastgeer Sahib...." Rohini Dhar talked about the contribution of these Sufi saints in developing close bond between people:

> There was one Saint in Kashmir called Nund Rishi, also known as Sheikh-ul-Alam, who believed in equality and he said that no one is Hindu or Muslim. He said that we should improve our ways of thinking. He never believed in bifurcation of the people in the name of religion....

Rohini Dhar‟s narrative describes the role of Sufi Saints of Kashmir in not letting the religious differences come between the people because, these saints did not believe in division among the people in the name of religion. When I asked Suchitra Koul (working as a manager in private sector) if she used to visit shrines in Kashmir, she replied: "Everywhere, everywhere, Kashmiri Pandits used to visit these *dargah*/shrines more frequently than Muslims". When I asked whether her children know about these shrines she said: "My daughter knows everything about these *dargah*/shrines...it is there in our family [curiosity to know]". She also told that her daughter, who was one-year old when they left Kashmir, knows everything about Kashmir because she reads a lot about Kashmiri culture and history. Girdar Koul thinks,

> Kashmir is the land of saints and their influence is still there. Muslims still believe in Nund Rishi and other Sufi saints. We [Kashmiri Pandits] have given our own names to these saints and they [Kashmiri Muslims] have given their own. But we used to go together and celebrate together. People whether Kashmiri Muslims or Kashmiri Pandits, were saintly, because Kashmir is the land of the saints

Somnath Nehru (worked in sheep husbandry department now retired) said:

> Our ancestors did not differentiate in the name of religion. Nund Rishi/Sheikh-ul-Alam was Muslim but Kashmiri Pandits always revered him and called him Nund Rishi. Similarly, Lal Ded was a Kashmiri Pandit, but Kashmiri Muslims revered her and gave the name Lal Arifa. These saints belonged to everyone irrespective of one‟s religious faith. We all used to go to the *ziayarat*/shrines of these saints and celebrate *bada din*/festival related to particular saint.

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The narratives of Girdar Koul and Somanath Nehru explain that, though Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims have given separate name to these Sufi saints both have similar devotion towards them. Religion never impedes their fondness and devotion towards these saints and their shrines. Somanth Nehru also thinks that "Kashmiri Pandits are very secular in nature. They would first visit shrines of Muslim Sufi saints and then they would visit their own temples".

Similarly, Vishan Dhar also talked about the respect Muslims gave to Hindu saints and religious places. He said,

Lal Ded was given the name of Lal Arifa. She was Hindu, but there was no difference. Kashmiri Muslims used to respect our religious places also because that time there was no friction as such. But, during militancy, they set temples on fire. Might be earlier also some friction was there, but it was not explicit. The extract explains the rise of conflict and its impact on Sufi and Rishi culture of Kashmir.

"Gun culture destroyed Sufi culture"

Pankaj Mattoo said, "We still go to these shrines. The last time when I visited Kashmir, I went to Baba Rishi. I have full faith and I think that is still there". When I asked that if the same kind of Sufi culture prevailed there, he replied,

> That composite culture, that kind of Sufism has vanished now. Fundamentalism has crept in. Both of us have become fundamentalists... Kashmir was the place where there was normalcy, but when gun culture came into place; ... in the name of religion everything can be destroyed.

"After the Kashmiri Pandits migrated where was Sufism left?/That Path is left behind somewhere"

Vrinda Koul said that there was Sufi and Rishi culture that Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits followed together, but only before the latter‟s migration. She explains:

> There was Sufism in Kashmir because we [Kashmiri Pandits] were there and we believed in that. It is not important to go to the shrine, but to grasp what these Sufi saints have conveyed through their thought process that is more important. After the Kashmiri Pandits left Kashmir, where is Sufism? I would never go to these shrines, but my Kashmiri Muslim friends used to visit our temple Kheer Bhavani every year. However, I never went to these shrines [Shrines of Muslim saints she meant here] but some Kashmiri Pandits used to go to these shrines.

