Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: C

Sociology & Culture



Prevention of Child Marriages

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Benin

Highlights

Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

Mycorrhizal Networks of African Jewry

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 24 ISSUE 6 VERSION 1.0

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Volume 24 Issue 31 was originally issued as C6

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Volume 24 Issue 6 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

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Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

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Volume 24 Issue 31
Originally issued as C6



Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Safeguarding the Future: Child Protection and the Prevention of Child Marriages in Indonesia

By Shuai Wang

Introduction- Child protection is an issue in Indonesia, which has a varied cultural heritage and has experienced economic downturns. According to Arliman (2017), Indonesia has created policies, efforts, and governmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure Children's protection and wellness. The nation's legal structure consists of global and across-the-country conventions, which disclose the relevance of the initiatives placed by the federal government to protect and safeguard Children's' lawful rights. According to Vaitla et al. (2017), the focus has been on securing wellness and constitutional freedoms, specifically in the problem of early marriages. The country's decision to promote child protection through fundamental laws such as the constitution originates from the implications for the future and children's health. Olojede et al. (2020) reveal numerous problems in managing children's issues, such as forced marriage, denying their basic civil liberties, and gender-based violence. Despite the federal government's efforts, numerous difficulties proceed and remain prevalent in different Indonesian areas and regions.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HQ767.7, KGA1572



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Safeguarding the Future: Child Protection and the Prevention of Child Marriages in Indonesia

Shuai Wang

I. Introduction

Child protection is an issue in Indonesia, which has a varied cultural heritage and has experienced economic downturns. According to Arliman (2017), Indonesia has created policies, efforts, and governmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure Children's protection and wellness. The nation's legal structure consists of global and across-the-country conventions, which disclose the relevance of the initiatives placed by the federal government to protect and safeguard Children's' lawful rights. According to Vaitla et al. (2017), the focus has been on securing wellness and constitutional freedoms, specifically in the problem of early marriages. The country's decision to promote child protection through fundamental laws such as the constitution originates from the implications for the future and children's health. Olojede et al. (2020) reveal numerous problems in managing children's issues, such as forced marriage, denying their basic civil liberties, and gender-based violence. Despite the federal government's efforts, numerous difficulties proceed and remain prevalent in different Indonesian areas and regions. By resolving such problems facing children, this record intends to identify various difficulties and children's defense civil liberties in Indonesia, focusing on child marriage prevention. The report aims to review the elements that contribute to early child marriages and intends to discover efficient challenges that can be applied to intervention and prevention. The report will examine the general context that influences child security in Indonesia and examine major policies and regulations established to protect children's rights. Additionally, the report will identify the social and cultural factors that Influence the issue of early child marriage among children. By exploring the intersection between social, economic, gender, and traditions, the study aims to identify the existing gaps and opportunities that can be promoted to enhance child protection and promote the future of Indonesian children. In general, this report will serve as a comprehensive investigation of Indonesia's Journey in promoting and safeguarding children from the influence of child marriages. Hence, the study aims to contribute to the existing framework and efforts to ensure effective child protection rights in the country.

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II. Factors Influencing Child Protection needs in Indonesia

a) *Structural Factors*

The legal framework guiding child protection in Indonesia consists of the international and local legislation conventions ratified by the government. As demonstrated by Hayes and O'Neal (2018), various national-level laws encompass and provide different forms of child exploitation and child abuse. These laws include child Protection and eliminating violence in the household. Regarding international laws, Indonesia has signed various agreements, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). This convention highlights guiding principles set forth for the standards and principles that promote children's protection and rights.

Despite the respective laws, regulations, and conventions., challenges have persisted over a long time in the country due to structural factors that limit the enforcement and implementation of existing child laws. Gatignon and Capron (2023) demonstrate that the institutional infrastructure plays a significant role in involving stakeholders such as NGOs and government agencies. Collins (2017) demonstrates that despite the respective laws and conventions, the country's various issues, such as inadequate training, limited resources, etc, hinder effective responses to child protection rights.

Indonesia has deep-rooted social and cultural factors that affect the government's efforts to promote child protection. According to Al-Saadoon et al. (2021), the attitude and cultural norms towards the children in the country influence parenting practices. This continues further to the challenges that encompass children's rights, such as child labor, early children's marriages, and gender violence. The respective structural factors are essential considerations for the development of a holistic approach toward child protection, especially with issues of early marriages. These approaches, hence, should encompass a wide range of social and cultural considerations for children.

b) *Social-Cultural Factors*

Social and cultural phenomena in Indonesia demonstrate an intricate interplay between gender dynamics, traditions, and socio-economic pressures. Despite different prohibitions in different practices, Wood (2019) shows that cultural practices and traditions promote the persistence of inequality, poverty, and

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gender discrimination. In Indonesia, gender norms in the society entrenched the society that dictates that young girls are supposed to get married at a young age, hence reinforcing values that are patriarchal and prioritize social and economic security over the autonomy and rights of girls. This practice often perpetuates a vicious cycle whereby, to escape poverty and economic hardship, early marriages have to be perpetuated. Through this, the majority of the population does not see this issue as an infringement on the well-being and rights of girls. Economic differences promote the issue of early marriages, particularly in various communities where they perceive their daughters as a means to alleviate their financial strain through marriages. According to Epstein (2022), the view is that girls are resources that help limit them from acquiring adequate education. The lack of education limits their abilities to perpetuate the existing poverty, hence fueling the issues of early marriages. Despite the existing legal frameworks, enforcement to stop early marriages among the communities is weak due to a high level of resistance from the respective cultures.

Society conforms to the conventional expectations and norms about early marriages, outweighing young females' well-being. According to Kohno et al. (2020), social pressure obliges households to marry off their daughters early to avoid being viewed as not fitting into the culture and premarital relationship. This is additionally driven by the families' desire to support the community's reputation and honor. World Health Organization. (2018) adds that limited access to education and information on reproductive and sexual rights and health additionally promotes the concerns, leaving the society at large uninformed of the available effects of early marriages, consisting of minimal threats and constraints to the economic and education chances. Resolving this difficulty will need a holistic technique involving factors to consider cultural and traditional standards and effective education chances to promote young girls' empowerment to existing policies and regulations. Furthermore, the efforts to combat early child marriages ought to encompass the engagement of society and a high level of awareness, which will help to move the existing mindsets worrying about gender and Children's marriages.

III. Trends of Marriage in Indonesia

According to data from the Demographic Health Survey conducted in 2017, about 15% of girls in the country get married before 18 years, and approximately 3% get married before the age of 14. Timæus and Moultrie (2015) demonstrate that households with low expenditure rates are five times more likely to get married before the age of 18 than girls from households with a high level of expenditure. Additionally, the data demonstrated that a girl from a rural area is three times more likely to marry than a girl in an urban setting. Based on education attainment, girls who attain education even to the university level are less likely to marry before age 19. The figure below shows the spread of early child marriages based on Indonesian provisions. Raj et al. (2019) data also shows that girls who marry before the age of 18 years are less likely to access the benefits that come with social protection directed to poor households. The data demonstrates that only 18.3% are most likely determined through the KPS bad program. This reveals that households with their daughters wed before 18 are not identified even if they stay in homes with low expenses. This information shows that very early marriages prevail throughout different regions among various national societies and areas. According to the data provided by Mourtada et al. (2017), Child marriages are typically practiced in rural areas compared to urban regions. This reveals the disparities in access to education, learning, and other resources in rural areas, promoting the concern. Furthermore, in rural areas, various practices, such as religious and ethnic practices, prioritize child marriages.

IV. Consequences of Child Marriage

a) Social-Economic Impact

Child marriages impact financial development and advertise destitution within Indonesia. According to Rasmussen et al. (2019), very early child marriages limit the possibility of contribution to society via efficient and formal workforces in the country. Additionally, data from Rietveld et al. (2020) demonstrates that girls marrying below the age of 18 are more likely to be engaged in informal practices such as agriculture. In this case, 41.7% of the girls worked in the informal sector in 2015. These show the limitations that early marriages have. Girls who marry at the age of 18 have low opportunities for education and hence have low educational attainment to get jobs in the formal sector. Woessmann (2016) demonstrates that education is a major contributor to economic development and prosperity. Education equips them with the necessary skills and knowledge to navigate challenges and secure stable employment. Depriving children's rights through early marriages hinders them from breaking from the poverty cycles and negative societal norms. Lack of education extends beyond the wide societal implications. According to Håkansson (2022), early marriages promote poverty cycles, which hinder government efforts in enacting economic development and inclusivism. This shows that addressing economic disparity and socioeconomic effects of marriages will require prioritization to reduce gender differences and inequalities in society and promote education. This will help the country break the existing cycles of poverty and empower the community to realize its potential to eradicate child marriages.

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b) Health and Well-being

Early marriages lead to early pregnancies, which poses health risks to both the infant and the adolescent. Adolescents and young females are considered not to be fully developed for childbirth and pregnancies. Kaplan (2023) highlights that most of the complaints are reported by young mothers who bear children at a young age. Early pregnancy has contributed to a high rate of maternal deaths due to conditions such as obstructed labor, etc., which cause long-lasting and severe effects for both the mother and the child. Additionally, girls who marry at a young often lack access to enough support and parental care services. While having inadequate access to reproductive knowledge and family planning matters, they are imposed too early on childbearing. Erfina et al. (2019) conclude that the majority of adolescent mothers are not able to access healthcare services due to social stigma and financial limitations in Indonesia. Hence resulting in derived health outcomes.

c) Gender Inequality

Hamdy and Hudri (2022) indicate that Indonesian society highly embraces patriarchal norms. This norm reinforces women and girls' subordinate roles to become mothers and wives. Giaquinta (2016) adds that early marriages deepened these norms while perpetuating the disempowerment of girls in society. At a young age, girls are normalized to marriage and become mothers over personal autonomy and ambitions. Girls are expected to conform to the expectation of society and their traditions regarding gender responsibilities. This limits their opportunities to access health and make their own decision and employment. Ngulube (2018) shows this result of power dynamics within a marital setup. Girls involved in marriage are typically expected to be subservient to husbands, promoting limited autonomy in making decisions regarding education, finances, etc. Ngulube (2018) shows that this imbalance perpetuates gender inequality in the country and also undermines the health and rights of girls, further promoting vulnerability and dependency.

Gender inequality leads to violence and abuse. Child and adolescent marriages promote physical, psychological, and sexual abuse. The vulnerability of young girls involved in marriage increases the risk of violence and exploitation due to power dynamics. Due to the nature of the culture, Duadji and Tresiana (2022) demonstrate that child marriages are often characterized by harmful abuse and violence in Indonesia. Forced marriages lead to sexual abuse, leading to an increase in reproductive risks and frequent pregnancies. The normalization of child marriages leads to the development of a culture of abuse due to abuse imposed on the girls. As this is often socialized as part of marriage life, it perpetuates violence society and inequality in society. This shows that challenges in the issues of early marriages and gender inequality must be dealt with. Through recognition of the rights of women in society, Indonesia can create a just and equitable culture that is free from discrimination and violence.

V. Prevention of Child Marriage

The government of Indonesia has made significant efforts in promoting child prevention over the last decade. One major factor in promoting child protection is the development and effective response through developing policies and strengthening the existing ones. This requires clear attention to attain a positive child response and protection over time.

a) Overview of Existing Policies and Programs

In recent years, Indonesia has put in place policies to address child marriage through the encasement of various programs and policies aiming to prevent and protect children. This shows the efforts by the Indonesian government to promote early child marriages and protect their rights. Indonesia has a decentralized government system provides a sustained effort and resources to support child protection and early marriages in the country. Historically, Arliman (2017) demonstrates that the government of Indonesia responded to child rights issues at an individual level or through the relevant agencies; however, over the decade, the government has aimed to fight child abuse systematically and, hence, has adopted a system-strengthening approach to assess the violation and potential child rights abuse. Additionally, the government of Indonesia has committed to international child rights standards and support. In this case, Besson and Kleber (2019) demonstrate that the country has signed various global human and child protection treaties that bind it legally and morally to non-discrimination and equality in developing national policies promoting child protection. In 1984, Indonesia signed the Convention on Eliminating Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). 1990, the government also signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Nevertheless, the country recorded a high rate of discrimination against women and children for many years. In 2012, the Indonesian federal government signed the Optional Protocol on the Participation of Children in Dispute and Optional Procedure on the Sale of Children. The respective conventions reveal the country's efforts to advertise child defense legal rights and commitment to international criteria.

The government of Indonesia has taken the problem of children's protection and gender disparity as a nationwide advancement agenda. Throughout the last decade, it is clear that the government has made amazing efforts to adapt to global conventions that advertise children's rights and the existing procedures. In addition, the government has integrated the Optional

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Protocols right into nationwide legal legislation and regulations. According to Arliman (2017), the government made various constitutional amendments that strengthen methods to prevent child abuse and secure children's rights. This shows that the nation has developed a new vision for positive participation in securing children over the last decade. The children's protection legislation in the constitution of Indonesia -- which serves as the foundation of children's defense- was amended in 2014. Other regulations modified to advertise children's defense rights include the Regulation of Anti-Trafficking, the Legislation of Elimination of Residential Physical Violence, and the Juvenile Crook Justice System. In addition, child protection is not only demonstrated in the Indonesian constitution but also in the development of Child Protection Law and different specific laws with regard to Child Protection for Instance Child Protection law, which protects the Child to be involved in forced marriages and protects them from different forms of violence. Furthermore, the country has national development plans such as the National Long-Term Development Plan, Medium-Term Development Plan, and the National Action Plan, which also outlines the strategies and actionable plans for the protection of children.

b) Intervention Programs

Various Intervention programs have been initiated, which consist of different approaches from raising awareness, providing support, and empowering individuals concerning promoting gender equality and child marriages. The response programs play an extensive function in resolving the complex child marriage concern in Indonesia. One of the response programs to animate children's marriage includes awareness projects. According to Schaffnit et al. (2019), awareness campaigns educate against cultural norms contributing to children's marriage. These campaigns are done through direct participation of the areas from the ground level. As an example, UNICEF and Plan International have carried out these projects to help the area be associated with education and learning and discussion sessions that promote raising awareness regarding the negative influences of child marriages. Furthermore, the federal government has promoted religious leaders and local influencers to promote sensitization of the problems. By fostering seminars with area members, Elyasu (2020) demonstrates that precise details concerning early marriages are passed, which aim to alter assumptions and mindsets and advertise alternate means to encourage women.

Another response program that has been promoted in Indonesia includes educational Campaigns. Van Eerdewijk et al. (2017) show that education programs empower women with the required abilities and knowledge to determine their future. Education and learning programs are commonly done at routine degrees to facilitate targeted neighborhoods that are at threat. For instance, the Indonesian non-governmental organization Women's Education Challenge program has conducted educational sessions for girls, especially in marginalized communities. These programs offer mentorship programs, scholarships, and other essential training opportunities to the ladies who are at risk of child marriage, therefore encouraging them to look for college and have the essential skills that can help them look for future empowerment. In addition, various other responses implemented at college, such as Comprehensive Sexuality Education and Learning (CSE), have been applied to animate reproductive health, equality, and civil rights. The respective response programs empower girls and help them test the existing status quo with regard to conventional norms and understandings regarding sex and existing inequality in society.

Support and assistance services have also been applied for family members and individuals who facilitate children's marriage. For instance, Non-governmental organizations such as KARINA, which is church-based, give support services to children who are in danger of early marriage and aid the survivors to get over psychological obstacles. The services provided by these organizations include psychological and counseling services to help them overcome psychological trauma, provide legal resilience, and build resilience for the children and families limited in accessing their respective needs. Also, the organization provides economic empowerment training to give vulnerable families and individuals opportunities to earn their livelihood.

VI. Analysis using the Inspire Framework

The inspiring framework will be used to analyze the intervention frameworks and existing policies in addressing child marriage. Through this framework, the weaknesses and strengths of the existing intervention programs and policies are assessed, their efficiency is assessed, and the challenges and existing gaps are identified.

a) Strengths

The strengths of the policies and intervention programs in Indonesia that have been put in place primarily lie in child protection and Indonesian Marriage law. The constitution of Indonesia has been amended to strengthen child protection rights. Additionally, the existence of laws and international convention treaties promoting child protection demonstrates a strong commitment by the Indonesian government to promote and protect the rights of children and prevent child marriages. Prameswari and Agustin (2018) demonstrate that the Indonesian marriage cap is above 19 years.

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This protects the minors from forced and adverse consequences of marriage. Additionally, the child protection law protects the children from any violence and prohibits them from marriage, either forced marriage or early marriage. Additionally, intervention programs have aimed to prevent child marriages and strengthen gender equality. Community programs challenge the existing attitudes and norms that surround child marriage through direct community involvement. These programs provide the necessary information for the children and community to make informed decisions.

b) Weaknesses

As the legal framework has been put in place to protect children from early marriages, there exist weaknesses during enforcement and implementation of the respective. As demonstrated by Zahroh and Najicha (2022), Indonesia has a weak mechanism characterized by a limited capacity to promote law enforcement. Additionally, Indonesia has inadequate resources, such as a limited number of law enforcers per person >>> which limits the effectiveness of enforcing the existing regulatory framework in child protection. Harris et al. (2018) highlight that the agencies in law enforcement lack the necessary resources to monitor and enhance compliance with the perpetrating community. Cultural norms and traditional practices also hinder the effectiveness of law enforcement. While most individuals, especially in rural areas, support early marriages as part of their cultural traditions, it becomes hard for the respective community to join hands and report the cases to law enforcers. Okongwu (2021) shows that the cultural practices condone and encourage gender disparity and early child marriages, which undermine the government's efforts to enforce the legal provision efficiently. Additionally, Kusumo et al. (2022) show some loopholes and inconsistencies in the legal framework, such as bribery, that contribute to the existing disparities in fighting early marriages and child protection across various provinces in Indonesia. The differences in socioeconomic status and the interpretation of law lead to unequal and different efforts for children's protection across the country. Additionally, community-based education and awareness initiatives lack effective coordination and evaluation, which limits their impact. Also, there is insufficient funding, which leads to limited resources and manpower in facilitating full, complete coverage at the grassroots level, which limits the effectiveness of the respective programs and initiatives in addressing child marriages in different provinces.

c) Analysis of Effectiveness

According to Subchi et al. (2021), Child marriage remains an issue in Indonesia despite the existence of intervention programs and a legal framework enacted more than a decade ago. This proves there are still limitations in the effectiveness of the intervention programs, laws, and overall regulatory framework in the country. Various factors contribute to the ineffectiveness and persistence of child marriages. There is high cultural resistance to embracing transformation about gender disparity and child marriages. Also, some legal enforcement agencies lack the capacity and adequate resources for effective enforcement. The mechanisms for legal enforcement are weak in monitoring compliance, leading to widespread impunity.

However, community-based programs have positively impacted community awareness and education. The community level engages with families and community directly, hence sensitizing on the negative consequences of child marriages, leading to community empowerment. As an example, the Comprehensive Sexuality Education Program has equipped young girls with knowledge that helps them to make educated choices, for this reason decreasing the rate of exploitation and susceptibility. These programs provide accurate details and can potentially alter women's attitudes and the area. Nonetheless, there are obstacles such as inadequate financing, lack of coordination, which limits the application, and a high level of performance in promoting children's defense and avoiding child marriages.

d) Gap Identification

Comprehending existing voids and obstacles can aid in identifying locations for improvement. Among the major gaps is the existing weak mechanism in child marriage enforcement. Despite the regulation's existence, weak enforcement with restricted resources in terms of training and capacity adds to impunity. Additionally, the government has inadequate and restricted accessibility to reliable support solutions. While numerous non-governmental intervention programs exist, accessibility to sustainable solutions is frequently minimal, specifically in rural areas and marginalized cultures. For instance, child marriage survivors may struggle to access legal aid and counseling services due to geographical barriers.

Deeply rooted traditions and cultural norms that encourage early marriage are a barrier to effective child marriages. Most Indonesian communities practice early marriages as a tradition and cultural practice. In most cases, social and religious customs may encourage children's marriages to secure economic stability and preserve the community's reputation. Hence, challenging these customs will require cultural and sensitive approaches addressing the respective beliefs and attitudes.

Another gap exists in the socioeconomic and gender inequalities. These inequalities and disparities that exist in the Indonesian community contribute to the vulnerability and exploitation of children in marriages.

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Most of the girls that get involved in early marriages in Indonesia are from unstable or low economic families, especially in the rural areas. According to Roksa and Kinsley (2019), low socioeconomic status also leads to limited access to economic opportunities and education programs, which lead to support for the family's financial status. While addressing these issues, strategies that promote gender equality and socioeconomic status lead to access to economic opportunities and education for girls.

VII. Recommendations for Reform

a) Strengthening the Implementation Mechanisms

While successfully resolving the issue of child marriage in Indonesia, it is crucial to strengthen different systems that have been established. This will certainly include reinforcing lawful enforcement firms and offering them the required resources to fight children marriage. According to Ulfa et al. (2023), one of the methods to advertise this is to give the essential training and tools to advertise surveillance and evaluation to determine locations of enhancement. Daka et al. (2020) reveal that with the prosecution of perpetrators, Indonesia can reduce the degree of child marriages. Police should be educated to communicate with the area to enhance children's legal rights at the grassroots level.

b) Addressing Socioeconomic Status

For long-lasting children marriage security, solving the socioeconomic variables is necessary. Indonesia must focus on improving the education system for the poor. Budu et al. (2021) highlight that Education and learning enhance the economic chances for inadequate families. The government must focus on supplying professional training and financial backing for susceptible women. In this instance, the families can be empowered financially, for this reason, resorting to very early child marriages. Additionally, furnishing ladies with the needed understanding will equip them with the expertise to make educated choices.

c) Promoting Community Engagement

Indonesia should focus on extensive sensitization versus child marriages. According to Melnikas et al. (2020), this will be crucial in fighting the negative attitudes and cultural standards that advertise sex variation and child marriages. Community-based understanding backed with ample sources at the grassroots degree needs to be presented to inform society about the effects of children's marriages. The government can work with the neighborhood and religious leaders to advertise assistance in stopping alternate methods to encourage women and children nationwide.

VIII. Conclusion

The legal framework guiding child protection in Indonesia consists of the international and local legislation conventions ratified by the government. As demonstrated by Hayes and O'Neal (2018), various national-level laws encompass and provide different forms of child exploitation and child abuse. Social and cultural phenomena in Indonesia demonstrate an intricate interplay between gender dynamics, traditions, and socio-economic pressures. Despite different prohibitions in different practices cultural practices and traditions promote the persistence of inequality, poverty, and gender discrimination. Early child marriages limit the possibility of contribution to society via efficient and formal workforces in the country. Hamdy and Hudri (2022) indicate that Indonesian society embraces patriarchal norms. This norm reinforces women and girls' subordinate roles to become mothers and wives. Early marriages deepened these norms while perpetuating the disempowerment of girls in society. Early marriages lead to early pregnancies, which poses health risks to both the infant and the adolescent. Adolescents and young females are considered not to be fully developed for childbirth and pregnancies. The government of Indonesia has made significant efforts in promoting child prevention over the last decade. One major factor in promoting child protection is the development and effective response through developing policies and strengthening the existing ones. This requires clear attention to attain a positive child response and protection over time. While successfully resolving the issue of child marriage in Indonesia, it is crucial to strengthen different systems that have been established. This will certainly include reinforcing lawful enforcement firms and offering them the required resources to fight children marriage. or long-lasting children marriage security; solving the socioeconomic variables is necessary. Indonesia must focus on improving the education system for the poor. Education and learning enhance the economic chances for inadequate families. Indonesia should focus on extensive sensitization versus child marriages. This will be crucial in fighting the negative attitudes and cultural standards that advertise sex variation and child marriages.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Spatial analysis of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Benin

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Abstract- Gender-based violence (GBV) is a critical issue in Benin, affecting women aged 15 to 49 across different departments. This study examines the regional disparities in the prevalence of emotional, physical, and sexual violence against women, as well as the rates at which they seek help to end violence. Data from the fifth Demographic and Health Survey of Benin (DHSB-V) provides insights into the spatial distribution of GBV and the socio-demographic determinants of violence across the country. Results indicate significant variations in GBV prevalence across different departments. Alibori, Plateau, and Collines exhibit the highest rates of spousal violence, while departments such as Zou and Littoral have lower rates. The study also reveals disparities in help-seeking behavior, with departments like Alibori and Donga showing higher rates of women seeking help, and Atacora and Borgou having higher proportions of women who neither seek help nor confide in anyone about the violence they experience.

Keywords: gender-based violence (GBV), regional disparities, demographic and health survey (DHSB-V), help-seeking behavior.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HQ1237.5.B5, HV6626.23.B5

SPATIALANALYSISOFGENDERBASEDVIOLENCEGBVINBENIN

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Spatial analysis of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Benin

Mouhamadou Djima Baranon [α], Berenger Sogbadji [σ], Romuald Igor Amanoudo [ρ], Ague Marcel Agani [ω] & Youssouf Bouzir [¥]

Abstract- Gender-based violence (GBV) is a critical issue in Benin, affecting women aged 15 to 49 across different departments. This study examines the regional disparities in the prevalence of emotional, physical, and sexual violence against women, as well as the rates at which they seek help to end violence. Data from the fifth Demographic and Health Survey of Benin (DHSB-V) provides insights into the spatial distribution of GBV and the socio-demographic determinants of violence across the country. Results indicate significant variations in GBV prevalence across different departments. Alibori, Plateau, and Collines exhibit the highest rates of spousal violence, while departments such as Zou and Littoral have lower rates. The study also reveals disparities in help-seeking behavior, with departments like Alibori and Donga showing higher rates of women seeking help, and Atacora and Borgou having higher proportions of women who neither seek help nor confide in anyone about the violence they experience. These findings underscore the need for targeted interventions and support programs tailored to the specific challenges of each department. Addressing GBV in Benin requires a comprehensive approach that increases awareness, accessibility to support services, and protection for women. By focusing on region-specific strategies and leveraging successful practices from lower-risk areas, meaningful progress can be made toward reducing the prevalence of GBV and promoting gender equality across Benin.

