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Sociology & Culture



Curses & Blessings in South Wollo

A Case Study of Femicide in Roma Valley

Highlights

International Tourists' Visiting Ella

Implementing Reproductive Health Policy

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Far Beyond Samba: How Brazilian Women Face Gender Inequality. *1-8*
2. Second Reality Feminicides in Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua. *9-19*
3. Role of NGOs for Implementing Reproductive Health Policy. *21-27*
4. Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intentions; with Reference to International Tourists' Visiting Ella, Sri Lanka. *29-37*
5. Socio-Cultural Benefits of Curses and Blessings in South Wollo, Ethiopia. *39-43*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

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Far Beyond Samba: How Brazilian Women Face Gender Inequality

By Loreley Gomes Garcia

Introduction- It is constantly said that Brazil is not a country for amateurs. Our thriving industrial parks and boldly designed cities, our technology-dependent lives, and the big city frenzy all give the impression that we live in modern society because this is the image produced and confirmed by rhetoric that boasts our (post)modernity. However, that is merely a mirage which we believe because we intend and want to be a modern and civilized country, even though the heavy burden of our colonial and slavery past – which bequeathed us misery, inequality, violence, and backwardness – remains intact.

Only breaking free from this rubbish that binds us to the past and constringes us will lead us into the group of modern societies, into the club of the so-called civilized countries. Getting a passport to gain such admission implies banishing backwardness, that perverse inequality embodied in the privileges enjoyed by few, which challenge and compromise our democracy, the very essence of modern societies.

However, abolishing privileges and abandoning cultural practices that are incompatible with any idea of civility finds resistance in several layers of the fabric that comprises Brazilian society – and not only within privileged groups – because, after all, being modern has a price. What is not clear is how much we are willing to pay.

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Far Beyond Samba: How Brazilian Women Face Gender Inequality

Loreley Gomes Garcia

I. Introduction

It is constantly said that Brazil is not a country for amateurs. Our thriving industrial parks and boldly designed cities, our technology-dependent lives, and the big city frenzy all give the impression that we live in modern society because this is the image produced and confirmed by rhetoric that boasts our (post)modernity. However, that is merely a mirage which we believe because we intend and want to be a modern and civilized country, even though the heavy burden of our colonial and slavery past – which bequeathed us misery, inequality, violence, and backwardness – remains intact.

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However, abolishing privileges and abandoning cultural practices that are incompatible with any idea of civility finds resistance in several layers of the fabric that comprises Brazilian society – and not only within privileged groups – because, after all, being modern has a price. What is not clear is how much we are willing to pay.

We own a malformed and deformed democracy, which surely is not a value for most of the population that – because their citizenship is incomplete – do not benefit from the democratic order.

Brazilian civilization reconciles a technologized society with access to high culture and science, side by side with pockets ruled by extreme incivility, expressed by violence and – not only material – poverty.

Our penury is not concentrated in one single region; rather, it is spread and contaminates the whole social fabric. Undeniably, the country has huge regional disparities in economic and cultural terms. However, as noticed by Salil Shetty, secretary-general of Amnesty International, in Brazil, the slums that surround the big Brazilian metropoles and the indigenous communities would be true "free trade zones" for human rights.

"It is as if these people were not in Brazil. There are different rules there. [These people] live in warzones, and all human rights are suspended"[1].

II. The Roots of Archaism

Any conservative cultural practice cutout will reveal aspects of the modern/archaic dichotomy, a dissonance between rhetoric and action, advances, and regression. However, if there is a theme that provides a privileged view of such fierce contradiction is the condition of Brazilian women, their citizenship, or pseudo citizen women.

In "*Roots of Brazil* (2012), we learn that it is impossible to reconcile that which is irreconcilable and preclusive: conjugating patriarchalism and liberalism is unfeasible.

Also, Max Weber (1964) comprehends patriarchalism as solid and stable domination, rooted in the predominant tradition of collective consciousness in specific cultural substrata.

> "The feminists considered modern patriarchalism as a […] situation in which, within an association, most times fundamentally economic and familiar, domination is exerted (normally) by one single person, according to specific hereditary fixed rules" (Weber, 1964, p.184).

It is this power division founded on sexual difference that promotes scarce citizenship, inequality, and hierarchy across genders. Such split starts in the private sphere, where decisions are made by one single person or someone who has a greater weight within the family, one non-democratic and much less egalitarian entity. Such inequality, of intramural origins, surpasses the boundaries of the private sphere to disseminate across the public sphere.

Families with non-democratic characteristics and family relations closed in themselves, still greatly present in more isolated regions and the country's vulnerability zones contaminates the models of social interaction, and limits the set of social relations. We are talking of a family organization with clan-like elements, which values fidelity over ethics and compromises the interaction with non-family groups, generating a type of

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[1] *Não há direitos humanos em favelas e tribos indígenas do Brasil, diz Anistia* [There are no humanrights in Brasilslums and indigenoustribes, saysAmnesty] http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2013/08/130810_anistia_favelas_dg. August 10, 2013.

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isolation that jeopardizes the cooperation between groups, solidarity, and trade. At the same time, it compromises the ability to propagate new ideas, values, and practices as it provokes little intergroup friction.

In non-democratic contexts, women's citizenship is compromised or incomplete due to laws or practices that date back to the times of slave masters, or, worse still, of slaves, always vivid and present in front of postmodernity which we have already addressed.

Brazil is not a sexual democracy but, rather, a sexist country.

> "[T]he predominance of the 'ass-orientation' comes from Brazil itself. This picture of asses and carnival is the image that Brazil loves to sell abroad […] to foreigners who come to Brazil due to the soccer-asses-carnival stereotype" (Ventura, 2009, p.132).

III. Be a Woman under the Law

It is a fact that, when it comes to women's rights, Brazilian legislation has advanced notably since the 1988 Constitution. In 2005, Law no. 11.106/2005 changed the legislation of 1940, thus eliminating the figure of the honest woman. Passing this law also corrected a despicable misconception: before that, a rapist was free from punishment if he agreed to marry his victim; the change also imposed tougher sentences in the case of minor abuse. In the following year, Law Maria da Penha was promulgated to protect women from multiple forms of violence and, finally, in 2015, the Femicide Law determined that a homicide motivated by gender is to be treated a heinous crime[2].

This legal framework undeniably advances the guarantee of women's citizenship. Nevertheless, the legislation limits women's right to decide about their own body, a fundamental right that cannot be clouded by the aforementioned advances.

John Locke (1689) considered that the natural right to liberty was an elementary assumption to any form of citizenship. One of the basic premises of political liberalism is to bind liberty to the right to property, considering that one's body is his/her first property. As such, Locke attracted modern feminists such as Carole Pateman, who brought this discussion to date. This doctrine is opposite to slavery because, to be free, individuals must be their proprietors, have full control over their own bodies, which allows them to appropriate the things in the world.

> "Though the Earth, and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person. This nobody has any right to but himself". (Locke, 1978:45).

Despite the evolution the concept of citizenship has had since the 17th century, it is still impossible to conceive it without guarantees of individuals' rights over their bodies. An enslaved being is not a citizen. But how does this work when the individual is a free woman?

We may state that up to the second decade of the 21st century, in practice, the liberal premise has not materialized, in Brazil for so many liberties of women are compromised by cultural practices that limit their choices and decisions about their own existence.

However, despite the culture and customs that act against women, in the aspect of laws, discrimination also exists as women's bodies are controlled and women lack the status of the full proprietor of their own bodies due to the prohibition of abortion. When it is the institutions that determine what can and cannot be done with one's body, individuals have no autonomy, nor are they the proprietors of themselves; they are not free and, as a consequence, they are not fully complete citizens. To the women of Brazil, the notion of pseudo citizens is still valid.

The feminist theory addresses the right to abortion as part of a citizen's autonomy. It is up to women and only to them to decide upon contraception, abortion, fertility, and maternal control "if and when they want to." These are personal issues; they are not decisions made by politicians or legislators because "human maternity is an ethical choice and not a genetic obligation" (Rosado, 2006).

If reproduction rights are guaranteed, women overcome limited citizenship, abandon the condition of "civil minor", and acquire the "conditions to construct their political individuality as any other political minority" (Ardaillon, 1997, p.4).

Citizenship is not complete without the confirmation of the sexual and reproductive rights according to the guidelines of the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), and, later, the World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), which framed the criminalization of abortion as a violation of human dignity.

The inefficacy of the prohibition of abortion is clear in the data raised by the Guttmacher Institute[3] between 1995 and 2008, which demonstrate that the highest rates of abortion occur in regions where the legislation is more restrictive. It is the case, for example, of Latin America, where most of the countries prohibit abortion, which has the highest rate of abortions in the world: in 2015-19, there were 32 abortions per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44 years old. On the other hand, in countries where abortion is legal, such as in Western

[2] According to the Juridical Dictionary, a *crime hediondo,* in Portuguese, is a crime believed to be extremely serious. As a consequence, it is treated differently and more severely than other crimes. Those who commit such crimes have no right to bail, grace, amnesty or pardon.

[3] GuttmacherInstitute. *Aborto Induzido: Incidência e Tendências Globais* [InducedAbortion: Incidence and Global Trends]. February 2012.

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Europe, the rate of abortions is down to 17 per 1,000 women.

Cultural practices and profound religiousness hinder the adoption of public policies and rational actions to deal with public health issues, while they also compromise women's full citizenship. We favor looks while abortions are still being done in dangerous circumstances, we refuse to adopt efficient measures to handle the issue; we prefer to hide it all under the carpet and condemn such practice as a crime and a sin and, naturally, condemn women.

IV. Woman's Role in Economic Development

The archaism that impregnates the cultural standards charges a high price from development and economic growth as it insists on treating women as subordinates.

How does the position of women in society affect the economy and development of a country? The connection between women's condition and economic and social development has been the object of studies since the 1970s. Inspired by the pioneering work of Boserup (1970), several researches have evidenced that the lack of gender equality is an obstacle to economic growth, the end of poverty, and that, since the 1990s, it is a factor that compromises the implementation of projects for sustainable development.

Research and reports produced by institutions such as the World Bank demonstrate that a high level of gender equality has a direct and positive correlation with a high Gross Domestic Product per capita, suggesting that, by creating new opportunities for women, economic growth is also incremented.

While directing UN Women (2010/2013), Michelle Bachelet stated that it was not possible to think about long-lasting solutions for the world's principal problems without fully empowering women and making way for their participation in politics and the economy. The lack of gender equality affects democracy and justice, compromises equal rights, and limits building free and democratic societies.

That is also the conclusion of the report "World employment and social outlook: trends for women 2017". Analyzing the data of the ILO (International Labor Organization), it can be implied that getting more women into the global job market would add US$5 trillion to the world economy.

By reducing gender difference in the job market by 25%, which means an additional 3.9% of women labor in the productive sector (203.9 million workers), there would be a growth of US$5.76 trillion in the world's Gross Domestic Product by 2025.

In the case of Brazil, the gender gap in the job market affects 22.1%, while in developed countries, this gap is 16.15%. In Brazil, 78 percent of men hold paid jobs, compared with only 56 percent of women, based on International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates. Men's participation in the job market is up to 78.2%, which is greater than the 76.1% world average. According to projections of the ILO for the country, raising women labor by 3.3% by 2025, meaning 5.1 million more women at work, would add US$116.7 billion to Brazil's GDP, which would have a positive effect due to a rise in consumption and tax payment.

To reduce gender difference in the rate of labor participation, the ILO recommends that countries adopt policies that foster the balance between personal life and work, the elimination of gender discrimination, and the creation of quality jobs in the health sector. The reports say:

> "Gender gaps are one of the most pressing challenges facing the world of work today […]".

A vast literature demonstrates that an amazing percentage of women (31%), compared to men (8%), take greater vulnerability in the market. They are domestic or unpaid workers, 74% of which are not registered workers; 96% are paid up to 2 times the minimum wage.

As stated before, incomplete citizenship produced by sexual discrimination acts as an obstacle in all spheres of life, and this is also valid for economic and social development. This represents a loss to women and society at large.

V. Women's Power

When it comes to women in the Parliament, Brazil stands in 115th in the world ranking, out of 138 countries analyzed by the Inspirational Women Project (IWP) on data supplied by the World Bank (Bird). This list is topped by Ruanda (61.3%), followed by Bolivia (51,3). In the Brazilian Parliament – while 51,5% of the country's population are women – only 15% of the representatives are women. Down in the countries' ranking, our situation places us below Algeria and Tunisia and even traditional Islamic countries, such as Syria and Egypt.

Brazil's Federal Congress registered an increase in the number of women representatives by 87% between 1990 and 2016, rising from 5.3% to 9.9% of the total, and in 2018 to 15%. In the same period, the world's average raised from 12.7% to 23%. If this pace is kept, the country will reach gender equality in political representation in 2080.

The Executive Power has the same scenario. Even after adopting a 30% quota, the national average of women candidates to major positions reaches 18.01% of the total.

When women are not taking positions of power and decision, their standpoints tend to be marginalized, misinterpreted, or even silenced. On the other hand, when they are present in such public or community

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positions of decisions, they tend to exert an influence on the policies and practices that are essential for the wellbeing and quality of life, having a positive impact on society as a whole.

Currently, in Brazil, 43% of the women are breadwinners, which indicates a potential capable of elevating women's participation in the political system when they set free from the impediments that put them at bay. They may dedicate themselves to community issues. The new protagonist women will contribute innovative ways of making politics, and this is a positive impact on the entire community.

The constraints that women face to take up public positions go from the existence of laws that discriminate against them and hinder their participation, beliefs that question their skills to act as leaders, and cultural practices bound to the gender roles. Also, people are still resistant to a "women's style" of leadership (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), they insistently reproduce gender stereotypes that, very often, keep women out of public life. The gender unbalance among world leaders indicates that there is still a lot to be done to shatter the glass roof even in countries that experienced great advances due of feminist movements, which helped reduce gender inequality significantly.

Women, especially those with fewer resources, have difficulty participating in public life; countless factors limit their activities outside of home. Namely, domestic workload or the control and resistance they get from their parents or husbands. However, nothing compares to the discomfort they feel when they are part of a predominantly male atmosphere, hostile to their presence, which does not take in new women agents, but, rather, insist on intimidating them or including, harassing them. Until the political arena becomes inclusive, bridging the gender gap will be compromised. The same will happen to the other underrepresented – whether in terms of adequacy or number – minorities.

The presence of women in positions of power influences future activism and promotes the leadership of younger generations. However, when women's presence in politics is perceived as an appropriation of men's style, a poor copy or reproduction of the traditional behavior without innovation, if the presence of new characters does not foster the creation of their way of doing approach public things, this "men's way" of making politics tends to drive young girls away from such arena that is strange to them, in which they cannot control the discourse or scene play. The image of the "bossy female manager" repels more than attracts young girls because it evokes political activity and everything that involves power as a "men's thing."

Finally, it is necessary to consider that leadership is not typical of all individuals, rather; it is the result of developing skills over time. Providing opportunities to practice leadership is important when training young women to occupy positions of power and decision. They will have to break huge barriers and face challenges to take their place in the public space.

VI. Violence and Femicide in Daily Basis

Brazilian society is under the constant threat of several forms of violence. Besides living around the violence that afflicts all, women fear their sort of danger: femicide.

Brazil is a top 25 country in the world when it comes to femicide. At a rate of 4.4, Brazil is part of the group of countries with a high rate of murdered women – from 3 to 6 homicides per 100 thousand women. In the group including the highest femicide rates globally, Brazil is only below El Salvador, Colombia, Guatemala, and the Russian Federation. During the pandemic in 2020, the numbers of femicide increase 22%.

Small Arms Survey connects the high femicide rates with high levels of violence in such countries. Women 'are more frequently attacked in the public sphere; in this context, femicides often take place in a general climate of indifference and impunity'. However, this rule cannot be generalized because both in Eastern Europe and Russia, femicide rates are 'disproportionately high' when compared to the homicides total. That is, high rates of violence or naturalized violence lead to increase femicide. Nevertheless, there is no direct relation between the two phenomena.

Although Law Maria da Penha represents an advance and has brought more rigor to crimes against women, since 2006, when it came into force, there was an increase of 18.4% in the cases of violence in the country. The effectiveness of laws to protect women is fragilized when their juridical definition is uncertain, when their application is poor amid a culture of impunity, when the state fails to be diligent, and when those responsible for upholding such laws are either resistant or incompetent.

Not having a service to protect and report crimes against women generates a culture of fear and impunity that fosters the cycle of violence and hurts the efforts to prevent such crimes and create a safe environment.

Another important aspect of the survey is the age difference in cases of homicide in the country. While the killing of both genders has little or no incidence up to age 10, it grows steeply up to 18/19 years old and decreases slowly up to old age; however, in the case of femicide, the age curve is different.

Femicide is marked by two specificities: a high incidence of women victims in crimes against children (infanticide); the femicide line stabilizes horizontally within the group between 18 and 30 years old. Another specificity of the crime against women refers to the aggressor: girls from 12 to 17 years old are most usually attacked by their fathers (26.5%) and partners/ex-

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partners (23.2%), while in the case of young adults and adults, from 18 to 59 years old, the principal aggressor is their partner/ex-partner in half the reported cases. Such data reinforce the feminists' theory when they alert that, to women, their home can be more dangerous than the streets.

Preventing violence implies a change of attitude; it requires challenging stereotypes, empowering women, and an intense and immense training effort in communities for everybody to join forces with women in the fight against gender violence.

VII. Young Lives Meat Grinder

Of all inequalities imposed by gender difference, whether in the job market or participation in politics, figures of violence, nothing compares to the young women and adolescents that the country is putting to waste.