Vrinda Koul‟s narrative explains that migration has affected the Sufi culture of Kashmir a lot. Although she never went to these shrines, she believes in the preaching and thought process of these Kashmiri Sufi saints that she feels is no more now because migration and conflict have affected the Sufi culture of Kashmir to a large extent. Rita/Sharika Mattoo (teacher) has not migrated and has been living in Kashmir with her family, not in her ancestral house, but in a security zone area. She said,

> There was Rishi tradition in Kashmir. Kashyapa Rishi established Kashmir and because of that goodness prevailed there. But I do not know anything about Sufism.

KB: Have you visited Sufi saints‟ shrines in Kashmir ever?

Sharika Mattoo: Yes I did during 1984-85, after which I never went to that side. It is not that my belief system has changed. There is also a Ganesh temple near the shrines, I do not go to even to that temple. We do not go to those pathways. I remember we used to live in Hubbakadal and that time my father used go to Hari-Parbat every day, but now those paths are left behind somewhere [sad]. Once in a blue moon, when Kashmiri Pandits do *Havan* [Hindu rituals of fire offerings], then we go there, otherwise we do not go to that side and in those lanes. But the faith is the same as it used to be.

Sharika Mattoo‟s faith has not altered, but she does not tread the old pathways. The location where she used to live earlier has changed. Even though she is living in Kashmir, she has stopped visiting these shrines. Various shrines are situated especially in downtown area (old city) of Srinagar where Kashmiri Pandits used to live with Kashmiri Muslims together. Because of the conflict and the circumstances Kashmiri Pandits faced during the peak of turmoil in those places, it seems they still hesitate to go to those areas. This ultimately affects the composite Sufi practices; although faith may be there, but practices of going to the shrines together are left behind.

"There is decline in Sufi practices among the Muslims also"/ "It is considered as anti-Islam" Phulla Koul explains that mass conversion in Kashmir was the reason behind the development of Sufi and Rishi culture in Kashmir. People in Kashmir adopted Islam but could not leave their habits related to previous faith. With their new faith, they held on to the previous culture also. She explains:

> We have shrine culture. These shrines are of various Sufi saints and all the people used to visit these shrines. In the past people could not differentiate culture from the religion and at present also people are not able to do so. These shrines belong to the Sufi culture. All are not going to the shrines at present. Now the new sects are emerging. They are against the shrine culture. Under the same roof, in the same family you may find people following different sects like one may be *Hanfee*, the other may be going to *Tablighi* or some may be following *Jamaat-i-Islami, Allah-vale*....they are in a confused state of mind.

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Phulla Koul‟s narrative suggests that there is emergence of various revivalist movements in Kashmir. This is the reason behind the declining inclination towards shrines among Kashmiri Muslims.

Ashwini Bhatt talked about his father‟s visits to the famous shrine of Makhdoom Sahib where nearby there is a temple of goddess Sharika Devi and Lord Ganesha. Kashmiri Pandits used to go to the shrines and temple as well at the same time. But he said that things are not the same as it used to be in the past:

> It has got diluted in the last few years because of the fundamentalism. We had various shrines there. When fundamentalism came into Kashmir, it preached the Kashmiri Muslims that this [Sufi practices] is anti-Islam. Otherwise, Kashmir is the only place where after offering the *namaz* [prayer] they recite Darud Khani;[2] this is much similar to the Hindu practices of reciting sacred *mantra* [chants] or singing *bhajan* [sacred song]. I have listened in the shrine of Dastgeer Sahib also. The tune is the same as Kashmiri Pandits reciting the *mantra*. This is something retained from Hindu practices. Though Kashmiri Muslims are now well read, there is one big section that has moved towards fundamentalism.... Earlier Kashmiri Muslims would not eat beef. Nobody used to sell beef openly, because they knew that they were once Hindus and the impact of Sufi and Rishi culture was there which did not allow them to do so.

Narayan Raina‟s narration on Sufism in Kashmir is as follows:

> Basically, in Kashmir, there was Sufi and Rishi culture. We [Kashmiri Pandits] are Shaivite. Lal Ded was also a Shaivite, but Kashmiri Muslims say that she was a Sufi, which is wrong. Kashmiri Pandits used to go to all the shrines of Muslims. Basically, they were non-Muslims. They recite Darud Khani that is anti Islam. Now that is declining in Kashmir, but there is one section that follows this practice and they are suffocated because of the armed struggle.