Keywords: gender-based violence (GBV), regional disparities, demographic and health survey (DHSB-V), help-seeking behavior.

I. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) infringes on human rights and has devastating effects on women, men, youth, and vulnerable individuals, as well as their families and communities[1, 2]. Various groups, including women, girls, boys, and people in vulnerable situations, face violence that disrupts social, political, cultural, and economic relationships, thereby hindering development efforts[3, 4]. GBV is present in all countries, particularly in underdeveloped or developing countries, despite well-established legal frameworks and mechanisms. It is a widespread and multifaceted issue that persists globally, affecting millions of individuals irrespective of their socioeconomic status, age, or geographic location [5, 6].

In Benin, West Africa, GBV remains a significant challenge, with alarming statistics reflecting its pervasive nature [7]. According to a study conducted in Benin, more than 3 out of 10 women have experienced intimate partner violence at some point in their lives [8]. Furthermore, the Benin Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) conducted in 2017-2018 revealed that nearly three out of ten (27%) women aged 15–49 have experienced physical violence since the age of 15. Moreover, one of ten (10%) women reported experiencing sexual violence at some point in their life, with this percentage dropping to 5% within the last 12 months. Among women aged 15 to 49 in union or separated, 42% disclosed experiencing emotional, physical, and/or sexual violence perpetrated by their husband/partner at some point. The survey also indicated that 43% of women have experienced any injury resulting from physical violence committed by their partner at some point, with this percentage rising to 49% within the last 12 months. Additionally, more than a third (35%) of women who have experienced physical or sexual violence reported seeking help to stop the cycle of violence [9]. These statistics underscore the urgent need to address GBV comprehensively in Benin.

Benin's socio-cultural and economic contexts play a crucial role in shaping the country's prevalence and nature of GBV. Traditional gender norms, patriarchal structures, and in equalities in access to resources contribute to the perpetuation of violence against women and girls. Additionally, disparities in urban-rural development and access to essential services such as education, healthcare, and law enforcement further exacerbate vulnerabilities to GBV. Furthermore, statistical data indicates disparities in GBV prevalence across different regions of Benin. For instance, the DHS data reveals variations in the prevalence of GBV between urban and rural areas, with rural areas often experiencing higher rates of violence. Moreover, socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment are closely linked to GBV, with marginalized populations facing heightened risks [10].

However, Benin, like many other countries in Africa, has taken actions in recent years to combat gender-based violence. Law No. 2011-26 of January 9,

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2012 [11], which aims to prevent and repress violence against women, stems from a national study conducted in 2009 on the state of violence against women and girls. This legislation represents a major political commitment in the fight against gender-based violence. In response to the persistence of these acts, the national legislative framework was strengthened by Law No. 2021-11 of December 20, 2021, which includes special provisions for prosecuting offenses based on a person's gender and protecting women in the Republic of Benin [12].

Despite those efforts by the government and various stakeholders to combat GBV, significant gaps persist. There is a notable gap in the understanding of its spatial distribution, clustering patterns, and socio-demographic determinants across different regions of the country. This knowledge gap hinders the development and implementation of targeted interventions and policy responses aimed at effectively preventing and addressing GBV in specific geographic contexts. Spatial analysis, incorporating geographic information systems (GIS) and statistical techniques, can provide valuable insights into the geographical distribution, clustering patterns, and socio-demographic correlates of GBV incidents across different regions of Benin. The existing literature on GBV in Benin predominantly focuses on aggregate statistics and qualitative insights, often overlooking the spatial dimension of the issue. As a result, there is limited empirical evidence regarding the geographical variations in GBV prevalence, the identification of spatial hotspots, and the socio-economic factors driving disparities in violence occurrence. Moreover, the lack of spatial analysis in previous studies limits the ability of policymakers, NGOs, and other stakeholders to allocate resources efficiently and design interventions tailored to the needs of communities disproportionately affected by GBV. Without a comprehensive understanding of the spatial dynamics of GBV, efforts to combat violence may be misguided, leading to ineffective outcomes and the perpetuation of systemic inequalities.

In light of these considerations, conducting a spatial analysis of GBV in Benin is imperative. Such analysis can inform evidence-based interventions tailored to specific geographic contexts, empower local communities, and contribute to the broader goal of promoting gender equality and ending violence against women and girls in Benin. Therefore, there is a pressing need to employ spatial analysis techniques, such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and spatial statistics, to systematically examine the spatial distribution of GBV incidents and identify high-risk areas. Using Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data, the objectives of this study are: to compute the GBV indicators by regional area in Benin; to map the spatial distribution of GBV incidents using GIS; and to analyze the spatial disparities.

II. Data and Methodology

a) Data

The data used in this study originates from the fifth Demographic and Health Survey of Benin (DHSB-V). The coordination of the DHSB-V is a collaborative effort involving the Institut National de la Statistique et de la D´emographie (INStaD), the Ministry of Health, and technical support from ICF through the international DHS program (Demographic and Health Survey). It's noteworthy that the government of the Republic of Benin, with assistance from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), funded the planning, execution, and analysis of the results from the DHSB-V 2017-2018. The research focuses on women aged 15 to 49 residing in Benin during the survey period. This selection is driven by the fact that these women represent the reproductive-age demographic and thus are more likely to encounter gender-based violence.

b) Methodology

The sampling methodology for the DHSB-V aimed to ensure representation at the national level, covering all 12 departments and urban and rural areas. The national territory was divided into 12 study domains, each corresponding to an administrative department, with two strata created in each domain, one for urban and one for rural areas (excluding the Littoral department, which lacks rural areas).

The sampling process utilized a two-stage stratified cluster sampling approach. Initially, 555 Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) or clusters were selected from a list of enumeration areas (EAs) established during the 2013 General Population and Housing Census in Benin. Sampling at this stage was systematically conducted with probabilities proportional to the size of the PSU (i.e., the number of households). Subsequently, a household census within each cluster yielded a list of households, from which 26 households per cluster were selected in both urban and rural areas using systematic sampling with equal probability.

At the national level, data from the DHSB-V included a total of 14,435 selected households, with 6,528 in urban areas distributed across 251 clusters and 7,907 in rural areas distributed across 304 clusters. All women aged 15 to 49 years residing in these households and were present on the night preceding the survey were eligible for interview.

In our study, the analytical method involved calculating the prevalence of various forms of violence (emotional violence, physical violence, and sexual violence) within the departments. Specifically for women in union or separated, we also focused on the types of control exerted by partners. Additionally, the recurrence of victims seeking help to stop violence was studied by region. These calculated indicators were represented on

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the map of Benin, illustrating the distribution of prevalence rates by department (Alibori, Atacora, Atlantique, Borgou, Collines, Couffo, Donga, Littoral, Mono, Ou´em´e, Plateau, Zou).

III. Results and Discussion

a) Regional Disparities in Physical Violence

Figure 1 displays the regional percentages of women who have encountered physical violence from the age of 15 onward. The department with the highest percentage of women who have experienced physical violence from the age of 15 is Alibori, with 33.20%. The department with the lowest percentage is Borgou, with 21.10%. The other departments have varying percentages, with Atacora at 29.60%, Atlantique at 30.70%, Collines at 29.20%, Couffo at 28.00%, Donga at 19.90%, Littoral at 30.90%, Mono at 24.60%, Oueme at 20.40%, Plateau at 29.40%, and Zou at 28.10%. This data suggests that physical violence against women is a significant issue in all departments, with varying degrees of prevalence. The minimum of 21% is an alarming fact, as at least 2 of 10 women between 15 and 49 have experienced physical violence in their lives.

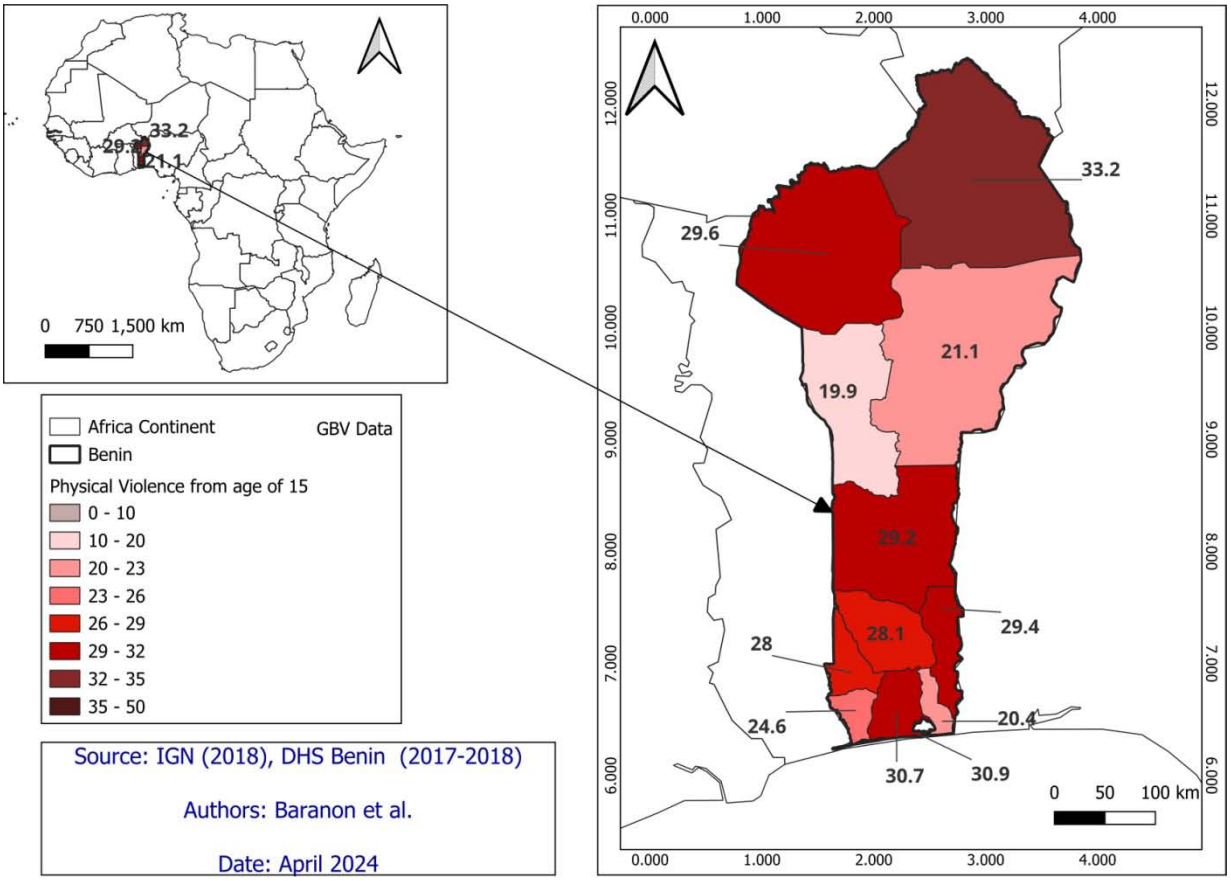

Figure 1: Percentage of Women Aged 15-49 who have Experienced Physical Violence since the Age of 15

Moreover, among women aged 15 to 49 who are currently pregnant or have been pregnant, some have endured physical violence during their pregnancy. Figure 2 illustrates the geographical distribution of these percentages. The rates vary, with Atacora experiencing the highest percentage at 7.10%. Littoral follows with 5.30%, and Oueme comes third with 4.70%. Conversely, Zou has the lowest rate of physical violence during pregnancy, with just 2.30%, while Alibori and Couffo both report rates of 2.80%. These variations suggest that some departments have higher incidences of physical violence against pregnant women than others. Departments like Atacora, Littoral, and Oueme stand out with higher rates of violence, highlighting the need for targeted interventions in these areas. Meanwhile, the lower rates in departments such as Zou may indicate existing protective factors or successful interventions that could be modeled in other areas.

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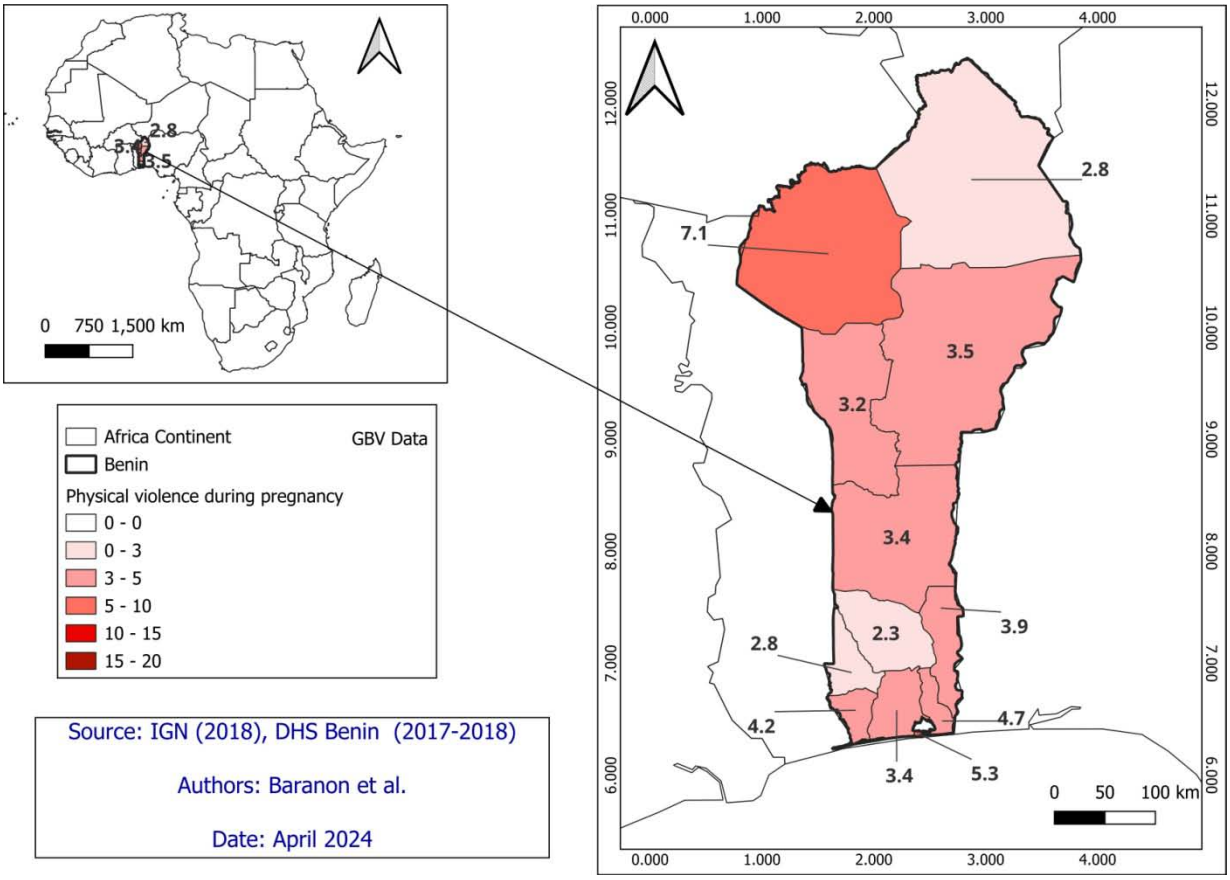

Figure 2: Percentage of Women Aged 15–49 who have Experienced Physical Violence during Pregnancy

b) Regional Disparities In Sexual Violence

There is significant variation in the rates of sexual violence against women aged 15 to 49 as shown by figure 3. Collines has the highest rate of sexual violence, with 13.40%, followed closely by Plateau at 13.10%. Couffo also shows a high rate at 12.50%. On the other hand, Donga has the lowest rate of sexual violence, with just 3.90%. Departments such as Alibori, Oueme, and Zou have rates between 8% and 9%. The differences in the prevalence of sexual violence across these departments suggest that some areas may face more significant challenges in protecting women from sexual violence. Departments with higher rates, like Collines and Plateau, may benefit from focused initiatives and resources to combat and prevent sexual violence. Conversely, the lower rates in departments like Donga could indicate successful prevention efforts or other factors that could be leveraged in other areas.

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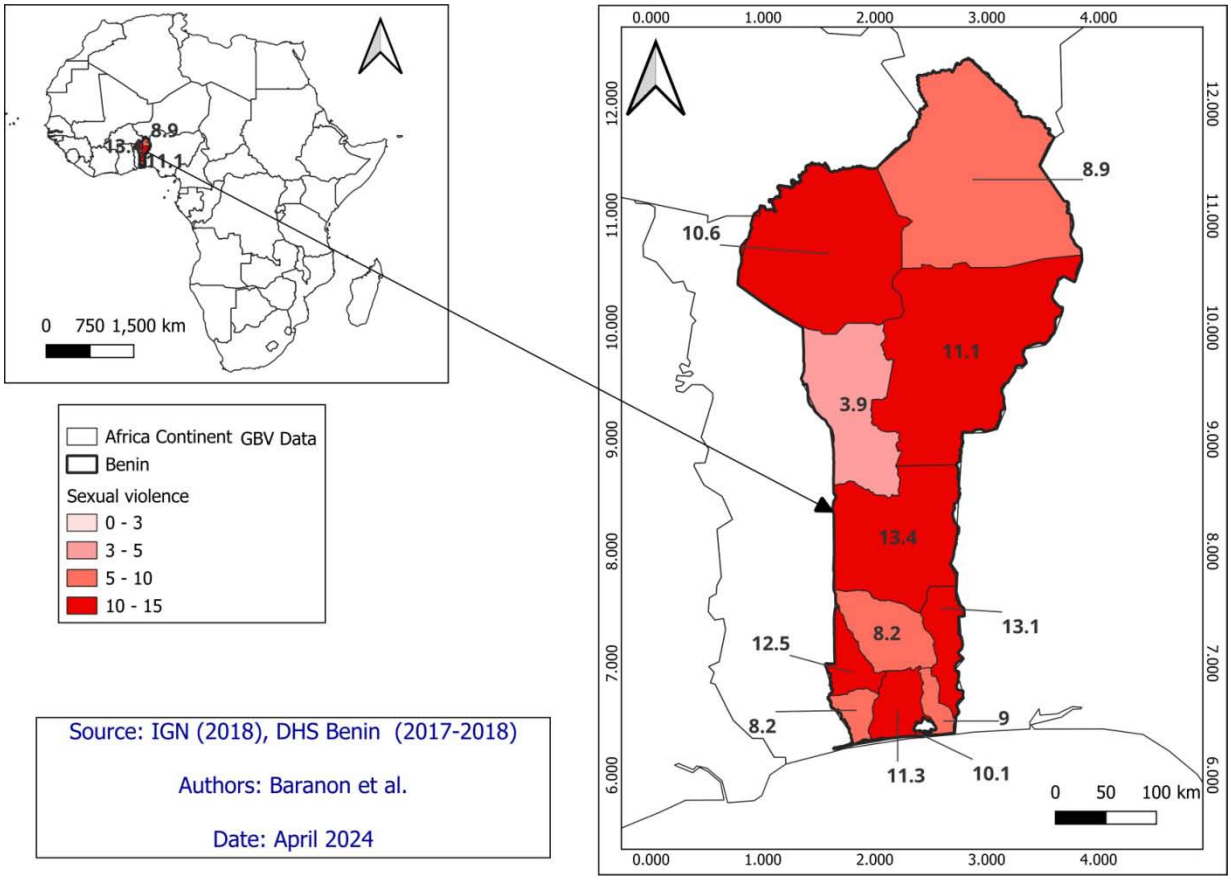

Figure 3: Percentage of Women Aged 15–49 who have Experienced Sexual Violence in their Life

c) Forms of Marital Violence

i. *Control Exerted by Husbands*

Table 1 describes the different forms of husband and partner controls towards their female partners. The Donga department stands out for having the highest percentage of partners who express jealousy when their significant other interacts with other men, with a notable figure of 66.60%. In contrast, the Oueme department showcases the lowest level of this kind of jealousy, registering a rate of just 39.20%. Meanwhile, the Atacora region experiences the highest rate of partners frequently accusing their significant others of infidelity, with a concerning statistic of 25.10%. On the other hand, Oueme again records the lowest rate in this category, at 10.00%, suggesting a more trusting attitude in that area.

Moreover, the Atacora (37.10%) and Zou (33.10%) regions reveal higher instances of partners imposing restrictions on their significant others' social interactions, which indicates a more pronounced sense of social isolation in these areas. These restrictions can extend to limiting time spent with friends and even family, pointing to a greater degree of control exerted by some partners.

Zou, for instance, presents the highest rate of partners who attempt to curb their significant other's interactions with family, with a percentage of 23.80%, while Donga records the lowest rate at 9.80%. Furthermore, Atacora (37.10%) and Donga (54.00%) showcase the highest rates of partners demanding constant updates about their partner's whereabouts, highlighting the desire for ongoing surveillance in these departments.

Plateau department emerges with the highest proportion of partners engaging in at least three of the controlling behaviors outlined in the study, reaching a notable rate of 31.70%. This suggests a prevalent pattern of controlling behavior in the area. On the contrary, Oueme stands out for having the highest percentage of partners who do not exhibit any of these controlling behaviors, at 48.50%. This indicates a potentially lower level of controlling tendencies among partners in this department, suggesting a different dynamic in relationships compared to other areas.

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Table 1: Percentage of women aged 15–49 currently in union or separated who reported certain types of control exerted by the husband/partner

Department	Jealous if they talk to other men	Often accuses them of being unfaithful	Does not allow them to meet their friends	Tries to limit their contact with their family	Insists on knowing where they are at all times	Has exhibited at least 3 of these behaviors	Has not exhibited anyof these behaviors	Number of women in union or separation of Union
Alibori	63.50	45.80	37.00	32.50	39.50	37.90	32.20	514
Atacora	63.50	25.10	37.10	30.00	51.50	38.50	24.80	346
Atlantique	54.40	22.60	30.70	21.90	43.70	29.00	28.70	517
Borgou	49.30	13.40	23.70	19.90	39.60	23.00	41.50	465
Collines	45.10	25.30	22.50	18.40	37.10	29.50	42.50	289
Couffo	53.60	10.80	26.10	18.00	55.30	24.00	26.40	265
Donga	66.60	10.90	20.30	9.80	54.00	20.60	24.30	262
Littoral	56.70	16.10	27.60	14.80	36.80	25.40	31.10	223
Mono	45.40	11.90	25.80	21.30	31.00	22.30	43.30	199
Oueme	39.20	10.00	18.70	10.40	24.70	14.00	48.50	393
Plateau	58.80	24.60	26.90	12.50	48.20	31.70	30.70	253
Zou	47.50	20.90	33.10	23.80	32.70	31.00	39.30	425

d) Spousal Emotional Violence

Plateau has the highest rate of emotional violence by spouses, with 50.9%, suggesting a significant issue in this department that may require targeted intervention and support. Atacora follows with a high rate of 45.8%, further highlighting the potential need for focused support and resources in these areas. In contrast, Couffo and Littoral have the lowest rates of emotional violence, both at 31.3%. These lower rates could indicate successful prevention efforts or other protective factors that may be valuable to model in other areas. Other departments fall within the range of 30% to 40% for spouse emotional violence, including Al ibori (31.9%), Atlantique (37.2%), Borgou (37.1%), Collines (34.4%), Donga (35.4%), Mono (39.2%), Oueme (33.4%), and Zou (36.2%). These rates demonstrate that emotional violence is a prevalent issue across all departments. No matter the department, at least 3 out of 10 women experienced that form of violence. It is then a serious issue.