Just like gender, age is a power relation system that is both natural and socially constructed. Can we think about gender without the reference of time? Or can we consider genderized individuals without observing their development over time? Age modulates women's life experiences, their social perception of sexuality, the rules they are subject to, and the choices and behaviors suitable for each phase of their lives. Affected by age, gender defines the relation of women and society.

Banishing behaviors and values that are against women requires preventing new generations from reproducing them. Given the precarious economic conditions that affect all, the array of opportunities will be more reduced for young women since cultural practices and prejudice affect them.

In today's world, people under age 25 are 43% of the population and 60% live in developing countries. We have the biggest groups of adolescents in history, and it is expected to reach its peak within the next decade. Creating effective conditions for this young population to develop is imperative for development. Besides, it is a must if we want to make human rights effective.

Adolescents and the young are part of the population in expansion. This demographic trend creates a tremendous potential for accelerating the development in low-income and average-income countries. This would be a favorable moment to assure the political measures and the necessary resources to prepare youngsters and involve them in development projects that aim at transforming society.

For this reason, it is extremely important to invest in this group because having opportunities and choices will allow adolescents to grow to be empowered and active adult citizens. With adequate opportunities and skills, young girls are more likely to invest in themselves and generate a gain for their families and communities.

Has there been any advance? Are we preventing prejudice and discrimination from being passed down to new generations? Do we produce new cultural practices capable of promoting the women´s image as equal and independent to dismantle subalternity? Do we allow young women to grow and develop in a context that values women? Do we manage to break the old gender standards in favor of equity?

It seems that the answer to all these questions is "no". Although women manage to crack the glass roof, penetrating the positions of power and decision, in universities, in "men's jobs" very successfully, society has not added the necessary value to the image of women to subvert their traditional role; quite the opposite, women's portrait is still degraded and, to a great extent, affects young women.

NGO named *Énois - InteligênciaJovem*, in 2015, interviewed 2,300 girlsfrom 14 to 24 years old, in 370 cities. The result of this survey exposes the scenario of violence and sexismyoung girls in Brazillive in:

82% of the interviewees said they were prejudiced against;

94% were victims of verbal harassment;

84% verbal aggressiveness;

74% sexual harassment;

41% assault –83% of these were victimized by people they knew.

94% did not do something they wanted to do due to fear of violence (e.g., wear a mini skirt, go out at night, respond to provocations, etc.).

74% said they felt they were treated differently because they were a girl.

77% believe that living in a male chauvinist environment affects their development.

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In "The Second Sex," Simone de Beauvoir (1949) suggests that it is during adolescence that girls realize that men have more power than themselves and that their only power resides in consenting to become an object of worship and passive desires.

As Betty Friedan talks about the condition of recluse women at home (1972:181) in "The Feminine Mystique," she affirms that we need to design a new life plan for women so that girls "want to become women" (1972: 331).

Becoming a woman within sexist standards is a challenge that becomes even bigger in a country that is the world's 4th place in the ranking of marriages involving children. Data like these smash our illusions about becoming a modern or civilized country.

Maintaining the sexist cultural standards and objectifying women contribute and incite early sexuality. This practice is accountable for the endless cycle of poverty reproduction as it produces a multitude of young unprepared and unassisted mothers and children who come into this world in a situation of disadvantage.

The impact of around 16 million early pregnancies in the world a year has been broadly studied, focusing not only on the risks it generates to rights and health, on the likelihood of a pregnant girl to quit school but also on how pregnancy compromises the development of young women's potential.

Teenage pregnancy is not only a question of public health, but it also becomes a hindrance to development. We are facing a product of poverty, gender inequality, power unbalance, and precarious education. All this sheds light on the failure of institutions that should protect these young women's rights.

In underdeveloped countries, 1 out of 3 weddings involves brides under 18 years old. Among young brides, one out of nine will get married before turning 15. Most of them are poor, with few years of formal education, live in rural or isolated areas, and have little social support; they are also more vulnerable to physical and sexual assault.

Research demonstrates that educated young women tend to marry later, have fewer kids and guarantee their children's school education. Educated mothers reduce the levels of child mortality because they can provide suitable hygiene and health care; this does not happen with unprepared and uneducated adolescent mothers.

Guaranteeing the right of young women to develop their potentials is an important step towards ending poverty and stabilizing population growth. When empowered and not coerced, women can choose the number of kids they will have, the right moment to have them, and how long they will wait to have another child.

Despite the importance and value of education, it is necessary to highlight that going to school is not enough for a girl to be empowered. It is necessary to question the supposed direct relation between education and empowerment (Cobbett, 2014).

The central idea is that school offers girls the chance to become a professional, an entrepreneur, to take a leading position in communities. Also, in school, girls are protected from violence, sexually transmitted diseases, and early pregnancy. Without access to education, all the potential could be lost due to traditions and customs that constringe women, prevent them from westernizing, make them take up domestic tasks, marry and have children early.

However, UNIFEM studies conclude that the advance of formal education did not lead to gender equality. In Latin America and in countries where girls have outnumbered boys in school, this did not lead to equality in the job market or socioeconomic status; neither did it help eliminate violence against women.

In Brazil, quality education would help break the poverty cycle. Still a system in which young women finish school without knowing elementary mathematical operations or how to read and interpret texts only produces functional illiterates. School is not attractive enough to keep girls in long if it does not work to strengthen them, nor is it committed to eliminating gender inequality.

If we do not get to achieve an empowering education to equip young women with the skills to challenge discrimination they will face in society; the gender gap will remain.

An inefficient education system does not help introduce new values compatible with modern and democratic society. We understand that education that values gender and ethnicity protects against and prevents violence and other harmful practices. Then, education will be an essential instrument of empowerment and a vehicle to realize girls' full potential.

The goal is to change the cultural standards and acknowledge the value of young women for the social system, to have young women leaders in advocacy and community mobilization to end violent and discriminatory practices.

In the context of globalization, once barriers are broken, young women may participate actively in the solution of problems experienced in daily life, which involve the use of land, rivers, forests, and the search for innovative solutions for the economy and models of more equal and sustainable societies.

VIII. What About the Boys?

According to Kehily (2008), late modernity is painted rose and fuchsia, and this is the Zeitgeist that allows young women to be assertive agents, and to become visible. In the post-industrial era, they have gained visibility in the public space, and this must be used for their empowerment.

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The concept of empowerment came up in the social movement of the 1960s in the USA, in the bosom of counterculture, in the fight against oppressive systems. Empowerment allows building alternatives, bringing utopias to life and creating new social relations.

Empowerment can also be interpreted as a development of (individual or collective) self-confidence, a belief in the capacity of individuals or communities (Deere; León, 2002). On any of these meanings, the term suggests that empowerment is a mechanism acting over individuals, groups and communities, which allows taking control over their lives because they are aware of their skills and competencies.

To Deere and Leon (2002), the empowerment of women starts with their awareness of gender discrimination in a sexist society. Empowerment is what makes women let go of negative perception about themselves, tirelessly transmitted by society, to acknowledge their value and force, to be capable of fighting for their place and create new rights.

Zapata (2003) lists the factors that drive empowerment: economic autonomy, participation in social networks, access to formal education and information; self-confidence, and self-esteem; development of leadership skills. However, the author claims it is necessary to overcome the factors of disempowerment that she spots in domestic responsibilities, oppression, economic dependence, lack of support, training and participation in decisions of both private and public spheres (Zapata, 2003, p. 225-249).

It is through empowerment that we will achieve freedom of speech and decision power to build the political strategies that lead to the objectives we want to accomplish.

The current moment of globalization, known as late modernity, is considered a favorable time for the empowerment of women, especially young women.

In these times of late modernity, the potential of youth is under the spotlight; young women have gained the status of "ideal subjects" for the neoliberal and post-industrial times (Epstein et al. 1998; Aapola et al. 2005; Harris 2004). It is the young women who take the stage, in a time of reconfiguration of the models of work, consumption and gender roles under the form of a new economically independent female subject, free from domestic confinement and capable of deciding, and doing it all with the help of reproduction technologies.

The current moment promotes new femininities appealing to individualized subjects, agents who control their own destiny (Giddens, 1991). The discourse that created feminism in the 1960s focusing on complaints and victimization does not echo in today's world; quite the opposite; the movement loses the power of renovation, it gets old when it is repelled by new generations because young women do not want to play the victim role, rather, they want to be empowered.

Likewise, the postindustrial era produces new models of men, that is, new actors that have an active role in social changes. The Australian sociologist Michael Floor (2005) notes that men are a minority in feminist political actions or groups that fight for gender equality. However, when men are engaged in such discussions, this leads to a change in the feminist cause. As they join such movements, men widen their view and comprehension of gender issues. On a sharper perception, they become great supporters of feminist causes and increase their involvement with anti-sexist activism.

In Brazil, the discussion about the role of men in supporting feminism and the new versions of masculinity are still incipient, and they occur, mainly around the topic of violence against women or queer studies.

It is necessary to acknowledge that the Brazilian culture is impregnated with machoism, which segregates, exclude and oppresses women. We urgently need to corrode and undermine the bases to advance towards any kind of modernity. Without it, with half the population still living as pseudo citizens, we will not accomplish the wish to leave backwardness behind. We will continue to reproduce it on, and on throughout the new generations. We need to decide if our country will remain to look forward to the future as it continues to move backward.

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Second Reality Feminicides in Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua

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Summary- Even though the femicide crisisin Ciudad Juarez began 30 years ago, it was not until 2008 when the city became the most dangerous location in the world. As a result, the city experienced hundreds of homicides; but men were not the only ones targeted since women also participated in this struggle for power. The methodology used in this article is a documentary inquiry that aims to review the femicides as a second reality, a concept created by Rita Segato. Segato proposes that the drug war femicides acquire a gender element when the gangs use the female body to manifest their revenge.

Keywords: *woman, gender, violence, femicide, second reality femicide, ciudad juarez.*

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Summary- Even though the femicide crisisin Ciudad Juarez began 30 years ago, it was not until 2008 when the city became the most dangerous location in the world. As a result, the city experienced hundreds of homicides; but men were not the only ones targeted since women also participated in this struggle for power. The methodology used in this article is a documentary inquiry that aims to review the femicides as a second reality, a concept created by Rita Segato. Segato proposes that the drug war femicides acquire a gender element when the gangs use the female body to manifest their revenge.

Keywords: woman, gender, violence, femicide, second reality femicide, ciudad juarez.

Resumen- A pesar de la crisis feminicida en Ciudad Juárez desde hace 30 años, no fue hasta 2008 que, gracias a la guerra entre carteles que iniciaron una disputa por territorios y negocios ilegales, fue declarada como la más peligrosa del mundo. Esto provocó cruentos enfrentamiento que llevó a una cadena de muertes, no sólo de hombres pertenecientes a grupos criminales, también de mujeres, quienes entraron en estas luchas de poder como territorio en disputa. La metodología para la elaboración de este artículo es una investigación documental de recopilación de datos que tiene como objetivo reflexionar los feminicidios de Segunda Realidad, concepto propuesto por Rita Segato, para denominar aquellas muertes de mujeres de Ciudad Juárez que son asesinadas en ritos mafiosos, y cuyos cuerpos son usados como una forma de venganza entre bandas delictivas.

Keywords: mujer, género, violencia, feminicidio, feminicidio de segunda realidad, ciudad juárez.

I. Introducción

Entre los elementos centrales de los postulados feminista sobre la posición de las mujeres en el mundo y la violencia, están los relacionados al poder. La categoría poder es un eje de acción que dista de ser un acto vacío, ya que contiene una carga de posturas ideológicas que estructuran diversas formas de opresión relacionadas al género.

Una de las expresiones de esta opresión que permanece como una historia viva son los feminicidios de Ciudad Juárez. En esta ciudad no sólo siguen apareciendo víctimas, también se diversificaron los perfiles de los crímenes, es decir, a la muerte de jóvenes pobres y sin capital social, se suman asesinatos cada vez más frecuentes de mujeres relacionadas con bandas del narcotráfico y líderes de la comunidad.

Esto afianzó la teoría de Segato (2014) sobre la existencia de un Segundo Estado con poder real, aunque no legal, que mantiene una especie de Segunda Realidad en la frontera. Dicho de otra forma, las mafias del crimen organizado tienen un Estado dentro de otro Estado y han hecho de los feminicidios un medio para mostrar dominio entre rivales.

La metodología para la elaboración de este artículo es una investigación de documental de recopilación de datos que permitan reflexionar los feminicidios de Segunda Realidad que, según Segato, son una especie de rito mafioso que usa los cuerpos de las mujeres como venganza o para garantizar complicidades, es decir, una forma de sellar pactos de lealtad o como una estrategia de comunicación entre adversarios.

La primera parte de este artículo, Reflexionando el Feminicidio, discute sobre la aparición del concepto como categoría teórica y sobre la preocupación de estudiosas del fenómeno por integrarlo como categoría en el plano legal. La segunda parte, Feminicidios de Segunda Realidad, presenta un breve recuento de los índices de violencia en México que refleja el estado de impunidad que experimentan mujeres y niñas. Además, contextualiza la complejidad de la región cuando tuvo lugar la guerra entre bandas criminales en Ciudad Juárez, las fallidas acciones estatales para contenerla y da cuenta de algunas mujeres que sufrieron feminicidios, amenazas o persecuciones. Finalmente, las conclusiones, nos dicen que en Ciudad Juárez los feminicidios de Segundo Estado se han ensañado cruelmente con las mujeres y se resguardan en casi 30 años de impunidad ante la complicidad de las autoridades.

II. Reflexionando el Concepto de Feminicidio

Al feminicidio hay que identificarlo como un fenómeno social, acotarlo conceptualmente y diferenciarlo de otras formas de muerte violenta. Hablar sobre este fenómeno implica abordar la discriminación contra las mujeres, considerar situaciones que reproducen relaciones asimétricas de poder, así como identificar mecanismos que perpetúan la subordinación femenina y su exclusión del ejercicio pleno de sus derechos (ONU, 2012).

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En opinión de Incháustegui (2014) la violencia contra las mujeres en general y los feminicidios en particular, son una representación del poder masculino. La autora supone que estas acciones se deben a la incertidumbre que experimentan los varones respecto a su poder en el mundo actual, al considerar que las mujeres cada vez invaden más ámbitos donde habitualmente no aparecían. Actualmente disputan espacios, accionan y reaccionan ante ellos, de forma que la violencia se convirtió en un instrumento de control para contener los cambios y transformaciones político-sociales que ellas demandan.

La violencia debe reflexionarse como una categoría compleja ya que no es una simple interacción entre víctima y victimario, requiere una reflexión profunda que relaciona acciones, redes, contextos, objetivos, motivaciones y espacios entre el sujeto que practica la acción violenta y quien la recibe. Y si bien hay una multiplicidad de violencias a las que las mujeres están sujetas, hay una en específico que habría que reflexionar con profundidad por las dimensiones que contiene: la violencia feminicida.

El término en lengua inglesa femicide fue usado por primera vez por Diana Russell a mediados de los años setenta, al testificar ante el Tribunal Internacional de Crímenes en Contra de la Mujer en Bruselas. El propósito fue distinguir la muerte violenta de una mujer, en oposición a los términos predominantes en la mayoría de las legislaciones. Lo conceptualizó como el asesinato misógino de mujeres cometido por hombres y lo catalogó como un tipo particular de homicidio producto del desequilibrio de poder prevalente en nuestras sociedades (ONU, 2012).

En 1982, Rusell lo retomó en su libro Rape in Marriage, en el cual definió el femicidio como el asesinato de mujeres por ser mujeres. Ya en conjunto con Jane Caputi en el artículo denominado Speaking the Unspeakable, lo definió como la muerte de mujeres realizada por hombres motivada por odio, desprecio, placer o sentido de propiedad. Por su parte, en 1985 Mary Anne Warren, denominó el problema de las muertes sistemáticas de las mujeres como un genericidio, al comprobar estadísticamente que las mujeres en edad reproductiva tienen mayores probabilidades de ser asesinadas por hombres, que morir por cuestiones de salud, accidentes de tráfico, laborales y guerras (Olamendi, 2016).

El concepto de Radford y Russell integró categorías como poder, odio, desprecio, placer y posesión, con el propósito de especificar aquellos crímenes que no son juzgados adecuadamente por la ausencia de un término o de una catalogación de las motivaciones que llevan a un asesinato. A continuación, se presentan algunos móviles de muerte que pueden considerarse feminicidios:

> violación, tortura, esclavitud sexual, incesto y abuso sexual infantil intrafamiliar, maltrato físico y emocional, hostigamiento sexual, mutilación genital, operaciones ginecológicas innecesarias, heterosexualidad forzada, esterilización forzada, maternidad forzada, psicocirugía, negación de los alimentos, cirugías cosméticas y mutilaciones en nombre de la belleza (Radford y Russell, 2006, p.57-58).

Marcela Lagarde (2005) fue quien tradujo el término femicide a feminicidio al idioma español. Lo definió como el conjunto de delitos de lesa humanidad que se concatenan y potencian en un tiempo y territorio determinados hasta culminar con una muerte violenta. Para ella, el feminicidio en México constituye un crimen de Estado debido a la indiferencia, la impunidad y la omisión institucional en la impartición de justicia.

Lagarde (2005) hizo dos atribuciones significativas a este concepto: Consideró a los feminicidios como crímenes posibilitados por la negación del Estado a responsabilizarse y responder a las demandas de justicia, dicho de otra forma, atribuyó a las instituciones un grado de culpabilidad por las muertes y, por otro lado, solicitó a las autoridades que se manejaran los feminicidios como un problema público y no del ámbito privado.