Ashwini Bhatt said:

> There was Sufi culture. Kashmiri Pandits have reconciled to the fact that they [Kashmiri Muslims] have converted and Kashmiri Muslims have also reconciled the fact that Kashmiri Pandits are minority community so they have to live together. And attainment of the higher path of spiritualism is in Sufism. That has diluted in the last few years because of fundamentalism. We had various shrines there. When fundamentalism came into the Kashmir that preached the Kashmiri Muslims that this is anti-Islam. Kashmir is the only place where after *namaz* prayer they recite Darud Khani, the way Kashmiri Pandits does *bhajan Kertan* [sacred songs]. The tune is also the same, rhythm is the same. Because they were Kashmiri Pandits so they wanted to retain that Hindu philosophy even after conversion. Hinduism is flexible. That time people had this notion that they will accept new faith but they will not leave their own faith.

Pushkarnath Pandit, who is presently living in Kashmir in a rented house, describes the uniqueness of Sufism in Kashmir:

> We have spiritual poetry which we called *sufiayana kalam.* You will not find it anywhere else. This was only in Kashmir. However, it was not permitted in Islam. People of this place did not lose their spiritual identity in any condition which is distinct, neither absolutely Hindu nor absolutely Muslim.... This [Sufi culture of Kashmir] is one factor that is in conflict with the people outside the Kashmir. Even Pakistanis, when they talk about Kashmiri people, say that they do not understand them. We cannot depend on their words... Even Indians say the same thing. I want to be frank enough to say that even the Jammuites [people of Jammu region] do not understand the Kashmiri society. This is the problem and this is going to continue...

II. Conclusion

Pushkarnath Pandit explains that Sufi culture is a very significant part of Kashmir. Pandits and Muslims lived it since the centuries and it represents their “spiritual identity”. This notion is not well grasped by the outside world because these specificities of Kashmiri ways of life can be understood only by Kashmiris. It also explains that because of lack of understanding of Kashmiri world view by the outside world these processes are considered as anti-Islam. Here the culture is misunderstood as something against religion.

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The Effect of Boko Haram Insurgency in Borno State: A Study of Street Begging

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Abstract- The effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State is one of the major problems confronting the state. The insurgent has sacked almost all the Local Government Council of Borno State and forced the people to run to Maiduguri, the capital city of the State, to seek r efuge. Maiduguri has become densely populated as a result of the influx of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) which gave rise to proliferation of street begging in the state capital. Although, before the activities of the insurgency, it has been argued that street begging is common in the far Northern States of Nigeria, Maiduguri inclusive. The main objective of the study is to examine the effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno state on a study of street begging. The specific objectives are to examine the causes of Mass Street begging, and identify the people that constitute the begging class and its consequences in Maiduguri. The study adopted political economy perspectives as the theoretical framework for analysis. The political economy perspectives consider the notion of Boko Haram upon the premises of the social relation of production.

Keywords: boko haram, insurgency, study and street begging.

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The Effect of Boko Haram Insurgency in Borno State: A Study of Street Begging