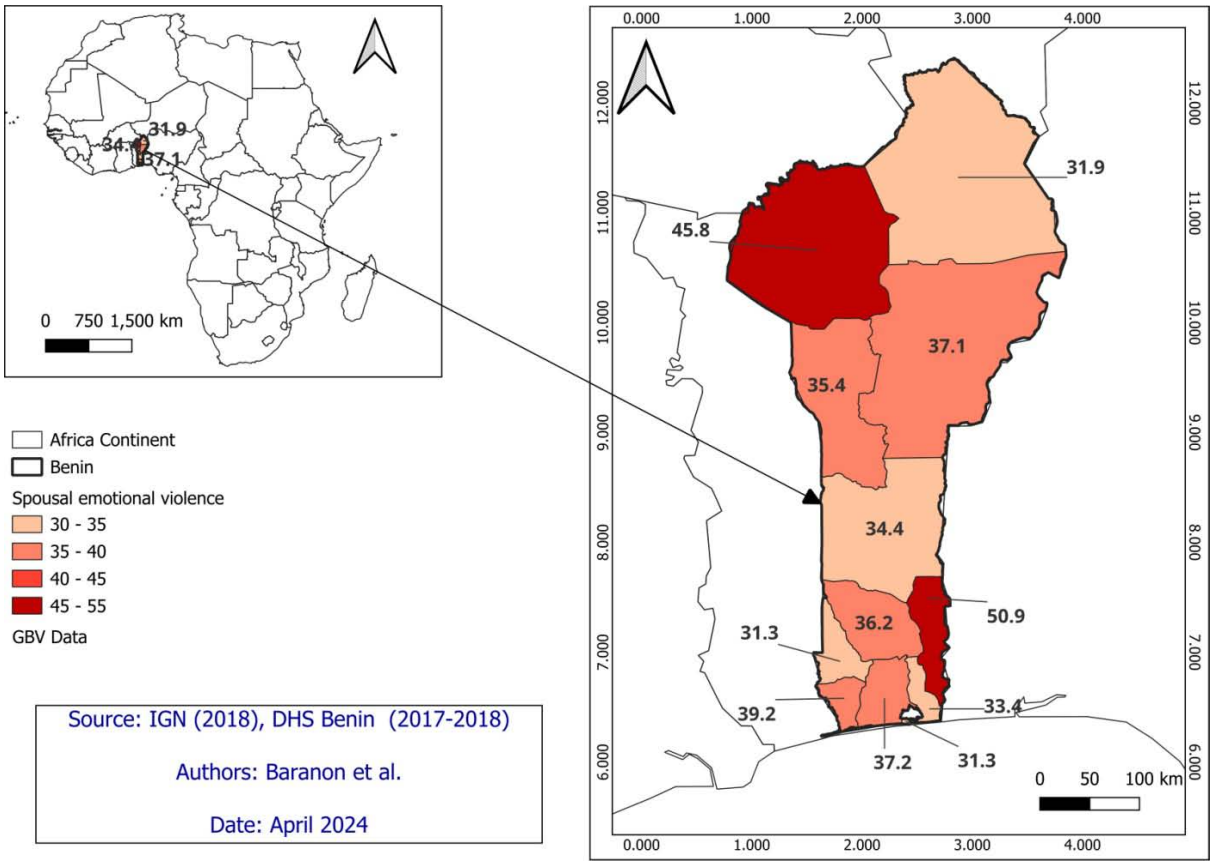

Figure 4: Percentage of Women Aged 15–49 Currently in Union or Separated who have Experienced Emotional Violence from their Husband/Partner

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e) Spousal Physical Violence

Alibori has the highest rate of spousal physical violence, with 30.6%, suggesting a significant issue in this department. This high rate calls for focused intervention and support programs to address the situation. Atacora follows with a rate of 23.3%, highlighting a notable level of risk in this area as well. On the other hand, Zou has the lowest rate of physical violence by spouses, with 11.8%. This lower rate could point to effective prevention strategies or other protective factors in the department that could serve as models for other areas. The remaining departments exhibit rates ranging from 14.6% to 20.9% for physical violence by spouses. These include Atlantique (20.9%), Borgou (18.8%), Collines (20.3%), Couffo (14.6%), Donga (19.4%), Littoral (16.3%), Mono (20.0%), Oueme (15.2%), and Plateau (16.7%).

Overall, the data reveals that physical violence by spouses is a prevalent issue across many departments. The varying rates suggest the need for region-specific approaches to combat and prevent it. Prioritizing resources and support for high-risk areas, such as Alibori and Atacora, while also learning from the practices in lower-risk areas like Zou, may help improve the situation for women across the departments.

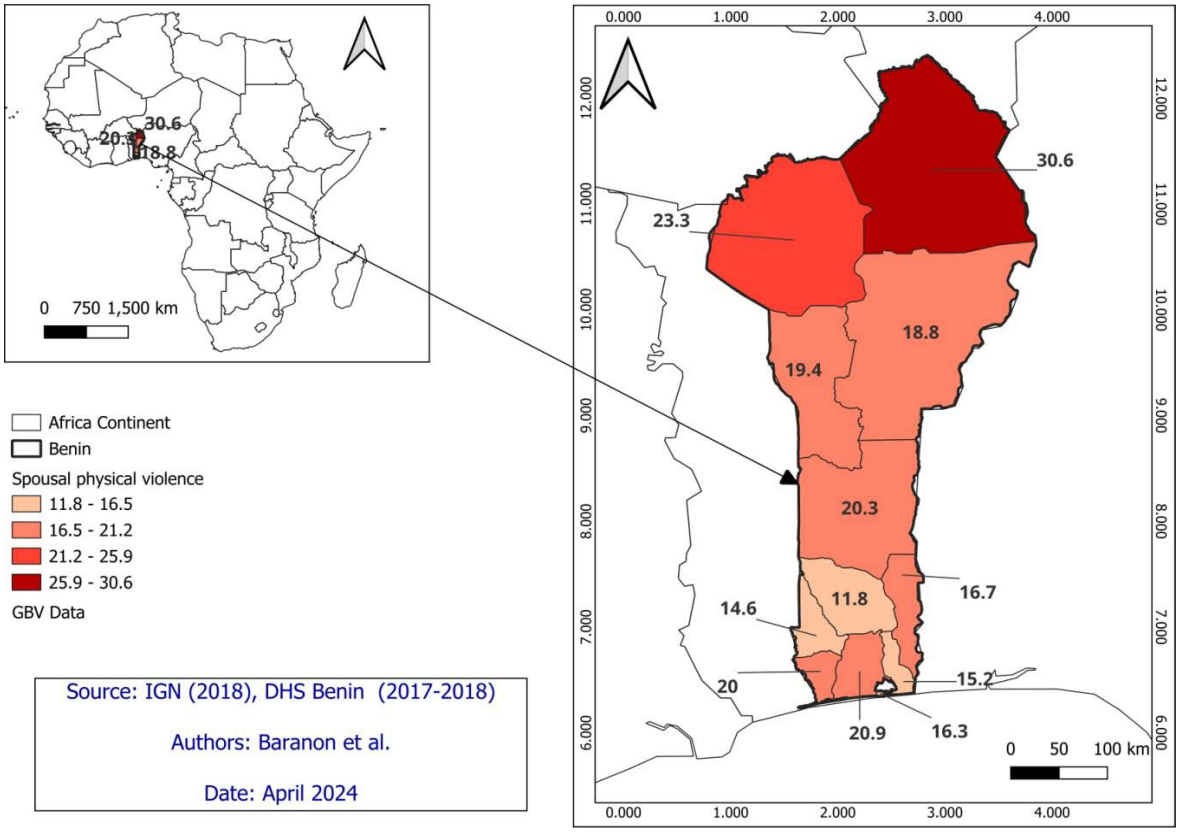

Figure 5: Percentage of Women Aged 15-49 Currently in Union or Separated who have Experienced physical Violence from their Husband/partner

f) Spousal Sexual Violence

The departments of Collines and Plateau exhibit the highest rates of sexual violence against spouses, with rates of 12.4% and 12.3%, respectively. This suggests a particularly concerning issue in these regions that requires focused attention and intervention. Borgou and Couffo also show relatively high rates of 11.8% and 11.3% respectively, indicating that these departments face significant challenges with spousal sexual violence. Oueme follows with a rate of 8.7%, suggesting the need for ongoing efforts to combat this problem. Alibori, Atacora, Mono, and Atlantique all have rates close to each other, ranging from 7.8% to 8.3%, which are still significant and indicate the presence of sexual violence in these areas. Meanwhile, Littoral and Zou have lower rates of sexual violence against spouses, at 6.1% and 6.5% respectively, but these rates are still substantial enough to warrant concern and action. Lastly, Donga has the lowest rate of sexual violence against spouses at 4.1%, which, while lower than other departments, still requires monitoring and preventative measures.

Overall, the data indicates that sexual violence against spouses is a pressing issue across many departments in Benin. This calls for targeted strategies to address and reduce the prevalence of sexual violence against spouses in the affected regions.

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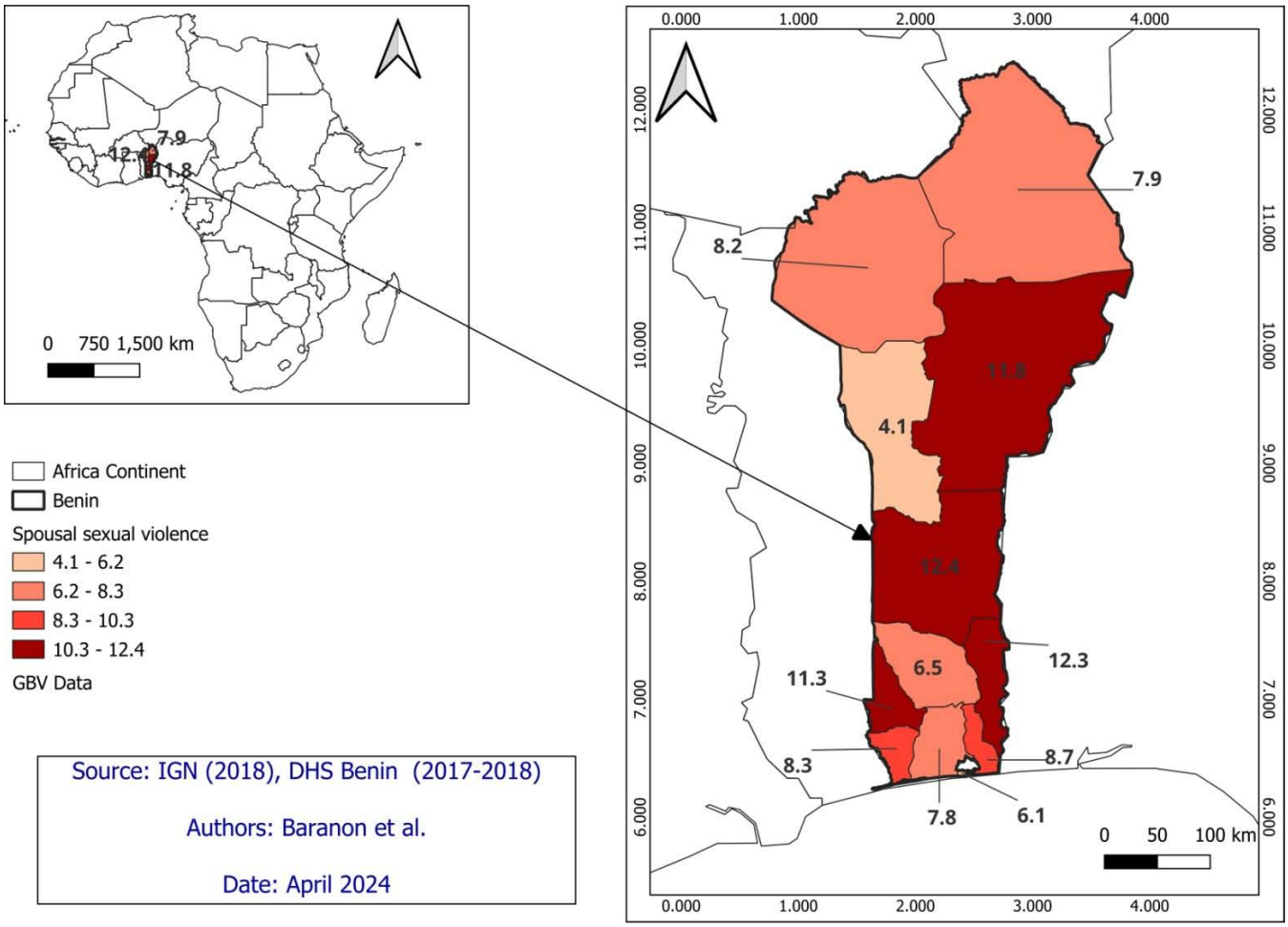

Figure 6: Percentage of Women Aged 15–49 Currently in Union or Separated who have Experienced Sexual Violence from their Husband/Partner

g) Violence by Women against their Husbands

Another form of gender-based violence that researchers and stakeholders seem to neglect is the practice of violence by women against their male partners. Figure 7 presents the regional disparities of such acts of violence.

Atlantique shows the highest rate of physical violence from women at 4.40%, suggesting a significant issue in this department. This is followed by Littoral at 3.50% and Alibori at 3.10%, indicating these regions also face relatively high rates of violence from women.

Borgou and Zou both report a rate of 3.00%, while Collines has a rate of 2.60%. These departments have moderate rates of violence from women, which may require monitoring and intervention. Mono, Couffo, and Plateau all report rates around 1.80-1.90%, which is slightly lower but still noteworthy.

Atacora and Oueme both have rates of 1.70%, which are on the lower end of the spectrum. Donga reports no cases of physical violence from women, which may suggest either a very low occurrence of such incidents or potential data collection issues. These variations across departments could provide insight into where additional support and resources may be needed.

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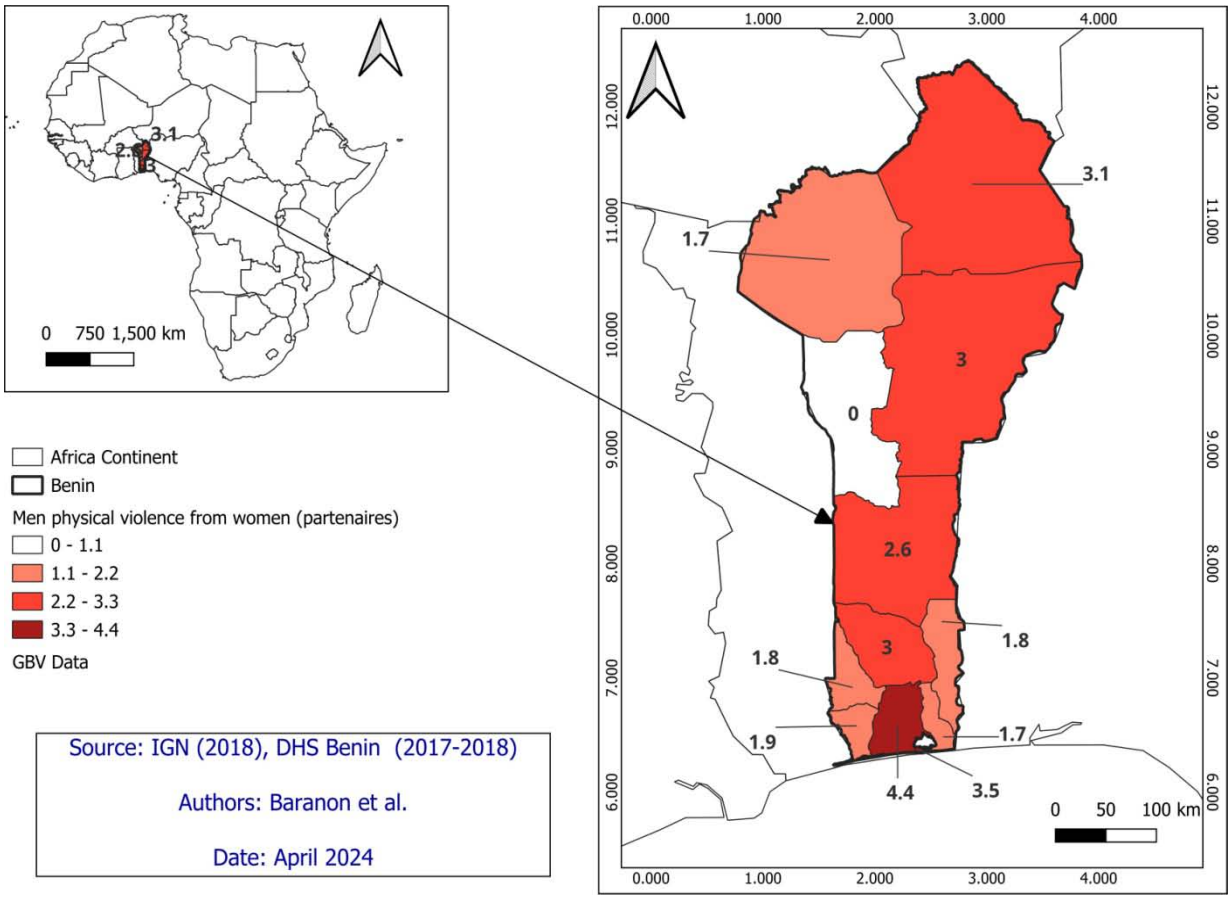

Figure 7: Percentage of Women Aged 15-49 Currently in Union or Separated who have Perpetrated Physical Violence against their Current or Most Recent Partner when they had neither been Beaten nor Physically Assaulted

h) Seeking help to End Violence

Table 2 shows significant variation across different departments of Benin in terms of seeking help to end physical or sexual violence. In analyzing the distribution of women aged 15-49 who have experienced physical or sexual violence based on whether they sought help to end the violence in various departments of Benin, several key trends emerge. Firstly, there is notable diversity in the proportions of women seeking help across different regions. For instance, Alibori stands out with the highest percentage of women seeking help at 51.7%, indicating a proactive approach to addressing violence. Conversely, Borgou exhibits a lower rate of seeking help at 25.8%, suggesting potential barriers or reluctance to seek assistance in that area.

Secondly, the data reveals disparities in women who have experienced violence but have not sought help, instead choosing to confide in someone about their situation. Plateau records the highest percentage in this category at 15.7%, indicating a willingness among some women to discuss their experiences without seeking formal assistance. On the other hand, Donga has the lowest percentage at 3%, highlighting a potential lack of support networks or reluctance to disclose incidents of violence in that region.

Lastly, the statistics shed light on the prevalence of women who neither sought help nor talked to anyone about the violence they faced. Atacora emerges as the department with the highest percentage in this group at 67.3%, indicating a significant portion of women who may be enduring violence in silence. Conversely, Mono displays a lower percentage at 46.3%, suggesting a relatively higher level of openness or access to support services in that particular area. These findings underscore the importance of tailored interventions and support systems to address the varying needs and responses of women experiencing violence across different regions of Benin.

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Table 2: Distribution (in %) of Women Aged 15–49 who have Experienced Physical or Sexual Violence based on whether they Sought Help to End the Violence

Department	Sought help to stop the violence	Never sought help but talked to some-one about it	Never sought help and didn't talk to anyone about it
Alibori	51.70	14.60	33.70
Atacora	27.10	5.60	67.30
Atlantique	30.20	9.50	60.30
Borgou	25.80	7.80	66.40
Collines	33.70	12.10	54.20
Couffo	29.10	12.60	58.30
Donga	45.20	3.00	51.70
Littoral	31.30	12.10	56.50
Mono	40.00	13.70	46.30
Oueme	32.00	14.90	53.20
Plateau	33.90	15.70	50.40
Zou	39.00	11.40	49.60

IV. Conclusion

The analysis of data from the fifth Demographic and Health Survey of Benin (DHSB-V) offers a comprehensive examination of gender-based violence among women aged from 15 to 49 across different departments in Benin. The study highlights a range of critical findings regarding emotional, physical, and sexual violence, as well as the controlling behaviors exerted by partners in intimate relationships. The prevalence of violence varies significantly across departments, revealing patterns of concern and regional disparities.

The study reveals high rates of emotional, physical, and sexual violence in several departments, particularly in Collines, Plateau, and Alibori. These alarming rates underscore an urgent need for targeted interventions to address and mitigate violence against women in these areas. Moreover, controlling behaviors by partners are also prevalent, including instances of control and surveillance. These patterns suggest underlying issues of power dynamics within relationships, which can contribute to various forms of abuse and further entrap women in cycles of violence.

The analysis also highlights variations in the rates of women seeking help to end violence across different departments. While some departments, such as Alibori and Donga, show higher rates of women seeking help, others, like Atacora and Borgou, exhibit concerningly high proportions of women who neither seek help nor confide in anyone about their experiences. These findings suggest potential differences in awareness, accessibility to support services, and cultural factors influencing help-seeking behavior across regions.

To address these issues, targeted interventions are needed in departments with higher rates of violence, such as Collines, Plateau, and Alibori. Focused support services can help mitigate the problem and provide relief for those affected. In contrast, departments with lower rates of violence, such as Littoral and Zou, offer potential models of effective prevention strategies and community support mechanisms. These successful approaches could be replicated in higher-risk areas. Addressing GBV in Benin requires a comprehensive and region-specific approach. Interventions should be tailored to the specific needs and challenges of each department, with a focus on increasing awareness, accessibility to support services, and protection for women who experience violence. Additionally, identifying and leveraging protective factors in departments with lower rates of violence can provide valuable insights for successful prevention strategies.

Overall, the study underscores the importance of continued efforts to combat GBV in Benin. By prioritizing targeted strategies and resources in high-risk areas, learning from successful practices in lower-risk regions, and improving support services for women, Benin can make meaningful progress toward reducing the prevalence of GBV and promoting gender equality across the country.

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Acknowledgements

We affirm that this paper is original and is not currently under consideration by any other publication.

Data Availability: The data can be obtained from the corresponding author (on request).

Ethics Statement: This research does not require ethical approval.

Conflict of Interest: The authors have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Heteronormativity, Intrafamilial Coexistence with Homophobic Figures

By Ma. Martha Rincón-Escobedo, Rubén Jáuregui-Estrada & Laura Gabriela Cabrera-García

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Abstract- According to data from the WHO-UN Comprehensive Action Plan on Mental Health (Health, 2022), lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people represent a high rate among vulnerable and discriminated groups. The mental health identified as a risk factor, as well as violent acts, abuse and the feeling of isolation, makes it clear that living in conflict with society in general can lead to poor mental health, especially in the family environment. Where different behaviors are classified as erroneous and negative to the unexpected gender roles that were socially designated.

The objective of this project is to offer information to students of Higher-Level Schools and Faculties that impacts the well-being of those around them. As well as in mental health, which allows them to manage a family environment in harmony with heteronormativity, related to a non-normative gender identity.

Keywords: *family; homophobic; violence; harassment; gender.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: HQ76.25, HV6626*



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Heteronormativity, Intrafamilial Coexistence with Homophobic Figures

Heteronormatividad, Convivencia Intrafamiliar con Figuras Homofóbicas

Ma. Martha Rincón-Escobedo [α], Rubén Jáuregui-Estrada [σ] & Laura Gabriela Cabrera-García [ρ]

Resumen- De acuerdo con datos del Plan de Acción integral sobre la Salud Mental, de la OMS-ONU (Salud, 2022), las personas lesbianas, homosexuales, bisexuales, transexuales e intersexuales, representan una tasa elevada entre los grupos vulnerables y discriminados. La salud mental identificada como factor de riesgo, así como los actos violentos, el abuso y la sensación de aislamiento, deja claro que vivir en conflictos respecto a la sociedad en general, puede propiciar mala salud mental, sobre todo en elentorno familiar. Donde las conductas diferentes se catalogan como erróneas y negativas a los roles no esperados del género, que socialmente se designó.

El objetivo del presente proyecto es ofrecer información, a las y los estudiantes de Escuelas y Facultades de Nivel Superior, que impacte en el bienestar de quienes les rodean. Así como en la salud mental, que les permita manejar un ambiente familiar en conviencia con la heteronormatividad, relacionado con una identidad de género no normativa.

La metodología usada corresponde a una investigación mixta donde, en un primer momento, se interactúa directamente con el fenómeno de estudio y se trabaja con una encuesta de reconocimiento de población. Recabando datos mediante una encuesta de medición tipo Likert.

Se concluye que la bisexualidad es la orientación sexual predominante seguida de la orientación gay y lesbiana, donde su orientación sexual es desconocida por su familia, existiendo al menos un familiar homofóbico. Asimismo, se concluye que los eventos que suceden en la familia tienen un impacto en los estados emocionales, conductuales y actitudinales de las personas que la integran.

Palabras claves: familia; homofobia; violencia; acoso; genero.

Abstract- According to data from the WHO-UN Comprehensive Action Plan on Mental Health (Health, 2022), lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex people represent a high rate among vulnerable and discriminated groups. The mental health identified as a risk factor, as well as violent acts, abuse and the feeling of isolation, makes it clear that living in conflict with society in general can lead to poor mental health, especially in the family environment. Where different behaviors are classified as erroneous and negative to the unexpected gender roles that were socially designated.

The objective of this project is to offer information to students of Higher-Level Schools and Faculties that impacts the well-being of those around them. As well as in mental health, which allows them to manage a family environment in harmony with heteronormativity, related to a non-normative gender identity.

The methodology used corresponds to mixed research where, at first, there is direct interaction with the study phenomenon and work with a population recognition survey. Collecting data through a Likert-type measurement survey.

It is concluded that bisexuality is the predominant sexual orientation followed by gay and lesbian orientation, where their sexual orientation is unknown to their family, with at least one homophobic family member. Likewise, it is concluded that the events that happen in the family have an impact on the emotional, behavioral and attitudinal states of the people who make it up.

Keywords: family; homophobic; violence; harassment; gender.

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I. Introducción

El presente trabajo describe algunos puntos de importancia, para poder conocer los factores, que desencadenan situaciones que ponen en riesgo la integridad física y emocional de estudiantes, afectados por actos violentos, el abuso y la sensación de aislamiento en la convivencia familiar, con figuras homofóbicas. Con esta investigación se da respuesta a la pregunta: ¿qué pasa con la salud mental de jóvenes con identidad de género, no normativa o no convencional, al convivir con la familia donde alguno de ellos es homofóbico?

Según datos del Plan de Acción integral sobre la salud mental (2003-2013), el suicidio es la cuarta causa de muerte entre los jóvenes entre 15 a 29 años de edad, en la que se autorreconoce como persona con orientación sexual y/o identidad de género no normativa, convirtiéndose en un problema de salud pública. De acuerdo con Schulman (2010), las reacciones de los padres frente a la revelación de la homosexualidad de su hijo o hija dependen de la fuerza del vínculo padres-hijo(a), así como las relaciones entre los hermanos o parientes de cercana convivencia.

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Considerando valores, religión, costumbres, y todos aquellos elementos determinantes en la identidad familiar.