Rita Segato (2014) por su parte, insistió en la comprensión e incorporación del término feminicidio en el plano jurídico, en otras palabras, diferenciar y rescatar cada crimen en sus particularidades, porque cada tipología de feminicidio necesita de un protocolo de investigación para garantizar la justicia. Así que recomendó lo siguiente: Identificar asesinatos que pudieran o no calificarse como feminicidios, subrayar las omisiones del Estado que pudieran generar un contexto institucional misógino y ofrecer mayores herramientas para la inclusión del término como categoría legal.

Por su parte, Julia Monárrez (2009) introdujo un concepto sustentado en el contexto juarense, donde según ella, acontecía un ambiente social feminicida. Al Feminicidio Sexual Sistémico lo definió como un patrón de violencia reproducido por uno o varios asesinos que marca de forma similar los cuerpos de las mujeres. Monárrez fue una voz significativa con la creación de este concepto porque destrabó el vacío teórico que había entonces en México y específicamente en Ciudad Juárez.

Segato (2016) por su parte, aportó el concepto Feminicidio de Segunda Realidad, el cual contextualizó también en los sucesos de Ciudad Juárez. Lo definió como la muerte de mujeres vinculadas con hombres que participan en organizaciones criminales, o mujeres secuestradas o reclutadas por organizaciones de trata con fines de explotación sexual, o bien crímenes motivados por disciplinamiento y/o represión hacia mujeres activistas.

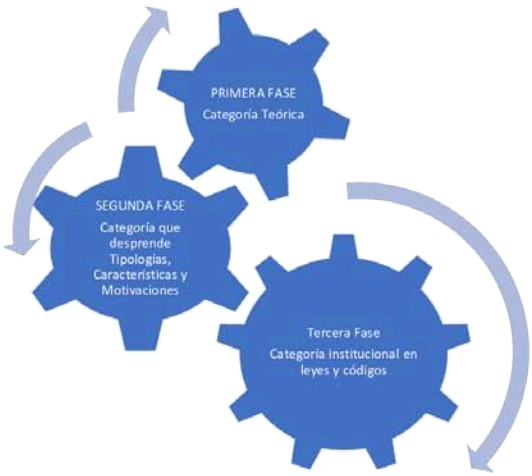
La teoría que sustenta Segato considera al feminicidio como una guerra declarada sobre el cuerpo de la mujer o como un acto de caza donde es el animal-

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trofeo. En otras palabras, es un ritual que las cosifica, las deshumaniza y las reduce como sujetos, pero al mismo tiempo, esa humanidad le es indispensable por las posibilidades de uso que tiene.

> El cuerpo de las mujeres es un territorio y se constituye en una especie de libro abierto sobre el que se inscriben signos de comunicación…su intención no es como en las guerras comunes, la apropiación de un territorio, sino su tortura y destrucción" (Segato, 2016:69).

Bajo esta misma idea, Gayle Rubin (1986) hace mención en su artículo *El tráfico de mujeres: notas sobre la "economía política" del sexo,* sobre el uso del cuerpo de las mujeres en la estructura patriarcal como eje de intercambio para sellar pactos y alianzas entre varones, o, mejor dicho, una apropiación del cuerpo de las mujeres con el propósito de que sean ese regalo preciado que se otorga al refrendar un acuerdo. Coincide con Segato, cuando considera que el cuerpo femenino es indispensable para estas alianzas al ser ellas el objeto de intercambio, sin embargo, lo importante en estos acuerdos, no son ellas, sino la prebendas que los varones obtienen a través de ellas.



Fuente: Elaboración propia

Gráfica 1: Recorrido teórico del concepto feminicidio.

Como conclusión de este apartado podemos decir que el concepto feminicidio retomó importancia en México en la década de los noventa del siglo XX, cuando estudiosas latinoamericanas desarrollaron diversas tipologías a partir de los aportes de Radford y Russell, con el propósito de forjar una herramienta que explicara la multiplicidad de asesinatos en el contexto juarense. Tanto Lagarde como Monárrez subrayaron que la violencia feminicida debía considerarse como violencia de género con móvil sexual, y si bien, algunos feminicidios tienen esta motivación. Hay otros que se pueden explicar con la teoría de Segato, sobre todo aquellos casos múltiples, consecuencia de actos mafiosos donde el uso del cuerpo es una mera demostración de poder y no de placer, como el caso de Ciudad Juárez.

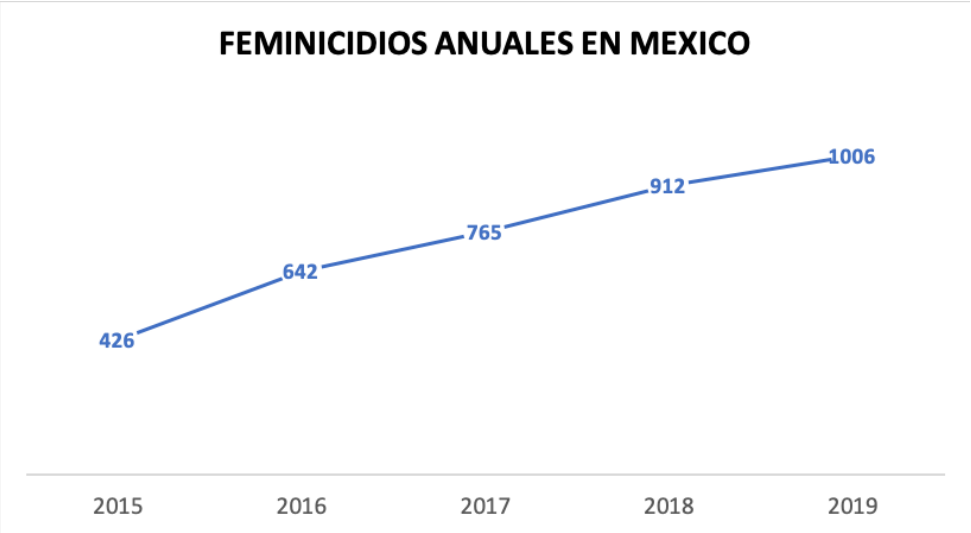
III. Feminicidios de Segunda Realidad

En México, se realizaron avances en la legislación interna respecto a la adopción de estándares internacionales de protección a los derechos de las mujeres, pero es aún un tema pendiente dado los altos índices de violencia (Olamendi, 2016). La Encuesta Nacional sobre la Dinámica de las Relaciones en el Hogar (ENDIREH, 2016) expone datos alarmantes. El 66.1% de las mexicanas de 15 años o más, sufrieron al menos un incidente de violencia emocional, económica, física, sexual o discriminación a lo largo de su vida.

Sin embargo, hay cifras ocultas que pudieran reflejar una situación aún más grave de lo que muestra la ENDIREH (2016). Olamendi (2016) destaca a manera de ejemplo, que no todos los incidentes violentos son denunciados. Por ejemplo, la encuesta detalla que solamente notificó a las autoridades el 9.5 % de las mujeres violentadas.

Por otro lado, información presentada por el Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad, muestra que durante 2019 al menos mil seis mujeres de todas las edades fueron víctimas de feminicidio. Como se puede ver en la siguiente gráfica, el crecimiento es exponencial, ya que se perpetraron 580 crímenes más que en 2015 (Coronel, 2020).

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Fuente: Elaboración propia con datos del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública (Coronel, 2020)

Gráfica 2: Feminicidios Anuales en México (2015-2019).

Al igual que la falta de denuncias de mujeres que sufren violencia, también hay un amplío margen de diferencia entre el número de homicidios que pueden considerarse feminicidios y no son reportados como tal. Según Coronel (2019), el sub-registro se debe a que muchas de las muertes por razones de género son calificadas y juzgadas como homicidios intencionales o dolosos. En este sentido, un estudio llevado a cabo por Mexicanos Contra la Corrupción y la Impunidad (MCCI) en 2019, detalla las causas por las cuales los sistemas de procuración de justicia de los Estados absuelven a presuntos feminicidas. Se encontró que las liberaciones ocurrieron por fallas al debido proceso y no por dudas fundadas sobre la responsabilidad del inculpado (Durán, 2019).

El Informe *Violencia feminicida en México, 40 aproximaciones y tendencias 1985-2016* (ONU-INMUJERES, 2017), detalla las tasas de Defunciones Femeninas con Presunción de Homicidios (DFPH). Entre las entidades con mayor concentración de las DFPH en el país está el Estado de México. Aquí se registró el 15% de los asesinatos de mujeres en los últimos diez años. Lo cual es congruente considerando que es la entidad más poblada, puesto que entre 2010 y 2015 concentró 13.5% de la población femenina. Sin embargo, Chihuahua concentró 10.5% de las DFPH ocurridas en el periodo 2007-2016, con sólo el 3% de la población femenina. A escala municipal el porcentaje acumulado entre 2011 y 2016 encontró que el municipio con índices más preocupantes fue Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Primer lugar en 2011, segundo lugar en 2012, tercero en 2013, el segundo en 2014, el cuarto en 2015 y el tercero en 2016.

Cabe resaltar también un estudio presentado por la Organización de la Naciones Unidas en Conjunto con el Instituto Nacional de la Mujeres registros (2013 a 2017) que da cuenta de la crueldad con que se asesina a las mujeres en México. Los objetos cortantes se usaron 1.3 veces más en los homicidios de mujeres que de hombres. Asimismo, se recurrió tres veces más, que, en el caso de ellos, al ahorcamiento, estrangulamiento, sofocación, ahogamiento e inmersión. De igual forma, el uso de sustancias y fuego fue el doble en el caso de ellas (ONU-INMUJERES, 2017).

Estos informes presentados evidencian la misoginia con que se actúa, dan muestra de la persistencia de los patrones culturales machistas y de un clima de permisividad social de violencia contra las mujeres. Segato (2013) habla de *captación del género* para explicar el esquema de violencia feminicida. Lo atribuye a la dualidad de los espacios público-privado y a la sobrevaloración del primero y desvaloración del segundo. La captación del género, en mi opinión, es un concepto muy significativo que explica la pérdida del derecho de los sujetos femeninos sobre sí mismas y el auto convencimiento de algunas de ellas de su propia inferioridad como algo inquebrantable y sin posibilidad de cambio. Es precisamente el espacio privado, a decir de Méndez (2016), donde se materializa el acto de desempoderamiento de las mujeres, porque la domesticidad conforma una subjetividad femenina bajo la idea de un sujeto desapropiado de sí misma.

De aquí surgen algunas interrogantes ¿Por qué los cuerpos femeninos carecen de poder? ¿Por qué les resulta tan difícil traspasar la opresión social que genera inequidad? ¿Cuáles son los ejes de opresión de las mujeres? Espíritu (p.141) considera que las categorías de opresión se deben relacionar no sólo al género, sino que hay más conexiones que explorar como las alianzas trans-raciales y trans-clasistas (en Lugones,

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2005). Aníbal Quijano (2014) parte de su teoría Colonialidad del Poder con una postura similar. Refiere una conexión de relaciones de dominación y roles fundamentados en la idea de raza y estratificación social.

Para Bridaseca et al. (2016, p. 202) existen tres clasificaciones a partir de las cuales se categoriza a las personas: el trabajo, el sexo y la raza. Acoge la idea de Quijano y la interpreta siguiendo su idea sobre la Colonialidad del Poder. Si la raza se incorpora como una jerarquía ficticia, si el producto de la fuerza del trabajo es propiedad de alguien, entonces "El sexo involucra las relaciones sociales que disputan el control del placer y la descendencia en función de la propiedad".

Las mujeres transitan en lo público y en lo privado desde un contexto de inequidad y discriminación sostenido por el sistema sexo-género que se resguarda en una organización patriarcal. De manera que quedan sujetas a la autoridad masculina y a un esquema de violencia estructural que naturaliza la violencia. Dicha violencia estructural hace referencia a la explotación, discriminación, marginación o dominación que recae sobre ciertos sectores de la población y se manifiesta como un poder desigual (Tortosa, 1992 y Galtung, 1995 en Espinar y Mateo, 2007).

Sin embargo, las categorías de opresión no significan ausencia de poder per se, puesto que hay mujeres mas empoderadas que otras, incluso que otros hombres, dependiendo de los ejes que las cruzan. Dichos ejes constituyen un capital social que se poseen en mayor o menor medida y llegan a convertirse en factores que determinan sus grados de poder, dependiendo de su esquema de subordinación pública y privada. De forma que algunas cargan con marcajes negativos que determinan sus trayectos de vida y suelen ser más indefensas, marginadas, vulnerables, disponibles, con menos valor y derechos que otras, por lo que se convierten en cuerpos accesibles con permiso social de trasgredir y violentar, eso explica porque la muerte es selectiva y hay un ensañamiento contra las más desfavorecidas.

IV. Segunda Realidad en Ciudad Juárez

Para comprender cómo se afianzó la Segunda Realidad en Ciudad Juárez y con ello la barbarie feminicida, es importante conocer sobre Ciudad Juárez y su historia moderna. A continuación, se presenta una breve revisión que da cuenta de ciertos sucesos que definieron el rumbo de la frontera y que tienen una relación directa con su cultura de violencia.

La leyenda negra de Ciudad Juárez se creó en los años treinta del siglo XX, cuando se inundó de bares, salones de baile, restaurantes y centros de prostitución donde las drogas y el alcohol circularon libremente. Juárez se convirtió en una ciudad sin control donde todo era posible. Para mediados de los años sesenta había una crisis de empleo y el gobierno decidió cambiar la cara de la ciudad, de manera que facilitó la instalación de las primeras maquiladoras. El propósito era emplear a la población masculina, pero eso no sucedió, las fábricas contrataron mujeres al considerarlas sumisas, maleables y baratas (Larrarte y Pérez, 2018).

Ciudad Juárez se feminizó y en pocos años la región obtuvo prestigio mundial como zona industrial, pero al mismo tiempo, fue un buen ejemplo del mundo neoliberal: ganancia máxima, mano de obra barata y trabajadoras fácilmente sustituibles. La década de los noventa mostró que la maquiladora no fue la respuesta de las necesidades de la población, en otras palabras, nunca hubo un sentido de responsabilidad social de los grandes capitales con los trabajadores, y menos con las mujeres. Según datos del Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística (INEGI, 2010), las zonas con mayor índice de marginalidad y pobreza en Ciudad Juárez eran habitada por ellas.

Fue en 1993 cuando tuvo lugar la alerta feminicida y la frontera tomó notoriedad mundial gracias al movimiento de organizaciones de la sociedad civil que realizó enérgicas protestas. A continuación, se detallan brevemente tres momentos claves de la historia de los feminicidios de Ciudad Juárez (Pérez, 2011, 2012, 2019).

1)Integración: La Coordinadora en Pro de los Derechos de la Mujer (CPDM) apareció en 1994, cuando mujeres líderes de la comunidad advirtieron el alto índice de asesinatos, desapariciones y el desinterés de las autoridades por la resolución de los casos. Este momento fue clave en la historia de las mujeres de Ciudad Juárez porque surgió por primera vez una organización que dio acompañamiento a las madres que sorteaban por su cuenta el proceso de búsqueda de las hijas. 2)Reforzamiento. Para 2001 las madres de víctimas estaban cansadas y decepcionadas, sentían que el movimiento había perdido rumbo, por lo que formaron dos organizaciones, Nuestra Hijas de Regreso a Casa (NHRC) en Ciudad Juárez y Justicia Para Nuestra (JPNH) en la Ciudad de Chihuahua, con el propósito de seguir la lucha por su cuenta. Ese año la ciudad se encontraba en crisis ante el aumento de casos de desaparecidas no sólo en Juárez, sino en otras ciudades del Estado de Chihuahua. Aunque se pudiera pensar que esto fue una división de fuerza entre madres y organizaciones civiles, fue más bien una emancipación que enriqueció los frentes y reforzó la protesta 3)Articulación. En 2005 Red Mesa de Mujeres (RMDM), formada por líderes feministas de la comunidad, tomó el liderazgo del movimiento y se convirtió en un organismo influyente en la agenda político-social. Tejió de nuevo ese hilo conductor que se había perdido entre familias de víctimas, organizaciones

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civiles e instituciones gubernamentales. Cabe destacar la cooperación de la RMDM con la fiscalía del Estado de Chihuahua, que llevó a juicio a 5 feminicidas del caso Valle de Juárez en el año 2015.

Caso	Lote Bravo	Lomas de Poleo	Campo Algodonero	Cristo Negro	Valle de Juárez
Año de aparición	1995 a 1997	1996 a 1998	2001	2002 a 2003	2011
Cuerpos	5 Mujeres y niñas (entre 15 y 20 años)	12 Mujeres y niñas (entre 10 y 20 años)	8 Mujeres y niñas (entre 15 y 20 años)	6 Mujeres y niñas (entre 15 y 20 años)	18 Mujeres y niñas (entre 13 y 25 años)
Ocupación	Estudiantes y obreras	Estudiantes y obreras	Estudiantes y obreras	Estudiantes y obreras	Estudiantes y obreras
Tipo de lesiones	Pezón amputado, mordidas en el cuerpo, cuello fracturado	Cuello fracturado, marcas en la piel con arma punzo cortante	Cuello fracturado, marcas en la piel con arma punzo cortante	Cuello fracturado, marcas en la piel con arma punzo cortante	Fractura de cráneo

Fuente: Elaboración propia con información de Pérez (2011, 2019)

Gráfica 3: Casos emblemáticos de feminicidios en Ciudad Juárez.

Segato (2016) atribuye los feminicidios en Ciudad Juárez a la existencia de un Segundo Estado sostenido por una Segunda Realidad. Esta Segunda Realidad es un Estado que contiene fuerzas armadas para protección de intereses y miembros, códigos comunicativos, leyes autónomas y un cierto grado de legitimidad que "tiene por finalidad ocuparse del mercadeo ilegal y de la protección de la propiedad y del flujo de los capitales sumergidos, así como de la intocabilidad de este ambiente" (p.78).

