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A Study on New Market Area

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Highlights

The Existence of a Hiding Place

Land Acquisition in West Bengal India

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Issue

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

1. Evidence about the Existence of a Hiding Place on Mount Horeb Related to the Temple of Jerusalem. *1-6*
2. The Path from *The Hustler* to *The Man Who does Sex Work*: Changes and Perspectives in Anglophonic Literature. *7-18*
3. An Assessment Study of Displacement due to Land Acquisition in West Bengal, India. *19-26*

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

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Evidence about the Existence of a Hiding Place on Mount Horeb Related to the Temple of Jerusalem

By Flavio Barbiero

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It would be different if we could find precise references to this hiding place in the Bible itself or some independent and equally ancient sources. This expectation, however, looks naïve. The primary prerogative of a secret is that of being kept "secret." It is obvious that their actual owners avoided talking about it and controlled as far as they could the "media" of their time, trying to prevent the news about its existence from becoming public.

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Surprisingly, however, there is a host of direct references about such a hiding place in the Bible itself, which is a product of that same caste of priests who were the owners of the secret, sometimes coarsely disguised by evident corruptions, but in the whole quite clear and reliable. The references are precise and reliable also in non-canonic and apocryphal books. They provide a large amount of coherent information that cannot be discarded.

I. The High Priest Hilkiah Comes Across "The Book of the Law"

The first clue about the existence of a secret hiding place, related to Jerusalem's Temple and controlled by the high priest, can be found in 2 Chron. 34,14 and in 2 Kings 23,24. It was the year 622 B.C. After more than forty years during which the Jerusalem Temple had been devoted to the cult of heathen idols, King Josiah had just ordered the restoration of the ancient faith: "*Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had purged the land and the house, he sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder, to repair the house of the Lord his God. And when they came to Hilkiah the high priest, they delivered the money that was brought into the house of God … and when they brought out the money that was brought into the house of the Lord, Hilkiah the priest found a book of the law of the Lord given by Moses. And Hilkiah answered and said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord. And Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan.*"

Considering that the Temple was devoted to heathen cults for several decades, it appears improbable that the book was simply forgotten in some dark corner. It is more likely that it was kept in a secret hiding place well known to Hilkiah.

II. Jeremiah and Baruch Hide Temple's Sacred Furniture "Underground"

The finding of the "book of the law" is only a clue hinting at the existence of a hiding place. A precise confirmation, however, can be found in an event that occurred only 35 years later: "*In the ninth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the tenth month, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and all his army against Jerusalem and they besieged it.*" After two years of siege, "*in the fifth month, in the seventh day of the month, which is the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard, a servant of the king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem: and he burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem.*" (*2 Re 25, 8-21*).

If a hiding place really existed, we have to assume it was used to secure some of the Temple's most sacred furniture on that occasion. However, not a single word hinting at the existence of some hiding places is found in "2 Kings" or "Jeremiah," the two books of the Bible that report those events with many details.

There are, however, some non "canonic" texts, the so-called "Intertestamentarian Texts" (Ed Gallimard, 1987), which report those same events. Particularly significant, amongst them, are the "Paralipomenes of Jeremiah" and the "Apocalypses of Baruch". Both of them describe at length what happened during the destruction of Jerusalem, and they insist on the fact that on that occasion, some sacred objects of the Temple had been hidden "underground". Examples:

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In Cap. III, 3 of "Paralipomena of Jeremiah" it is written:

"Jeremiah said: - Now we know, o my Lord, that you will put the city in the hands of its enemies and that they will take the population to Babylon. What can we do of the saint things and of the vases sacred to your cult? What do you want that we do? And the Lord said; - Take them and entrust them to the earth … Jeremiah and Buruch got into the sanctuary and entrusted the sacred vases to the earth, as the Lord had commanded. And immediately the earth swallowed them up."

- in Baruch VI, 1-9, it is said that "*The day after the Chaldaean army surrounded the city …. And I saw an angel descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from it the veil, and the saint ephod and the two tablets, and the sacred priests' vest, the altar of incense, the 48 precious stones carried by the priest and all the sacred vases of the tent. And he cried to the Earth in a loud voice, 'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, and receive what I commit to you, and guard them until the last times, so that, when you are ordered, you may restore them, and strangers may not get possession of them … And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up."*

- in Baruch LXXX, 1-2: "*... when the city was surrounded, the angels of the Almighty were sent … and they hid certain sacred vases, so that the enemy may not get possession of them."*

III. Jeremiah and the Cave on Mount Horeb

These quotations are significant and support the hypothesis about the existence of a secret hiding place where holy furniture and texts were secured whenever Jerusalem's Temple was threatened. However, the information they convey is vague and imprecise. No clue is provided about the nature and location of the hiding place (it is only said that it was "*underground*").