Con el fin de evitar decisiones que puedan afectar su integridad personal, física o emocional, el presente proyecto pretende ofrecer información, a las y los estudiantes de Escuelas y Facultades de nivel superior. Que impacte en el bienestar de quienes les rodea, así como en la salud mental, que les permita manejar un ambiente familiar de hetero normatividad, relacionado con una identidad de género no normativa. En el cual podrán identificar si viven en un ambiente familiar homofóbico relacionado con ser homosexual.

Según Grau (2000), el término "homosexualidad" se originó en la renovación de la reforma sexual en Alemania a fines del siglo XIX. Varios sexólogos alemanes se dedicaron a describir y definir la conducta homosexual, estableciendo que es distinta de la heterosexualidad. El sexólogo (Zubiaur Mirantes, 2007) buscaba definirla como una forma distinta y benigna de sexualidad, relacionada con el deseo sexual orientado hacia personas del mismo sexo. En la actualidad, el término "homosexualidad" se basa en tres nociones: psiquiátrica, psicoanalítica y psicológica, reflejando una crisis conceptual.

En su teoría (Freud, 1908), sobre desviaciones respecto al objeto sexual, describe la homosexualidad como una inversión. Señalando distintos tipos de comportamiento en los individuos invertidos. Algunos ven la inversión como natural, otros la consideran una obsesión morbosa. La inversión puede variar en el tiempo y en la intensidad de su manifestación.

Los invertidos muestran una amplia gama de conductas y características, desde absolutos hasta ocasionales. A pesar de las diversas opiniones, se argumenta que no pueden ser considerados degenerados, ya que se encuentran en personas sin graves anormalidades y en individuos con capacidad funcional normal e incluso con alto desarrollo intelectual y cultura ética.

Según (Sánchez, 1988) el proceso de adquisición de la identidad de género comienza con el juicio de autoclasificación como niño o niña, influenciado primero por el entorno social y luego por las diferencias anatómicas. La identidad de género se refiere a la autopercepción como hombre o mujer, alineada con lo culturalmente aceptado para cada género, independientemente del sexo biológico.

Según (Kohlberg, 1968) propone tres etapas en este proceso: 1. La adquisición de la identidad de género ocurre entre los 2 y 7 años, donde se etiqueta correctamente en su propio género. 2. La constancia e irreversibilidad de género implica comprender que el género es estable e inmutable. 3. La capacidad de cuestionar y relativizar los roles de género sociales a medida que madura intelectualmente.

Con base en lo anterior se puede afirmar que la identidad de género es el autorreconocimiento como miembro de un género específico. Los cisgéneros se identifican con el rol asociado a su sexo asignado al nacer, mientras que los transgéneros se identifican con un rol diferente a su sexo biológico, abarcando identidades como mujer, hombre u otros géneros distintos al asignado al nacer.

(Butler, 2002) definió el género como el resultado de un proceso cultural en el cual las personas reciben y a su vez innovan significados culturales. Su reflexión integró la filosofía para abordar interpretaciones sobre género, feminismo e identidad, cuestionando la posibilidad de transformar el género voluntariamente. La nueva concepción de género abarca prácticas, creencias, representaciones y normativas sociales surgidas de la diferenciación anatómica entre hombres y mujeres.

Butler adopta de (Foucault, 2024) la idea de que no existe un sexo biológico independiente del género, pues los cuerpos son construcciones culturales y los conceptos de sexo están siempre influenciados por la cultura y el lenguaje. El sexo, asignado al nacer según los genitales y cromosomas, se registra en el certificado de nacimiento, mientras que el género abarca expectativas sociales sobre el comportamiento y características basadas en roles culturales. La identidad de género refleja cómo se siente y expresa internamente la persona, manifestándose a través de la forma de vestir, la apariencia y el comportamiento.

La sociedad atribuye características femeninas o masculinas según construcciones socioculturales, pero el sexo se considera una condición natural que no puede ser determinada por factores culturales. La American Psychological Association define la orientación sexual como la atracción romántica, emocional y sexual hacia otros, mientras que la identidad de género se enfoca en quién eres, hombre o mujer, no de quién se trate.

La familia, desde una perspectiva sistémica, se define como un sistema organizado e interdependiente, regulado por reglas y dinámicas entre sus miembros y el entorno. En el presente trabajo, se estudia la familia como un grupo con identidad propia, donde se destacan sus características como conjunto, estructura, interacción, entre otros.

Es importante reflexionar sobre el papel del apoyo familiar cuando un hijo revela su homosexualidad y explorar las reacciones parentales ante esta situación. Aunque las etapas de aceptación familiar no son universales, suelen repetirse en muchos casos, desde el shock inicial, la negación, el enojo y la negociación hasta una aceptación parcial, evidenciada en el silencio, la tristeza profunda y la nostalgia, acompañados de sentimientos de culpa. Sin embargo, no todas las familias llegan a una aceptación plena.

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El apoyo familiar es crucial para el bienestar emocional de los jóvenes, como señala (Orcasita Pineda, 2010) quien describe que solo el hecho de que la familia apoye es fundamental para el bienestar emocional. La falta de apoyo social está vinculada con un aumento en el pensamiento suicida, ansiedad y depresión. A su vez, la familia experimenta sentimientos de ira, tristeza y una abrumadora culpa.

De acuerdo con (Zaro, 1999) la homofobia se define como la actitud hostil hacia personas con orientaciones sexuales diferentes a la heterosexualidad (relaciones hombre-mujer), afectando a homosexuales masculinos, lesbianas, bisexuales, transexuales, entre otros. Esta conducta hostil se manifiesta a través de discriminación, burlas, violencia verbal o física, pudiendo ser tanto externa, dirigida a otros, como interna, cuando alguien diferente sexualmente siente rechazo y culpa hacia sí mismo.

Y finalmente, la homofobia por orientación sexual, de acuerdo con con (Zaro, 1999) se categoriza según la víctima: gayfobia para homosexuales masculinos, lesbofobia para lesbianas, bifobia para bisexuales y transfobia para transexuales. Además, afecta a heterosexuales al coartarles la expresión de emociones por temor a ser etiquetados como afeminados o marimachos.

La falta de respeto a la autonomía de los hijos puede llevar a la exclusión y agresión, en lugar de fomentar una familia integrada, lo que muestra una política de tolerancia que mantiene a los hijos homosexuales como inferiores en lugar de aprender de la diversidad y apoyarlos frente a los prejuicios.

Con relación a la homofobia familiar (editorial, 2020) abarca el rechazo, desprecio, humillación y discriminación hacia personas homosexuales por parte de sus propias familias, generando sentimientos de pérdida, frustración y culpa en el entorno familiar. Esto provoca una vivencia de desintegración social para la persona homosexual, dañando su bienestar.

Ademas, en concordancia con (Ardila, 2008), las reacciones de los padres ante la revelación de la homosexualidad varían y deben evaluarse según la calidad del vínculo padres-hijo(a) y los sentimientos familiares. Las sanciones pueden ir desde desprecios hasta ataques brutales, llevando a las personas homosexuales a ocultar su identidad en un "armario" que impone reglas contradictorias.

Según (Ardila, 2008) el término bullying engloba diversas formas de maltrato y persecución que sufren niños y adolescentes en contextos escolares, incluyendo acoso, hostigamiento, abuso y más. Esta conducta, que puede causar daño emocional y psicológico grave a la víctima, fomenta la violencia en el agresor y crea un clima de crueldad y aislamiento.

El acoso puede ser llevado a cabo de varias maneras, como la exclusión social, hostigamiento verbal y físico, manipulación, coerción e incluso violencia física y ciberacoso. Es esencial destacar que, como en cualquier situación de acoso moral, la víctima no está psicológicamente preparada para enfrentar tales ataques, siendo vulnerable ante acusaciones o maltratos que no comprende ni puede combatir debido a la ansiedad que genera.

El bullying familiar puede llegar a ser tan perjudicial que puede incapacitar por completo a la víctima. El bullying familiar representa el acoso moral dentro del ámbito familiar, donde un miembro, motivado por envidia o inseguridad, comienza a hostigar a otro, generando maltrato psicológico en ocasiones, físico, de forma prolongada. El propósito es desacreditar, humillar y eventualmente excluir al acosado del núcleo familiar, afectando gravemente su autoestima y llevándolo a ser considerado como la "oveja negra". Esta situación puede extenderse cuando otros parientes, sin percatarse, se unen a los acosadores. La víctima se siente rechazada en un entorno que debería ser seguro, causándole desestabilización emocional, pérdida de autoestima y abandono familiar.

En corcondancia con (Olweus, 2004), acosar implica la persistente persecución, con fervor y determinación, de una persona o animal, sin darle respiro ni descanso. Este comportamiento puede manifestarse en cualquier entorno y afectar a cualquier individuo, independientemente de su estatus social, educativo o económico. Puede ser perpetrado por agresores que ocupen posiciones jerárquicas superiores, iguales o inferiores con respecto a la víctima, a través de actos constantes de violencia o intimidación con el propósito de desestabilizar y generar malestar o insatisfacción en la persona acosada. En el ámbito psicológico, el acoso se considera un trastorno u obsesión que lleva a ciertas personas a realizar acciones como espiar, seguir, llamar, amenazar y cometer actos violentos contra sus víctimas. El acosador puede manifestarse física, psicológica o tecnológicamente, utilizando internet o teléfono para su cometido.

Ademas para que se clasifique una conducta como acoso, de acuerdo con (Olweus, 2004), debe haber un desequilibrio de poder entre las partes involucradas, es decir, entre el acosador y la víctima. Además, estos comportamientos deben repetirse a lo largo del tiempo, causando consecuencias graves en la persona acosada, tanto a nivel físico como psicológico. Por tanto, al evaluar una conducta como acoso, es crucial considerar dos características principales: la repetición, que implica que las acciones del acosador se hayan llevado a cabo más de una vez o puedan repetirse, y el desequilibrio, donde el acosador utiliza su poder (ya sea físico, psicológico, social, etc.) para controlar o ejecutar conductas perjudiciales hacia la víctima.

El acoso familiar, según (Olweus, 2004), representa una forma de violencia que tiene lugar

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dentro del ámbito del hogar, involucrando a un agresor y una víctima. Este tipo de maltrato puede adoptar diversas formas, incluyendo insultos, amenazas, humillaciones e incluso agresiones físicas. La presencia de agresores que son miembros de la familia genera una sensación de vulnerabilidad e indefensión en la víctima, lo que puede tener graves consecuencias emocionales y psicológicas.

La violencia familiar se manifiesta como una forma de abuso psicológico que afecta a millones de personas en todo el mundo, mostrándose a través de diversos comportamientos como insultos constantes, humillaciones, amenazas, aislamiento social, control excesivo y chantaje emocional, entre otros.

(Olweus, 2004), afirma que a veces, podría parecer que el individuo acosado está interpretando mal las acciones de su familia o que es especialmente sensible a la crítica, prefiriendo responsabilizar a los demás por los problemas en su vida en lugar de tomar medidas. Esto puede parecer así en ocasiones y quizás sea cierto en algunos casos. Sin embargo, el sentir de estar siendo acosado por la familia es una experiencia subjetiva y real para quien la experimenta. No corresponde juzgar sus sentimientos, ya que esta percepción afecta su vida de manera significativa. Algunos efectos de esta situación incluyen la sensación de indefensión, complejos psicológicos variados, distorsión de la autoimagen, internalización de mensajes negativos, inhibición, autolesiones, baja autoestima y depresión

II. Método

Los investigadores identifican mediante un guion de entrevista actitudes degradantes, discriminatorias y ofensivas, experimentadas por estudiantes de edades entre 15 a 25 años pertenecientes a escuelas y Facultades de la UAdeC y del TecNM-La Laguna, por parte de los miembros de su familia.

Esto permite a los investigadores participantes establecer variables para estudiar la existencia de un problema social que conduce a la violencia y discriminación intrafamiliar. La recolección de datos cuantitativos se lleva a cabo mediante un muestreo de bola de nieve, teniendo una N= 340, se interactúa directamente con el fenómeno de estudio y se trabaja con una encuesta de reconocimiento de población, buscando fortalecer el marco teórico y ubicar con precisión el sentido de las variables a estudiar. Para después continuar el trabajo cuantitativo y recabar los datos mediante una encuesta de medición tipo Likert, esto permite identificar y trabajar las variables de estudio de manera objetiva y clara empleando la valides de criterio constructo y contenido a lo largo del desarrollo del trabajo y así tener una investigación mixta con un alcance y diseño descriptivo.

III. Resultados

Dentro de los resultados obtenidos, se infiere que el 92% de la población estudiantil se encuentran concientizados de las consecuencias que se tiene de vivir en un entorno homofóbico, debido a que han recibido información de diferentes fuentes. Donde se dan a conocer casos y evidencias de personas que la sufrieron y lograron pedir ayuda para seguir con su vida.

La Figura 1 muestra lo correspondiente a los tipos de orientación sexual, referido a la diversidad de orientaciones sexuales que existen. Derivado del 18% de la población homosexual, la orientación sexual con más estudiantes es la bisexualidad (53%), seguida por los estudiantes gay (17%), lesbianas (9%), pansexuales (10%), demisexuales (5%) y asexuales (2%). Esto permite comprobar la diversidad de orientaciones dentro de las instituciones de educación superior señaladas anteriormente.

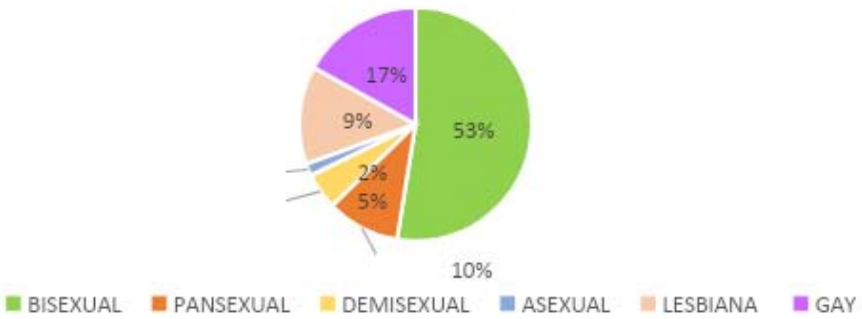

Figura 1: Tipos de Orientación Sexual

La siguiente Figura 2, revela la respuesta a la variable *¿Sabe tu Familia que eres Homosexual?.* Siendo que el 60 % de las familias de los estudiantes, en su caso, no saben que son homosexuales. Esta cifra se exterioriza como un foco rojo en las Escuelas y Facultades, consideradas en el presente trabajo, de ser un caso de homofobia familiar y no ser detectado a tiempo.

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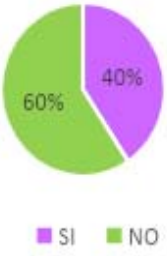

Figura 2: ¿Sabe tu Familia que eres Homosexual?

En concordancia con la tercera Figura 3, las cifras correspondidas reflejan a las familias que "saben si Perteneces a una Comunidad LGBTQ+". Donde la mayoría (51%) no se encuentra en una comunidad, ya sea por no tener la suficiente información o simplemente no querer pertenecer. En el 27% de los casos las familias sí están esteradas de la pertenencia a una comunidad y el 22% pertenecen, pero su familia no está enterada. De acuerdo con (Cuenca, 2017), el negar la pertenencia a un grupo de LGBT+ es evitar el enfrentamiento al acoso escolar, así como situaciones percibidas como riesgosas. El cual a menudo experimenta síntomas de estrés postraumático, hiperactivación y revivir experiencias traumáticas. En el caso de aceptación social, tanto en la comunidad homosexual como heterosexual se presentan manifestaciones de estrés postraumático: en entornos escolares, y registrando numerosas vivencias de violencia y discriminación por homofobia.

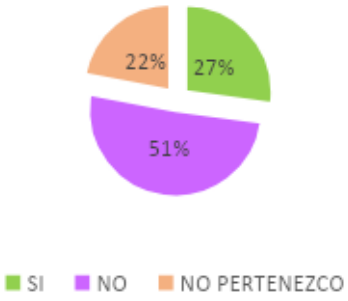

Figura 3: ¿Tu Familia Sabe que Perteneces a una Comunidad LGBTQ+?

La Figura 4, se expone que el 53% de la población estudiada sí es apoyada por su familia. El 47% no recibe apoyo, demostrando que puede existir Acoso y Bullying familiar. En el caso de la problemática que se encuentra dentro de las Escuelas y Facultades, aumentando la posibilidad de numerosas vivencias de violencia y discriminación por homofobia. Tal situación pasa desapercibida y no se le ha dado la suficiente importancia. Lo cual puede causar autoestima baja: la autoestima baja implica una percepción negativa de aspectos propios, como habilidades, características individuales o aspecto físico.

Estudios científicos de (Cuenca, 2017), coinciden en que aquellos que han sufrido homofobia suelen desarrollar esta secuela, tales como mayor ansiedad y depresión. Individuos estigmatizados por su orientación sexual, reales o percibidos, exhiben niveles más altos de ansiedad y depresión, incluso tras haber enfrentado la discriminación en el pasado.

De acuerdo con (Olweus, 2004), a veces, podría parecer que el individuo acosado está interpretando mal las acciones de su familia o que es especialmente sensible a la crítica, prefiriendo responsabilizar a los demás por los problemas en su vida en lugar de tomar medidas. Esto puede parecer así en ocasiones, y quizás sea cierto en algunos casos. Sin embargo, el sentir de estar siendo acosado por la familia es una experiencia subjetiva y real para quien la experimenta.

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Figura 4: Te Apoya tu Familia

La Figura 5, muestra que estas cifras son realistas donde el 68% de la población tiene un evidencia los resultados en relación con el riesgo de tener un familiar homofóbico. De conformidad con lo anterior, el 68% de los estudiantes de las Escuelas y Facultades sí cuentan con ello y corre el riesgo de situaciones peligrosas tanto física como psicológicamente. Lo cual origina no tener una buena autoestima y salud mental, demostrando que es necesaria la difusión del tema por parte del departamento de tutorías.

Según (Olweus, 2004), el acoso familiar representa una forma de violencia que tiene lugar dentro del ámbito del hogar, involucrando a un agresor y una víctima. Este tipo de maltrato puede adoptar diversas formas, incluyendo insultos, amenazas, humillaciones, e incluso agresiones físicas.

La presencia de agresores que son miembros de la familia, genera una sensación de vulnerabilidad e indefensión en la víctima. Lo que puede tener graves consecuencias emocionales y psicológicas. Algunos efectos de esta situación incluyen la sensación de indefensión, complejos psicológicos variados, distorsión de la autoimagen, internalización de mensajes negativos, inhibición, autolesiones, baja autoestima, y depresión que afecta su vida de manera significativa.



Figura 5: ¿Tienes Algún Familiar Homofóbico?

En la Figura.6, se muestra que al 92% de la comunidad estudiantil le falta información por parte del centro educativo o no dispone de suficiente difusión del tema. Al no comentar el dato se pone en riesgo la integridad del alumno y descuidar el tema poniendo en riesgo la salud mental.

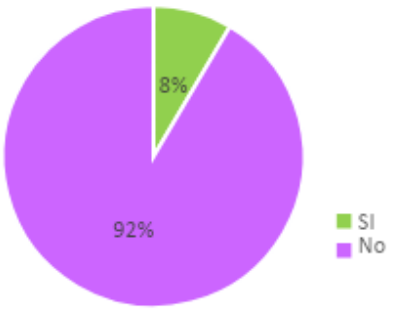

Figura 6: Tener Conocimiento de Acciones Legales en Caso de Sufrir Homofobia

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El desconocimiento por parte de los estudiantes de los Derechos por ser Homosexual se expone que el 69% de la población desconoce el mencionado derecho. Aquí se considera poner en práctica las relaciones humanas, ya que todos tenemos derechos y obligaciones por el solo hecho de ser humanos, y enfatizamos que todos merecen respeto para dar y recibir afecto de los demás, independientemente de su identidad de género u orientación sexual.

La Figura 7 referente a Tener conocimiento de las Herramientas Legales para Resguardar la integridad física y Psicológica, el 64% de los estudiantes no tiene información al respecto. Por lo que es necesario disponer de organismos que proporcionen los recursos, así como organizaciones legales que permiten alojar y proteger a aquellos afectados. Uno de ellos es el Instituto Municipal de la Mujer, que es significativo porque, aunque es una organización exclusivamente femenina, logra proteger a todos los casos de homofobia y violencia contra las mujeres, brindando apoyo y refugio sin importar el género.

Según el derecho internacional de los derechos humanos, los Estados deben defender a todas las personas sin distinción. Sin embargo, en algunos lugares, existen leyes que prohíben el uso de ropa asociada a otro género. En ocasiones se utilizan para castigar a las personas transgénero, por expresar su identidad de género.

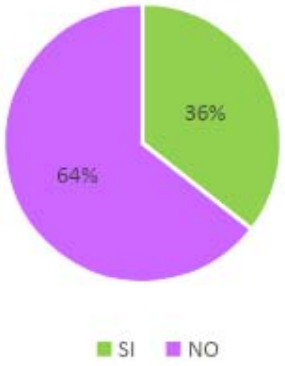

Figura 7: Tener Conocimiento de las Herramientas Legales para Resguardar la Integridad Fisica y Psicologica

La Figura 8 ilustra que el 12% de la población sufre bullying familiar. Aunque este es un porcentaje pequeño, es significativo, porque es posible comenzar a marcar una diferencia en nuestra comunidad escolar y posiblemente incluso salvar vidas. Confirmando la descripción de (Romain, 2024), la militación familiar es un tipo de maltrato psicológico que impacta a millones de individuos a nivel global. Se evidencia a través de diversos comportamientos como amenazas, aislamiento social, control excesivo y chantaje emocional.

La Organización Mundial de la Salud (OMS) define la salud mental como un estado de bienestar psicológico que permite a las personas gestionar el estrés, adquirir nuevas habilidades, aprender, trabajar y contribuir a la mejora de la salud mental.

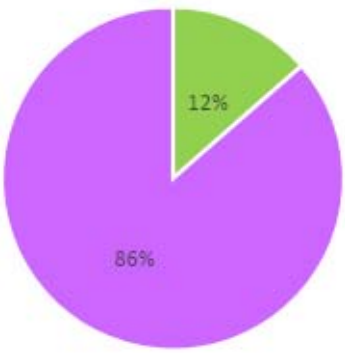

Figura 8: Sufres Bullying por parte de un Familiar

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La Figura 9 muestra que el 21%, afirma que quizás lo ha experimentado y el 8% sta de acuerdo en haber experimentado acoso en su hogar. Esto sugiere una vez más que es imposible confirmar algo cuando en realidad se trata de una situación peligrosa. De acuerdo con (Romain, 2024), dado que las relaciones sociales son pasajeras, surgen en contextos particulares, sin conexión futura, carentes de afecto genuino y basadas en intereses, y desaparecen cuando se vuelven desfavorables e impresentables en competencia por el beneficio personal.

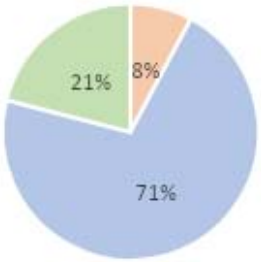

Figura 9: Tienes Conocimiento de que la Persona Homosexual que conoces, Sufre de Bullying en su Familia

IV. Discusión

Con base en los hallazgos de este estudio, se concluye que un bajo porcentaje de estudiantes informan a sus familias que son homosexuales. Este resultado concuerda con las manifestaciones del (INEGI, 2023) que revelan que el 16% de la población informa a sus familiares que es gay.

Concordando con La Encuesta Nacional sobre Diversidad Sexual y de Género (ENDISEG) 2021, (ENDISEG, 2021) que establece que 2.3 millones de los que se autoidentifican como LGBTI+ por su orientación sexual son bisexuales, lo que representa el 51.7% de la población total. Los resultados revelan que los tipos de orientación sexual que lo constituyen en más estudiantes es la bisexualidad, seguida de la orientación homosexual y lesbiana. La identidad de género es del 34,8%.

En cuanto a la existencia de familias homofóbicas, los resultados de la encuesta muestran que son el 68%. Siendo consistente con la afirmación de Schulman (2010), donde las personas homosexuales enfrentan discriminación dentro de sus familias debido a su comportamiento invertido, sin que algo indebido se halla presentado en su comportamiento. Lo anterior tiene efectos desastrosos en las relaciones familiares, afectando la confianza y las relaciones afectivas y derivando en violencia intrafamiliar.

Además, se infiere que los acontecimientos familiares inciden en los estados emocionales, conductuales y actitudinales de quienes se integran en ella. Según (Schulman 2010), el alcance de las consecuencias de la homofobia dentro del individuo, al aventurarse para establecer diversas situaciones que no desean experimentar, deciden en muchos de los casos mantenerse reprimido bajo cierta transparencia en cuanto al deseo homoerótico y al afán de haberlo practicado con cierta conducta corporal, incluyendo el habla, el lenguaje y la manera de comunicar tanto física como verbal.

La encuesta dio como resultado que la taza de suicidio en personas homosexuales es de 26.1% de quienes solamente han pensado en suicidarse y del 14.2% quien lo ha intentado. Siendo el motivo número uno tener una mala salud emocional, originados por problemas familiares, y 57.2% por diferencias de pareja.