Esta Segunda Realidad se instaló cómodamente en la ciudad gracias a la complicidad de las autoridades y a que, hasta cierto punto, el Segundo Estado mantenía un orden. Es decir, las mafias se concretaban a hacer negocios y los crímenes eran sólo entre rivales, raramente se tocaban menores o mujeres. Sin embargo, cuando el expresidente Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (2006-2012) declaró expresamente la guerra contra el narcotráfico en 2007, la lucha entre cárteles se extendió en todo el país y Ciudad Juárez fue uno de los escenarios que se disputaron con más crueldad, porque las reglas y códigos de honor se quebrantaron y hubo una gran cantidad de muertes.

Ibarra (2010, parr. 2) expresa al respecto:

> La supuesta guerra contra el narcotráfico no se caracteriza por enfrentamientos armados entre dos partes, sino generalmente por ejecuciones, asesinatos de las fuerzas armadas contra civiles, generalmente jóvenes y pobres. Es pues, este un claro ejemplo de la percepción generada sobre la llegada de las fuerzas armadas a la frontera y su ineficiente actuación, que, al contrario de favorecer las condiciones de la ciudad, contribuyeron al aumento de las violaciones de derechos humanos, secuestros, ejecuciones, pues como se ha reconocido existieron nexos con el crimen organizado por parte de los altos mandos [policiacos], lo que perpetró el aumento de la violencia.

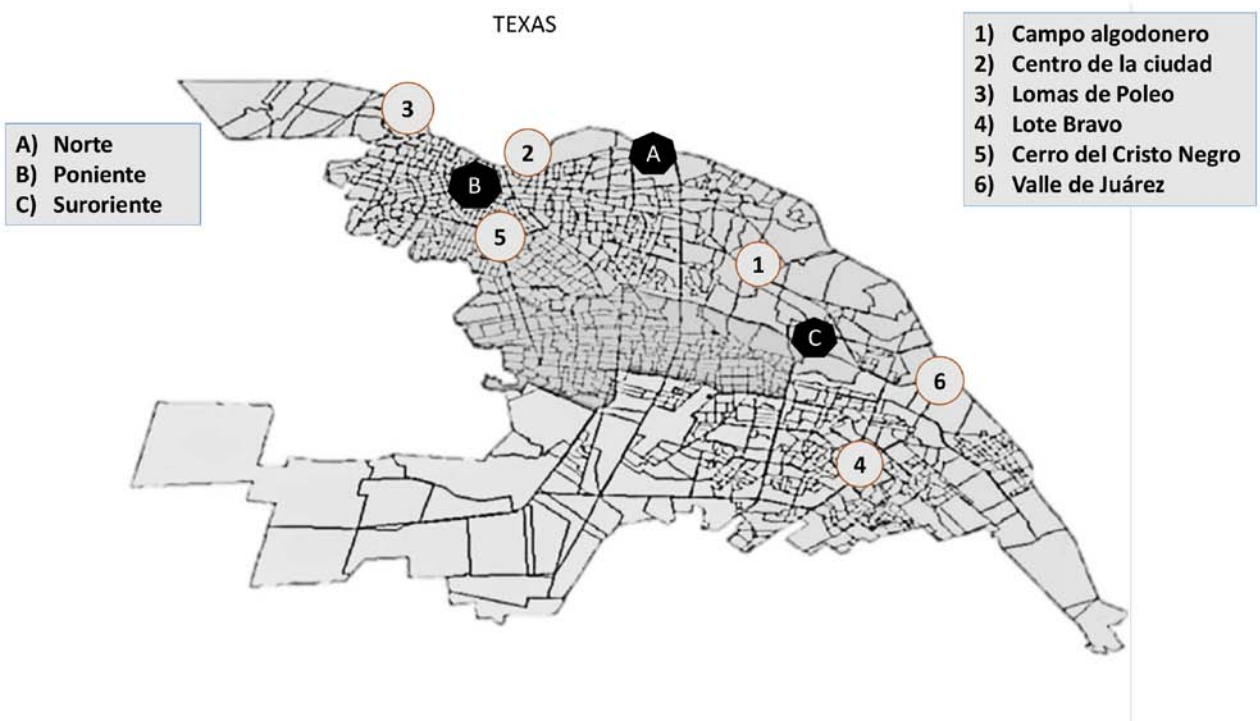
Entre 2008 y 2011 se tuvo el número de homicidios más elevado de las últimas décadas (2008 un total de 1557 homicidios, 2009 con 2621, 2010 el más alto con 3107 y 2011 con 1977). Durante los periodos mencionados los asesinatos se concentraron en masculinos entre 18 y 35 años, quienes ocuparon del 62 al 75% del grueso de los asesinatos. Sólo en el año 2010 hubo un incremento hacia el 13% de hombres jóvenes entre 13 y 17 años (Martínez y Garza, 2013).

El gobierno pretendió solucionar los problemas de violencia en Ciudad Juárez militarizando las fuerzas policiacas, sin enfrentar las causas estructurales de la violencia como es el clima de desigualdad, discriminación o corrupción de las instituciones. Sin embargo, esta estrategia no logró resultados significativos en el combate del crimen organizado, por el contrario, generó un aumento de las violaciones a derechos humanos cometidas por fuerzas militares y contribuyó a la descomposición del tejido social con altos costos en los cuerpos y en las vidas de las mujeres. En medio de esta violencia, ellas se convirtieron en un instrumento para atacar al enemigo y esto se tradujo en violaciones sexuales, torturas, ejecuciones extrajudiciales y desaparición forzada de las mujeres de la región, sobre todo las más pobres (Jass, 2014).

El caso de Ciudad Juárez es una muestra más de políticas de militarización construidas sobre paradigmas patriarcales: el orden y el progreso se asocian a valores como la fuerza, la represión y la contención de la sociedad. Estos principios no pueden de ninguna manera ser buenos para las mujeres que son a quienes más se reprime y cuyos cuerpos más se explotan. En esa lógica de explotación y control patriarcal, las mujeres en el campo de batalla son botín de guerra (Jass, 2014).

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La llegada del ejército mexicano y de las fuerzas policiacas federales fueron momentos rememorados como un punto de quiebre en la experiencia de vivir en la ciudad. La estrategia de seguridad empleada por el gobierno federal denominada Todos Somos Juárez: reconstruyamos la ciudad (2010), fue una maniobra que no generó los resultados esperados y complicó el contexto de seguridad por el alto índice de delitos y el aumento de feminicidios. Sólo alrededor del 1% de los asesinatos, y un porcentaje aún menor de los demás delitos y crímenes se resolvieron, lo cual es testimonio de un colapso no sólo de la sociedad sino del propio Estado. De acuerdo con los porcentajes de muertes, Ciudad Juárez se consideró en 2011 entre las ciudades más violentas del mundo (Payán, 2011).



Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Gráfica 4: Mapa de Ciudad Juárez que identifica zonas de conflicto del narcotráfico y casos emblemáticos de feminicidios

Los puntos B y C representan las zonas poniente y suroriente respectivamente, que es donde habita la población de escasos recursos. Si bien, en ese entonces, toda la ciudad estaba sitiada por el crimen organizado, estos fueron los lugares donde la Segunda Realidad se reflejó con mayor impunidad. Los grupos delictivos organizaron varios frentes y hubo cruentas luchas por la disputa de la zona entre grupos rivales, pero, no sólo se enfrentaron entre ellos, también encararon las tres fuerzas de seguridad del gobierno: el ejército, la policía estatal y la municipal. El norte representado por el punto A, es la zona donde habita la población de mayor recurso. Esta área fue durante estos años la de más libre tránsito y donde había menos enfrentamientos.

Por otro lado, los números dentro de los círculos representan las zonas de los casos emblemáticos de feminicidio que han ocurrido de 1993 a la fecha. Hay que destacar dos situaciones: la primera es que los espacios de conflicto coinciden con los crímenes de mujeres, es decir, las áreas de disputa del narcotráfico son las mismas donde se ocurrieron los feminicidios clasificados por Monárrez (2009) como feminicidio sexual sistémico o de Segunda Realidad por Segato (2014). Los feminicidios se extienden a través de los años del norponiente al suroriente y al Valle de Juárez, zonas que fueron dominadas por el narcotráfico después de 2008 cuando inició la guerra entre cárteles. Vale la pena destacar el último caso de feminicidio de 18 mujeres y niñas en 2011, el cual se suscitó en el Valle de Juárez (punto 6) y se relacionó a un delito de trata: secuestro, prostitución y asesinato de mujeres y niñas; por el cual fueron sentenciados cinco individuos a más de 600.

En medio de esta violencia, las mujeres se convierten en un instrumento o medio para atacar al enemigo, de manera que conquistar o violentar a la mujer del otro se convierte en victoria militar. Esto se traduce en violaciones sexuales, torturas, ejecuciones extrajudiciales y desaparición forzada de las mujeres de

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la región, sobre todo las más pobres. La militarización de la ciudad las afectó directamente, pues este brazo de la fuerza pública, en vez de estar entrenado en resolver conflictos entre civiles, funciona bajo la lógica de la fuerza militar, de manera que carecen de la sensibilidad necesaria para lidiar directamente con los casos de feminicidio, que son asumidas sin la más mínima perspectiva de género desde la fuerza policial (Jass, 2014).

El conflicto que desató esta guerra contra el crimen organizado diversificó el perfil de los feminicidios. Hubo una ola de denuncias de persecución, amenazas y asesinatos contra derecho-humanistas, quienes denunciaron arbitrariedades cometidas por miembros del crimen organizado y violaciones a los derechos humanos de parte de las autoridades estatales. De la misma forma, se multiplicaron casos de mujeres y niñas asesinadas por su supuesta conexión con alguna actividad del narcotráfico.

La violencia contra las mujeres derecho-humanistas en el Estado de Chihuahua reflejó lo siguiente: del 2000 al 2014 la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos (CIDH) promulgó 66 Medidas Cautelares a personas de 16 Estados de México, de estas, 40 fueron para mujeres en Chihuahua y sólo en el año 2008 se promulgaron 31 de las 40 (García, et al., 2014). Estas agresiones tenían una relación, según el informe, con los altos niveles de violencia e inseguridad que había en ese entonces. Llamaron la atención algunos casos de Ciudad Juárez: Josefina Reyes Salazar, Marisela Escobedo, Susana Chávez, Norma Andrade, María Luisa García y Marisela Ortiz.

Marisela Escobedo fue asesinada el 16 de diciembre de 2010 mientras protestaba frente al palacio de gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua. Ella pedía que se detuviera al feminicida de su hija Rubí Frayre Escobedo. El cuerpo de Rubí de 16 años, fue localizada a finales de agosto de 2008 gracias a los datos que ofreció el homicida confeso y pareja de la víctima. Sin embargo, fue puesto en libertad en el juicio en que se le procesó debido a errores cometidos por la fiscalía (García et al., 2014).

Josefina Reyes, luchadora social en el Valle de Juárez, denunció constantes violaciones a derechos humanos y asesinatos cometidas por militares contra pobladores de la zona. A Josefina le asesinaron a su hijo Julio César Reyes en 2009 y acusó directamente a militares del crimen. Tiempo después su hijo Miguel Ángel fue encarcelado, de manera que presionó con una huelga de hambre para pedir su libertad. Fundó el Comité de Derechos Humanos del Valle de Juárez y fue asesinada el 3 de enero de 2010 en Ciudad Juárez. Para 2011 cuatro miembros más de su familia fueron ejecutados (García et al., 2014).

Otros casos que sobresalen son: el feminicidio de Susana Chávez Castillo, defensora de Derechos Humanos en Ciudad Juárez y participante activa del movimiento contra los feminicidios. Están también Norma Andrade, María Luisa García Andrade y Marisela Ortiz, derecho humanistas integrantes de NHRC, quienes abandonaron la ciudad en 2008 ante múltiples amenazas. En 2019 fue asesinada Isabel Cabanillas, integrante del Colectivo Hijas de su Maquilera Madre y activista contra el feminicidio.

Otros casos de los que poco se habla y raramente se reclama justicia, son los de mujeres relacionadas con grupos del crimen organizado. Estos asesinatos destacan por la manipulación y el daño que se ejerce sobre los cuerpos, incluyendo la saña sexual, es como una intención de denigrar el cuerpo de las mujeres no sólo por el placer, sino por la humillación que representa para sus protectores.

Zuleth Cruz Zamarrón de quince años, fue encontrada asesinada en una carretera cercana a Ciudad Juárez. Estaba semi desnuda, atada de pies y manos con cinta adhesiva colocada alrededor de boca y nariz. Se le apreciaron golpes en piernas, cabeza y otras partes del cuerpo. Según el medio de comunicación Vanguardia, Zuleth publicaba frecuentemente en su red de Facebook narcocorridos (estilo musical mexicano que hace apología del narcotráfico) o mensajes aludiendo a grupos del narcotráfico. La adolescente no contaba con reporte de desaparición cuando se le localizó y según reportes de testigos(as), fue secuestrada por un comando armado (Vanguardia, 2017).

Otro caso fue el homicidio de 13 jóvenes (3 mujeres y 10 varones) en una vivienda de la zona sur de Ciudad Juárez, el cual fue catalogado como un acto de venganza entre bandas del narcotráfico (Topete, 2018). Al menos ocho de las víctimas tenían entre 18 y 23 años, todos fueron estrangulados y torturados según la autopsia del Servicio Médico Forense. Miriam Janeth López Contreras de 18 años; Julia Beatriz Nevárez Martínez de 20 y Marisol Terrones Meléndez de 22 años, fueron las tres mujeres asesinadas (El Diario, 2018). Los reportes indicaron que sólo ellas estaban semidesnudas y que tenían signos de que fueron violentadas sexualmente (Am Edición León, 2018).

El 26 de agosto de 2019, Lindsay, Sherlyn y Artleth Sánchez Gordillo, tres niñas de 4, 13 y 14 años, así como un hombre, de 25, fueron ultimados en el interior de su domicilio en Ciudad Juárez. Les dispararon en más de cien ocasiones como venganza contra el padre, quien, según informes, estaba relacionado con actividades de crimen organizado (INFOBAE, 2020).

En estas guerras informales, el cuerpo, comenta Segato (2016), se convierte en campo de batalla y se profana de modo que sea recordado el

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daño "en él se agreden, desmoralizan, amedrentan, desmovilizan y, eventualmente, derrotan las huestes de hombres a cargo de su vigilancia y protección" (p. 84) y es que la agresión sexual constituye un acto más que de placer, un acto de poder.

Irma Casas, ex directora del centro de Justicia para la Mujer en Ciudad Juárez, comenta sobre estos feminicidios:

> Ese tipo de casos arrojó la muerte de muchas mujeres y hoy en día sigue pasando, por esa razón deben ser tratados e investigados como feminicidios. El problema es más de fondo como para solamente tratar de cerrar carpetas bajo la excusa de que son ajustes de cuentas. También existen aquellas que trabajan dentro del trasiego de drogas porque son víctimas de la trata y sus captores las obligan a prostituirse, vender drogas o a ser sicarios, porque así es como ellos obtienen sus ganancias (Macías, 2015).

¿Qué elementos posibilita un feminicidio? Lagarde M. (2005) considera que el Estado es uno de los grandes responsables debido a la convergencia criminal de silencio, omisión, descuido y colusión de las autoridades responsables de prevenir y erradicar estos crímenes. El feminicidio se produce cuando el Estado no da garantías a las mujeres y no asegura las condiciones de seguridad para su vida dentro de la comunidad, su casa, en los espacios de trabajo, en el momento de sus desplazamientos o durante su ocio. Los feminicidios en Ciudad Juárez son resultado de la asimetría del poder en la relación sexo-género que reproduce la violencia en el imaginario social como una práctica naturalizada, son producto de la violencia institucional que ejerce el Estado a partir de los vacíos en las leyes que facilitan la impunidad y consecuencia de la desatención para dar seguimiento a los llamados de las mujeres cuando denuncian amenazas o atentados.

V. Conclusiones

La principal preocupación de las estudiosas del feminicidio ha sido la definición del concepto y, sobre todo, lograr una categorización no sólo en la academia, sino en su aplicabilidad en el ámbito de la justicia. México por su parte no ha correspondido a las necesidades de las mujeres, poco hace por generar una transformación cultural contra el machismo, contra la violencia, para bajar los índices de feminicidios y de impunidad. A manera de ejemplo, cabe resaltar que no fue hasta 2012 que reformó el Código Penal Federal (CPF) y se tipificó el feminicidio como delito autónomo, en el Estado de Chihuahua no fue hasta 2016, demasiado tarde, si tomamos en cuenta la emergencia desde 1993.

El objetivo de este artículo, como ya se dijo, es el análisis del Feminicidio de Segunda Realidad, con fin de ofrecer una mirada de los crímenes de mujeres que se han suscitado en la frontera juarense, sobre todo los casos emblemáticos de cementerios clandestinos, los feminicidios contra derecho humanistas, y los feminicidios de mujeres y niñas que mantienen relación con actividades del narcotráfico o con personas ligadas a esta actividad.

¿Cómo se explica la relación entre la violencia del crimen organizado y el feminicidio en Ciudad Juárez? La situación de inseguridad que se experimentó entre 2008 y 2011 y especialmente los feminicidios en el Valle de Juárez, mostraron que el fenómeno no es un asunto del pasado. Desde los años noventa, Segato (2016) insiste en que las muertes de mujeres en Ciudad Juárez son producto de organizaciones criminales que mantienen una guerra como Estado informal dentro de un Estado formal, y si bien, no todas las muertes de mujeres se pueden denominar como de Segunda Realidad, hay una buena cantidad de feminicidios que guardan conexión con ellos.