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Abstract- The effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State is one of the major problems confronting the state. The insurgent has sacked almost all the Local Government Council of Borno State and forced the people to run to Maiduguri, the capital city of the State, to seek refuge. Maiduguri has become densely populated as a result of the influx of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) which gave rise to proliferation of street begging in the state capital. Although, before the activities of the insurgency, it has been argued that street begging is common in the far Northern States of Nigeria, Maiduguri inclusive. The main objective of the study is to examine the effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno state on a study of street begging. The specific objectives are to examine the causes of Mass Street begging, and identify the people that constitute the begging class and its consequences in Maiduguri. The study adopted political economy perspectives as the theoretical framework for analysis. The political economy perspectives consider the notion of Boko Haram upon the premises of the social relation of production. The study argued that as a result of the sharing of resources in a society, there is the probability of struggle between the upper and lower classes which according to Marx, this may lead to class struggle and class conflict between those in power and the Boko Haram members which may at least lead to revolution. The data was obtained from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources derived from the questionnaire, while the secondary data were obtained from the review of relevant literature. The purposive sampling techniques were used. The study used 100 questionnaires in data collection, but only 80 were found useable for the analysis. The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics. The major findings revealed that the majority of the respondents are male and singles, between the ages of 30-34 years. The findings also show that the major causes of street begging are poverty, and most of the people engaged in the act are the old age which includes both male and female, in which if they were provided with job, there is a tendency for the act to be minimized or even completely eradicated. This paper also recommended that the government should empower the beggars, give them education and the means to engage in business as this will help in eradicating the menace of street begging in Nigeria and particularly Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria.

Keywords: boko haram, insurgency, study and street begging.

I. Introduction

The Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria is one of the fatal conflicts that have resulted in population displacement in Africa. It is forecasted that since the intensification of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2009 about two million Nigerians have fled their homes and ended up in city areas about the main crisis zones and only 10 percent of this number are protected from the danger of displacement by the official humanitarian spaces in 13 States in Nigeria (IDMC 2016). Indeed, this unnatural crisis has exhibited the mobility of Internally Displaced Persons who can travel 500–1,000km to look for shelter in the cities and towns of their selection in the country. Furious and insecurity enhances the fragility of urban areas in many industrialize countries, and the consequences of that include the depreciating capability and cheerful compliances of governments to present their standard societal obligations (Muggah, 2014). As of 2014, Boko Haram had total ascendancy of Nigerian soil covering a region of 21,545 square kilometers (Ibrahim et al. 2014). The significance of this is multiple: one, most of the conquered areas are far rural areas and therefore, citizenry in such conquered territories try to streak from Boko Haram for relatively more-guarantee urban areas. In the same vain, there are challenges and risk faces by those women, children and the old ages in their attempt to reach cities by foot. The number of people in both cases could be very eminent even though there are no statistics to document such appraisal. Indeed, it is estimated that about 70 million people were forced to move into cities of the worlds most delicate and conflict-incline countries (De Boer 2015).

The effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State cannot be underestimated because the activities affected many lives, and as result of that many people were injured and some were made homeless. The insurgent has sacked almost all the Local Government Council of Borno State and forced the people to run to Maiduguri, the capital city of the State, to seek refuge. (Mustapah, Habu & Ibrahim, 2008).

Maiduguri has become densely populated as a result of the influx of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) which gave rise to proliferation of street begging in the state capital. Although, before the activities of the insurgency, Maishanu (2006) argued that street begging is common in the far Northern States of Nigeria, and Maiduguri inclusive. Street begging has become a societal threat in Northern Nigeria particularly Maiduguri in Borno State. The activities of the awful insurgents group popularly known as the Boko Haram has been a pull factor that unscheduled the people to be displaced

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across the twenty-Seven (27) Local Government Councils and adjacent States like Yobe and Adamawa severally to seek safety in the state capital which is comparatively safer than the destroyed residential areas they left. This study is geared towards finding the socio-economic and socio-political factors that necessitated the increase in street begging and also the effect of Boko Haram insurgency in the community. Because of the increase in the number of street beggars and the plight of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Maiduguri, the individuals, Government and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) are playing their roles to reduce these menaces to the minimal level.

II. Description of the Study Area

The study was carried out in Maiduguri, Borno State, Nigeria. Maiduguri is one of the twenty-Seven (27) Local Government Areas in Borno State. It has about 812,486 populations (2006 Census). Maiduguri Metropolis has nine large industries, twenty-four (24) medium scale industries, Forty-nine (49) small scale industries (Borno State Executive Diary, 2006). It is divided into two districts: Old Maiduguri and Yerwa. The main languages spoken are Kanuri and Hausa. The majority of the people are farmers, although there are traders, and civil servants.