Estos resultados verdaderamente, son impresionantes, ya que más de la mitad de las personas homosexuales se deprimen o tienen una mala salud emocional por culpa de su entorno familiar. Debido a no sentirse amados y aceptados. Lo anterior coincide con (INEGI 2022), con resultados de la tasa de suicidio, en personas homosexuales, de 26.1% que solamente han pensado en suicidarse y del 14.2% quien lo ha intentado y esto es porque el motivo número uno de tener una mala salud emocional son los problemas familiares y de pareja con un 57.2%.

En la encuesta de reconocimiento de población el rango de edad son de 15 a 67 años siendo que la mayoría de la población tienen 19 años es un grave problema debido a que el 18% de la población es homosexual y de ese porcentaje el 60% todavía no le dice a su familia y el 68% de esa población tiene 1 familiar homofóbico

V. Conclusiones

Basándonos en el trabajo realizado y los resultados obtenidos se concluye que si bien el sistema familiar se orienta a metas asignadas socialmente, como protección, educación e integración de los hijos en la comunidad, existe solo el 16% de la población que se acepta como homosexual y se lo da a conocer a su familia.

El 53% de los homosexuales de la comunidad estudiantil no es apoyado por su familia, dejándolos

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expuestos a situación de vulnerabilidad, al no respetar la autonomía ni las decisiones de sus hijos sobre el hecho de ejercer la sexualidad de manera libre y autónoma. Generando ambientes donde prevalece el ocultar su orientación sexual para evitar sentirse excluidos, rechazados, ignorados y violentados.

Lo anterior conlleva a generar en ellos angustia, depresión, culpa, neurosis, deseos de autolesionarse, anorexia, y bulimia. El 68% de las familias tienen al menos un familiar homofóbico. Se infiere que es necesario tomar en cuenta el ciclo de un individuo, (nace, crece y se desarrolla), en un entorno familiar donde no está exento de sujetos con ideas radicales.

Estas personalidades son denominadas homofóbicos, siendo este una de las causas que motivan a la persona a ocultar su inclinación. Considerando los resultados obtenidos, el 88% de la comunidad estudiantil afectada desea instituciones escolares que resguarden su salud mental. Con base en el objetivo planteado se concluye, que existen necesidades prioritarias, con relación a la salud mental, para los estudiantes.

Siendo conveniente convenir difusión en las distintas instituciones escolares y gubernamentales, para que se disponga de información, para el caso de ser necesario. Mismamente, se concluye en la necesidad de darle mayor importancia al plan de tutorías escolares y enfocarlo más al cuidado de la salud mental.

Donde debería de ser diseñado un programa integral que incluya profesionales capacitados, en dado caso que el problema sea en un mayor grado, como psicólogos o consejeros escolares para brindar sesiones individuales y grupales a los estudiantes. Estas sesiones podrían abordar temas como manejo del estrés, resolución de conflictos, técnicas de relajación y habilidades para afrontar la ansiedad.

En grupos de apoyo, entre pares, los estudiantes, pueden compartir sus experiencias y sentirse respaldados por sus compañeros. En actividades extracurriculares centradas en el bienestar emocional, se recomienda, yoga, meditación, arte, terapia o programas deportivos que promuevan el trabajo en equipo y la gestión emocional.

Entre las derivaciones encontradas, el 92% de esa misma población no tiene conocimiento de instituciones ni acciones legales para defender su integridad física. Se deduce, como segunda propuesta, darle mayor difusión a instituciones gubernamentales y escolares, que proporcionen información detallada sobre los recursos disponibles en la comunidad.

Tales como líneas directas de ayuda, centros de apoyo para víctimas de acoso, refugios para casos de violencia doméstica o instituciones que ofrecen asistencia legal, y también que desarrollen un protocolo claro y accesible para la comunidad escolar. Sobre cómo identificar y responder ante situaciones de riesgo o amenaza.

Esto podría incluir pasos a seguir, contactos de emergencia y procedimientos para reportar incidentes de manera confidencial, y una capacitación del personal escolar para reconocer signos de peligro y actuar de manera efectiva, para garantizar la seguridad de los estudiantes, además de ofrecerles herramientas para proporcionar apoyo inicial en situaciones de crisis.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Social Well-Being Status of Female Rice Mill Workers in Bangladesh: An Empirical Study

By Md. Arif Uddin Khan, Tania Jannatul Kubra, Shimon Rahman, Jannatul Ferdouse & Farjana Akter

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Keywords: social well-being, female workers, rice mill, Bangladesh.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HD8039.R5



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The Social Well-Being Status of Female Rice Mill Workers in Bangladesh: An Empirical Study

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Abstract- Rice mill workers can be considered as the lifeline to maintain the country's food security. More than half of them were female. However, a few studies focused on socio-economic conditions and well-being of rice mill workers. The present study aimed to assess the social well-being of female rice mill workers in Bangladesh and socio-economic factors affecting it. The data were collected from a sample of 398 female rice mill workers (age mean = 31.82 years, SD = 8.39 years) who were selected through mixed sampling method. The data were collected using face-to-face interview with a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire included questions about personal information, education, income, living environment, health, violence, belongingness, equality, working environment, and social well-being. Results showed that there was a lower household income, a lower standard of living environment, lack of health and recreational facilities, unhealthy working environment, and a lower social well-being of female rice mill workers. Regression analysis showed that education, number of rooms for living, number of families using bathrooms, hygiene of bathrooms, leave facilities, discrimination in working hours, and mill environment were associated with lower social well-being. Rice mill owners, the government, and non-governmental organizations should come forward to enhance the living standards and well-being of these workers.

Keywords: social well-being, female workers, rice mill, Bangladesh.

I. Introduction

The participation of both males and females in economic activities is essential for any economy. It is assumed that women's entry into the labor market or the sphere of non-household activities is an important route to development [1]. In rural Bangladesh, poverty mitigation is hardly achieved unless women are encouraged to participate in income-generating activities outside the homestead [2].

Bangladesh is a developing country, and agriculture is the most important sector of our economy. It contributed 11.2% of the GDP in the 2022-23 fiscal year [3]. This sector employs around 44% of the total workforce of the country [4], a significant portion of which comprises women. Rice is the primary agricultural crop which is the 85.7% of food grains produced in Bangladesh [3] and a major focus of agriculture revolves around rice production and processing. There are a total of 20,295 government-enlisted rice mills for rice processing in Bangladesh [5]. *Although rice mills are becoming automated day by day [6], traditional rice processing system is dominating till now [5, 7].* Rice mills heavily rely on human labor, employing nearly 5 million workers across various rice mills.

Rice mill workers' living standard and socio-economic condition is not good as like other 'pink collar job'. Their average monthly income is below the poverty line by income [8]. Majority of the workers did not have any formal education [9, 10]. They spent the largest portion their income for food (80%) and a little for treatment (3%), clothing (4%), and recreation (3%) [2]. They had no job security, paid leave, and other financial benefits other than salary [2, 11]. Non-friendly working environment, health hazard like dust pollution, noise pollution, etc. are common scenarios in rice mills [12-14]. Roy et al. [15] found the musculoskeletal discomfort, hypertension, and chronic respiratory morbidity as the commonest morbidities among rice mill workers in West Bengal, India. Although there is information about living standards and socio-economic conditions of the rice mill workers, none of the studies assessed the social well-being of this group of working people.

Social well-being is one's evaluation of one's social relationships and interaction with social institutions and communities [16]. Earlier, it was viewed as an objective and social level indicator (e.g., gross domestic product) [17, 18]. Next, it was expanded to behavioral measures (e.g., community or group membership) [19] and now it is delved deeper to individual-level forms like perceived social support [20]. Social well-being has various dimensions such as the level of living, the quality of life, social satisfaction, the standard of living, etc., [21]. Smith [22] outlines several general criteria for assessing social well-being: income, wealth, and employment, living environment, health, education, social order, social belonging, and recreation and leisure.

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Best to the authors knowledge, none of the previous studies assessed the social well-being of the female rice mill workers. Therefore, the present study aimed to assess the social well-being of female rice mill workers in Bangladesh. In rice mills, more than 60% were female rice mill workers [23]. Especially, 90% of the laborers are female in husking rice mills (small rice mills) [9]. Khatun et al. [11] found that female rice mill workers paid less than male rice mill workers in 95% cases. In addition, culturally women in Bangladesh have longer working hours and are doing household activities in addition their work outside the home, Therefore, the present study aimed to investigate the social well-being of female rice mill workers in Bangladesh and provide insight into their contextual circumstances. Additionally, this study also aimed to identify the socio-economic factors influencing their social well-being.

II. Method

a) Participants

Among the 64 administrative districts, 60 had the enlisted rice mills [5]. Among these 60 administrative districts, BrahmanBaria administrative district was chosen using convenience sampling technique. The largest number of rice mill in the eastern part of Bangladesh were in BrahmanBaira. In BrahmanBaria, all rice mills were located in three areas (Ashuganj, Sarail, and BrahmanBaria Sadar). In the next stage, 15 rice mills were selected randomly. In the final stage, 400 female workers from these 15 selected rice mills were invited (selected using the convenience sampling technique) to take part in this study and all of them provided consent to participate. Based on *priori* power calculation (small-to-medium effect size (r = .20), α = .05, 80% power, minimum sample size (N) =194 [24]. The total number of participants was above the minimum required participants. The data from these participants were collected through face-to-face interviews using a structured questionnaire. Before conducting the interview, study objectives, benefits and risks, the confidentiality of their responses, and time and process of data collection were communicated with the participants. As the majority of the participants had no formal education, completion of the interview is considered as the informed consent, although verbal consent was taken before starting the interview. Participants received a token gift worth USD1.00 for participating in this study. After excluding missing data, the number of participants were 398 (age mean = 31.82 years, SD = 8.39 years).

b) Measures

The study questionnaire included questions about personal information, and questions about education, income, living environment, health, violence, belongingness, equality, and working environment, and the Social Well-being Scale Short Form [25].

i. *Questions about personal information*

This part of the questionnaire included questions about the participants' district of the permanent residents, marital status, family type, number of family members, number of children, whether children go to school, and types of schools that children are studying.

ii. *Questions about education, income, living environment, health, violence, belongingness, equality, and working environment*

In this part of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to report their educational level, yearly household and personal income, the number of earning members, whether they took advance from the rice mill authority, amount of advance, purposes of using the advance, their mode of payment wage, how many years they work here, do they get extra payment during the season, etc.

About their living environment, they were asked to report where they live, number of rooms where they are living, number of bathrooms there, number of families use these bathrooms, and whether these are hygienic or not. Regarding health, they were asked where they take treatment, whether mill authority provides treatment facilities, financial help, and grant leave while sick. Additionally, they were asked whether they suffer from long-run physical illnesses after starting to work here and whether they feel frustrated or not. They were also asked to report whether there were any entrainment facilities for them and also for their children.

Regarding violence, the participants were asked whether they faced problems working as female worker, whether they were the victim of sexual harassment, and whether they victims of beating and mocking while working. About belongingness, they were asked whether they get help from other co-workers to complete their tasks. Questions about equality contained questions about perceived discrimination in wages, working hours, and bonuses due to being a female worker. About the working environment, they were asked to rate their working environment on a five-point scale (ranging from very good to very bad).

iii. *Social Well-being Scale Short Form*

The Social Well-being Scale Short Form [25] assesses five dimensions of social well-being (i.e., social integration, social acceptance, social actualization, social coherence, and social contribution). The Bangla version of the Social Well-being Scale Short Form [26] was utilized in this study. Participants responded on this scale using a Five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The mean score was utilized in this study. Total scores ranged between 1 and 5. Scores above 3 suggest better social well-being and scores below 3 suggest worse social well-being. The confirmatory factor analysis results of the five-factor correlated model

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had an acceptable model fit (χ^2/df = 4.319, CFI = .942, GFI = .949, RMSEA = .095).

c) Statistical analysis

In this study, IBM SPSS v26 was utilized for data management and data analysis. Descriptive statistics (frequency, percentages, range, mean, and standard deviation) and multiple linear regression were run to analyze the data. In multiple linear regression, social well-being was the outcome variable and socio-demographic variables, education, income, living environment, health, violence, belongingness, equality, and working environment were predictor variables.

d) Ethics

The present study was approved by the Animal Ethics Review Board (AERB), Faculty of Biological Sciences, University of Chittagong, Chattogram-4331 (AERB-FBSCU-20230905). This AERB is authorized to approve research with human samples.

III. Results and Discussion

Table 1: Distribution of the demographic information of the study participants

	Categories	Percentage/ Range/Mean
Permanent resident	Netrokona	26.9%
	Sunamganj	15.8%
	Kishoreganj	12.2%
	Mymensingh	11.1%
	BrahmanBaria	9.5%
	Others	24.5%
Marital status	Married	100%
Family type	Nuclear	91.8%
	Extended	8.2%
Number of family members		1-12
Having children	Yes	98.4%
Number of children (n=362)		1-6
Education	No formal education	87.8%
	Primary	12.2%
Do your children go to school? (n=362)	Yes	24.5%
Type of school that children studying (n=90)	Govt.	65.6%
	Non-govt.	31.1%
	Semi-govt.	1.1%
	Run by NGO	2.2%
Household income (Yearly)		USD 820.76 (SD = 547.97)
Personal income (Yearly)		USD 181.23 (SD = 11.92)

Table 1 demonstrates the participants' demographic information. Most of the participants (90%) were from outside of the working district (Brahman Baria). All of them are married and 91.8% were living in a nuclear family. Regarding education, 87.8% have no formal education. Consequently, they are in the dark about the current situation of the country and the world due to a lack of formal education. Their consciousness about their rights in the workplace is also related to their education. Among participants (98.4%) who reported that they have children, 24.5% informed that their children go to school. The yearly household income average is USD 820.76 (SD = USD 547.97) and personal yearly income average is USD 181.23 (SD = USD 12). Their household income is much lower than the national household income reported in the Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2022 [27]. According to this report, the average monthly household income is USD 294.96 (National Level). Compared to the national household income statistics, the rice mill workers' household income is less than half. This lower household income reflects their poverty level.

Table 2 demonstrates information about participants' wages. Almost all the participants (99.5%) took advance (M = USD1518.43, SD= USD 996.12) from the mill authority before starting to work there. This advance would be taken for one to three years (based on personal observation). Among the participants, 89.1% spent the advance to pay loans from NGO or local 'Mahajons' (who lend money at a high-interest rate to village people), 64.9% spent on medical expenses, 19.8% spent as daily expenses, 11.4% spent on repairing their house in the village, 10.1% spent on marriage expenses, 9% spent to buy cattle, and 5.4% to buy land. They make the payment of the advance they had taken by installment from their wages. The mill owners pay wages after deducting the installment amount. Almost all of them receive rice (99.2%) as their wages. Their working duration in the mill ranged between 1 and 36 years. From the authors' observation, they are bound to pay the advances by working in the rice mill. Due to the lower amount of wage, they have to take advances more from the mill owners to meet sudden crisis like severe illness, marriage, etc. Therefore, they have been working here for a long time. Their poverty is the reason to be working here for a long time.

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Table 2: Information about wages

	Categories	Percentage/ Range/Mean
Did you take advance from the mill owner as wage/ loan?	Yes	99.5%
Amount of advance		USD 1518.43 (USD 996.12)
Usage of advance (Multiple responses)	Loan payment	89.1%
	Meet medical expenses	64.9%
	Meet daily expenses	19.8%
	Repairing house	11.4%
	Meet marriage expenses	10.1%
	Buy cattle	9.0%
	Buy land	5.4%
Medium of wage payment	Rice	99.2%
	Rice and money	0.8%
How many years have you been working here?		1-36 years

Table 3: Information about basic needs

	Categories	Percentage/ Range/ Mean
Where do you live?	In Mill	100%
How many rooms for your family members?	One room	80.7%
	Two rooms	15.2%
	Three rooms	3.8%
How many bathrooms in the mill	Two	66.0%
	Three	29.6%
	Four	4.3%
How many families use these bathrooms	4-8 families	4.0%
	10-12 families	56.5%
	>12 families	39.2%
Are these bathrooms hygienic?	No	99.7%
From where do you and your family members take health services? (Multiple response)	Pharmacy	95.4%
	Hospital	68.8%
Does the mill authority provide health facilities?	No	100%
Does the mill authority provide financial help, if get sick?	No	99.7%
Does the mill authority grant leave, if get sick?	No	100%
Do you have any physical problem after starting to work here?	Yes	99.5%
Physical problems (multiple response)	Fever	98.6%
	Body aches	82.3%
	Sick due to cold	58.7%
	Breathing problem	45.1%
Is there any entertainment facility at the mill?	No	99.7%
Is there any entertainment facility for your children at the mill?	No	99.7%

Table 3 demonstrates the information about basic needs. All the participants were living in the houses adjacent to the rice mills. Four-fifths of them were living in a single room provided by mill owners. Regarding bathroom facilities, 66.0% of them reported that there were two bathrooms, 29.6% reported three bathrooms and 4.3% reported four bathrooms only. Regarding the number of families that use these bathrooms, 56.5% of participants informed that 10-12 families were using these and 39.2% informed that more than 12 families were using these. Almost all the participants reported that these bathrooms were unhygienic. Regarding treatment, 99.7% of the participants took treatment from the local pharmacy, and 68.8% went to the hospital. Participants also reported that mill authorities did not provide health facilities (100%), financial help (99.7%), or even did not grant leave to them (100%) while they were sick. Almost

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all the participants were suffering from long-run physical illnesses after starting to work here (i.e., fever [98.6%], body aches [82.3%], sickness due to cold [58.7%], and breathing problems [45.1%]). Similar results were reported in previous studies on rice mill workers that conducted in Bangladesh and India [13, 14, 28]. There was an absence of entertainment facilities for the participants and also for their children.

Table 4: Information about the working environment

	Categories	Percentage/ Range/Mean
As a female worker, do you face problem to work here	No	98.6%
Do you victim of sexual harassment in the mill	No	99.5%
Do you victim of beating and mocking while working here	Often	15.5%
	Sometimes	21.2%
	Hardly	59.6%
	Never	3.8%
Do you get help from co-workers to complete your task	Always	4.9%
	Often	63.9%
	Sometimes	17.4%
	Hardly	13.9%
Do you feel frustrated to work here?	Yes	98.6%
Is there discrimination in wage due to be a female worker?	Yes	99.7%
Is there discrimination in working hours due to be a female worker?	No	99.7%
Is there discrimination in bonus due to be a female worker?	Yes	99.2%
Do you have same workload throughout the year?	No	99.2%
How you rate the working environment at the mill?	Not good, not bad	2.7%
	Bad	75.5%
	Very bad	21.7%

Table 5: Regression results of predicting the social well-being of the female rice mill workers

	Unstandardized Coefficients				95.0% CI for B	
	B	Std. Error	Standardized beta	p-value	Lower	Upper
(Constant)	5.830	3.072		.059	-.213	11.873
Number of family member	.018	.021	.053	.386	-.023	.060
Education	-.118	.027	-.212	<.001	-.171	-.064
Household income (yearly)	<.001	.000	-.088	.088	.000	.000
Personal income (yearly)	<.001	.000	-.008	.873	.000	.000
Number of earning members	.102	.056	.144	.072	-.009	.213
Amount of advance	<.001	.000	-.240	<.001	.000	.000
Number of rooms for living	-.178	.089	-.153	.046	-.352	-.003
Number of bathrooms	-.015	.077	-.014	.843	-.166	.136
Number families use these bathroom	-.029	.013	-.159	.029	-.056	-.003
Bathroom – hygienic	-1.170	.585	-.100	.046	-2.321	-.019
Financial help from mill authority, while sick	.205	.530	.018	.700	-.839	1.248
Grant leave, while sick	-1.038	.294	-.198	<.001	-1.615	-.460
Faced problem as female workers to work	.974	.409	.118	.018	.169	1.778
Victim of sexual harassment	.191	.050	.251	<.001	.094	.289

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Help form co-workers	.021	.050	.028	.671	-.078	.121
Feeling frustrated	-.085	.239	-.016	.724	-.554	.385
Discrimination – wage	-.372	.793	-.032	.640	-1.932	1.189
Discrimination – working hour	-1.791	.758	-.153	.019	-3.283	-.299
Discrimination – bonus	.173	.529	.026	.744	-.868	1.214
Entertainment facilities	.273	.529	.023	.607	-.769	1.314
Entertainment facilities for children	.400	.529	.034	.450	-.641	1.441
Mill environment	.130	.065	.098	.046	.002	.258
Extra wage	.202	.526	.017	.702	-.834	1.237
Duration of works	-.010	.006	-.097	.086	-.022	.001

Table 4 demonstrates the information about the working environment. Most participants did not face any problems working as female workers (98.6%) and almost none of them experienced sexual harassment in the mill. However, 15.5% of the participants often, 21.2% of the participants sometimes, and 59.6% of participants were hardly victims of beating and mocking while working. There are some findings that need to get attention from all relevant stakeholders. Almost two-thirds of participants reported that their co-workers often help them to complete their tasks. Almost all the participants feel frustrated with working here and feel discrimination in wages and bonuses due to being female workers. Among them, 75.5% rated their working environment as bad and 21.7% as very bad. Living facilities, health facilities, and leave and recreation facilities in the mills would be the reasons for rating as the bad working environment. Besides, rice husk, bran, effluents from fuel, used water, sound pollution, etc., are also present in working environments in rice mills. Overall, the working environment in rice mills is not worker friendly.

The mean social well-being score is 2.142 (SD = .608) that suggested that their social well-being condition is below average. Results in Table 5 show that participants' income, education, and current socio-environmental conditions contribute to 31.4% variability ($F = 6.544$, $p<0.001$) of their social well-being. Among factors, education ($\beta = -0.212$, $p<0.001$), amount of advance ($\beta = -0.240$, $p<0.001$), number of rooms for living ($\beta = -0.153$, $p = 0.046$), number families use bathrooms ($\beta = -0.159$, $p = 0.029$), bathroom – hygiene ($\beta = -0.100$, $p = 0.046$), grant leave ($\beta = -0.198$, $p<0.001$), discrimination – working hour ($\beta = -0.153$, $p = 0.019$) are negatively associated with social well-being. Perceiving problem as female worker to work ($\beta = 0.118$, $p = 0.018$), victim of sexual harassment ($\beta = 0.251$, $p < 0.001$), and mill environment ($\beta = 0.098$, $p = 0.046$) are positively associated with social well-being. Weech-Maldonado et al [29] have found perceived income and health as significant predictors of happiness. They reported that perceived health mediated the association between perceived income and happiness. Taghavi et al [30] explored possible predictors of Iranian industrial workers' health and quality of life and opined that "work-related factors including unhealthy working conditions, unsafe working environments, long working hours, irregular working schedules, and the lack of occupational training may negatively influence the HRQOL of workers." In this study, none of the conditions (e.g., financial, housing, health, hygiene, working environment, etc.) are favorable to female rice mill workers. The impact of these conditions is reflected in the poor social well-being of female rice mill workers.

a) Recommendations

The study findings suggested poor livelihood and social well-being among female rice mill workers. Based on these findings, there are several recommendations as follows:

i) *Wages:* The wages of female rice mill workers are very low to maintain daily needs. Therefore, wages should be increased considering the present market prices of goods.

ii) *Housing Facilities:* As housing facilities are provided by mill owners, quality housing facilities including sufficient number of rooms for living and number of hygienic bathrooms should be ensured.

iii) *Health Facilities:* As the rice mill workers has limited access to health facilities, the mill owner should ensure access to health facilities by contributing the cost of medication, doctor consultancy fees, etc.

iv) *Leave Facilities:* The rice mill owner should introduce paid leave facilities for female workers in addition to annual festival leave.

v) *Recreation Facilities:* The rice mill owners should increase recreation facilities for workers (i.e., television with dish antenna connection in the mill, yearly picnic, etc.). It will ensure the female rice mill workers' productivity.

vi) *Eradication of Harassment against Female Workers:* Results showed that a significant number of the participants were victims of beating and mocking while working. The rice mill owners should ensure women's rights not to be victims of harassment at workplace. Government bodies and NGOs can run a campaign to make aware the rice mill workers and mill authorities also.

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vii) *Government Policy:* The Bangladesh government should make and implement a policy that will ensure the workers' basic needs, minimum wages, facilities, etc.

IV. Conclusion

Lower household income, limited access to treatment and recreational facilities, absence of paid leave, poor working environment, and lower social well-being depicted the hardships faced by the female rice mill workers in Bangladesh. Rice mill owners, the government, and non-governmental organizations should come forward to enhance the living standards and well-being of these workers. Improved living standards and social well-being, in turn, result in greater productivity from the workers.

The present study has several limitations. Firstly, the data was collected from rice mills located in the Brahmanbaria administrative district. Potential users should be cautious while attempting to generalize these findings to female rice mill workers working in rice mills located in other districts of Bangladesh. Secondly, self-reported data was utilized in this study, which may be subject to social desirability bias.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Rhizomic and Mycorrhizal Networks of African Jewry: A Study of Continuity and Change the Beta Israel of Qechene and North Shewa Ethiopia

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Introduction[1]- In 2022, partnering with Beta Israel members in Ethiopia, Dr. Malka Shabtay, and Nina Judith Katz, I published *The Hidden Jews of Ethiopia*[2] on the Beta Israel of Qechene (in Addis Ababa) and North Shewa, Ethiopia. In this article, I examine a dynamic over which I puzzled while working on the book: the flow of continuity and change. While exploring this subject, I found that at times, I hit a wall. Global northern colleagues of mine who studied such communities could not assist me in thinking about the dynamic interplay of continuity and change as I was seeing it. I came to realize that we need new frameworks to help outside scholars check our assumptions and avoid imposing them on locals. Moreover, perhaps community members might also find new frameworks helpful in considering how they operate and think about their experience[3].