Por último, queda decir que el feminicidio constituye la expresión de la barbarie contra las mujeres, es un acto violento que va mas allá del odio, y es que se odia lo que importa o con lo que se interactúa como igual, pero no, lo no tiene algún valor. La mujer que se agrede no es un elemento significativo del juego de poder, no es un sujeto, sino un objeto de batalla que sólo retoma importancia cuando su cuerpo se convierte en un territorio deshabitado.

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Role of NGOs for Implementing Reproductive Health Policy

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Abstract- This study analyses to what extent NGOs has been delivering health services particularly reproductive health at local level in Nepal and examines how much people were satisfied by service delivered by NGOs by drawing information through 175 questionnaires distributed to local residents at local level in Nepal. In addition, interview was carried out with key informants. Secondary data also used to consolidate the study. The finding of the study showed that more reproductive health policy was implemented at Lalitpur Sub-metropolitan City (LSMC) (urban) than Banging Development Committee (BVDC) (rural) areas due to service provided by NGOs. However, people were not satisfied by the services provided by NGOs even though they created health awareness. The study revealed that donor support and urban-centric conditioned for the sake of continuity of health services.

Keywords: reproductive health services, public policy implementation, LSMC, BVDC, nepal.

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Role of NGOs for Implementing Reproductive Health Policy

Md. Rezwanul Kabir [α], Mst. Taskin Ara Taznin Bithi [σ] & Tanzima Aktar Jyoti [ρ]

Abstract- This study analyses to what extent NGOs has been delivering health services particularly reproductive health at local level in Nepal and examines how much people were satisfied by service delivered by NGOs by drawing information through 175 questionnaires distributed to local residents at local level in Nepal. In addition, interview was carried out with key informants. Secondary data also used to consolidate the study. The finding of the study showed that more reproductive health policy was implemented at Lalitpur Sub-metropolitan City (LSMC) (urban) than Banging Development Committee (BVDC) (rural) areas due to service provided by NGOs. However, people were not satisfied by the services provided by NGOs even though they created health awareness. The study revealed that donor support and urban-centric conditioned for the sake of continuity of health services.

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I. Introduction

After realizing the need and importance of NGO, Government of Nepal (GON) has opened avenues for NGOs to be a partner in development sectors such as education, health service, community development, women and others since 1990. Likewise, Interim Constitution, 2006 has also given space to create conducive environment for NGOs in Nepal. Interim constitution of Nepal (2006) has already declared free primary health services as a fundamental right for every Nepali citizen and has illuminated ways for reflecting the declaration in respective acts and regulations. Till this date, more than thirty thousands NGOs were affiliated with Social Welfare Council (SWC), an institution to look after NGOs in Nepal. Among them, there are near about one thousands NGOs which aim to deliver health services in Nepal.

Specifically, a national health policy (NHP), 1991 aimed at enhancing the health status of the country, addressing service delivery as well as administrative structure of the health system was adopted. In this NHP, GON has recognized NGOs as a convenient partner including private sectors. Onwards' periodic plan particularly the Eight Plan (1992-97), the Ninth Plan (1997-2002), the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) and the Interim Plans and second long term health plan (1997-2017) were developed in consistent with the NHP.

The 2006 data showed that the maternal mortality ration (MMR) was 281 deaths per 100,000 live births. This represented a decrease of 32 per cent over the 2000 figure that stood at 415. Similarly Family Health Division (2009) showed that MMR was 229 deaths per 100,000 live births. Similarly, contraceptive prevalence rate (CPR) is also improved 39 per cent in 2000 to 45 per cent in 2010. Adolescent birth rate is also increased by one per cent in comparison with the data of 2006. Likewise antenatal care (ANC) was also increased from 29 per cent in 2005 to 50.2 per cent in 2010. The one fundamental question can be raised that such slow improvements of reproductive health indicators are natural or caused by the NGOs or others. Hence, this study assesses the role played by NGOs to implement the reproductive health policy in terms of people's satisfaction.

II. NGO's Role

Conceptually, the meaning of NGOs refers to intermediary service organizations that are non-profit but do not have a membership base in the community. Other scholars define NGOs more broadly, to include any non-profit organization including membership and service-based organizations. Thus, NGOs preserve a unique and significant space between the for-profit sector and government. NGOs are organizations which are neither governmental (public sector) organizations (such as central or local government services or public hospitals, schools or universities), nor private (for-profit) commercial organizations, such as transnational corporations.

Therefore, pundit of development have been emphasized that Non-governmental Organization(NGO) can be a one of the important actor for the sake of development including government and private sector in developing country in particular. The reasons behind the emergence of NGOs are government failure and market failure. NGO as social entrepreneur can satisfy the demands for public goods such as education and health services left by such failure (James, 1987). Brown and Korton (1991, p.48) argues NGOs might come into existence to be remedies in case of 'market failure' situations because markets tend to be 'especially vulnerable to failure in developing countries. NGOs have

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been creating their space in societies where government and market have not been serving. In such cases NGOs could emerge because people trust them more than the profit organization.

Esman and Uphoff argued that NGOs play the role of local intermediaries to fulfil the 'organizational gap'. According to this model, a local intermediary mobilises the people to participate in government-initiated programs. NGOs could be a potentially effective medium, which could be utilised in delivering services to the rural areas of developing countries. In this way, NGOs are taken as an alternative institutional framework through which the rural poor and socially disadvantaged groups are served better than the traditional bureaucratic mechanisms.

This trust in development thinking has created an unprecedented scope for NGOs to operate in the development field. The global search for viable options to support grassroots development has provided a context for the growth of NGOs everywhere. NGOs are now treated as instruments not only for strengthening the notions of self-help and self-reliance among the people but also for helping generate a systematic process of awareness-building through education, training in areas of social and economic significance, organization through collectivises and mobilization of action through these activities (Berg, 1987).

Experience from South Asia:

Experiences from other parts of the world, including India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, have also demonstrated that NGOs can assist in providing people with information, technical support and decision-making possibilities, which could enable them to share in opportunities and responsibilities for action in the interest of their own health (Rashid & et al, 2011). NGOs in Nepal have provided basically three types of services viz. socio-cultural services (education, advocacy and awareness raising); Community development services (the integrated provision, usually of health, drinking water, sanitation, and environmental protection); and economic services (savings and credit management, labor exchange, micro-irrigation, and marketing) (ESP, 2001, p.126).

In case of Nepal, Dhaka (2006) argued that NGOs have evolved in the natural course of time and space to meet the needs of the livelihood of society and country. People found these NGOs as new institutions to voice and address their need. Therefore, government has to come to accept NGOs as their helping support, to many of their developmental project. However, he questioned that being non-profiteering voluntary NGOs their undoubted credibility depends on their stable self-supporting ability to maintain themselves to the required span of time till they achieve their targets. NGOs' presence is volatile as they indefinitely depend on uncertain donors. Similarly, K.C. (2012) argues that NGOs in Nepal have created space as intermediaries since 1990 but not so accountable towards the public as envisioned because NGOs are project –oriented. When the project completes, NGOs leave the place without any headache of continuity of services. Thus, she opines that sustainability of their activities has become a major issue for NGOs. On this background, this study analyses the degree of reproductive health policy implementation at local level of Nepal from the perspective of people's satisfaction.

III. Policy Implementation

Implementation inevitably takes different shapes and forms in different cultures and institutional settings. This point is particularly important in an era in which processes of 'government' have been seen as transformed into those of 'governance'. Conceptually, implementation means carrying out, accomplishing, fulfilling, producing or completing a given task. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) define it in terms of a relationship to policy as laid down in official documents. According to them, policy implementation may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984, p. xxi-xxiii). Policy implementation encompasses both one-time efforts to transform decisions into operational terms and continuing efforts to achieve the large and small changes mandated by policy decisions.

In a word of Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983, p.20-21), policy implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute, but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions. The starting point is the authoritative decision and legal objectives as well. It implies centrally located actors, such as politicians, top-level bureaucrats and others, who are seen as most relevant to producing the desired effects.

O'Toole (2003, p.266) defines policy implementation as government intention on the part of government to do something or stop doing something and the ultimate impact of world of actions. More concisely, he remarks that policy implementation refers to the connection between the expression of governmental intention and actual result (O'Toole, 1995, p.43). Likewise, policy implementation concerns how governments put policies into effect.

From the above discussion, implementation can be conceptualized as on going process which incorporates series of decisions and actions directed towards putting a prior authoritative decision into desired effect. It also includes the timely and satisfactory performance of certain necessary tasks related to carrying out of the intent of the law. For sake of implementation of the public policy, it demands favourable structure of implementation process,

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specified objectives of public policy, capacity and will of implementer, management plan along with performance indicators.

IV. Reproductive Health Policy Implementation

In general, policy implementation refers to putting the policy into practice so that its objective is achieved. This study is basically focused on implementation of reproductive health policy in Nepal. Here, to what extent the intent of this policy is implemented by NGOs, is analysed in this study in Nepal. Whether the desired effects of law are produced or not, is examined in two local units of Nepal i.e Bangsing Development Committee (BVDC) and Lalitpur Sub-metropolitan City (LSMC).

In case of Nepal, the reproductive health policy is not defined concretely in a policy document. However, these documents[1] lays emphasis on providing reproductive health information, providing health services during the pregnancy, increasing the use of family planning services, replacing traditional healing methods by modern methods, and implementing two child per couple program. Following table shows status of implementation of reproductive health policy in Nepal.

"Table No. 1": Reproductive Health Policy Implementation in Nepal

Variables	BVDC	LSMC
Health information received	40 %	98%
Availability of Family planning devices	68%	98%
Care at pregnancy period	64%	71%
Replacement of traditional healing methods by modern methods	59%	90%
Implementation of two child per couple program	50%	73%
Increase in average marriage age	68%	94%
Increasing childbearing space	64%	88%
Total N=175	N1=84	N2=91

Source: Field study, 2012

For the study purpose, implementation of reproductive health policy means putting into effects of as mentioned above indictors which are prescribed in the policy documents. While operationalizing the dependent variable i.e. reproductive health policy implementation, it was revealed from the study that 40 and 98 percent of BVDC and LSMC respondents respectively got the reproductive health information from the health institutions, ward clinics, schools, TV, radio, newspapers, etc. They got information on nutrition, immunization, rest, family planning, safe motherhood and danger signs in pregnancy, bleeding, etc.

The study showed that more LSMC (90 percent) respondents accepted family planning devices than BVDC (68 percent) respondents. Regarding pregnancy, it was found that more LSMC women were provided care during pregnancy than the BVDC women. People often used to be provided services like antenatal care, birth preparedness and care at childbirth.

Likewise, the study showed that the traditional healing practices were replaced by the modern methods. More LSMC respondents (90 percent) accepted modern methods of healing practices than BVDC (59 percent) respondents.

In addition to this, two-children-per-couple program was implemented more in LSMC than BVDC. 73 per cent of LSMC respondents accepted this norm, whereas only 50 per cent of the BVDC respondents accepted it.

The field study showed that more LSMC (94 per cent) respondents opined that the average marriageable age was increased, than BVDC (68 per cent) respondents. Besides, child bearing space was also increased at both places. The above mentioned facts and figures showed that the indicators of reproductive health policy were improved more in LSMC than BVDC.

V. Methodology

In this explanatory research, growth of NGOs in Nepal, delivery of reproductive health services, Satisfaction of people due to their role have been identified as an independent variables whereas the reproductive health policy implementations act as dependent variable for the study. This study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods. For this, both primary and secondary data/ information were generated and utilized as per necessity. The primary data/information was collected through interviews with key-informants and 175 questionnaires. Out of 175 respondents, 84 respondents were from BVDC and 91 from LSMC. These data were tabulated by using SPSS. Bi-variate analysis was carried out for the analysis. Secondary information was collected from sources such as Nepal's government's appropriate documents, office records of relevant offices, published and unpublished information by various individuals and the institutions.

[1] The policy documents include The National Health Policy, 1991, twelve Periodic plans(1956 to 2010), first and second long term plan and etc.

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VI. Findings

a) Mobilization of NGOs in Nepal

It is hypothesised that the mobilization of NGOs/CBOs for reproductive health services complements the reproductive health policy implementation. The data revealed that the NGOs have become one of the fastest growing sectors in Nepal, particularly after the political change of 1990. There are over 60,000 registered NGOs all over the country. Out of these NGOs, 30,000 (approx.) are affiliated with Social Welfare Council (SWC), a government bureau for looking after the NGOs (SWC, 2011). There could be numerous unregistered groups for civic action, which might have long historical backgrounds. Due to the absence of proper recording systems, it is difficult to get the precise number of NGOs in Nepal (Dhakal, 2006, p.118).

"*Table no. 2*": NGOs affiliated with Social Welfare Council Sector-wise

Sector	Number	Percent
Community and Rural Development	18,625	*61.5*
Youth Service	4,321	*14.26*
Women Service	2,305	*7.61*
Environmental Protection	1,318	*4.35*
Child Welfare	951	*3.14*
Moral Development	876	*2.89*
Health Service	703	*2.32*
Handicapped and Disabled Service	597	*1.97*
Educational Development	492	*1.62*
AIDS and Abuse	88	*0.29*
Total	30,284	*100*

Source: Social Welfare Council, 2011, www.swc.org.np

Social Welfare Council categorized these NGOs into ten types. Among them, the number of Community and Rural Development NGOs account for 61.5 percent; the highest number of NGOs in Nepal, whereas AIDS and Abuse Control NGOs are only 0.29 percent. Similarly, the Health Service related NGOs number only 703 (2.32 percent). (For detail see Table No.2)

The distribution of the health service related NGOs within Nepal is not seen as homogenous. The NGOs are concentrated only in a few districts. For example, near about fifty percent of the NGOs are in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. The rest of the NGOs are also located in more developed districts, like Lalitpur (8%), Kavre(4%), Kaski(3%), Bhaktapur(2%), Chitawan(2%), Morang(2%), Banke(2%), Dhanusa (1%), Dhading (1%) etc.

"*Table 3*": Distribution of health service related NGOs District-wise

Districts	Number	Percentage
Kathmandu	344	49
Lalitpur	55	8
Kavre	30	4
Kaski	21	3
Bhaktapur	16	2
Chitawan	16	2
Morang	13	2
Banke	12	2
Dhanusa	11	1
Dhading	11	1

Source: SWC, 2011

Sixteen districts have one NGO each, six districts have two each, nine districts have 3 NGOs each, six districts have four NGOs each, and three districts have five NGOs each. Similarly, seven districts have six NGOs each, two districts have seven NGOs each, and two districts have eight NGOs each. Most of the NGOs are based in the district headquarters. In 12 districts, there is not even a single NGO working in the health service sector.

Dhakal (2006, p.218) outlined the reasons for the growth of NGOs in Nepal as follows. Firstly, the changed international political arena and global environment and the development cooperation funding strategy of international donor agencies such as World

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Bank, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Asian Development Bank (ADB), etc. helped for opportunity to play an increased role in the socio-economic activities. Secondly, the democratization of political system and economic liberalization also contributed to the proliferation of NGOs in Nepal. Thirdly, the government has changed the national development strategy and considered NGOs as development partners which also encouraged people's participation in national development activities through NGOs. All this provided a congenial environment for increasing the number of national NGOs in Nepal, particularly since 1990s.

However, it has also been recognized that NGOs seem to be indispensable allies in the delivery of primary health-care, not only because they supplement government resources but also because there is much to be learnt from their experiences, expertise and innovative ventures. Moreover, NGOs have considerable advantage over the public sector because of their personalized approach, motivation, and necessary zeal, sympathy for the deprived sections, responsiveness to the people's need, creativity, and above all, the flexibility to experiment with innovative and alternative approaches in order to solve health problems (Ali, 1991, p.9).

b) Delivery of reproductive health services

It can be said that greater involvement of NGOs/CBOs in the area means more implementation of the reproductive health policy. However, the field study showed that there was no NGO and CBO delivering reproductive health services in the study area i.e. BVDC. However, forty nine per cent people from BVDC opined that there was reproductive health policy implemented without involvement of NGOs.

"*Table 4*": Do you know that NGOs/CBOs are delivering reproductive health services at your place and degree of policy implementation?

Delivering of reproductive health services							
		BVDC			LSMC		
Degree of policy implementation		Yes	No	N	Yes	No	N
	Disagree	-	*51*	43	*36*	*44*	37
	Agree	-	*49*	41	*64*	*56*	54
Total N		-	84	84	39	52	91

Note: Figures in italic are percentage
Source: Field study, 2012

At LSMC, 64 per cent opined that NGOs and CBOs were delivering health services at their place and also accounted to high degree of reproductive health policy implementation, whereas 56 per cent disagreed that NGOs and CBOs were not delivering reproductive health services, but reproductive health policy was also implemented in their absence. The difference between these two categories was not big difference. It means that CBOs and NGOs are delivering reproductive health services at LSMC along with the other actors. It did not show the significant role of NGOs and CBOs in the reproductive health policy implementation at local level.

c) Perceived satisfaction

From the study, it is seen that the role played by the NGOs and CBOs was not satisfactory. Seventy-six percent of the respondents opined that the role played by NGOs and CBOs was not satisfactory.

"*Table 5*": Are you satisfied with the role played by NGOs/CBOs?

Categories	LSMC	BVDC	Total
Yes %	*24*	-	*24*
No%	*76*	-	*76*
Total N	91	-	91

Note: Figures in italic are percentage
Source: Field study, 2012

Categorically, 76 percent of the LSMC respondents opined that people were unsatisfied with the role played by the NGOs and CBOs with respect to reproductive health service delivery. Only 24 percent of the respondents opined that they were satisfied with the role played by NGO and CBO (for details see Table No 5).