III. Material and Methods

The legal documents used in collecting data are questionnaires; it was used to elicit information on street begging from the respondents. The marked population of the study was the whole universe of Maiduguri residential area. The town has an estimated household population of about 689,212 (Waziri, 2011) animated in fifteen (15) wards. The study marked three (3) wards from the (15) wards of the survey area. The wards are: Bulumkutu Abuja from Maisandari dominion with a total household of about 884, London-Ciki from Maiduguri dominion with a total of about 2,843 households and Shehuri North from Yerwa dominion with a total household of about 3,513. The digits above were produced from households registered for Polio Eradication Program in 2011.

The sample dwelled from male and female throughout the survey area. The study used three (3) wards (the London-ciki, Shehuri North, and Bulumkutu-Abuja). Thirty Five (35) respondents were selected from the London-ciki ward, 45 from Shehuri North and 20 respondents from Bulumkutu Abuja making a total of 100 for the research. Out of the 100 questionnaires administered, ninety (90) were returned successfully. Out of the 90 questionnaires retrieved, six (6) was returned blanked while four (4) were found not useable for the analysis because of incomplete responses and too many cancellations by the respondents. Finally only eighty (80) questionnaires were found useable for the analysis. A purposive sampling technique was employed in selecting respondents because it gave the researcher ample opportunity to reach the targeted population who have knowledge about the effect of Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State, a study of street begging. More males were selected because they are the head of the family and also often come directly in contact with those engaged in street begging. The data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistics.

IV. Result of Findings

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	66	82.5
Female	14	17.5
Total	80	100
Marital status	Frequency	Percentages
Single	46	57.5
Married	20	25
Divorce	4	5
Widow	10	12.5
Widower	0	0
Total	80	100%
Age	Frequency	Percentages
18-24 years	16	20
25-29 years	22	27.5
30-34 years	26	32.5
35 and above	16	20
Total	80	100%
Educational qualification	Frequency	Percentages
Primary	1	1.25

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Secondary	19	23.75
Tertiary	44	55
Others (Qur'anic)	16	20
Total	80	100%
Occupation	**Frequency**	**Percentages**
Student	17	21.25
Farmer	2	2.5
Traders	10	12.5
Civil Servant	48	60
Others	3	3.75
Total	80	100%
Duration of stay in study area	**Frequency**	**Percentages**
0-2years	0	0
2-4years	6	7.5
4-6years	12	15
6-8years	24	30
8years and Above	38	47.5
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

From Table 1, 82.5% of the respondents were male, while 17.5% were female, 57.5% are single and 25,% were married, while 5% were divorced and 12.5% widow. Table 1 also shows that 20% of the respondents were within the age of 18-24 years, 27.5% between 25-29 years, 32.5% between 30-34 years, and 20% were in the range of 35 years and above. Furthermore, 1.25% of the respondents had primary education, 23.75% had secondary school certificate and 55% had tertiary education while 20% had qur'anic education. Table 1 also shows that 21.25% of the respondents are still in school as Students, 2.5% were farmers, while 12.5% were traders, and 60% are civil servants, while 3.75% were of other occupations. Table 1 also shows that 7.5% of the respondents claimed that they have lived in the IDP's camps for 2-4 years, 15% have stayed 4-6 years, 30% 6-8 years, while 47.5% have lived for over eight years in the study area.

Table 2: Opinion of the Respondents about the IDP's Sources of Income

Have sources of income	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	22	27.5
No	58	72.5
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 2 revealed that 27.5% of the respondents claimed that the IDP's have sources of income, while 72.5% claimed that they don't have any sources of income.

Table 3: Causes of Street Begging

Causes of street begging	Frequency	Percentages
Poverty	43	53.75
Lack of employment	36	45
Illiteracy	1	1.25
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 3 revealed that 53.75% of the respondents believe that street begging is because of poverty, 45% lack of employment, 1.25% claimed that illiteracy is the major cause of street begging.

Table 4: Categories of People involved in Street Begging

Categories of people involved	Frequency	Percentages
Children	13	16
Adult	20	25
Old Age	47	59
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 4 shows that 16% of the respondents believe that children constitute the population involved in street begging, 25%; claim that adults constitute the population of street beggers, while 59% claimed that old ages constitute the population of street beggars.