Thus, I present here a proposed research agenda on continuity and change. To do so, I share ideas on the methods we might best use in undertaking such a study. I name a problem with a common approach that I and colleagues from the global north tend to utilize in our research on global southern Jewish communities newly in contact with global north communities.

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: BM1-990*

RHIZOMICANDMYCORRHIZALNETWORKSOFAFRICANJEWRYASTUDYOFCONTINUITYANDCHANGETHEBETAISRAELOFQECHENEANDNORTHSHEWAETHIOPIA

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Rhizomic and Mycorrhizal Networks of African Jewry: A Study of Continuity and Change the Beta Israel of Qechene and North Shewa Ethiopia

Marla Brettschneider

I. Introduction[1]

In 2022, partnering with Beta Israel members in Ethiopia, Dr. Malka Shabtay, and Nina Judith Katz, I published *The Hidden Jews of Ethiopia*[2] on the Beta Israel of Qechene (in Addis Ababa) and North Shewa, Ethiopia. In this article, I examine a dynamic over which I puzzled while working on the book: the flow of continuity and change. While exploring this subject, I found that at times, I hit a wall. Global northern colleagues of mine who studied such communities could not assist me in thinking about the dynamic interplay of continuity and change as I was seeing it. I came to realize that we need new frameworks to help outside scholars check our assumptions and avoid imposing them on locals. Moreover, perhaps community members might also find new frameworks helpful in considering how they operate and think about their experience.[3]

Thus, I present here a proposed research agenda on continuity and change. To do so, I share ideas on the methods we might best use in undertaking such a study. I name a problem with a common approach that I and colleagues from the global north tend to utilize in our research on global southern Jewish communities newly in contact with global north communities. This mode relates to what is termed arborescence, i.e. a tree-like structure. I then introduce an alternative rhizomic or mycorrhizal approach used in humanities theories. Using this methodology, I propose a research agenda for studying continuity and change in the Beta Israel communities of Qechene and North Shewa as the community currently seeks significant shifts in their communal life.

First, however, I provide a general overview of Ethiopia in order to understand the national context in which the community operates, its opportunities, and constraints. Next, I offer an introduction to the Beta Israel community. I then introduce two methodological approaches, arborescent and rhizomic/mycorrhizal, to enable us to explore the mutual dependence of continuity and change in this community. I hope that a conscious rhizomic/mycorrhizal approach will help researchers avoid common pitfalls of Jewish essentialism and make dynamics of continuity and change intelligible in their vibrancy to outsiders. Finally, I present a seven-point agenda for future research that can consider continuity and change simultaneously.

II. Ethiopian Context[4]

The second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia has a population of over 111 million, nearly five million of whom live in the capital, Addis Ababa. The geologically diverse and rugged nation covers 1.1 million square kilometers. Located in the Horn of Africa, near Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan, Ethiopia is well-positioned for international trade. The community studied here relies on, an actively engages with, both the benefits and difficulties of life in Addis Ababa and hidden locales in the countryside as they create communal life.

a) *Politics, Economics, Human Rights and Vulnerable Populations*

Ethiopia was never formally colonized by a European empire. Italy occupied the country between 1936 and 1941 but failed to establish official control. Emperor Haile Selassie ruled from 1930 until 1974, when the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front overthrew him. The next twenty years saw more bloodshed and political suppression under Colonel Haile Mariam's socialist junta. In 1995, the government became a federal republic with executive and judicial

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[1] Thank yous to the UNH Center for the Humanities, Marina Cardoso-Vianna-Van, Elizabeth Shearman and the UNH Global Research and Social Inequities Lab for research support as well as Nina Judith Katz for editorial support and content engagement. I presented this article as an invited paper at the Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy Conference (much gratitude to Edith Bruder), the Jewish Africa Conference in Rabat sponsored by the American Sephardi Association and the Moroccan Association Mimouna, and also at Temple Beth Israel, in Massachusetts.

[2] Marla Brettschneider, Malka Shabtay, and Nina Judith Katz, ed., *The Hidden Jews of Ethiopia: The Beta Israel of Kechene and North Shewa* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2022). See also Malka Shabtay's film *Nafkot,* directed/performed by Malka Shabtay (2022).

[3] This work is part of the relatively new field of research exploring Jewish communities indigenous to sub-Saharan Africa. There are numerous Jewish and Jewishly-related communities across the region.

[4] Thanks to William Chang and Caroline Hall for research support in this section.

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branches and a bicameral parliament. The country has a president and prime minister. In 2020, the independent research organization Freedom House labeled Ethiopia "Not Free" in terms of both political rights and civil liberties. In 2021, women held 38.8 percent of seats in parliament.[5] These facets of the national context, particularly the years of war, political turmoil, and lack of rights, all impact the communities studied in this article. This situation contributes to the country's precarity and inability to eradicate the violence and repression the community faces, both in common with others in the country and also as a despised minority.

Although Ethiopia's economy is growing rapidly, the country has a high poverty rate compared to the rest of Africa.[6] Still, the diversity of the economy—including agriculture, manufacturing, extractive industries, and a growing financial sector—bodes well for the future.[7]

In 2019, women comprised 46.6 percent of the paid workforce.[8] The Covid pandemic began after these data were collected, and Ethiopia has been off course from its pre-Covid growth trajectory. These economic difficulties have a disproportionate effect on smaller and poorer communities, such as the Beta Israel.

Human rights in Ethiopia have improved since the government elected in 2018 assumed power,[9] but arbitrary arrests and the impunity of government forces remain major issues, especially in Tigray, where violent conflict between rebel groups and government forces erupts frequently. The Beta Israel community faces extreme discrimination and has not traditionally been able to rely on government support. The larger context of violence with Tigrayan groups at times lands literally on the doorsteps of community members. At the same time, a sense that human rights have generally improved in recent years leads some Beta Israel members to assess that the threat against them is shifting and provides encouragement to come out of hiding.

Same-sex activity is criminalized and punishable by three to fifteen years of incarceration. Discrimination against LGTBQ+ individuals is not criminalized; many report violence but are apprehensive about going to the police. Some report being subject to government surveillance as LGTBQ+ persons. These extreme circumstances, and the views that make them possible, currently prevent investigation of LGBTQ+ issues among the Beta Israel.

Ethiopia's abortion laws are more flexible than those in surrounding countries. Abortion is permitted for a range of social and economic reasons, including to preserve the life or health of the mother, in pregnancies arising from rape or incest, and in cases of fetal impairment. The country is committed to increasing the safety of legal abortions.[10]

Ethiopian law criminalizes rape; the penalty is five to twenty years in prison. Spousal rape is not criminalized; only certain judges consider it a crime. Domestic violence is a criminal offense; penalties can include fines and up to fifteen years in prison. However, this law is not usually enforced, and domestic violence remains a significant problem. In 2019, women comprised 46.6 percent of the workforce.[11] While the Beta Israel have their own historic understanding of gender and gender relations, the national context can reinforce difficulties that community women may face.

b) Literacy, Health, and Religion

The overall literacy rate for Ethiopians aged fifteen and up is estimated at 51.8 percent, 44.4 percent for females, and 59.2 percent for males. Among Ethiopians aged sixty-five and over, approximately 15.2 percent are literate, including 7.75 percent of females, and 23.9 percent of males.[12]

In 2019, life expectancy was 66.5 years,[13] 68.5 years for females, and 64.6 years for males. Infant mortality was measured at 36.5 deaths per 1,000 births, 31.4 for females and 46.5 for males. In 2017, maternal mortality was approximately 401 deaths per 100,000 births. Additionally, the contraceptive prevalence rate for

[5] Ethiopia was graded at 24/100. Political rights scored 10/40, and civil liberties 14/60. "Freedom in the World 2020," Freedom House, 2020, accessed September 5, 2021, https://freedomhouse.org/country/ethiopia/freedom-world/2020. "Country Fact Sheet: Ethiopia," United Nations Women, 2021, accessed September 5, 2021, https://data.unwomen.org/country/ethiopia.

[6] "Overview: Ethiopia," World Bank, accessed September 5, 2021, https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview.

[7] In 2019, the GDP for Ethiopia was estimated at 95.913 billion USD; its GNI was estimated at 94.972 billion. "Data: Ethiopia," Data, World Bank, 2019, accessed September 2, 2021. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=ET. Primary exports are coffee and gold, with primary export partners including China, the United States, and the United Arab Emirates. "Ethiopia (ETH) Exports, Imports, and Trade Partners," Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC), 2019, accessed October 3, 2021, https://oec.world/en/profile/country/eth.

[8] "Labor Force, Female (% of Total Labor Force)—Ethiopia," Data, World Bank, 2019, accessed September 5, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.FE.ZS?locations=ET.

[9] Unless otherwise noted, information on human rights is from "Ethiopia: Country Report on Human Rights Practices," U.S. Department of State, March 30, 2021, accessed August 30, 2021, https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/ethiopia/.

[10] "Ethiopia," the World's Abortion Laws, Center for Reproductive Rights, 2021, accessed October 3, 2021, https://maps.reproductiverights.org/worldabortionlaws?country=ETH.

[11] "Labor Force, Female (% of Total Labor Force)—Ethiopia," Data, World Bank, 2019. accessed September 5, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.TOTL.FE.ZS?locations=ET.

[12] "Ethiopia," Institute for Statistics, UNESCO, April 12, 2017, accessed September 5, 2021, http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/et.

[13] "Life Expectancy at Birth, Total (Years)—Ethiopia," Data, World Bank, 2019, accessed September 5, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?locations=ET.

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females aged fifteen to forty-nine was 41.4 percent.[14] This national context gives us parameters for potential future studies of the well-being of, and potential for, the Beta Israel. We did not look at literacy and health matters for this community specifically, but it likely would be worthwhile to do so.

The constitution of Ethiopia prohibits religious discrimination and government control of religion. According to the 2007 census, forty-four percent of the population identified as Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Christian and another thirty-four percent as Sunni Muslim. Nineteen percent of Ethiopians identified with other denominations of Christianity, and five percent labelled themselves "other" (including Latter-Day Saints, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews, Roman Catholics, and adherents to indigenous faiths).[15] We now take a closer look at the conditions of one of these communities, the Beta Israel.

The Beta Israel is an ancient Jewish community in Ethiopia.[16] Some sources date its origins to 500 CE. Some in the Beta Israel community understand themselves as the lost Israelite tribe of Dan. The community experienced persecution and violence across centuries under many regimes, including the Solomonic empire in the thirteenth century, Italian occupiers in the early twentieth century, and Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam's junta in the late twentieth century.

Current estimates suggest that approximately 100,000 Jews live in the Qechene area of Addis Ababa, and more in the North Shewa region. They follow ancient Jewish practices and are comparatively poor. Publicly, many have felt forced to identify as Christian while living clandestinely as Jews. In the past two decades, a small number from this community have come out publicly as Jews and synagogue members.

III. Jewish Country Summary[17]

The Biblical story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba is taken to place the origins of the Ethiopian Jewish community close to 3000 years ago. Others estimate that the Beta Israel (literally, "house of Israel") arrived in Ethiopia later. These communities are thought to have lost contact with the global Jewish world in antiquity. A noteworthy mention of them by a non-Ethiopian Jew came from David ben Solomon ibn Abi Zimra, the chief rabbi of Egypt, in the sixteenth century. He commented that the Ethiopian Jewish communities followed pre-rabbinic Jewish law and traditions as it is thought that this community left the larger body of the Jewish people before rabbinic Judaism developed.

In the late nineteenth century, foreigners began to pay a new kind of attention to this community. Often cited in this context, Dr. Jaques Faitlovitch, after studying Ethiopian languages at the Sorbonne, spent years researching the community and giving lectures about it in Israel and the global North. He set up a Jewish school for Beta Israel children in Addis Ababa.

By the mid-twentieth century, the plight of Ethiopian Jews became better known to global Jewry and some made aliyah to Israel. Over decades, a movement to help them slowly gathered steam. In the 1980s, as Ethiopia devolved into civil war, many Jews from Gondar fled to Sudan in hope of reaching Israel, which eventually supported their aliyah. As the situation of these refugees became more perilous, Israel carried out a series of secret rescue operations, bringing tens of thousands of Ethiopian Jews to Israel.

Over the centuries, many Ethiopian Jews converted to Christianity to escape acute, often deadly, persecution. We cannot know how many blended into Christian society and lost touch with their Jewish origins. Some descendants of these converts have relatives who emigrated to Israel during the initial wave of relocations. Some in this group were then accepted for aliyah. They explain that they see themselves as Jews and subscribe to Jewish, not Christian, beliefs. Today, a few thousand of these Beta Israel, also originally from the Gondar region, await permission to make aliyah.

IV. The Beta Israel of Qechene and North Shewa: Dynamics of Continuity and Change

Many of the largely still hidden Beta Israel communities of Qechene and North Shewa share this history of forced conversion, but they also persevered and built on their rich traditions. Jews in Ethiopia have experienced scorn and hatred from members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church, who consider them Christ-killers. In addition, the neighboring Christian farming families revile them as craftspeople, consider them "buda," having the evil eye and able to turn into hyenas at night to scare, injure, and kill non-Beta Israel. Other Ethiopians regard them as impure.

As a result, the Beta Israel face murder, burning of their fields and homes, and kidnapping. They experience harsh discrimination and indignities. Their neighbors often refuse to engage in commerce or

[14] "Contraceptive Prevalence, Any Methods (% of Women Ages 15-49)— Ethiopia," Data, World Bank, 2021, accessed October 3, 2021, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.CONU.ZS?locations=ET.
[15] "Ethiopia: Report on International Religious Freedom," U.S. Department of State, December 1 2020, accessed August 20, 2021, https://www.state.gov/reports/2019-report-on-international-religious-freedom/ethiopia/.
[16] "Ethiopia Virtual Jewish Tour," the Virtual Jewish World, Jewish Virtual Library, 2021, accessed October 3, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ethiopia-virtual-jewish-tour.
[17] Material for this section draws on Ari Greenspan's research support for the forthcoming Mellen Press book edited by Marla Brettschneider and Bonita Nathan Sussman.

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cultural exchanges with them and commonly avoid looking them in the eyes or touching them.

In response to this persecution, the North Shewa Beta Israel developed secluded synagogue communities known as *gedamoch,* where they keep practices described in the Torah, which they call *Orayta* (the Aramaic word for "Torah"). Many in this community spend their wage-earning years in cities, particularly in Addis Ababa. To lessen danger and to earn a living, many live publicly as Christians and only secretly as Beta Israel. Others live in or near the secret settlements housing their synagogues.

This group is experiencing a fundamental shift in their community. In the last twenty or so years, some of this portion of the Beta Israel community have begun identifying as Jews and practicing Judaism more openly; for example, they have built two synagogues, with a community center, in Addis Ababa. Increasingly, we find that some members seek publicity in their identity as Beta Israel, are connecting to global Jewry, and no longer feel the need to live in hiding. They are experiencing significant growth and trials that can come when a community seeks both change and continuity.

Dynamics of continuity and change may, at times, move along relatively smoothly. Sometimes this situation creates tensions within a community. In looking at issues of continuity and change in the Beta Israel community, we must also address some problems that outsiders have, starting with basic binary assumptions that prohibit the study of these dynamics of simultaneous continuity and change.

V. Who has Issues with Beta Israel's Continuity & Change?

I can attest that these communities are in a dynamic moment of transformation, providing an opportunity to study how different Jewish communities across the globe navigate the challenging processes of continuity and change.

Beta Israel members are increasingly engaging in work that is more public than previous community activity. With this increase in visibility, more people in Ethiopia are learning about the communities and some are newly discovering their own roots in these Jewish communities. Members, especially younger ones, are challenging some old wisdom and building new Beta Israel institutions in Ethiopia. As they do so, they and their communities face challenges of continuity and change in their personal and collective lives.

In recent decades, questions of continuity and change, or continuity and rupture (as a 2022 American Sephardi Federation series named it),[18] have been at the center of much debate in many Jewish communities across the globe. Yet, some North African and global northern Jewish community leaders and scholars get stuck when considering this dynamic in sub-Saharan Africa.

Amid fierce debate regarding continuity and change in Ashkenazi, Sephardi, and Mizrachi communities, some, particularly Western and sometimes Sephardi, scholars have fixated on a paradigm they created of eternal primitive cultures in the global south. This strain can be found at times when global northerners learn of sub-Saharan communities and what community members understand as their Israelite rites. Some foreigners imagine these communities as presenting a more authentic or original Judaism, monolithic and frozen in time, offering global northern Jews a window into some mythic, monolithic, ancient practice and thinking.[19] When these commentators notice change, they question the legitimacy of these groups as Jewish altogether. They regard change as natural to and the privilege of Ashkenazi, Mizrachi, and Sephardi Jewry, but as somehow delegitimizing sub-Saharan Jewry. Yet, as the communities in Ethiopia wrestle with the excitement and tensions created in the simultaneous movements of new ideas and commitment to their community's history, we find numerous matters of continuity and change worthy of scholarly inquiry.

To study those previously excluded, we often need new methods. What if Beta Israel community members and foreigners begin to take the dynamics of continuity and change seriously as a subject of curiosity and generous, rather than judgmental, exploration? Is it possible to see that continuity and change are not always opposites? Might this become a productive approach to grappling with the Beta Israel's current conditions? What new methods and theoretical modes might yield new perspectives that avoid ossified approaches to the global south? How might studying these dynamics in communities newer to global Jewry change the vista of possibility across the Jewish world?

VI. Methodology: Rhizomic and Mycorrhizal Networks[20]

Northerners frequently approach Jewish activity throughout sub-Saharan Africa as suspect. Continuity and change are often seen in a binary, zero-sum way as detracting from each other. Instead, I suggest a new modality of rhizomic and mycorrhizal networks to offer a

[18] American Sephardi Federation, Lecture Series, April 2022.

[19] Noah Tamarkin, Genetic Afterlives: Black Jewish Indigeneity in South Africa. Duke University Press, 2020.

[20] I thank Alexander Kaye, working in the field of Jewish though at Brandeis University, for our conversations, which spurred my considering this model for use in exploring of continuity and change in the Beta Israel communities in Ethiopia today. Nina Judith Katz helped me hone the concepts.

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way to appreciate these communities and recognize their legitimacy and integrity as central to global Jewry, as much as any Jewish community historically or today.

Taking off from the work of Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972–1980),[21] I propose an amended model to explain such interesting trends as indigenous Ethiopians who never considered whether they had Jewish heritage learning about the hidden Beta Israel communities from the publicity of activists and discovering that they, too, are descendants of this group.[22]

a) Arborescence

Rhizomic and mycorrhizal modes, similar in structure to certain root structures, the internet, and neural webs, are usually contrasted with arboresence. I will first explain the latter.

Arborescence, or the tree model, considers all life connected to a foundation, in this metaphor, the tree trunk. As a foundation, the trunk is the source from which all developments branch out and the locus where they connect without necessarily connecting to each other directly. Thus, this model is hierarchical, tends to presume hegemonies and devalue difference and multiplicity. From this perspective, change is easily suspect, particularly if less recognizable to the hegemon(s) constituting the tree trunk.

When non-Ethiopian Jews consider Ethiopian Jewry, especially these less familiar Beta Israel communities, they implicitly rely on this tree model. Imagine a group that exists, goes about its business, and is clear on its own identity and import. At some point "we" (outsiders) "discover" what we consider potentially a new branch of "our" community. It seems so different from us and others that we already know that "we" debate its connection to the trunk, the hegemon of world Jewry. We consider ourselves core, essentially the trunk itself, but we can be less familiar with other branches and leaves in their diversity.

Our vision extends to those whose connections to us we recognize. Considering ourselves the trunk, we claim the right to assess what constitutes a branch or leaf of "our" tree. It can be difficult for us to see how some groups connect to each other or to the tree. In the case of communities of the global south that claim relation to world Jewry, hegemon leaders sometimes conclude that the new branch, or community, is so different that it must be from another tree entirely (i.e., not even Jewish). This can be contrasted with a rhizomic or mycorrhizal model.

b) Rhizomic and Mycorrhizal Models

A rhizome is an underground stem with multiple nodes from which roots descend and plants grow. The mycorrhizal web is a network of plant roots interwoven with fungal mycelia in a symbiotic relationship. With either metaphor, this model is neither foundational nor hierarchical; the nodes, roots, and hyphae all connect to each other without an intermediary trunk. They thus offer a more democratic vista for horizontal relationships that do not center hegemons. In this way, we can also account for change without negating historic ties and continuity.

These largely still hidden Ethiopian Beta Israel communities of Qechene and North Shewa are a set of unique Jewish communities surviving intense and violent persecution against the odds and continuing to participate in pre-Talmudic Jewish traditions that they have managed to keep alive, as they understand it, from the days of the First Temple in Jerusalem. Clusters of adults live in Ethiopia's cities during their salary-earning years while privately supporting and maintaining clandestine ties to their hidden, rural homelands. There is concerted effort to continue ancient practices, specifically pre-Talmudic Jewish traditions as understood by these communities. How does a rhizomic or mycorrhizal model help us understand struggles with simultaneous continuity and change that a hegemonic view generally renders obscures?

VII. Rhizomic Nodal Points of Continuity and Change: Suggesting a Research Agenda

I would suggest undertaking new studies of many sub-Saharan African Jewish communities, especially, but not only, the Beta Israel of Qechene and North Shewa, using the rhizomic or mycorrhizal paradigms to explore the following cluster within a dynamic of continuity and change. Of course, this list is

[21] Developed from Deluze's earlier work on "image of thought" in *Difference and Repetition* 1968, scholars are examining the methodological benefit of models introduced in Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1972–1980), This model, drawn from the natural sciences, has been applied often in diaspora studies, making it helpful for Jewish studies. While the rhizomic applies to some examples noted in the Beta Israel community, the mycorrhizal web is a more apt concept, similar to neural networks and the internet.

[22] Other interesting examples that apply the rhizomic model to Jewish studies include Daniel Boyarin's "Notes," in *A Traveling Homeland, The Babylonian Talmud as Diaspora,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, 125–54, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt15hvz45.8; Bruneau, Michel's "Diasporas, Transnational Spaces and Communities," in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* by Bauboeck, Rainer and Thomas Faist (eds), Amsterdam, NE: Amsterdam University Press, 2010; Danyte, Milda. 2019. "Re-thinking the Concept of Diaspora: The Example of Lithuanian Migration History." *OIKOS*, 1(27): 61-77; Mehta, Sandhya Rao. 2017. "Diasporas Reimagined: Spaces, Practices and Belonging." *Diaspora Studies*. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sandhya-Mehta-2/publication/320959793_Diasporas_reimagined_spaces_practices_and_belonging/links/5b97666692851c78c41babf2/Diasporas-reimagined-spaces-practices-and-belonging.pdf; Schorsch, Jonathan. 2000. "American Jewish Historians, Colonial Jews and Blacks, and the Limits of *Wissenschaft*: A Critical Review." *Jewish Social Studies* 6(2): 102-132.

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merely a start, based on the work I considered in the process of producing the new book.

a) Persistence amid Tremendous Loss

This community has suffered tremendous loss of continuity due to harsh demands that they not merely change but abandon their collective endeavors altogether. Currently, only approximately fifteen out of forty-four of their ancient secret synagogues remain. Every family has experienced murder. For those able to carry on, this condition of incredible loss also includes basic knowledge, such as who is in their community. Loss complicates living and practicing together as a network of communities across complex geographical terrain. Their persistence despite loss may sound impossible. This community, however, meets devastating losses with a commitment to carry on against the odds.

b) Survival in a War Zone: Anti-Jewish Context, Civil Wars, Famine, and Poverty

We must also understand that these communities are living in a war zone.The current bloody conflict between the government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) has spilled into some secret synagogues and community members' homes. This community has lived through periods of violence before, both particular to Jews and in Ethiopia as a whole. In recent history, the violence and precarity of the early 1980s included a famine, particularly in the north, and violent government practices against rebel forces in Tigray, Wollo, and Eritrea. This was the setting for the historic airlifts of thousands of Gondar Jews to Israel. The North Shewa and Qechene communities, however, were not included in those airlifts, nor have they yet received international support.

c) Community Structure

Persisting in a hostile environment, these communities developed amazing survival strategies that rely on innovative community structures. These have shifted between, and melded, methods of continuity and of change in order not only to survive, but also to flourish as robust communities when possible. Through these structures, community members support themselves and each other in their daily needs. They retain and build their multiple forms of cultural expression over time, as they also practice their religious rites in hidden synagogues in remote locales that are extremely challenging for outsiders to reach. They have long-established webs of relations of local, in-person communities connecting members in Qechene with those in the hidden communities and nearby cities, although their lives differ profoundly across these different locations. This structure, in itself, entails a negotiation with emphasis on both continuity and change. The community structures in all of these environments emerged from conscious assessments of circumstances requiring significant changes to enable survival.

d) Publicity

As I studied this dynamic, the new book itself led me to identify this research agenda on continuity and change. *The Hidden Jews of Ethiopia* is unique in presenting history and various matters of import in the life of these communities from the perspectives of key leaders and lay people in the communities themselves. Never before have multiple members of these communities spoken of their traditions so directly in print, let alone in print in English, i.e. anticipating a transnational audience. The reach of their contributions is unprecedented. The very act of this publication is another example of their contending with both continuity and change.

While there is scant extant research published on these communities, many members of the community feel strongly that they no longer need to remain hidden in the way that they have been historically. Another major publicity development demonstrating an delicate negotiation of continuity and change is that some urban members of the community have built two new synagogues and a cultural association. The development of these new public institutions in an urban setting is another experiment in using the new to preserve the old. The dynamics of how this will play out over time will be interesting for community members and scholars to study.