However, the NGOs have been particularly successful in facilitating social mobilization. They have been involved in establishing a large number of self-help organizations and community women's groups which are involved in a range of activities, from managing forests to organizing small-scale savings and credit programs including health service delivery (ESP, 2001).

NGOs can play an active role in the creation and mobilization of assets, launch appropriate activities and create an environment to promote access to livelihood items. Due to their grassroots attachment, direct approach, flexible and easy delivery to the needy groups/areas, they provide better services to their target

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group. However, there is a debate on their role in Nepal. This study showed that 67 per cent respondents opined that the NGOs were donor- centric and the remaining 33 per cent respondents as urban-centric. Hence, it showed that the NGOs are either urban or donor-centric.

"*Table 6*": Dissatisfaction with role of NGOs/CBOs

Categories	LSMC	BVDC	Total
Urban Centric %	*33*	-	*33*
Donor Centric %	*67*	-	*67*
Total N	69	-	69

Source: Field study, 2012

However, NGOs as development partners of government have been vaguely specified in the policy document, and lacuna of the policies regarding NGOs' function can be seen explicitly. It is natural that in the absence of a clear policy direction for selecting certain type of functions, target group or the area are often subject to whims, caprices and/or simply interest of the intervening organization such as NGOs and often direct/ indirect direction of the donor organization. In an interview with NGOs activist, he opined that basically following types of NGOs are in Nepal. For example, I-PANGO- politically motivated NGOs, II. FANGO- Family NGOs, III.DONGO- donor driven NGOs, IV. BINGO- brief-case NGOs & V. Real NGOs. Some of the important policy shortcomings for bringing NGOs to address health issues in Nepal are as follows (Interview with NGO activists).

- There is a lack of clear direction for the functions in term of nature of works, types of target groups, geographic location, etc for the NGOs in Nepal.
- Most of the NGOs are guided by a project approach rather than a long-term approach with enhanced institutional capacity.
- Coordination is one of the missing parts of the NGO landscape. It is difficult to find out the type of NGOs based on nature of work, capacity, know-how and geographical coverage. Though social-welfare council- a governmental coordinating body- is responsible for coordinating both NGOs and INGOs, due to the lack of institutional capacity the coordination function has become inefficient.
- There is a severe lack of monitoring and evaluation of NGOs' activities in Nepal.
- On top of these problems, 70 per cent of the total NGOs are still concentrated in the urban areas, though the severity of the problems is more in the rural areas. This points to the fact that the increased number of NGOs do not contribute much in improving the livelihood of the people living in poverty and other forms of vulnerability. Such a situation also affects NGO dynamism in Nepal.
- However, the role of NGOs in Pharmacy, Laboratory and other sectors of health policy implementations is ill-defined. Besides, there is lack of adequate policy guidelines, strategies and mechanisms for functional coordination of policy issues among public, private and NGO sectors and GoN development partners.

VII. Conclusions

NGOs are mushrooming in Nepal since 1990. There are 30 thousands (approx.) NGOs affiliated with SWC excluding the NGOs registered in local government. GON recognizes NGOs as a convenient partner among the others to implement the policy for the sake of service delivery. In health service sector alone, one thousands (approx.) NGOs are registered to deliver the health services in Nepal. Here, this study analyses to what extent these NGOs delivered health services particularly reproductive health at local level in Nepal and examines how much people were satisfied by service delivered by NGOs.

The study revealed that reproductive health policy was more implemented at LSMC than BVDC. The study showed that more health information was received at LSMC than BDVC. There was more availability of family planning devices at LSMC than BVDC. Pregnant women got more care at pregnancy period in LSMC in compare with BDVC. Traditional healing methods were replaced by modern methods in LSMC. Still, people are practicing traditional methods for healing in BDVC. Two-children-per-couple program was implemented more in LSMC than BDVC. Average marriageable age and child bearing space were increased in LSMC than BDVC.

The study states that 64 per cent respondents at LSMC opined that NGOs were delivering health services at their places and also accounted to high degree of reproductive health policy implementation. Similarly, there was only 49 per cent reproductive health policy implemented at BVDC in the absence of NGOs. Regarding to the people's satisfaction, 76 per cent people were not satisfied with the role played by NGOs. The reasons outlined by the respondents were many NGOs were donor centric. There was not continuity of services when donors did not support them.

Finally, very few NGOs were working in the health service delivery sector. These NGOs were basically concentrated in the urban areas, barring some exceptions. These NGOs were involved in delivering reproductive health services in urban areas. However, the charges against the NGOs were that they were urban and donor-centric. People were not satisfied due

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to discontinuity of NGOs services even though these NGO were focusing in creating health awareness in the society.

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Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intentions; with Reference to International Tourists' Visiting Ella, Sri Lanka

By Thivyaashani Sivasubramaniam

Abstract- An increasing competition in tourism industry requires marketers to be more creative in differentiating their destinations to attract more travelers in the future. Through the positive experience of the travelers, destinations can be promoted to potential travelers. To this end, how exiting travelers make recommendations to 'others' (potential travelers) is vital for marketers in the tourism industry. Differentiation is aligned with branding whenever it is come to achieving a competitive advantage via unique identity. All these circumstances ensured that a successful destination brand always needs to deliver its promise to meet tourist expectations of a memorable experience typically related to that destination. A well – established concept of destination branding and the extended application of brand experience to tourism destination steered the current study to explore behavioural intention of tourists. A self-administrated quantitative survey was conducted to collect 202 usable responses from international tourists from 31 different countries visiting Ella, Sri Lanka, one of the favourite tourist destinations in Sri Lanka based on a judgmental sampling technique.

Keywords: *behavioural intentions, destination brand experience, tourism.*

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Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intentions; with Reference to International Tourists' Visiting Ella, Sri Lanka

Thivyaashani Sivasubramaniam

Abstract- An increasing competition in tourism industry requires marketers to be more creative in differentiating their destinations to attract more travelers in the future. Through the positive experience of the travelers, destinations can be promoted to potential travelers. To this end, how exiting travelers make recommendations to 'others' (potential travelers) is vital for marketers in the tourism industry. Differentiation is aligned with branding whenever it is come to achieving a competitive advantage via unique identity. All these circumstances ensured that a successful destination brand always needs to deliver its promise to meet tourist expectations of a memorable experience typically related to that destination. A well – established concept of destination branding and the extended application of brand experience to tourism destination steered the current study to explore behavioural intention of tourists. A self-administrated quantitative survey was conducted to collect 202 usable responses from international tourists from 31 different countries visiting Ella, Sri Lanka, one of the favourite tourist destinations in Sri Lanka based on a judgmental sampling technique. The findings of this survey emphasize that the (1) sensory 2) affective (3) behavioural and (4) intellectual aspects of the DBE of tourists' directly influence the BI and the varied dimensions of DBE have different effects on BI. The sensory destination brand experience (SDBE) has highly impact on BI and in contrast to other studies Affective destination brand experience. The selection of destination was the reason for these different results. Since the destination of Ella has been experienced by the tourists as a best destination for SDBE, it may occur due to the sound of beautiful greenly environments, the fragrances of garden, weather condition, taste of cuisine or overall beauty of nature. Therefore the stakeholders (Government, local communities and tour guides) interested in the development of this destination and also overall tourism activities if they concern more on the environment may supports to increase the number of tourists visits in future.

Keywords: behavioural intentions, destination brand experience, tourism.

I. Introduction

Tourism is a growing industry as well as a highly competitive market. Especially in Sri Lanka, the tourism industry is a major contributor to the gross national product (GNP) of the country (TSP, 2017). Tourism is a collection of activities, services and industries which deliver a travel experience comprising transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking establishments, retail shops, entertainment businesses and other hospitality services provided for individuals or groups travelling away from home (Macintoch & Goeldner 2010).

Since 2009, with the cessation of the civil war, Sri Lanka's economy started to prosper in all economic sectors, particularly in tourism (TSP, 2017). The benchmark of developments in this industry after the war was described by the Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau as 'the first destination in the world to visit' nominated by the Lonely Planet magazine (2019; 2013); as among the 'top ten coolest countries to visit' ranked by Forbes Magazine (2015); the 'top location to visit' identified by all top global influencers, Nast Traveler, Rough Guides, Lonely Planet, The Guardian and the New York Times (2006). Especially, in 2018, the Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau was recognized as 'Asia's leading adventure tourism destination 2018' at the World Travel Asia & Australasia Gala Ceremony. The Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority has started to focus on enriching the visitor experience through development projects that add value to healthy and profitable tourism nowadays (TSP, 2017).

To emphasizing the importance of tourism, the study is aim to examine the impact of tourists' destination brand experience (DBE) on tourists' behavioural intention (BI) in respect of the tourist destination. The story behind the DBE and BI is quite interesting. In 2009, Brakus et al, proposed a new scale for brand experience based on the previous experiential marketing literatures (Pine & Gilmore 1999; Schmitt 1999), after gone dozen of brands examination. However, Barnes et al (2014) argued that, none of the brands were examined in the study of Brakus et al. (2009) especially destinations. To bridge this gap, Barnes et al, extended the application of brand experience to tourism destinations and developed scale for 'Destination Brand Experience' (DBE). DBE as the combination of sensory, affective, intellectual, and behavioral experiences resulting from a destination as a stimulus. The concept of DBE is compiled by three domains as destination, brand and experience.

A destination is playing a major in tourists' visit to a particular country. In line with Buhalis (2000: 97), "tourism destinations as geographical areas and these can be interpreted as amalgams of tourism products

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and services". Commonly, tourists do not have an intention to visit a country but to visit a particular destination. For example, India is identified by the destination of Agra (Taj Mahal), France by Paris (Eiffel Tower), Indonesia by Bali (Ancient temples), Australia by Sydney (Sydney Opera House), and so on.

At the same, in general if a tourist senses good in any destination, it turns to a positive outcome, either confirming tourist's revisit intention or stimulating willingness to recommend a destination to others (Wongpan & Anon Khamwon, 2016). That's why a destination is treated as a brand. Because a brand is a "name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition"(AMA).If marketers want to differentiate themselves from competitors and to create a unique position in the customers' mind, then marketers should definitely build a strong brand for their physical goods, services, retail stores, online businesses, people, organizations, places, and ideas, etc. in the market place. The brand tourism includes the imaginativeness and feelings that a country invokes in its visitors. It has a significant effect on the choice of people to travel to a particular destination (Singh & Mehraj, 2018). Therefore, DBE is may help the destination marketers by assessing the performance of a destination in a holistic manner.

In tourism, the relationship between DBE and (BI) has been studied in two different ways. First, the scholars Barnes et al (2014); Wongpan and Khamwon (2016); Kumar and Kaushik (2017); and Singh and Mehraj (2018) were discovered that the satisfaction was mediate the relationship between DBE and BI in their studies. Second, the above scholars have tested the model with MICE tourists and tourists who visited the country in overall basis. Despite prior evidences, there is still an empirical gap. When comes to tourism, a tourist's revisit intention or willingness to recommend is depend on his or her experience towards a particular destination. With reference to Hanna and Rowley (2011) "a destination brand experience occurs when a person experiences a branded place and then gains pleasurable experiences". When tourists experience a destination brand, they often attach an emotional meaning to that place, thus feeling part of the place (Lindstedt, 2011). Finally the positive brand experiences that occur lead to repeated interactions with the same place and positive word of mouth about the place (Morgan et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the country likes 'Sri Lanka' as an overall travel destination, is a proud custodian of a rich cultural heritage, nature and different types of tourism including adventure, leisure, pilgrims and historical. Each destination in country has unique characters. Future tourism not only depends on how talented marketers would attract new tourists also depends on tourists' revisits and their number of positive word of mouth.

To highlight the significance relationship between DBE and BI the study intends to study the destination of Ella, one of the favourite tourist destinations in Sri Lanka. It is a small town surrounded by beautiful tea estates, waterfalls and mountains. It is especially famous for adventure tourism (mountaineering, trekking and rock climbing). Statistically, Ella has become the most demanded and identified destination among both international and local tourists because it is the recent, highest searched location as evidenced in (a) top global tourist influences such as Nast Traveler, Rough Guides, Lonely Planet, Culture Trips and Sri Lanka Travel and Tourism (TSP 2017 to 2010); (b) the famous magazine of Lonely Planet has recognized Ella as one of the best places to visit in the world (TSP 2017 to 2010; Daily Mirror 2016); (c) Ella has become international traders' first choice, e.g., the recent opening of the international food chain, Barista, in Ella (Daily Mirror, 2016) and so on.

Therefore overall, this study is interested in testing the impact of destination brand experience (sensory, affective, behavioural and intellectual) on tourists' behavioural intentions.

II. Research Problem

Based on the above background and the theoretical understand the current study attempted to answer the research question: how does the destination brand experience influence the behavioual intentions of international tourists who visited Ella, Sri Lanka?

III. Literature Review

Having amalgamated the destination branding literature, the section concludes by highlighting the need for a DBE and BI.

a) Destination Branding

The destination branding is an interesting topic in tourism nowadays. The destination branding is vital in the current destination management practice, as broadening tourist opportunities and travel locations have resulted in increased substitutability and lack of differentiation amongst some destinations. In past decades that the tourism destinations must acknowledged in the customers' evoked set, from an ultimate decision is made (McClearly et al., 1995; Leisen 2001; Tasci et al., 2006).

However it included fewer destination choices and that provide similar features such accommodations, beautiful scenic view and or friendly people. Therefore it considered as not enough for a destination to be included in the evoked set; instead destination needs to be unique and differential to be selected as a final selection and where the concept of Destination Branding has been developed.

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From 2000 onwards, the literatures on tourism incorporated destination with branding and destination branding model. With increasing competition, marketers started to focus on different brand elements to achieve competitive advantage, such as brand image, brand personality, brand love, brand trust, brand experience and brand attachment, even though brand experience enables assessing consumer behaviour more holistically (Pine & Gilmore 1999; Smith & Wheeler, 2002). Highlighting the importance of destination brand with experience, Brakus et al, developed in 2009 a model of "Destination Brand Experience" combining the four identified elements of sensory, affective, behavioural and intellectual aspects. It was further modified and scaled by Barnes et al in 2014.

b) The Destination Brand Experience (DBE)

It is a new conceptual model in destination branding as in the context of tourism. A destination brand experience occurs when a person experiences a branded place and then gains pleasurable experiences (Hanna and Rowley, 2011). Furthermore, a holistically view explanation sensing that, the model of DBE is combined with four components such as, sensory, affective, behavioural and intellectual. These components capture the real essence of actual interaction of a tourist with various destination stimuli. It may capture the overall feeling and not only the liking (Kumar & Kaushik, 2017).

c) Behavioural Intentions

According to the scholars Zeithaml et al. (1996), behavioural intention is a configuration of attitude interaction, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control, which reflects own desires and it come from beliefs, knowledge or previous information, which is used to measure the actual behaviour of the tourists. It ensures the tourists' willingness towards products or services.

Intention to behave comes from theory of reasoned action (TRA) and theory of planned behaviour (TPB) reveals that the actual behaviour can be predicted from intention which is directly related to the behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein 1975; Ajzen 1991). These TRA and TPB theories explained the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Also intention is assumed as the immediate antecedent of behaviour or behavioural intention is the immediate antecedent of actual behaviour (Ramjit 2018).

IV. The Destination Brand Experience (DBE) and Behavioural Intentions (BI)

Though DBE is a new concept in tourism context, it is a well established model in experiential marketing perspective. DBE is recognized as an important element in tourists' behaviour.

a) Sensory Destination Brand Experience (SDBE)and Behavioural intention (BI)

SDBE is defined as an interaction of tourists' senses with the destination stimuli. It is focused on five senses (sight, sound, touch, taste, smell) and how each tourist bodily experienced based on visual, aural, olfactory, gustatory and tactile experiences in a particular destination. It may occur due to the sound of beautiful greenly environments, the fragrances of garden, weather condition, taste of cuisine or overall beauty of nature (Barnes et al., 2014). This dimension includes four indicators; Beautiful views, Strong impression, Interest and Value for time. SDBE in related to Ella town itself is surrounded by the beautiful hills of the central highlands; covered in rolling green tea estates, the tall trees of cloud forests, and interesting natural formations and perfect weather. The town is a delight to be in as it maintains its originality and rural feel.

H_1: Sensory destination brand experience (SDBE) significantly influences on behavioural intention (BI) of international tourist who visit Ella.

b) Affective Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intention (ADBE)

ADBE is defined as the experience is connected to tourist's feelings, sentiments and emotions towards destinations. This experience will helps to understand what sorts of stimulations can trigger emotions and encourage tourists to automatically participate in a particular destination (Barnes et al., 2014). This dimension includes four indicators; Feelings and sentiments, relaxation, Happy mood and Strong emotions. The selected destination Ella, is a calm and greenly environment of Ella and let tourists to experience nature, thus a small town with large entertainments.

H_2: Affective destination brand experience (ADBE) significantly influences on behavioural intention (BI) of international tourist who visit Ella.

c) Behavioural Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intention (BDBE)

BDBE is defined as the experience may gain from physical interaction with the destination. And it may induce by destination's geographical structure emerges, hiking, adventures tourism, funs in waterfall and so on. In addition to that, behaviors and lifestyles are focused on showing tourists alternative ways of doing things alternative lifestyles and interactions; further this changes in lifestyle and behavior are often more motivational, inspirational and emotional in nature (Barnes et al., 2014). This dimension includes four indicators; Physical activities, Picturesque, Relationship and Positive behaviour. The Ella is generally a place famous for adventurer's tour; mountaineering; trekking; rock climbing; trails to waterfalls.