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Table 5: Opinion of Respondents on Whether Insurgency Increase Mass Street Begging

Insurgency increase mass street begging	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	68	85
No	12	15
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 5 revealed that 85% of the respondents believe insurgency increases mass street begging, while 15% thought that insurgency do not increase street begging.

Table 6: The Opinion on Whether Government Provide Help to Street Begging

Whether government provide help in tackling street begging	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	69	86.25
No	11	13.75
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 6 revealed that 86% of the respondents opined that the government provide help in tackling street begging, while 14% were of the opinion that government did not provide any assistance in elimination street begging.

Table 7: Consequences of Street Begging

Consequences of street begging	Frequency	Percentages
Crime	46	57.5
Debase Personality	20	25
Prostitution	14	17.5
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 7 revealed that 58% of the respondents opined that crime or criminal activities is one of the leading consequences of street begging, while 25%were of the opinion that debase personality is the consequences of street begging, and 17% thought that prostitution is one of the effect of street begging.

Table 8: Respondents Views on Ways Government can Eliminate Street Begging

Ways Government can eliminate street begging	Frequency	Percentages
Provide Education	30	37.5
Provide Capital for Business	6	7.5
Provide food and Shelter	44	55
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 8 revealed that 37.5% of the respondents believed that government should provide ample education to the victim of street begging, 7.5% opined that government should provide capital for business activities to thrive that will minimize or even eradicate the problems of street begging, while 55% of the respondents claimed that provision of food and shelter by the government would tackle the act of street begging.

Table 9: Effect of Street Begging to Residents of Maiduguri

Effect of Street Begging	Frequency	Percentages
Accident	38	47.5
Kidnapping	16	20
Prostitution	26	32.5
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 9 shows that 48% of the respondents opined that accident is one of the effects of street begging, 20%claimed that kidnapping is one of the outcome of street begging, while 32% of the respondents claimed that prostitution is the effect of street begging.

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Table 10: Those Responsible in Tackling the Issues of Street Begging in Maiduguri

Tackling the Issues of Street Begging	Frequency	Percentages
Government	74	93
Non-Governmental Organization (NGO's)	6	7
Total	80	100%

Source: Field Work 2019

Table 10 revealed that 93% of the respondents believe that government is the one responsible in tackling street begging, while 7% of the respondents opined that Non-governmental Organization (NGO's) were the one responsible in harnessing the issues of street begging. The study implies that the majority of the respondents believe that the government is the one responsible for undertake the issues of street begging.

V. Discussion

From the result of the findings, it is clearly revealed that 82.5 percent of the respondents were male, while 17.5 were female. The majority of the responses from this research are male. It is also unveiled that 57.5 percent of the respondents are single, while 25 percent are married, and 5 percent were divorced, while 12.5 percent were widow, and there were no responses for the widowers. It also implies that 20 percent of the respondents were within the age range of 18-24 years, 27.5 percent were within the age range of 25-29 years, 32.5 percent were within the age range of 30-34 years, 20 percent were within the age of 35 years and above. This implies that majority of the respondents were within the age range of 30-34 years. These findings were by that of Ogunkan et al. (2009), Jelili(2009), and Gabriel et al. (2015), who deduced that males are more involved in street begging than the females in his research location. In terms of marital status, it was observed that more than half of the aged beggars were married. This is in support of Ogunkan et al. (2009) and Gabriel et al. (2015), who indicated that poverty and the need to provide for the family form parts of the leading reasons for street begging in Maiduguri, Nigeria. The research also observed that 1.25 percent of the respondents have primary educational qualifications, 23.75 percent have secondary school qualifications, and 55 percent were in the tertiary level, while 20 percent have qur'anic qualification. This implies that the majority of the respondents are in the tertiary level of education. Consequently the study also revealed that 21.25 percent of the respondents were students, 2.5 percent were farmers, 12.5 percent were traders, while 60 percent were civil servants and 3.75 percent were with other occupations. This implies that the majority of the respondents are a civil servants. Moreover, 7.5 percent of the respondents believed that IDP's dwell for 2-4 years in the Camp, 15 percent of the respondents opined that IDP's stay for 4-6 years, 30 percent stay for 6.8 years, while 47.5 percent stay for eight years and above. The findings show that the majority of the respondents expressed that IDP's stay for eight years and above in camp.