Community members have remained committed to this project even when their country faced intense fighting and they and their communities were under siege, sometimes in their own homes. During the years when we worked together on the book, I was witness to some of the difficulties of meeting the needs of quotidian life and basic communal functioning and I glimpsed the incredible tenacity and courage of these communities. Seeking continuity and survival, those in these communities once again chose change, adopting publicity even as they faced, organized violence and threats to their lives and ways of life.

e) Spiritual Leaders: Interpreting and Practicing Ancient Wisdoms

In the surviving hidden gedamoch, spiritual leaders continue to guide members in age-old customs. Elderly members of the communities, many of whom spent their professionally productive years in the cities, return to their spiritual homes. They return to be able to live Jewishly in their sunset years after decades in hiding in the more populated urban centers, where extreme prejudice has long made it basically impossible to be openly Jewish. More specific examination of how different spiritual leaders interpret and practice ancient wisdom requires a closer look than I can offer at this

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time. I hope that future scholarly research, especially from within the community, will explore this matter. At the same time, for a community fighting for its survival and simultaneously seeking legitimacy by demonstrating a direct relation to ancient communities, it can be difficult to acknowledge and examine changes developed by specific spiritual leaders. When outsiders view change in a zero-sum relation to continuity, community members may hesitate to highlight differences among spiritual leaders. Some may fear that attention to difference and change could interfere with their quest for recognition by world Jewry, instead of highlighting the vitality and strength inherent in developing multiple approaches to their traditions.

f) Youth and Generations

Clusters of young children live in the hidden communities with their elders and religious leaders. When a child who lives with family in a city is orphaned, fellow community members see the child safely back to these oases be raised by elders in a Beta Israel environment. Additionally, over the past two decades, more community members in Qechene have begun disclosing their hidden heritage to their children at younger ages and sometimes bringing them to visit the gedamoch.

How do groups of new people, such as children growing up within the settlements and urban children growing up with this new knowledge of their heritage, impact the grappling with continuity and change, and how does this dynamic impact the youth? It will be interesting to note how these dynamics of continuity and change develop over time among the youth of today. In future years it will also be interesting to attend to the relations between these two sets of current youth growing up knowing their heritage.

g) Challenging Invisibility, Discrimination, and Violence

With a few exceptions, these communities have been largely unacknowledged by outsiders throughout most of the Christian history of Ethiopia. In the survival mode of hiding, the community has few options to resist discrimination and violence. Today, some members of the Ethiopian Beta Israel are directly challenging such invisibility and demanding their human rights and dignities at the local and national levels as well as within the context of global Jewry.

Although invisibility risks contributing to an ideology viewing the groups as alien and frightening, visibility posed a greater risk. Thus, over time, the communities engaged in processes that rendered them unintelligible to their non-Jewish neighbors. While discrimination and violence against the group persists, some in the community consider the current threat less than what their ancestors encountered and believe that they may be able to face such threats successfully. Contemporary modes of technology, communications, and human rights discourse contribute to this view.

There has always been resistance to threats, and today some members and segments of the community feel emboldened to push back against local forms of anti-Jewish sentiment and violence. Such challenges require visibility, despite ongoing threats. Making public demands in a local context is new, as is the visibility this requires. These bold moves are intended to safeguard members and communities today and to keep their history moving forward.

Additionally, moving toward new relationships on a national scale, the communities seek cooperation in their struggles for human and religious rights. Working with the central government was historically not possible for these communities. Now, some members hope that the government may become a source of support in ending the pervasive discrimination against them. As in more local contexts, such developments, and the ensuing visibility for advocates and their communities, require a nuanced balance of continuity and change. It is a vibrant time for these communities, a historical moment when some members both assess that they are on more solid ground and recognize their ongoing liminality and fragility.

The groups are also working to attain international Jewish recognition and acknowledgement of their status as Jews by the modern state of Israel. Building new relationships with global diaspora Jewry can be both an end in itself and a strategy toward strengthening the community as well as building relationships with the Israeli government. There is much to learn from the experience of the Gondar Beta Israel, whom Israeli authorities eventually recognized as Jews and supported in making aliyah. This recognition and relocation occurred thanks to contemporary forms of communication, transit, and both overt and covert international relations never before possible. The context for this included the new, independent state of Israel, which advocates lobbied until it ultimately organized the airlifts and admitted the communities. These desperate acts of survival required the protection of other Jewish communities. In Israel, these Beta Israel communities face pressure to change to expressions of Jewishness more intelligible to Ashkenazi and Mizrachi authorities, and they experience new forms of discrimination and violence. It is unclear how the Beta Israel communities remaining in Ethiopia and seeking relationships with global Jewry may replicate the fraught history of those who resettled in Israel and elsewhere. It is also uncertain how the difficult history of the Gondar Beta Israel community may help Beta Israel communities in Ethiopia in their aims at recognition by, and relationships with, global Jewry, or help those community members seeking aliyah. While many spokespersons for the

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communities in Ethiopia are expressly Zionist, in that they promote the option of aliyah, the community also seeks to change conditions within Ethiopia to enable a viable future for the community there.

VIII. Conclusion

Although largely still hidden, the Beta Israel community of Qechene and North Shewa is currently in a period of dynamic transformations. This is an exceptional group worth studying to learn how different Jewish communities navigate the challenging processes of continuity and change.[23] I hope that members of these communities take up this research agenda, as they have much to offer global Jewry in our collective time of rapid transitions.

Studying the Beta Israel as they negotiate continuity and change, I find it helpful to conceptualize the communities as rhizomic and mycorrhizal networks within the larger web of global Jewry. The arborescent presumption is more common among global northerners. in which hegemons of global Jewry expect communities new to them to prove their Jewish legitimacy, often by demonstrating their similarity with ancient Israelite culture; in that case, the hegemons see change as suspect and precluding, rather than integral to, continuity. Relying on rhizomic and mycorrhizal models allows us to appreciate their legitimacy, integrity, and centrality to global Jewry as equal to that of any other Jewish community.

[23] In earlier versions of this project presented as conference papers, I included indigeneity in this study. While beyond the scope of this article, it is important. Anti-Jewish tropes continue to exclude Jews from the field by casting Jews as universally non-indigenous, ever the rootless cosmopolitans, especially in the diaspora, and even in the land of Israel. We find in a mycorrhizal study of this community a helpful alternative to binary modes which set indigeneity and diaspora as opposites. The Beta Israel of Ethiopia is a robust example of African Jewish indigeneity and the diasporic.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Placing the History of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto, Canada

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Abstract- This article proposes a typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, Canada and examines the circumstances shaping the establishment of immigrant organizations with diverse orientations within this immigrant group. This analysis is informed by archival research that involved the examination of Caribbean newspapers including *The Share, Contrast* and *The Islander* that published articles about events and concerns particular to Caribbean communities in Toronto, Canada between 1960 and 2005. Information about the number and types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants was obtained through a combination of internet research and information from the Consulate Generals Office of Jamaican in Toronto, Canada. The research shows that Jamaican immigrants have established more than 80 organizations of various types namely sociocultural, political, ethnic, alumni and special interest organizations. Additionally, the research asserts that there are ethno-specific and social spatial factors that contributed to the establishment of these organizations. Specifically, the desire to encourage sense of belonging in the place of residence through the celebration of events particular to their identity, increasing ethnic diversity within the group and changes in the availability of settlement assistance for immigrants in Toronto are factors that contributed to the establishment of diverse Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Keywords: jamaican, immigrants, toronto, organizations, sense of belonging.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: F1059.5.T68



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Abstract- This article proposes a typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, Canada and examines the circumstances shaping the establishment of immigrant organizations with diverse orientations within this immigrant group. This analysis is informed by archival research that involved the examination of Caribbean newspapers including *The Share, Contrast* and *The Islander* that published articles about events and concerns particular to Caribbean communities in Toronto, Canada between 1960 and 2005. Information about the number and types of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants was obtained through a combination of internet research and information from the Consulate Generals Office of Jamaican in Toronto, Canada. The research shows that Jamaican immigrants have established more than 80 organizations of various types namely sociocultural, political, ethnic, alumni and special interest organizations. Additionally, the research asserts that there are ethno-specific and social spatial factors that contributed to the establishment of these organizations. Specifically, the desire to encourage sense of belonging in the place of residence through the celebration of events particular to their identity, increasing ethnic diversity within the group and changes in the availability of settlement assistance for immigrants in Toronto are factors that contributed to the establishment of diverse Jamaican immigrant organizations.

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I. Introduction

Immigrant organizations have been constructed as institutions that speak on behalf of specific immigrant groups and lauded for the key role they play in facilitating integration (Deverteuil, 2011 and Veronis, 2010) and civic engagement in places of settlement (Gleeson and Bloemraad, 2013; Snel and Engbersen, 2006; Nagel and Staeheli, 2008). Central to the concerns of these organizations and research that considers them is how to enable sense of belonging and ease insecurity among immigrant groups in places of settlement through the provision of services connected to immigrants' identities and their settlement challenges (Creese, 2011). These concerns assume added importance in the face of a growing and increasingly diverse immigrant populations that arrive in countries of immigration without strong social networks and community connections. While many studies (Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Holder, 1998 and Portes and Zhou, 2012) describe the mandates and primary activities of immigrant organizations, much of the research does not provide a comprehensive examination of the different types of immigrant organizations established by immigrants from the same country of origin (Veronis, 2010, Brettel, 2011 and Gooden, 2008, Owusu, 2000). Additionally, much of the existing literature does not examine the circumstances that shaped the development of each organizational type within the immigrant group. Addressing these limitations will highlight that immigrant identities, strategies for civic engagement and the organizations formed are highly specific to immigrant groups and take on different meanings across time and place. The present study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring the types of immigrant organizations established by a single ethnic group, Jamaican immigrants in Toronto, Canada, as well as ethnospecific and placed based factors that contribute to their establishment.

The focus on Jamaican immigrant organizations is complex and assumes added importance given the challenges and disadvantages that Jamaican immigrants face within the labor market as well as various institutions such as the educational and criminal justice systems (Burman, 2011) in Canada. Jamaican immigrants are also a useful case to examine the diverse organizations established by immigrants of a single immigrant group. Jamaican immigrants have a long history of migration to Canada as well as an established network of more than 80 Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto alone (Consulate General of Jamaica, 2013). Additionally, Toronto is a particularly appropriate place for studying the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations because it is a gateway to more than half of Jamaican immigrants in Canada and many of these Jamaican immigrants in Ontario reside in Toronto, Canada. This paper presents a typology of organizations that suggest that immigrant organizations are not only shaped by a need to foster a sense of belonging and solidarity amongst members of an immigrant group but also developed as a result of changes in Toronto. These changes occurred in tandem with shifts in the composition of the Jamaican immigrant population that had diverse attachments to Jamaican national identity.

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II. Place of Birth, Ethnicity and Immigrant Organizations

The shift from perspectives that emphasize assimilationist tendencies among immigrants to more diverse and integrative of settlement patterns has paved the way for more emphasis on the ways that immigrants express belonging to countries of settlement. Such studies identify the existence of immigrant organizations, services provided by these organizations to engender civic participation among immigrants and the fact that there are variations in organizing across immigrant groups. However, there is much less consideration of how the ethnic backgrounds and context specific experiences of these immigrant groups shape the orientation of these organizations. Therefore, the subsequent sections highlight trends in past research on immigrant organizations that have guided my inquiry into Jamaican immigrant organizations.

Several studies have demonstrated that place of origin contributes to a high level of participation in organizational life and varied forms of organizing. Scholars have noted this pattern among Latin American immigrants, particularly Mexicans (Goldring, 2001), Salvadorans (Landolt, 2007), Dominicans and Colombians (Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford, 2007) in the United States. The authors also provide reasons for the proliferation in hometown associations among Mexican immigrants. For instance, Portes, Escobar, and Walton Radford (2007) note that the rural nature of the Mexican immigrant population translates into traditional loyalties to local birthplaces and so results in the proliferation of hometown civic associations as continuations of traditional obligations. However, little is known about if and why there are organizational differences in organizations within each of the aforementioned groups.

The study of immigrant organizations in Canada demonstrates that there are socio-spatial factors, which must be taken into consideration when examining the orientation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Noting the significance of context for influencing organizational variation in a single immigrant group, Patricia Landolt's (2007) comparative analysis of Salvadoran refugees found that Salvadorans in both Toronto and Los Angeles (LA) developed a variety of organizations. The formation of these organizations is influenced by transnational, social and political factors in both Toronto and LA. The orientation of prominent organizational types, however, were shaped by settlement experiences in Toronto and LA. Political organizations in Los Angeles such as the Salvadoran Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional (FMLN) organization, for instance, are the product of transnational ties between El Salvador and Los Angeles. The FMLN branch in LA had strong political ties to FMLN opposition guerilla movements in El Salvador which meant that organizations of this nature were politicized and involved in grassroot activist activities associated with the agenda of the FMLN in El Salvador.

Geographical studies of immigrant organizations such as those of Thomas Owusu (2000), Bosma and Alferink (2012) highlight that diverse identities within single immigrant groups have an impact on the type of immigrant organizations formed within these communities. In contrast to the aforementioned studies that portray the way in which intra-regional diversity affects the formation of immigrant organizations, studies that consider organizations established by immigrants from the same national group, for instance, have demonstrated how organizational patterns are reflective of various forms of diversity within an immigrant group. Authors such as Salaff and Chan (2007), for instance, have shown how the experiences of these Chinese immigrant organizations in Toronto, Canada illustrates the tensions that can exist within and across immigrant organizations belonging to the same national group. Salaff and Chan (2007) suggest that the Chinese immigrant population presents "differing interests, political issues and power hierarchies," which, in turn, influence Chinese immigrant associations and the services they tend to offer. These differences were evident in the variety of organizations that were established according to surnames as well as places of origin. Umbrella associations attempted to establish some order in the representation of Chinese immigrant groups, primarily for lobbying purposes, but cultural and linguistic differences as well as political disagreements persisted and limited immigrants' ability to act as a united group. This study aims to extend this existing research by examining how diversity within immigrant groups influences their patterns of organizing in their countries of settlement.

There is also a body of literature that engages with questions of diversity and temporality within immigrant groups from a particular region and the ways in which essentializing regional groupings of immigrants obscure differences that impact the formation of immigrant organizations. Studies of Caribbean immigrant organizations in Toronto demonstrate that the establishment of organizations reflects intra-group demographics and the nature of reception in the place of settlement. Gooden (2008) and Premdas (2004), for instance, examined the proliferation of island associations in Canada and their significance for immigrants from the Caribbean. Island associations were limited prior to the 1960s, as the numbers of immigrants from different Caribbean islands were small, leading to the existence of few "formal or informal institutions based on place of birth" (Gooden, 2008: 418). Organizations formed based on racial and regional identifiers were much more prominent. As the number of immigrants from various Caribbean islands increased, so did the imperative for organizing based on country of

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birth. Thus, place of birth began to play a more prominent role in immigrant organizations. However, the way in which these temporal factors impact organizational diversity within a single ethnic group is unclear.

Examining the role of the Ontario Society for Services to the Indo-Caribbean community (OSSIC), Premdas (2004) also notes the way that ethnic diversity within regional groups influence organization formation. Premdas (2004) noted that some "Indo-Caribbean persons [often] found themselves in a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Caribbean community to which they were publicly assigned nor part of the South Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas, 2004: 552). Moreover, they were often overshadowed by the Afro-centric images of Caribbean organizations. Organizing gave them a separate space for mobilization and rescued them from being excluded by the claims of Caribbean communities dominated by individuals of African descent. The authors note that the ethnic and class diversity within each Caribbean island has meant that organizations can exclude those who do not completely identify with each organization's definition of the nation. While Premdas' (2004) study sheds light on the intersection of ethno-racial diversity among Caribbean immigrants and organizational formation, an updated analysis of immigrant organizations established by Caribbean immigrants is needed. Specifically, a wide variety of Caribbean organizations have emerged to represent the diverse interests and backgrounds of Caribbean immigrants since the early 1990s when Premdas (2004) conducted the research. A comprehensive analysis of the various backgrounds and settlement experiences of Caribbean immigrants as well as the roles of these factors in shaping immigrant organizations is needed.

Aggregating immigrant groups based on region or predominant racial categories silences important differences and conceals tensions within immigrant groups (Premdas, 2004; Hopkins, 2006 and Veronis, 2010) that may be important for understanding their organizational network. Further, Jamaican immigrants are often lumped into the broader Caribbean and Black populations in Toronto. Jamaican immigrants form a diverse group due to the history of their migration and settlement in Toronto. In addition to general differences in their group, the population also includes multiple ethnic groups, including individuals of Chinese descent who have established their own organizations in Toronto distinct from those that emphasize the identities and experiences of Jamaican immigrants of African descent. Taking into account the diverse ethnic backgrounds, pre-migration histories, and social characteristics of Jamaican immigrants will add to our understanding of their diverse experiences with organizing.

III. Data Collection

The typology of Jamaican immigrant organizations described in the subsequent section was created through a synthesis of information acquired from the Consulate General of Jamaica in Toronto about Jamaican immigrant organizations, research examining the functions of organizations established by Jamaican immigrants as well as information acquired from Caribbean newspapers that served Caribbean communities, including the Jamaican immigrant population in Toronto, specifically *the Islander*, *Share* and *Contrast* newspapers. Newspaper articles published between the 1960s and the year 2007[1] were reviewed. This timeline covered all the issues available in the York University micro-text library. The newspaper articles revealed the various types of immigrant organizations established by and for Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The Jamaican Consular General's office in Toronto also provided a list of Jamaican immigrant organizations. Though outdated, the list provided information for organizations that were not otherwise found on the Internet or in newspapers.[2] With the inventory of approximately 83 organizations derived from newspapers and the consulate general's office, I began a process of classification that occurred in three stages. First, I searched for contact information and details about the orientation and mandates of each of the organizations identified in the inventory.[3] Secondly, immigrant organizations were classified based on the following characteristics: their location in or outside Toronto, whether they were founded by Jamaican immigrants, and whether they offered services or hosted events that targeted Jamaican immigrants and their families. More specifically, given that the overall study was focused on Jamaican immigrants' expression of belonging in Toronto, organizations that were located in Toronto were included in the inventory. The inventory showed that some organizations were identified as a Caribbean rather than a Jamaican organization, for instance the Caribbean Chinese Association. However, these organizations comprised a membership that was predominantly of Jamaican heritage or origin and they reflected the ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population. Thirdly, I used my knowledge of the literature on a variety of immigrations (Premdas, 2004; Moe, 2011; Brettel and Reed-Danahay, 2008; Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan,

[1] The archive of Caribbean newspapers available in the York University micro-text library spanned this period (1960-2007).
[2] It is important to note that the list of organizations provided by the Consulate included organizations that were located in provinces outside Ontario as well as organizations that were primarily established to address experiences related to Pan-African identities in Toronto.
[3] Organizations without an internet presence were excluded from the final inventory.

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2002; Mael and Asforth, 1992; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008; Portes, Escobar and Radford, 2007) to classify or name the Jamaican immigrant organizations that were listed in the inventory by orientation. It is important to note that the author recognizes the limits of this inventory as this list is by no means exhaustive. However, the aim of this research is not to generalize the research findings but to understand the diversity of immigrant organizations within the Jamaican immigrant community in Toronto, Canada and the reasons for their establishment.

IV. A Typology of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations in Toronto

Five main types of Jamaican immigrant organizations exist in Toronto namely sociocultural, political, alumni and ethnic organizations as well as special interest groups. While the activities of these immigrant organizations sometimes overlap, each type has a different orientation and different circumstances that influenced its development. Despite differences in their mandate, Jamaican immigrant organizations created spaces of sociality for Jamaican immigrants. Together, these organizations provided spaces for immigrants to celebrate cultural heritage and network with other Jamaican immigrants through various social, cultural and philanthropic activities.

a) Sociocultural Organizations

Sociocultural organizations are concerned with fostering sense of belonging in the place of settlement by helping immigrants retain cultural practices and traditions that originate in the country of origin. Scholars (Henry, 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2002; Owusu, 2000; Brettel, 2005; Brettel, 2009) agree that immigrant organizations with a sociocultural orientation engender a sense of belonging by promoting and celebrating events that are specific to the place of origin and familiar to immigrant members of the organization. Members of sociocultural organizations host activities that bring together individuals from the same immigrant group to participate in activities of common interest. These organizations also assist in the integration and settlement of newcomers by providing support and assistance with finding housing and employment as well as providing advice about human rights through services or social networks. The Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) is the most prominent and well-known sociocultural Jamaican immigrant organization in Toronto (Gidengil and Stolle, 2009). Founded in 1962, the JCA was the first organization that was established to serve and support Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The JCA is also well known outside the Jamaican immigrant community as a result of the organization's ability to access both ethno-specific and cross-cultural networks and social capital (Brettel, 2005). When Jamaican Canadian participants interviewed as part of the larger study, they were asked about their knowledge of Jamaican immigrant organizations and they often made reference to the JCA.

Residential geographies influenced the establishment of the JCA. The fact that the JCA is centrally located in the Toronto metropolitan area may be a function of the residential concentration of Jamaican immigrants. Data from the 2006 Canadian census indicate that more than 50% of Jamaican immigrants chose Toronto as their municipality and region of residence. Residential concentration may have provided the JCA with organizational advantages such as facilitating more opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to work cooperatively and providing them with a numbers advantage when presenting their concerns to political representatives (Foner 1998).

Continued connections with the home country inform the programming of sociocultural organizations like the JCA. For example, the impetus for the creation of the JCA was the fact that Jamaica successfully relinquished its colonial status and gained its independence from British rule in August 1962 (Jamaican Canadian Association, n.d.). The founding members of the JCA came together to plan a celebration of Jamaican independence. This celebration motivated Jamaican immigrants in Toronto to "create a permanent entity..." where they could come together and celebrate their history and heritage (Jamaican Canadian Association, n.d.).

Although the Jamaican Canadian Association was initially established as an organization to celebrate Jamaican culture, the organization also expanded its mandate to support individuals of Afro-Caribbean background, as there were no other Caribbean organizations in existence at the time. Roy Williams (2012), in his overview of the establishment of the JCA in Toronto, explained that the pro-European immigration policy in this period meant that Caribbean immigrants to Toronto "would rarely see another black person for days or even weeks…they were few [in number] and widely scattered" (Williams, 2012: 11). Therefore, Caribbean immigrants often felt lonely and isolated and would seek the company and comfort of like persons. Furthermore, "there were few opportunities for … social contact other than at some churches [however] not all … were welcoming…as the memberships were totally white…" (Williams, 2012: 12). As a result, sociocultural organizations like the JCA were very important during the 1960s. They provided an environment where Jamaican immigrants could celebrate their heritage and socialize with others of like culture and settlement experience.

Violent forms of exclusion and the absence of social services to assist newcomers in 1960s Toronto created an even greater need for sociocultural organizations like the JCA. While the JCA was established to celebrate Jamaica's independence, the

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organization began to take up advocacy issues as early as 1963. Roy Williams (2012: 27) writes that "while the JCA provided a vehicle for social interaction and national patriotism, [they were also] the voice of the voiceless, they championed the cause of the disadvantaged, represented the underrepresented and acted as a bastion against inequity, racism and discrimination." Jamaican immigrants comprised the majority of the Black population in a city where residents were highly conservative and averse to non-European migration to Canada. As a result, members of the JCA were motivated to be advocates of the disadvantaged. The Jamaican Canadian Association addressed issues related to discrimination that was particularly evident in the areas of housing and police brutality. The JCA also began to deliver social services to address the varied settlement needs of a rapidly expanding population (Williams, 2012).

Outreach is also an important part of the activities of sociocultural organizations. A 1975 article in *The Islander* states that the JCA "applied for a grant in the amount of $24,000 with which to initiate an immigrant outreach program that began on November 10, 1975 and was directed specifically to the Caribbean immigrant population in Toronto" ("Jamaican Canadian Association News Briefs" 1975). The JCA also had summer programs and a multicultural coordinator program that were sponsored by Canada Employment and Manpower, the Ministry of Community and Social Services and the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture in Ontario, Canada to provide Caribbean immigrants with more opportunities for training and employment ("JCA Planning Summer programs" 1983). The JCA received more public recognition than other Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, so its history and the issues that it has encountered over time are discussed in detail in the media ("No Thanks from JCA", 1982).

With the support of grants from the Canadian government, the JCA grew in size and influence even as other sociocultural organizations appeared. Organizations such as the Progressive Jamaicans Association (PROJAM), the West Indian Social and Cultural Society, and the Mississauga Social and Cultural Organization also provided important services to newcomers and a culturally friendly environment for Jamaican immigrants. These organizations were established after 1970 and did not engage in political activism on behalf of Black and Caribbean communities like the JCA. Changes in advocacy occurred as Toronto's landscape began to shift due to immigration legislation that permitted the entry of racial minorities into Canada (Simmons, 2010). The encounters between racialized immigrants and the conservative and exclusionary cultural norms of Canada challenged social structures that were resistant to change. A more welcoming socio-legal environment for immigrants meant that sociocultural organizations could provide services that went beyond advocacy.