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H_3: Behavioural destination brand experience (BDBE) significantly influences on behavioural intention (BI) of international tourist who visit Ella.

d) Intellectual Destination Brand Experience and Behavioural Intention (IDBE)

IDBE is defined as the intellect with the objective of creating cognitive, problem-solving experiences that engage tourists creatively; more detailed, focus on intelligence, targeted to create cognitive thinking and solve problems for consumers using creative ways (Barnes et al., 2014). This dimension includes four indicators; Creative thinking, Curiosity, Problem solving and Purchasing. The possible certainty related to curiosity that of, interesting in searching and collecting information about Ella, its places, history, architectures, culture, cuisine and what are other ways to get more fun at Ella and so on.

H_4: Intellectual destination brand experience (IDBE) significantly influences on behavioural intention (BI) of international tourist who visit Ella.

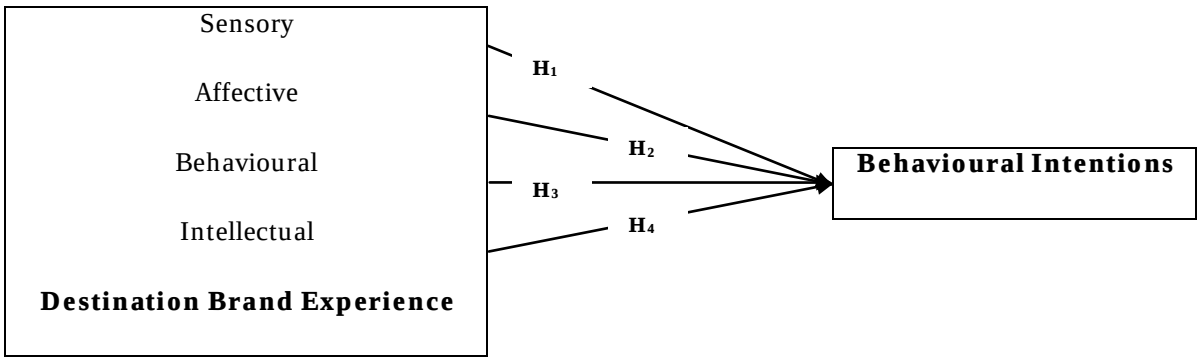


Figure 1: The Conceptual Model

V. Methods

The destination of Ella was used as the destination as it is considered to be one of the favourite tourist destinations in Sri Lanka. Ella is a small town, located in Badulla District, surrounded by beautiful tea estates, waterfalls and mountains. The constructs of conceptual model were operationalized by items which used a five-point Likert.

The focus of this study was International Tourists who visited Ella as his/her tourist destination. Hence, the international tourist who must be 18 years old/ order participants limited to individuals 18 years of age or older, visiting these locations as tourists and non-residents of Sri Lanka and respondents who can understand English. In this study, data were collected using self- administrated questionnaire and there was a limitation of define the study population to adopt a probability sampling technique, thus, the researcher selected this judgmental sampling method for this study. The total number of responses collected using the field survey were 215.

Based on the initial screening of data set, there were 13 incomplete responses, and these responses were removed, which resulted in 202 completed responses for the final analysis. The sample consisted of respondents from 31 countries, of whom 21.8% (n=44) from England, Germany 18.8% (n=38) France and Spain 8.9% (n=18) Netherlands, 7.4 %(n=15).Data analysis.

After the data collection has been completed, raw data was screened to delete the responses, which were not suitable for analysis. Initially the data was checked for incomplete responses (missing value analysis), and then data imputation method was used for the responses. In the next step, the responses were checked for outliers, normality, skewness and kurtosis and effects on normality and these results confirmed the data distribution was normal. Data were analysed by using Univariate and Bivariate techniques to test the hypotheses.

VI. Data Analysis

Before testing the main constructs, tested the data preparation procedure, is what the act of preparing disparate data sources into refined information assets that can be used effectively for the study purpose. It is necessary to manipulate and transform raw data so that the information content enfolded in the data set can be exposed, or made more easily accessible. Under the data preparation process, missing data and imputation, unengaged responses, outliers, factor analysis, reliability and validity and confirmed that, the collected data is suitable for further study analysis.

From Table 1, explains the reliability, convergent validity. Convergent validity can be established when the scores of the same concept obtained using two different measuring instruments, are highly correlated (Cavana, Delahaye & Sekaran 2001). Also, the convergent validity

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is achieved when the standardized factor loadings are higher than the minimum recommended value of 0.50(Hair at el., 2010). Anderson and Gerbing (1988) explain that the factor loadings of scale items measuring a construct must be statistically significant in order to achieve convergent validity. Nusair and Hua (2010) used and applied in their researches the average variance extracted (AVE) method to establish convergent validity. AVE is the amount of variance that is captured by the construct or factor in relation to the amount of variance due to measurement error (Fornell & Larcker 1981). The AVE should exceed 0.50 (Hair et al., 2010) for a construct. AVE values for all dimensions exceed 0.50, which reveal the existence of convergent validity among dimensions. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF test has undertaken to eliminate inter-dependency of the independent variables (Kothari 1995). According to the table 1, tolerance values for all independent variables are greater than zero (>0). Also VIF values are less than 5. Therefore, tolerance and VIF indicates the absence of multicollinearity (is not serious) in this study.

Table 2, explains the Discriminant validity ensures that, two conceptually similar constructs are distinct from each other (Hair et al. 2010). Fornell & Larcker (1981) suggested using AVE to identify the discriminant validity. To satisfy the discriminant validity requirement, the AVE value need to be greater than the squared correlation between two constructs. Assessment of the degree of consistency between multiple measurements of a construct is known as reliability (Hair et al., 2010). The CAC for all variables was greater than 0.8, reveals a good reliability.

Table 1: Assessment of the Measurement Model: Reliability, Convergent and Discriminant Validity

Variables	Dimensions	Statements	FL	SE	AVE	CAC	VIF
DBE	SDBE	S1	.736	0.542			
		S2	.748	0.560			
		S3	.696	0.484			
		S4	.707	0.500	.813	.786	1.671
	ADBE	A1	.558	0.311			
		A2	.619	0.383			
		A3	.586	0.343			
		A4	.206	0.042	.570	.769	1.385
	BDBE	B1	.521	0.271			
		B2	.745	0.555			
		B3	.309	0.095			
		B4	.777	0.604	.691	.580	1.915
	IDBE	I1	.806	0.650			
		I2	.797	0.635			
		I3	.653	0.426			
		I4	.204	0.042	.729	.652	1.783
BI	RVI	RVI1	.721	0.520			
		RVI2	.635	0.403			
		RVI3	.666	0.444			
		RVI4	.241	0.058	.665	.776	
	WR	WR1	.830	0.689			
		WR2	.854	0.729			
		WR3	.823	0.677			
		WR4	.560	0.314	.855	.853	

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Table 2: Discriminant Validity

	SDBE	ADBE	BDBE	IDBE	RVI	WR
SDBE	**.813**					
ADBE	.442**	**.570**				
BDBE	.503**	.441**	**.691**			
IDBE	.452**	.360**	.587**	**.729**		
RVI	.625**	.452**	.518**	.488**	**.665**	
WR	.643**	.394**	.490**	.493**	.792**	**.855**

*** Significant at the 0.01 level; SDBE= sensory destination brand experience; ADBE= affective destination brand experience; BDBE= behavioural destination brand experience; IDBE= intellectual destination brand experience; RVI= revisit intention; WR=willingness to recommend.*

To understand the nature of destination brand experience on tourist's behavioural intention, the all dimensions and indicators of destination brand experience has analyzed via Univariate analysis and evaluated by the central theorem of mean and standard deviation. According to the table3, specifies the overall view of the DBE and DBE highly attribute variable on tourists' behavioural intention. The mean value is 3.9502 and the standard deviation is 0.5434.

Table 3: The overall view of DBE and its Dimensions

Description	Dimensions				Independent Variable
	SDBE	ADBE	BDBE	IDBE	DBE
	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X
Mean	4.271	3.5953	4.0087	3.9257	3.9502
Standard Deviation (SD)	0.5507	0.6097	1.1115	0.5326	0.5434
Standard Error of Mean	0.03875	0.0429	0.0782	0.03747	0.03823
Lower Limit of Mean (3-1.96σ_x)	2.9241	2.9159	2.8467	2.9266	2.9251
Upper Limit of Mean (3+1.96σ_x)	3.0760	3.0841	3.1533	3.0734	3.0749

Table 4 indicates the overall view of the dependent variable of Behavioural Intention (BI) and its dimensions of Revisit Intention (RVI) and Willingness to Recommend (WR). The mean value is 3.9319 and the standard deviation is 0.634. All dimensions of variable BI are highly attributed in BI.

Table 4: The overall view of BI and its Dimensions

Description	Dimensions		Dependent Variable
	RVI	WR	BI
	Y_1	Y_2	Y
Mean	3.6931	4.1708	3.9319
Standard Error of Mean	.0458	.0484	.0446
Standard Deviation (SD)	.6511	.6883	.634
Lower Limit of Mean (3-1.96σ_x)	2.9102	2.9051	2.9126
Upper Limit of Mean (3+1.96σ_x)	3.0898	3.0949	3.0874

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In order to understand the impact of destination brand experience on behavioural intentions, study has conducted multi regression analysis and adopted Stepwise regression method. Regression analysis describes the way in which one variable is related to another and derives an equation (model), which can be used to estimate the unknown value of one variable (dependent) on the basis of the known values of the other variables (independent). Stepwise regression method is used in this study to confirm the impact.

Table 5 shows the model summary for the dimensions of DBE and BI. Based on the results, the impact of DBE on BI, adjusted R^2 is 0.523. The fitted regression model explains 52.3% of the variation in BI. Therefore, the model is adequate. The Durbin-Watson statistic of 1.670 is not too far from 2. Hence, data are independent. Further, it specifies the results of linear regression, which the significance level is at 0.05.The Co-efficient of Determination (R^2) is 0.533 and indicates the moderate relationship between DBE (sensory, affective, behavioural and intellectual) and BI.

Table 5: Model Summary for Dimensions of DBE and BI

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics Sig. F Change	Durbin-Watson
1	.670[a]	.449	.446	.47192	.000	
2	.712[b]	.507	.502	.44746	.000	
3	.723[c]	.523	.516	.44103	.010	
4	.730[d]	.533	.523	.43783	.050	1.670

a. *Predictors: (Constant), SDBE*
b. *Predictors: (Constant), SDBE, IDBE*
c. *Predictors: (Constant), SDBE, IDBE, BDBE*
d. *Predictors: (Constant), SDBE, IDBE, BDBE, ADBE*
e. *Dependent Variable: BI*

The table 6, the Coefficients table provides the information on each predictor dimensions. This provides the information necessary to predict BI from SDBE, The regression equation for this model: Thus, for every unit increase in dimensions of DBE, tourists BI will increase by 46.7% (SDBE), 11.2% (ADBE), 14% (BDBE) and 18.5% (IDBE). By subsume all the results, it reflects a very strong evidence to believe that, there is a significant positive impact of tourists Destination brand ADBE, BDBE and IDBE. The p-value for all four dimensions of DBE is less than 0.05 (< 0.05). Hence, dimensions of DBE contribute significantly to the model. experience (DBE) H_1; H_2; H3; and H_4 on their behavioural intention (BI). Comparing among all independent dimensions, sensory brand experience (H_1) has more impact on tourists' behavioural intention and affective brand experience (H_2) has a lower impact on tourists' behavioural intention.

Table 6: Coefficient Summary for Dimensions of DBE and BI

Dimension	Behavioural Intention		
	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	
	B	Beta	Sig
Constant	.039		
H1 : SDBE	.537	.467	.000
H2: ADBE	.064	.112	.050
H3: BDBE	.166	.140	.034
H4: IDBE	.192	.185	.003

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VII. Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the univariate analysis tables, subsuming all the dimensions and indicators of DBE, all reveal that a high level of acceptance towards Ella. Even though SDBE and BDBE compared with other two dimensions, these two are quite high. To support the present study's findings, Singh and Mahraj (2018); Kumar and Kaushik (2017); Barns et al, (2014); all were referring that dimension of SDBE has high level of acceptance towards the destination. In contrary to previous finds, the present study findings reveal that, not only SBE also BBE has equal level of acceptance among the selected international tourists in the context of Ella, Sri Lanka. Because of, Ella town itself is surrounded by the beautiful hills of the central highlands; covered in rolling green tea estates, the tall trees of cloud forests, and interesting natural formations and perfect weather. The town is a delight to be in as it maintains its originality and rural feel. Also, the Ella is generally a place famous for adventurer's tour; mountaineering; trekking; rock climbing; trails to waterfalls.

And subsuming all the dimensions and indicators under BI, all reveal a high level of acceptance towards Ella. Even though WR is quite higher than RVI and WR is the most influenced dimension under the BI.

The findings of the present study suggest that the SDBE, ADBE, BDBE and IDBE aspects of DBE significantly influences on BI and SDBE has a high impact on BI. However, to contrary to present study, Barnes et al (2014) emphasized that, except SDBE (β=.521**) none of other DBE components were significant in determining BI. Kumar and Kaushik (2017) expressed that BDBE and IDBE were insignificant (β=.086, β=.018) on BI. Other than destination branding experience model, Arasi et al (2017) tested the model in food and beverage industry and revealed that except SDBE, ADBE, other two dimensions BDBE and IDBE(β=-.0173, β=.27) were not significant in determining BI.

The above contradictory findings revel that the experiences at a destination can be varying from person to person and it obviously depends on the place they visited. The major contradiction between the findings of the present study and previous studies findings is the selection of destination. A destination brand experiences occurs when a person experiences a branded place and then gains pleasurable experiences (Hanna and Rowley,2011).If the feeling is positive toward the place they visited, then the positive brand experiences that occur and it would lead to repeated interaction with the same place and positive word of mouth about the place (Thomas & Veloutsou, 2011). The repetitive behaviours (revisit) and positive word of mouth are the desired results that the destination marketers want to attain.

VIII. Managerial Implications

Findings of this study provide useful and meaningful insights which can be used by various stakeholders of the tourism industry. The study found an impact of destination brand experience (DBE) on behavioural intention (BI).

There are some issues noticed at Ella during data collection: (1) poor quality of souvenirs; (2) shortage and maintenance of resting areas (sanitary facilities); (3) poor hygiene;(4) lack of navigation boards; (5) High rated transports (tuk) and less transports(subways); (6) inconvenience and insecure situation cause by street dogs; (7) number of baggers will be obstacles for the attraction of tourists toward Ella and engender negative emotions and unfavourable perception on destination. This may leads to dissatisfaction and negative word of mouth about the destination. The study revealed that sensory destination brand experience is highly influence on their behavioural intention towards Ella. They like to sense a place. If relevant authorized parties take necessary actions against these negative issues, definitely can attract more tourists and let them to sense this destination. This will lead to their revisit intention and willingness to recommend about this destination.

Although, the current study stated that, among 202 international tourists, 34% belongs to age category of 18-27, and 31% from age category of 28-37. Hence from the findings 63% of tourists are married, from that 63% half of them (50%) tourists belong to the age group28 to 37. Second highest numbers of tourists are belonging to single status and age category of 18-27. Based on the details, it is confirmed that, the international tourists, mostly in the young age group are very much interested in mountaineering, trekking, rock climbing and other outdoor pursuits, have found Ella as an attractive destination. The authorized parties if promote adventure tourism and make more facilities, of course can attract more international tourists. The current study findings indicated that, many tourists who really interested to experience behaviorally, that is what adventure tourism meant.

Most of the international tourists like to travel Ella by train. Railway Department already facilitated four train services (podimenike, udaratamenike, express train and night mail) to Ella. However, the poor maintenance of these trains may cause bad image on Sri Lankans' hygiene. Although the local passenger trains are few, poorly maintained, carriages attached to freight trains, it takes more time to reach particular destination and those are overcrowded with about half locals and half tourists. If the Railway authority considers these issues, much possible to increase the revenue compare to now. Because most of the tourists when they decided to travel Ella they like to experience the rail adventure as well.

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Like the other researches, this study too has limitations. The following sections acknowledge and describe those limitations, hopefully will avoid in future studies. First, the sampling framework: the study has taken judgmental technique to collect data, limited the time frame for data collection and considered the international tourist who must be 18 years old/ older, visiting these locations as tourists and non- residents of Sri Lanka and respondents who can understand English because the language of study questionnaire is in English. However these samples were chosen because international tourists tend to have more wide ranging experiences than local tourists. The sample size is 202, which fulfilled the sample requirement for this study, if increase the sample size, the study will be more effective.

As a future direction, in order to measure the behavioural intentions of tourists, other than revisit intention dimension focus more on the dimension of willingness to recommend and it is more insightful in measuring tourists' behavioural intention towards a destination. In general, tourists are experience and novelty seekers. Tourists always look forward to experience a new destination. In this case, tourists can recommend to others about destination if they have to have a great experience towards the destination they visited. Therefore, other than focusing on those two dimensions under BI, if could focus on most preferred and vital dimension of tourists' willingness to recommend in terms of measuring tourists' behavioural intention would be more benefit to the tourism industry.

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Socio-Cultural Benefits of Curses and Blessings in South Wollo, Ethiopia

By Almaz Zewdu Akalu

Abstract- The study was based on the socio-cultural significance of blessing and curses in Worailu Woreda, South Wollo Zone, Ethiopia. The main aim of this study was to study the origin of blessings and curses and to demonstrate in detail their benefits and purposes. Thus, the study could be a baseline as a starting point for researchers who want to study around the community, examine the interaction between blessing and curse, the sequence of performance as well as a detailed and in-depth look at the community's reaction to the subject. Both primary and secondary data sources were considered. The available data was analyzed by a functionalism approach. The finding showed that blessing and curse used to develop the moral law of the society used to shape the generation with humanity and ethics. The local community gives responsibility for the clan chiefs, religious leaders, and public figures to perform blessings and curses, and it has been believed that these individuals had relationship with the supernatural power (God). The finding confirmed that curses and blessing used by the people as conflict resolution in the study area. On the other hand, the study found that curses and blessings used to reflect and influence human emotions such as anxiety, fear, dismay, joy, and sadness.