There is, however, another "non-canonic" book, 2 Maccabees, which reports the fact that Jeremiah had hidden some holy objects in a secret cave, the entry to which he then accurately sealed and concealed:

2 Mac. 2,4-12 "It is on record that the prophet Jeremiah … warned by an oracle, gave orders for the tent and the ark to go with him when he set out for the mountain which Moses had climbed to survey God's heritage. On his arrival, Jeremiah found a cave-dwelling, into which he put the tent, the ark and the altar of incense, afterwards blocking up the entrance. Some of his companions went back later to mark out the path but could not find it. When Jeremiah learned this, he reproached them, 'The place is to remain unknown', he said, 'until God gathers his people together again and shows them his mercy. Then the Lord will bring these things once more to light, and the glory of the God will be seen, and so will the cloud, as it was revealed in the time of Moses and when Solomon prayed that the holy place might be gloriously hallowed.'

It was also recorded how Solomon, in his wisdom, offered the sacrifice of the dedication and completion of the sanctuary. As Moses had prayed to the Lord and fire had come down from heaven and burned up the sacrifice, so Solomon also prayed, and the fire from above consumed the burnt offerings." (The New Jerusalem Bible)

This passage is quite interesting because it conveys precise and detailed information about the location and nature of the hiding place, even reporting that its entry was accurately sealed and disguised.

At first reading, however, it looks untrustworthy, as the facts it reveals are stunning and have no evident connection with events reported in the Bible. In particular:

a) The first information which appears to be unworthy of any credit is that the crypt was located no less than on Mount Horeb;
b) A second unbelievable information relates to the objects hidden by Jeremiah, amongst which the Tabernacle, the altar of incense and the ark of covenant are recorded;
c) A third point, which is, to say the least, hitherto unknown, is the mention of King Solomon, who, according to this account, went to Mount Horeb and celebrated on its top a dedication ceremony, like the one celebrated centuries earlier by Moses. If it really happened, such an event is of great historical relevance and should be reported in Solomon's chronicles. Instead, nothing of this kind is mentioned in the chronicles of this king.

However, it is possible to demonstrate that the information provided by 2 Maccabees is supported down to the smallest detail by precise cross-reference in the Bible.

IV. Location of the Secret Crypt

Let us start with the location of the hiding place. The indications given by 2 Maccabees prove that it refers to Mount Horeb.

First, there is the reference to a cave, whose existence is well known on Mount Horeb, as there are other quotations in the Bible.

Then there is the mention of Moses' consecration ceremony with the appearance of the "cloud and the Glory of God," exactly as on Mount Horeb. But the most significant clue is that the mountain is identified as the one on which Moses had seen "*God's heritage*," the same words used in Exodus 15,17 related to Mount Horeb.

Most exegetes find this conclusion so incredible that they prefer to strain the meaning of the text, specifying that it was instead Mount Nebo.

The main reason for their reluctance to accept the indications of 2 Maccabees is probably the fact that those same exegetes identify Mount Horeb with the Gebel el Musa, in the St. Catherine massif, too far away from Jerusalem to be regularly visited by the Temple's priests. Another reason might be the widespread opinion that the holy mountain was not a real mountain

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but rather an ideal one, the location of which was not known to the Jews.

The distance from Jerusalem becomes a minor problem if we agree with Prof. Emmanuel Anati that Mount Horeb was in the area of Har Karkom, a mountain in the Negev, which he identified with Sinai. The second reason is easily refuted if we give credit to those passages of the Bible showing that during Judah's reign, the location of Mount Horeb was well known to the Jewish priests. The 2 Maccabees account is one of these passages. Also well known is the lengthy account in chapter 19 of 1 Kings, which describes the journey of the prophet Elijah to Mount Horeb in the seventh century B.C.