With its settlement programs and advocacy, the JCA paved the way for immigrant organizations that offered programs and services that went beyond the promotion of national culture and activism (Williams, 2012). Special interest groups, alumni, ethnic and political organizations emerged after the establishment of the JCA. Many of these organizations also host events that promote Jamaican culture and allow Jamaican immigrants to build relationships with each other. Hosting socio-cultural activities, however, is often not the primary focus of these organizations.

b) Ethnic Organizations

Ethnic organizations, while social in their orientation, were established by a sub-group of immigrants within the Jamaican immigrant population that were excluded from popular understandings of Jamaican identity (Lindsay, 2007). Sub-groups within the Jamaican immigrant population include immigrants who are not part of or regarded as Black or of African descent. These sub-groups include Jamaican immigrants who are of mixed origins as well as those of Indian and Chinese descent (Mensah, 2002; Lindsay, 2007).

One of the most well-known Jamaican immigrant ethnic organizations in Toronto is the Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA). The Caribbean Chinese Association is labelled as a regional association due to the fact that it welcomes all Caribbean peoples of Chinese origin. Individuals with Jamaican Chinese heritage, however, comprise a large and recognizable segment of CCA membership. The CCA was established in 1977 to "provide a community focus for the 170 families that belong to it" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma: Our Support is Needed", 1981). The CCA was important for reuniting families who had fled Michael Manley's democratic socialist regime. They celebrate their Jamaican heritage by hosting various events including brunches and New Years Eve dances where they play Jamaican music and serve Jamaican food. They also organize events such as the annual Moon and mid-autumn festivals that celebrates their Chinese heritage. These events allow the children with Chinese Jamaican heritage to learn about their Chinese Jamaican background and maintain connections with extended family members of Chinese Jamaican descent ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma: Our Support is Needed," 1981). The Tsun Tsin Association of Ontario is another ethnic organization dominated by Jamaican Chinese immigrants residing in Toronto.

Many members of the Caribbean Chinese Association were also members of the Tsung Tsin Association of Ontario. The Tsung Tsin Association is a non-profit institution that supports charitable events that

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benefit the Hakka community. The establishment of ethnic organizations is relevant for understanding how plural identities within the Jamaican immigrant population contribute to diverse levels of identification with Jamaican national identity. This diversity has influenced the establishment of organizations that cater to Jamaican immigrants who are not of African descent.

c) Special Interest Groups

Special interest groups are organizations that address social issues of interest to their members. The establishment of special interest groups shows how the growth of the Jamaican immigrant population and the increasing number of Jamaican immigrant organizations has created opportunities for Jamaican immigrants to affiliate or organize based on one aspect of their social identity. Several factors have allowed special interest groups to focus on particular initiatives. For example, Toronto became more welcoming to immigrants due to the adoption of an official multiculturalism policy in 1971 and the growth of visible minority immigrant groups. Several ethno-specific and multicultural organizations that catered to settlement needs and issues created avenues for organizations to focus on other issues of interest to their membership.

The Project for the Advancement of Early Childhood Education (formerly called Women for PACE), established in 1987, is a prominent Jamaican Canadian special interest group in Toronto. PACE is "a voluntary organization established by a group of charitable Canadian women to provide support to early childhood institutions, that educate children between the ages of 3 and 5 years, by providing them with educational toys, playground equipment and teaching materials" (Maylor, 1987). Women for PACE is dedicated to supporting the improvement of early childhood education in Jamaica. Women for PACE was later renamed as PACE to include and recognize the increasing number of men who were joining the organization. The organization was founded by Dr. Mavis Burke, who at the time was a well-known educator in Toronto and Jamaica. She recognized the need to support Jamaican basic and elementary schools that were understaffed or had limited resources.

External influences were also important for understanding the establishment of PACE. During a visit to Toronto in 1987, former Prime Minister Edward Seaga appealed for "economic and educational assistance from Canada particularly in light of an island wide community-based pre-school initiative" promoted by the government of Jamaica (Burke, n.d). As a result, PACE was established to support and complement the government of Jamaica's educational initiatives. Over time, PACE became a registered charitable institution and required that "anyone seeking membership in [the organization would] have to apply and be formally accepted" by the organization (Depradine, 1989).

PACE has supported the improvement of early childhood education in various ways. In the 1970s, PACE created a professional development program in which early childhood education departments in Canada and Jamaica exchanged information and personnel to assist "Canadian educators in becoming culturally sensitive to pre-school children with Caribbean backgrounds" (Maylor, 1988). Over the years, PACE has helped other organizations in Ontario with the provision of educational services to underserviced communities in Toronto. For example, they supported the Jane and Finch Concerned Citizen Organization (JFCCO) by "distributing toys to underprivileged children in the Jane and Finch community."

The proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations established to promote the diverse interests and transnational connections of Jamaican immigrants are evident in the growth of other special interest groups such as Help Jamaica Now." Help Jamaica Now is a special interest group, which was established to assist the families of Jamaican immigrants that were devastated by Hurricane Gilbert in the 1980s ("J'can organization launched," 1989). Other special interest groups established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto include the Helping Hands Foundation and Friends of St. Thomas Association that fund basic schools and the distribution of medical support/services to low income families and communities in Jamaica.

d) Political Organizations

Political organizations are organizations that are established by immigrants who may have had a history of affiliation with political parties in their country of origin and wish to continue these connections in their new places of residence. Jamaican political organizations are in some ways special interest groups but they are interested in mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to support political initiatives, activities and parties in their home countries. The Jamaica Nationals League (JNL) was the first political organization established by Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. The JNL began when a group of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto wrote a letter to the editors of *The Islander* newspaper expressing their "interest in an organization affiliated to the PNP (or the Peoples National Party), which is one of the two major political parties in Jamaica" ("Letters" 1974). In a letter to the editor, one Jamaican immigrant indicated that there was "no room for political participation by inference or otherwise implicit in the constitution of any existing [Jamaican] organization …in Toronto" (Hugh 1974). As a result, the JNL was established in 1974 and operated as an overseas division of the PNP. They would have regular visits from members of the PNP to discuss issues such as voting in Jamaican elections and violent confrontations between members and supporters

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of the two ruling parties in Jamaica. Additionally, a 1976 article entitled '*Fracas Interrupts JNL Meet*' explained how events happening in Jamaica affected the JNL. The 'fracas' refers to the confrontation between the left and right wing factions of the Jamaica Nationals League "closely resembling the split within the ranks of the Peoples National Party in Jamaica" ("Fracas disrupts JNL meet," 1975). Political organizations such as the JNL are deeply embedded in transnational social fields that cross geographical and political borders (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004 and Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc, 1995). Although members of the JNL were well established in Toronto, the members remained heavily invested in Jamaica's political future. The Jamaica Nationals League does not exist today but political affiliations are still evident in organizations such as the Jamaican Canada Diaspora Foundation - a state body that was established by the Jamaican government to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support the economic development and growth of Jamaica. Members of the executive meet directly with the Jamaican government to discuss how Jamaicans residing overseas can assist the Jamaican government in advancing various initiatives.

e) Alumni Associations

Alumni associations are examples of another type of organization that accommodates and represents the diverse identities and social affiliations of Jamaican immigrants as well as the myriad transnational connections that they maintain while residing in Toronto. Identification with alumni associations indicates close ties with the post-secondary and tertiary institutions that Jamaican immigrants attended while living in Jamaica. Alumni associations were established to bring together and support graduates of major educational institutions (particularly Jamaican universities and elite high schools). There are many Jamaican alumni groups in Canada but most affiliate with the Alliance of Jamaican Alumni Associations (AAJA), an umbrella organization that represents all Jamaican alumni associations in Toronto. The AAJA was established by members who recognized that many secondary schools in Jamaica were in great financial need. Members of the AAJA also realized that if the needs of the institutions from which they graduated were great, then other schools that had much less resources needed their assistance (Fanfair 1998). There are 36 alumni associations registered with the AAJA but many others remain unregistered (AJAA, n.d.). At its inception, the AJAA comprised graduates from 38 secondary schools and two post-secondary institutions- the Mico Teachers College and the University of the West Indies Nurses College (Fanfair 1998). St. Georges College and Kingston College are also examples of two Jamaican postsecondary institutions that established alumni associations in Toronto. One of the founding members, Olive Parkins-Smith, "...shared his idea of forming a broader alumni group to assist Jamaican high schools with the support of fellow graduates of St. Georges College and Kingston College" (Fanfair, 1998). Parkins-Smith decided to host a soccer competition between these two schools to generate interest and membership for the organization. They have also conducted activities in Canada including the "graduates community reception to honour Ontario High school graduates and a job shadowing program that provided minority students with career role models and exposure to the work environment" (Fanfair, 1998).

Jamaican immigrant organizations play myriad roles in building a sense of belonging in the new place of residence. They provide a space for organizing based on national identities and the desire to maintain connections with the country of origin particularly in a context where there are experiences with exclusion, status loss and displacement.

V. Factors Influencing the Development of Jamaican Immigrant Organizations

The typology of immigrant organizations described in the preceding section suggests that the changing immigration context and the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population influenced the characteristics of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. The subsequent section discusses these contextual factors in detail.

a) Sense of Belonging, Reactionary Productions of Place and the Establishment of Sociocultural Organizations

The fact that sociocultural organizations such as the Jamaican Canadian Association were initially established to reinforce Jamaican identities and create networks amongst Jamaican immigrants in Toronto shows how sense of belonging was for its emergence. Many Jamaican immigrants participate in immigrant organizations to maintain ties with their home country, the "place where [they] feel they truly belong psychologically, socially and culturally" (Santos 1983 cited in Wolf 2006: 264). Establishing an immigrant organization that fostered sense of belonging by creating a space to represent national and cultural forms of expression that were specific to Jamaican immigrants was particularly important when Toronto had a small Jamaican immigrant population. Recall Roy Williams' (2012) claim that Jamaican immigrants often found themselves isolated in Toronto because the Jamaican immigrant population was not well established and the majority was predominantly white. The significance of cultural activity is highlighted by Frances Henry (1994) who explained that the "Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) emerged [out of attempts to] redefine [and specify national] cultural activity in their new home by

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sponsoring, dances, sports, clubs, alumni associations and celebrating [Jamaican] independence day." The cultural activities included events such as dinners and dances that celebrate Jamaican independence, the Jamaica Flag raising at City Hall in Toronto and an annual picnic where Jamaican cuisine is sold to support the philanthropic activities. Positive interactions with other Jamaican immigrants within the context of the JCA created a feeling of being at home in Toronto that fuelled their continued development and support from the Jamaican immigrant community.

Establishing immigrant organizations was not only important for reinforcing transnational connections and increasing comfort in the new place of settlement, it was also important to combat the racism that visible minority populations experienced in Toronto. At the time of the JCA's establishment, Toronto was still unfriendly to the growing population of visible minority immigrant groups who challenged their sense of who and what was Canadian (Troper, 2003: p 68). As a result, the executive of the JCA diversified their services and functions to include activities that involved defending the rights of Jamaican immigrants and lobbying the government for changes that enhanced their sense of belonging and long-term integration in Toronto. For instance, a 2002 article in *The Share* describes how the "JCA received $30,000 in provincial funding to alleviate violence that caused the death of more than 100 Blacks between 1998 and 2000" (Grant, 2002). The JCA also had meetings with Metro Toronto Police to address the criminalization of young Black men in Toronto and the violently racialized actions taken by the police against these individuals (Donkoh, 1997). Although, Canada is now a country "that recognizes human rights, maintains a broad social safety net and promotes an open door policy toward immigrants... discriminatory and exclusionary practices still endure" (Wong, 2006: 366). Discriminatory practices not only inhibited incorporation in Canadian society (Henry, 1994; Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005) but also shaped the orientation of many Jamaican immigrant organizations like the JCA.

The JCA's involvement in activism to defend marginalized individuals as well as its ability to acquire funding to support the services for Jamaican immigrants enhanced the organization's prominence as an organization. Former president of the JCA, Roy Williams (2012) emphasized that the JCA was "hardly established" when they became involved in their first human rights case. A young woman was accosted and wrongfully detained by the police. The JCA requested an investigation that facilitated the resolution of the matter. The victory confirmed the JCAs "authenticity and established that there was a need for an organization that could intervene on behalf of others in the community" (Williams, 2012: 27-28).

The role of immigrant organizations in representing the claims of Jamaican immigrants and making their cultural identities visible was established by earlier organizations such as the United Negro Improvement Association and Black Coalition of Canada (Gooden, 2008). These organizations were established to defend the rights of Blacks who were marginalized and build networks that would facilitate social and economic mobility for Blacks in Canada. Many immigrant groups within the Black population, however, began to establish their own organizations based on their specific national identities and interests. Jamaican immigrant organizations, in particular, began to emerge in greater numbers as the Jamaican immigrant population increased. The growing size of the Jamaican immigrant population in conjunction with the increasing density of organizations that supported the integration of visible minorities created opportunities to share information, financial resources and establish contacts that were instrumental for the formation of Jamaican immigrant organizations.

b) Ethno-cultural Diversity and the Establishment of Ethnic Organizations in Toronto

While the literature on immigrant organizations often argues that the reinforcement of solidarity and maintenance of cultural commonalities are significant factors encouraging the establishment of immigrant organizations (Itzigsohn and Saucedo, 2002; Camozzi, 2011; Premdas, 2004; Williams 2012); the history of Jamaican immigrant organizations shows that the diverse identities of individuals within the Jamaican immigrant population have also contributed to the proliferation of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto. Studies by Hopkins (2006), Salaff and Chan (2007), Premdas (1994) and Akcapar and Yurdakul (2009) highlight the ways in which tensions within immigrant populations can influence the establishment and activities undertaken by immigrant organizations. Perceptions of the Jamaican immigrant population and the ways it is seen by out-group members are influenced by the largest ethnicities that make up this immigrant population in Canada, particularly Jamaican immigrants of African descent who are highly racialized. Defining the Jamaican immigrant population as black is problematic as it homogenizes Jamaican immigrants and essentializes differences within the Jamaican immigrant population. Consequently, tensions among immigrants may be silenced and different ways of relating to Jamaican identity undermined. Ethnic diversity within the Jamaican immigrant population has meant that organizations that are defined by Afro-Jamaican identity can potentially exclude those who do not completely identify with this way of imagining Jamaican identity.

The Caribbean Chinese Association (CCA) in Toronto illustrates how Jamaican immigrants have organized based on ethnic identity. The CCA was established in 1977 to contribute to the advancement of the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population and

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improve the quality of community life amongst Caribbean Chinese immigrants in Toronto (Caribbean Chinese Association.com). While the CCA was established to support the Caribbean Chinese immigrant population in Toronto, it continues to be dominated by Jamaican immigrants. This organization is significant for Chinese Jamaican immigrants in Toronto as they " [often] found themselves in a twilight zone of being neither a meaningful part of a wider Jamaican immigrant population to which they were publicly assigned nor a part of the South East Asian community to which they were phenotypically associated" (Premdas, 2004: 552). Chinese Jamaican immigrants felt that they had a specific cultural heritage that needed to be recognized and therefore had a desire to create a space in which they could make identity and community claims that were specific to their identities as non-Black Jamaican immigrants. This was reinforced in a 1981 article in the *Share* where a former president of the CCA stated that "we're really not Chinese in a cultural sense, but we are not truly West Indian either...I find that I'm not really accepted in Chinatown as Chinese because I can't speak the language, and we're not fully accepted by other West Indian organizations here" ("Caribbean Chinese Face Cultural Dilemma," 1981). Although "the CCA was serious about developing a better relationship between all West Indians and individuals from other ethnic groups," establishing their own organization gave them a separate space for mobilization and saved them from being silenced, marginalized and excluded by the claims of the larger Jamaican immigrant population that was dominated by individuals of African descent ("Caribbean Chinese face Cultural Dilemma," 1981). By associating Jamaican identity with blackness, the identities and interests of Chinese Jamaican immigrants were silenced or excluded. These examples show how the increase in the number of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto stems partly from varying degrees of identification and disaffection with dominant definitions of Jamaican identity associated with African descent and the disadvantage associated with blackness.

Although colour and ethnicity continue to divide Jamaican immigrants, there are efforts to unite all Jamaican immigrant organizations despite diverse interests and identities. The National Council of Jamaicans and Supportive Organizations in Canada and the Caribbean Liberation Union, two organizations that are now defunct, were efforts to unite the diverse interests and identities of Jamaican immigrants in Toronto.

c) *Transnational Connections and Social Identities: The Formation of Special Interest Groups, Alumni Associations and Political Organizations by Jamaican Immigrants in Toronto*

Jamaican immigrants arrived in Canada with different social backgrounds and maintained identities that were mutually constructed by places of origin and destination. Differences in the social backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants have shaped the organizational activities they pursue. Specifically, educational background and political affiliations acquired in Jamaica have been important aspects of the social identities of Jamaican immigrants that influenced the organizations they established in Toronto. Jamaican immigrant alumni associations such as the Mico College Alumni Association and the University of the West Indies Alumni Association (Toronto Chapter) were established by Jamaican immigrants who wanted to maintain connections and support the improvement of their former high schools and universities in Jamaica.

Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League also demonstrate how Jamaican immigrants who were heavily involved in the activities of the Peoples National Party (PNP) in Jamaica continued to support party leaders by sending remittances to fund political campaigns and mobilizing Jamaican immigrants to support the political parties in Jamaica. The 1970s was a particularly turbulent for the Manley era of the PNP (Koslofsky, 1981). Rising crime and political tribalism encouraged the increasing migration of skilled and highly educated Jamaican nationals. These events also spurred the development of the JNL in Toronto. Many of the aforementioned issues were taken up by the JNL during their meetings in Toronto. Although the Jamaica Nationals League is no longer in existence, organizations such as the Jamaica Canada Diaspora Foundation still operate as state led organizations that are intended to mobilize Jamaican immigrants to support state interests.

Special interest groups such as PACE were also influenced by events occurring outside Canada. Specifically, the members of PACE focused their efforts on supporting Jamaican basic and elementary schools that were often understaffed or had limited resources. Responding to calls from former Jamaican Prime Minister, Edward Seaga, for transnational activism by Jamaican immigrants focused on early childhood education, PACE was established to fund the construction and improvement of early childhood education initiatives in Jamaica. There were many articles in the *Share* (Depradine, 1989; Maharaj, 1989; Grant, 1992) that described fundraising events hosted by PACE to support educational initiatives.

The activities of PACE and the JNL demonstrate how some Jamaican immigrant organizations emerge out of connections maintained between Jamaica and Toronto. The transnational connections separate these

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organizations from Jamaican immigrant organizations that are localized in their operations and, therefore, focus on supporting Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Differences in the extent to which members of Jamaican immigrant organizations are involved in activities occurring in the country of origin reinforces Hiebert and Ley's (2006:77) assertion that "there is much variation in the extent and intensity of transnational activity" in which immigrants in Canada are involved. Some Jamaican immigrant organizations focus primarily on institutionalized activities that continuously embed organizational members in a web of relations that connect Toronto with Jamaica while others do not.

d) State Relations and the Establishment of Immigrant Organizations

State involvement has been crucial to the establishment of many immigrant organizations (Goldring, 2002, Salaff and Chan, 2007). The Jamaican government has facilitated the establishment of immigrant organizations by calling on members of Jamaican immigrant populations overseas to mobilize support for political parties as well as specific socio-economic initiatives in Jamaica. Organizations such as the Jamaica Nationals League exemplify how transnational affiliations between Jamaican immigrants and the Jamaican government led to the establishment of a political organization that was the base for the Peoples National Party in Toronto.

The Canadian government has also facilitated the establishment of Jamaican immigrant organizations. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act created a socio-political environment that allowed Jamaican immigrants in Canada to create a social and physical space where they could celebrate their individual identities and cultures. Although some scholars may argue that the policy of multiculturalism is divisive (Bisoondath, 1994), reproduces marginalization (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010) and has done little to address the social exclusion that immigrants continue to experience (Ley, 2008), the Multiculturalism Act was designed to foster sense of belonging to the nation while allowing minorities to preserve their cultural heritage. Ethnic minority groups were to be treated as integral members of society. The Act also provides for freedom from discrimination based on religion, race, color and gender and emphasizes the importance of providing both capacity and opportunity for immigrant groups to be active citizens in Canadian society while maintaining their cultural heritage. Government grants have also allowed some immigrant organizations to expand their services and facilities. For instance, a 1989 article in the *Share* highlighted how a grant of more than $46,000 from the provincial government to the Jamaican Canadian Association allowed it to expand the services for Jamaican and Caribbean immigrants in Toronto (Depradine, 1989). The grant was part of a Multicultural Service Program that was established to subsidize the operating expenses of immigrant-serving organizations (Depradine, 1989). The Jamaican Canadian Association has received many government grants to support various settlement services provided to Jamaican immigrants in Toronto. Funding that supports institutions that organize around cultural identity symbolizes that "differences have equal worth and value" and reinforces the tenets of recognition and equality that a truly multicultural society should espouse (Fleras, 2009: 16).

The fact that the JCA is the only Jamaican immigrant organization with a permanent meeting place that is owned by members of the organization is noteworthy as it signifies the prominence and visibility of the JCA as an ethno-specific organization. This organizational space symbolizes the recognition that the JCA has achieved over time due to the organization's success.

VI. Conclusion

This study of Jamaican immigrant organizations addresses ongoing calls by migration scholars to examine how intra-group dynamics contribute to differences in the types of organizations established by immigrant populations (Veronis, 2010; Owusu, 2000 and Portes et al, 2007). Jamaican immigrant organizations reflect the social diversity of the Jamaican immigrant population, varying degrees of identification with Jamaican national identity and individual differences in the significance of transnational identities for these immigrants. The provision of settlement supports by a wide variety of multicultural and ethno-specific organizations and other changes at the destination have created a social safety net that has allowed many immigrant organizations to extend their mandates beyond the provision of culturally sensitive settlement services. Therefore, the development of Jamaican immigrant organizations also reflects changes in Toronto as a city of residence and, consequently, the changing needs of Jamaican immigrants.

The arrival of immigrants from diverse social and racial backgrounds led to changes in legislation and social policy particularly the Multiculturalism Act. The provisions of the Multiculturalism Act as well as the services provided by other organizations created the environment necessary to foster immigrants' plural social identities. Specifically, many Jamaican immigrant organizations began with a social mandate, in that they celebrated the cultures of their country of origin and provided a place of solace and support for Jamaican immigrants who often experienced exclusion and discrimination in their everyday lives. The types of Jamaican immigrant organizations in Toronto, however, expanded primarily due to the increasingly diverse ethnic and social backgrounds of Jamaican immigrants

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that began to arrive in Toronto after 1970. Through the Jamaican immigrant organizations that had a sociocultural orientation and multicultural organizations with government funding, Jamaican immigrants could establish organizations that addressed their diverse social interests and social backgrounds.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 24 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

We Don't Need No Education

By Volker W. Thürey

Abstract The foundation of this paper is the premise that mankind is a result of evolution. From this requirement, I conclude that every property of people must be generated by development. Here I justify that some social behavior must be inborn. Education is not necessary to explain it. Of course, I can not prove that humans are generated by evolution.

Keywords and Phrases: *evolution, education, educability.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *DDC: 150*



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We Don't Need No Education

Volker W. Thürey

Abstract

The foundation of this paper is the premise that mankind is a result of evolution. From this requirement, I conclude that every property of people must be generated by development. Here I justify that some social behavior must be inborn. Education is not necessary to explain it. Of course, I can not prove that humans are generated by evolution.

Keywords and Phrases: evolution, education, educability.

It is a general opinion that the character of people is formed by education in the childhood. I believe that this doesn't seem right. Instead, I think that character is given by the genes. Here I try to justify this.

In this paper, I assume the not-provable claim that humans and all animals are generated by evolution. Therefore, every property has to be justified by development, i.e., any property of someone had given an advantage in the struggle of life.

Nearly all humans feel unhappy if they are alone. Humans have lived in groups. This ensured a more successful existence since life in a group is more accessible than isolated. Therefore, many mammals live in groups, for instance, lions, horses, orcas, and others. Of course, some live alone, for instance, leopards. Living in groups requires some social behavior. Therefore, the capability of social behavior must be inborn. Nearly all humans have some. Even Adolf Hitler had it. Of course, he also wanted to lead other people. He has chosen the democratic way. Therefore, he joined a party. His primary abilities were to give speeches and to convince others to accept him as a leader.

Indeed, Adolf Hitler was a very evil person. I believe that this was innate. Up to now, there is no proof that education can turn a bad person into a good person, and vice versa; and also, there is not a single example. (It is impossible to prove or disprove the capability for 'educability'. Proofs usually are made in a mathematical context. For instance, the statement 'The set of prime numbers is finite' can be proved or disproved.)

With the word educability, I mean the capability to determine a property by education. The most crucial insight is that educability is a highly nontrivial property and by no means self evident. Therefore, the capability of the educability of any property has to be fixed in the genes.

Assume that we want that a specific education has the consequence of property A. How can it be compelled and determined? The only possibility is that after instruction to prevent people from transmitting their genes if they do not have property A. It would have to be done over several generations. This would be nearly impossible.

Of course, many people believe that a specific education has the consequence A. To ensure this claim, it has to be proved, but I believe that this is impossible. One reason is that perhaps it is wrong.

In any case, education is not necessary to explain any property.

Of course, humans are social beings. Children must be raised by adults, in the safety of a group. They learn a lot from grownups. The best example is the language.

Most statements are only personal views. Naturally, I can not prove them.

Acknowledgements

I thank Bouchra Ben Zahir and Selen Yenilmez for a careful reading, and as well as Rüdiger Rehberg and Arne Thürey for support.

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Acknowledgments

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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.

The Administration Rules

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

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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

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ISSN 975587

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