Keywords: *blessings, culture, curses, performance, socio-cultural benefits.*

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Socio-Cultural Benefits of Curses and Blessings in South Wollo, Ethiopia

Almaz Zewdu Akalu

Abstract- The study was based on the socio-cultural significance of blessing and curses in Worailu Woreda, South Wollo Zone, Ethiopia. The main aim of this study was to study the origin of blessings and curses and to demonstrate in detail their benefits and purposes. Thus, the study could be a baseline as a starting point for researchers who want to study around the community, examine the interaction between blessing and curse, the sequence of performance as well as a detailed and in-depth look at the community's reaction to the subject. Both primary and secondary data sources were considered. The available data was analyzed by a functionalism approach. The finding showed that blessing and curse used to develop the moral law of the society used to shape the generation with humanity and ethics. The local community gives responsibility for the clan chiefs, religious leaders, and public figures to perform blessings and curses, and it has been believed that these individuals had relationship with the supernatural power (God). The finding confirmed that curses and blessing used by the people as conflict resolution in the study area. On the other hand, the study found that curses and blessings used to reflect and influence human emotions such as anxiety, fear, dismay, joy, and sadness. Thus, it has been believed that a person who is cursed, who has no morale, whose morals are inferior to another, whose work is unsuccessful, and whose activities are unacceptable in any life, whereas an individual with blessings expected to achieve universal goodness and psychological development.

Keywords: *blessings, culture, curses, performance, socio-cultural benefits.*

I. Introduction

Folklore is one of the areas in which culture has been studied. Thus, it includes the spiritual and material resources of a society. These resources have been studied by sub branches of folklore such as ethnography, material culture, and ethnography practical skills. This study focuses on the socio-cultural significance of blessings and curses, which are part of the rituals in Woreilu, South Wollo, Ethiopia.

Blessings and curses are parts of the oral tradition passed from generation to generation orally. It is the expression of the desire to be loved by the human beings and by their creator for their good deeds and actions. Leslaw, Wolf./1973, 158/ describe it as "act or words of one who bless a special favor, mercy or benefit, a favor or gift best cowed by God there by bringing happiness. And the evoking of God's favor upon a person etc." From this narration, we learn that the words of someone who bless are a special gift from God, the source of happiness, prayer, good desire conveyed to one in good will for good conduct.

People face many challenges in their life, and they want the good things of the past to come back and the bad to disappear forever. Therefore, they wish all their sorrows be turned into good, that they might have healed; they would like to have a full, satisfying, and happy marriage, need no divorce, want wellbeing and long life. So when they bless, they express their desire for life, wealth, marriage, love, and peace to someone. Thus, the blessing is the reward that a human being receives for their good deeds in life. John H. Mc Dowell (2000, 6),well narrated that blessing one desire for good things to come to us; when he describes this idea, "the blessing describes a condition in which everything in a person life is fruitful, prosperous, healthy reproductive, victorious and uplifted."

The root of the word curse is the Geez word "curse." If a person in a particular social norm does what he is not expected to do or doesn't do what he is expected to do in the community, he will be punished and get cursed. Cursing stems from bitter hatred and malice; when love runs out, hatred emanates from the spirit realm. Therefore, a curse is a way of expressing the evil desires upon the cursed person in different ways. In his book "The Curse of Tongues" (1957, 11), Douglas Busk tells us about the meaning of a curse, "the expression of a wish that main future, evil doom befall on another. A formula of charm intended to cause such misfortune to another." On the other hand, scholar James A. Matisff states the following about the nature of curses. A curse is a prayer or invocation for harm or injury to come upon one; a cause of great detriment of misfortune utter off ensue words in anger or annoyance; to call upon divine or supernatural power to send injury upon; be bring great evil upon, afflict (1979,6). He described curse as a desire in which bad luck, misfortune, and mischief come upon someone.

Therefore, this study aimed to examine the origins of blessings and curses and to show in detail how they are functional and useful. The author selected the study area because of the unique blessings and curses performed by the local community. The author has never had a national or international report on the socio-cultural benefits of blessings and curses performed in South Wollo. And this study is believed to

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fills such a gap and reflects a unique perspective in the study area.

II. Research Methods

The intended objectives were attained by primary and secondary data sources. After the study's aim and the research questions identified, various published and unpublished information sources related to the subject were collected from the library. Key informants, observation, interviews, and group discussions were used as primary data sources. The data was analyzed by a functionalism approach. The data analysis focused on some typical blessings and curses performed on the moral value development of the people in the study area.

a) Study Aria Description

Woreilu is one of the 18 districts in the South Wollo Administrative Zone of Amhara regional state. It is located 91 kilometers south of Dessie town. It is bordered by Dessie Zuria Woreda in the north, Jama Woreda in the south, North Shewa Zone in the northeast, Albko Woreda in the northeast, Kelala Woreda in the west and Leganbo Woreda in the northwest. The capital of the district was founded by Emperor Menelik II from 1863-1864 E.C; the average annual rainfall is 1,150 mm and the average temperature is 20°C. It is located at 1,500 to 3,600 meters above sea level.

Based on the data obtained from the district officers 91% of the population lives in rural area, and the rest, 9% live in towns. Topographically, Woreilu is characterized by a plateau and with some highland areas. The livelihood mechanism of the people is mainly subsistence farming. Barley, wheat, beans, teff, peas, peas, chickpeas, and others are the main crops grown in the area.

III. Result and Discussion

a) Origin of Blessing and Curse

When we talk about the origin of curse and blessing, it is appropriate to ask questions like how, by whom, and when. In this regard, there are various opinions about its origin that have been found in various religious books.

Both the blessing and the curse are the reflections of the social connection that accompanies the creation of language as human beings began to live in a community. Like other literary fields, these are not the products of a particular individual or group. Evidenced showed that curses and blessings created in collective participation. The performance is in between two or more parties because there must be curser and the cursed; the one who offer the blessing and blessed as well as the superpower must be considered.

About the origin, Matisoff, James A. said that "the origin of curses and blessing is to obey God and be blessed, disobey God and be cursed." Hence, those who obey God get the blessing, and those who disobey God get cursed. In this regard, the Bible is the primary reference. The first part of this book, Genesis, gives a direct answer to the views of the followers of Christianity. This indicates the need for independent research. This section is found in the Old Testament and deals with the creation from the beginning up to the end.

It says that the Creator completed the creation of the immortals and the inanimate, the giant, and the microbes in six working days. On the fifth day, he created underwater insects and flying birds. When God observed that his creation is good, it tells us that he has blessed the creatures. "God blessed them, saying, reproduce and multiply and fill the waters of the sea; and let birds multiply on earth (Genesis 1:22). It also tells us that on the sixth day, after he completed all the rest of life forms on earth, he created man on the earth and created man in his image. This creature, human beings, has been empowered and blessed as the ruler of all the rest creatures. "God created man in his image. He created them as male and female. And God blessed them, and he said them, let you be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth; and rule it. Let human being rule the fish of the sea and the beasts of the earth; rule every bird of the sky, and every living creature, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth."(Genesis 1: 27-28). As mentioned above, after creation, God (the Creator) blessed human beings, and he empowered man over the living and the physical world. In general, the blessing is not only created by the community or an individual but also originated from the supernatural power.

In the same way, we find the curse in this metaphor. It said that the Creator gave commands for Adam and Eve, who believed to be the origin of human beings, by placing them in the Garden of Eden. But Adam and Eve were punished for disobeying God's command. And his punishment was on the whole earth. He describes this in Genesis (3: 14-19), because of its disobedience, God said to the snake, unlike the rest of animals and creatures, let you be cursed forever, creep with your chest or stomach, and graze soil forever. Besides, God said to the woman, "let too much anxiety be upon you, give birth in too much of anxiety and pain, and after you give birth, your desire will be to your husband. We can understand from this narration that curses, like blessings, and other literary, created not only in human terms but also directly from the Creator.

Adam and Eve, or Adam and Eve, are believed to have been the first humans, as both Christianity and Islam claim. They were made of dust and received the blessings of their Creator. At the time of their disobedience, the land of their origin had cursed. Hence, they ha cursed because they originated from earth dust. As this mythology, blessings and curses came from the Creator to Adam and his life, and as it has been indicated in the Old Testament, from them

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passed on to Cain, the son of Adam who killed his brother, and then to all humanity.

We recognize that this practice had been used by the society to punish the disobedient, condemn the enemies, weak (elders and mothers) relies on the cursing as anchorage and is a reflection of a long-standing society. Cursing, by its very nature, as it is prophetic and lustful, does not happen at one time or place. Knowing this, clients wait patiently for the curse to come upon those cursed, calling on the name of their God or the spirits they trust. The point is whether the weaker, the steadfast believers of the curse, were able to find spiritual relief by cursing their enemies and wrong doers. In this regard, James Hasting (vol. 4, 367) states that "the curse is particularly the weapon of the wronged and oppressed against their more powerful enemies; and Zealots against their bigoted opponents."

About the origins of curse and blessing, the scholars who studied the development of non-religious societies said that humanity in their life processes face natural disasters and challenges due to various conflicts among themselves. Hence, to win and get relief from these catastrophes, they probably worshiped the sun, moon, stars, light and darkness, hills and rivers, etc. They also prostrated for powers starting from sculptures made by them up to the spirit created in their minds. As a result, they believe that there is no power other than these forces, and because of this belief, they ask God to give them the good deeds they do and destroy the bad ones. So they said that the blessing and the curse came from these sources. James A. Matisff (2000, 4) John H. M CDowell (2000, 3)

It has been found difficult to point out the exact time when the blessing and the curse began. Still, as it has been described so far, records show that it took place when civilization and the spread of various beliefs, as well as the creation of human beings.

b) Circumstances for Blessing and Cursing

Cursing, like all other forms of speech, has its own set of circumstances to occur, such as anger, trouble, injustice, hatred, fear, and so on. The New Catholic Encyclopedia states that "the occasion for the course may be anger and fear, but it may also be hate and envy." Hence, cursing is a phenomenon that occurs in the spirit of anger, fear, hatred, and jealousy.

The phenomenon of the curse and the atmosphere is dark and gloomy. The occasion of the curses is bad luck, and there is no bright hope for life. To a certain extent, it signifies weakness. The possibilities are out of control. From the ancient Scriptures, Adam had lost his courage after he got cursed. He had broken heart, his knees were shaking. He experienced a stressful life on earth.

On the contrary, blessing takes place on a variety of occasions when there is good and good deeds, happiness and hope, contentment and love. Hence, both curses and blessings are present in any society, and both have reasons (occasions) for occurrences. James Hosting commented on this idea and said that "blessing and curse found in all races. The blessing told by thought and by words. Notably, that the blessing by words is the more powerful, but the curse by thought is more powerful than that by words." According to his narration, curse and blessing are found in all societies and are practiced both in speech and in thought.

c) Interaction between Blessings and Curses

When we are talking about blessings and curses it is clear that one is the opposite of the other. The main point to recall is that according to Matisoff, how people understand the relationship of the words? How the relationship founded between bad and good things? And how do people associate blessing with a curse? Why they relate these issues together? According to the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (1965, 367), even though the two issues are contradictory to each other, they are mutually exclusive and should be studied side by side. "Cursing and blessing are perfect opposites, and are therefore, appropriately taken together for analysis and description." Hence, we have to investigate blessings and curses together.

When one gets blessed for his good manners, his enemies will get cursed at the same time. For example, someone who offers the blessing could say that "let your enemy's eyes get darkened and unable to see, and their legs bow down." In so doing, they blessed one for his good deeds and his enemies get cursed simultaneously. Therefore, the narration supports the fact that these two things are inseparable.

According to James Hosting (1965, 367), curses and blessings are verbal wishes for harm or good upon someone. Besides, one can express his desire in the name of God or the Spirit. Hence, the interaction between these issues emphasizes that both have the same power and that there is a state of expression of one on the other. Thus, in one hand it is a matter of destiny and desire, and in the other, it is of will and truth. The speaker can express in a positive or negative way. That is why we said that they must go together, even if they have contradictions.

These two issues may seem contradictory, but when we put them in balance, both play a role in preserving and sustaining the values of the community.

d) Dateless of Blessing and Curse

Blessings and curses have a religious origin and believed to have been passed down from generation to generation in the community with firm basement. As an example, let us look at the expressions, "let your descents cursed, and your offspring blessed;" the above ideas related to curse and blessing. In this regard, we can see that there are

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individuals who get cursed because of their bad manners, or individuals who get blessed because of their good deeds. Hence, we can see that the curse and blessing given to the parents can pass to their next generations through time. Moreover, blessings and curses based on race, health, wealth, knowledge and understanding, trust, love, and hate, etc., are transcendent.

IV. The Socio-Cultural Significances of Blessing and Cursing

Culture is useful when practiced and preserved. Blessings and curses also have their own goals and purposes. The Bible and the Holy Qur'an, written from the earliest times when human beings created, are seen cursing and blessing human beings. Since then, blessings and curses practiced by mankind as incentive and negative moral deterrents. In this way, the community used it to protect its social value and submit to the Creator justice.

Curse and blessing derived from the customary law of the community, so the blessing and the curse are said to be based on customary law. Hence, the legislation, enforcement, and interpretation of the law are done by the community. Thus, there are elders, religious leaders, authorized local leaders, and others authorized by the local people to curse and bless. These people believed to have the power and authority to seek and interact with the universal divine power before performing their function. During the current study, the author confirmed that they were responsible for their actions.

The authority given to those public figures to curses and bless by the local community is so great and believed to determine human destiny. Thus, when a person is blessed, he or she can imagine a new world in his or her mind. When he/she is cursed, he/she plagued with evil deeds. These make harder for them to move forward, and they reconsider to explore the local culture; because it is not possible to challenge or violate traditional values. Moreover, curses and blessings play vital role in resolving conflicts and various social events in society.

For the society to be morally built and for maintaining sustainability in the coming generation, there is a blessing ceremony for parents who wish to raise their children ethically and gracefully, educate children for the benefit of the country and the nation. Hence they said that “let our children grow and develop ethically and let they stand for their nation.” On the contrary, the author has noticed that there are influential curses like “let you become infertile” upon someone’s children with bad connotations that make the fertile person as if she/he is infertile.

Based on the data obtained from the key informants, the local people believed that a person who is blessed is successful in his/her career, successful in life. On the contrary, the cursed person will have the most miserable life ever. Besides, curses have created social stigma, as well as social, psychological, and moral death in the wrongdoer. However, blessing leads to prosperity as opposed to death.

A blessed person is free from self-blame, remorse, punishment, and fear, giving him hope, vision, and resurrection. In this way, the blessed individual will be able to look forward to success. Thus, subjugation in local culture makes it not only a matter of choice and decision but also of obligation. The finding also showed that a person who is disobedient to the community’s socio-cultural values and norms would be cursed. However, before cursing, detailed investigation carried out upon the individual, and advice given to the person by his friends.

V. Conclusion

Documents showed that society believes in curses and blessings, give it a significant place. They originated at one time when human civilization and religious beliefs were not prevalent and were co-created since the creation of human beings.

In this system, we can find individuals who convince themselves of their greatness and claim to be associated with the Creator. These include tribal leaders, religious leaders, and other prominent social leaders. These people have been given the responsibility to bless and curse the community. Therefore, just as a good person blessed in the community, so is a terrible person who receives a curse for his work as punishment.

According to the study’s finding, they had been convinced that the curser will hand over the cursed person to another supernatural power. Thus, the curser believed to have the authority to command the plagues, which can devastate the cursed has hoped for, the dreams he/she has realized, the plans he/she has achieved, the wealth possessed, and the power to seize. On the contrary, it has been believed that a blessed will achieve total success.

These two issues not only increase morale punishment in the community but also build morality in the next generation. Furthermore, the study found that conflicts in the society neglected by the modern law could be investigated and resolved by this system. It used to deliver various social issues, including justice.

Blessings and curses have a powerful effect on human emotions, such as anxiety, fear, concern, happiness, and sadness.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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



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Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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



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Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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



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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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

INDEX

A

Accelerating · 5
Amateurs · 1
Annoyance · 52
Antenatal · 25, 27
Assumption · 2, 33

C

Conduct · 52
Configuration · 44
Congenial · 29
Contradicts · 39
Convenient · 25, 30
Creeps · 53
Cuisine · 42, 44,
Culmination · 34

D

Desired · 26, 27, 49
Despicable · 2
Deterrence · 37
Disobedience · 53, 54
Dissonance · 1

E

Empowerment · 6, 7, 36, 38
Essence · 1, 44
Ethical · 2
Explicitly · 30
Extensive · 33

I

Illuminated · 25
Inadequate · 34
Indigenous · 1
Influential · 33, 55
Intellect · 45
Isolated · 1, 6, 34, 35

M

Malformed · 1
Merely · 1
Mirage · 1

O

Obstacle · 3
Overwhelmingly · 34

P

Patriarchy · 33, 36, 37
Perceived · 4, 37, 44
Perpetuate · 37
Pleasurable · 43, 44, 49
Prevalence · 25, 34
Provoked · 33

R

Reconcile · 1
Repelled · 7
Revealed · 25, 27, 28,

S

Seemingly · 35
Solicited · 36
Stimulus · 42

T

Terrible · 55
Tolerate. · 38
Transcends · 33

V

Vulnerable · 6, 26

W

Willing · 1



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