The information revealed that 27.5 percent of the respondents believed that the IDP's have any means of income, while 72.5 percent concluded that they don't have any means of income. It can be summarized that the majority of the respondents stated clearly that the IDP's don't have any means of income.

From the above heading, it is revealed that 53.75 percent of the respondents believe that street begging is as a result of poverty, 45 percent pointed to lack of employment as the leading cause, while 1.25 percent was with the opinion that illiteracy is the major causes of street begging. Therefore, the result revealed that the majority of the respondents believe that poverty is the leading cause of street begging in the Maiduguri. In the work of Adedube (1989) and Maishanu (2006) that poverty is viewe as a result of laziness, or lack of intelligence, which leads people to the act of begging on the street. It is also about Kennedy and Fitzpatrick (2001), Lynch (2005), Jelili (2006), Ogunkan and Fawole (2009), Ogunkan (2009), Tambwal (2010), Gloria and Samuel (2012), and Namwata et al. (2012). In such a vicious cycle, poverty is maintain across generations. To meet their basic needs, the poor resort to begging. As a result, the hapless are unfree into a begging lifestyle, with minor opportunity of dodging.

It is stated that 16.25 percent of the respondents believe that children constitute the large population of street begging, 25 percent of the respondents believe that adult constitute the number of beggars on the street, while 59 percent concluded that old ages constituted the number of beggars on the street. It indicated that the majority of the respondents were with the opinion that old ages constituted a large number of beggars on the city of Maiduguri, Borno, State, Nigeria. The finding also supported Elombah (2011), who categorically emphasize that it is common all over Nigeria to see Old ages and young adults who are supposed to be in some form of educational or vocational institution roaming the street hawking or begging on the streets. Similarly, elderly persons were found to engage in street begging than younger persons. This is against the findings of Namwatal et al. (2010) and clapper (2011), who deduced that people who are in the active age were found to engage in street begging.

The above statement revealed that 85 percent of the respondents believe insurgency increases mass street begging, while 15 percent were with the opinion

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insurgency does not increase mass street begging. The study revealed that most of the respondents agree that insurgency increases mass street begging. The findings of Ibrahim et al. (2014) reveal that most of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) left their camp and turn to street beggars as a result of insurgency.

It is reveal that 86.25 percent of the respondents opined that the government render help in tackling street begging, while 13.75 percent were with the opinion that government did not provide help in tackling street begging. This study reveal that majority of the respondents agreed that the government provides a remedy in harnessing street begging. Okoli (1993), the problem of begging has drawn the attention of governments at various levels. For instance, the Lagos state government made an effort to provide help by tackling the menace of begging in Lagos by building rehabilitation centers to cater for beggars.

The study revealed that 57.5 percent of the respondents opined that crime or criminal activities are one of the leading issue of street begging, while 25 percent of the respondents opined that debase personality is the aftermath of street begging, and 17.5 percent were with the opinion that prostitution is one of the consequences of street begging. Finally, the studies revealed that the majority of the respondents were with the persuasion that crime is the preeminent consequence of street begging. Supported by Jowette, Banks, and Brown (2001), Horn and Cooke (2001), Lynch (2005), and Gloria and Samuel (2015). Namwata et al. (2012), in their findings, show that majorly the consequences of street-begging are poverty and crime. Beggars were into street-begging due to their unfitness to fulfil their local and modern basic needs of food, clothing, adjustment, education as well as engagement, after they lose either one or both of their guardian.

The above statement revealed that 37.5 percent of the respondents believed that government should provide ample education to the victim of street begging, 7.5 percent opined that government should provide capital for business activities to thrive that will minimize or even eradicate the problems of street begging, while 55 percent of the respondents revealed that provision of food and shelter by the government would tackle the act of street begging. In summary, the study unveil that the majority of the respondents believed that provision of food and shelter to the victims will tackle the act of street begging. In the work of Okoli (1993), the problem of begging has drawn the attention of governments at various levels. For instance, the Lagos state government made an effort to resolve the menace of begging in Lagos by building reformation centers to cater for beggars.

The above information revealed that 47.5 percent of the respondents opined that accident is one of the effects of street begging, 20 percent of the respondents identified that kidnapping is one of the effects of street begging, while 32.5 percent of the respondents believe that prostitution is the effect of street begging. The study concluded that majority of the respondent conceive that accident is likely to occur as a result of street begging. Rahim, (2005) was of the view that unhealthy lifestyles or attitude might have direct or indirect consequences in the health and well-being of individual causing restlessness, accidents, and untimely deaths among others may occur as a result of street begging.

Lastly, the discussion reveal that 92.5 percent of the respondents believes that government is the one responsible in solving street begging, while 7.5 percent of the respondents opined that Non-governmental Organization (NGO's) were the one responsible in tackling the issues of street begging. The study implies that the majority of the respondents believe that the government is the one responsible for tackling the upshot of street begging. Elombah (2011), reported that the government is the one responsible for tackling the menace of street begging in Nigeria, particularly Maiduguri, where the incidence is higher as a result of Boko Haram Attack in the villages.

VI. Conclusion

The study has examined the effect of the Boko Haram insurgency in Borno State, The results of the study establish that the factors that cause people to become street beggars and the phenomenon of begging are diverse and multifaceted. Poverty influences begging to a large extent in all of the studied municipalities. Other factors include unemployment, physical challenges, death of both parents, and family disintegration as a result of insurgency.

This result indicates that respondents have some knowledge about the effects, causes, factors, and solutions to street begging. However, there is a need to re-orientate people on the imperative role that education plays on the children who are involved in the act of begging. Hence, lack of reputable upbringing, lack of love from parents, poverty, and low educational status of parents needs to be addressed continuously by the government and community organizations and parents inclusive to prevent street begging.

The study highlighted the need for peace to return to Maiduguri, this is because it is only a society with ease and tranquillity that can strive to make ends meet. The effect of Boko Haram is such that has plunged even able-bodied men and women into street begging to help sustain themselves and their families in Maiduguri as a result of Boko Haram Insurgency that have been form over a decades. The Local, State, Federal Government, Non-governmental Organization and Individual Philanthropist look toward pulling such beggars out of the streets because they deserved better lives.

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VII. Recommendations

The following recommendations were suggested:

i. Policy planners must adopt several approaches if they are to have any impact on the lives of street beggars in all categories. Specific policies and other legislative agendas are needed in terms of age, sex, disability, and family-related issues to successfully address the issue of begging.

ii. There is a need to advance more attempt to be situate on alter community attitudes towards beggars who are children with handicap and accenting the necessity of educating children with disabilities in to enable them to face their future as independent individuals.

iii. If begging is an unwanted strategy, the governments and other stakeholders should create room for street beggars to make a living by getting other means of surviving.

iv. All rehabilitation centers should be adequately maintain and well equip with basic needs.

v. The Federal Government should assist the state Government (where there are Islamic schools) in providing food for students and those in the IDP's camps in the hope that they will not take to the streets.

vi. The divert giving Scheme should be introduce in conjunction with social welfare agencies allocating funds for the underprivileged or less advantaged individuals with the hope to minimize or completely eradicate the acts.

vii. The government should provide policy and programs that will empower street beggars with skills acquisition and start up a proper business and go into petty traders.

viii. The government should gear up in the fight against Boko Haram so that there will be peace in Borno State, particularly the remote communities where the insurgency dominated so that the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's) can go back to their communities and engage themselves with their farming.

ix. The government should provide free education to the beggars to enable them to understand life deeper and to have a psychological and social balance.

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

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

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

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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

Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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

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

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

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

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

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

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