> "*(Elijah) arose and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb, the mount of God. And he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there … and it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave.*"

The account does not contain any helpful elements for localizing the mountain. However, it is focused on a feature that is also mentioned in Exodus 33,22: "*the cleft of the rock*," where Moses hid himself at God's passage. In Elijah, the "cleft" is described as a proper cave and becomes the most characteristic element of that mountain, thus supporting the passage of 2 Maccabees, where the cave is the central element of the account of Jeremiah's visit to the holy mountain.

We must assume that the Jewish priest knew the location of Mount Horeb before the destruction of Jerusalem, but there is evidence that this knowledge was not lost on that occasion.

In a letter to the Galatians, Saint Paul says that he went incognito for three years in the land of the Nabateans, Arabia. In the same letter, he states, "Sinai is a mountain of Arabia" (Gal. 4,25), demonstrating that he knew where it was. This notion survived at least until the Renaissance, when maps of "Arabia Petraea and Desert" were produced, showing the position of Mount Sinai and Horeb just in front of Petra, the capital of the Nabateans.

Another objection might be that according to some quoted verses, we could understand that the crypt was "under" Jerusalem's Temple or in its immediate surroundings. The high priest Hilkiah, for instance, states that he had found the book of the law "inside" the Temple during the restoration works. It does not mean anything because if the hiding place was secret, we must assume he was not so naïve as to reveal its existence and location. Also, "Paralipomena of Jeremiah" III, II-14 simply states that Jeremiah and Baruch entered the Temple and hid the sacred vases underground; from what we might understand that the hiding place was in the Temple's area.

There is, however, an indication that conflicts with this conclusion and precisely the fact that it was Jeremiah, with Baruch's help (they were both priests, but not in the Temple's service), who hid the holy objects in the crypt, and not the high priest Saraja himself, as we should expect. A logical explanation is that the hiding place was outside the walls of Jerusalem. Being the city besieged, it was out of Saraja's reach. Jeremiah, instead, enjoyed complete freedom of movement, as proven by the verses Jer. 39, 11-12*:* "*Now Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon gave charge concerning Jeremiah to Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, saying: take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm; but do unto him even as he shall say unto thee*".

This is the reason why Saraja charged Jeremiah to hide the sacred vessels.

V. Objects Hidden in the Crypt - the Tabernacle

There is no serious objection to the possibility that the secret crypt could be located on Mount Horeb, but of course, the indications given in 2 Maccabees do not prove that such a crypt really existed and that it was on that mountain. More robust evidence is needed to prove it, supporting them point by point.

This evidence can be found if we examine the list of objects supposedly hidden by Jeremiah in the cave. In 2 Maccabees, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle and the altar of the burnt offering are named.

No mention of the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant is made in the other passages describing the objects hidden by Jeremiah and Baruch. In Baruch IV, 1-9, only the altar of the incense together with the veil, the ephod, the breastplate, the tables of the law, the sacred vestment of the priests, the 48 precious stones and the sacred vases are listed. Somewhere else, only the sacred vases are mentioned.

It appears immediately unlikely that Jeremiah could have transported and hidden on the holy mountain such large objects as the ark of covenant, the Tabernacle and the altar of burning offering, if nothing else for practical reasons. The Tabernacle was heavy and bulky. "*Six carts pulled by two oxen*" were necessary to transport it, and a large number of people were needed for the transport of all other objects connected to it: 4 for the ark of the covenant, 8 for the altar of burning offering ... (see Numbers 7.1-9). Out of the question where Jeremiah is concerned because we must assume that he left Jerusalem and reached the secret hiding place unobserved, with a minimal train and without any conspicuous object.

Why, then, in 2 Maccabees, not only the Ark of the Covenant but also the Tabernacle and the altar of the burning offerings are mentioned? A likely explanation for this question could be that Jeremiah had not put those objects in the cave but had only "seen" them on

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that occasion. He later told what he had seen to someone else, who, in the successive reporting of the facts, introduced some "small imprecision". Those objects, therefore, must have been put into Mount Horeb's cave well before Jeremiah went there.

The Jews made the Tabernacle in the wilderness on Moses' instruction. Exodus devotes several chapters to a meticulous description of this extraordinary object, indicating its enormous importance in the Exodus' events. In the following books, the Tabernacle is the fulcrum of all actions; the Jewish people's life and every movement rotate around it.

During the march towards Palestine, the Tabernacle was erected in the Moab valley, and it was inside it that Moses gathered the Jewish people for his last great speech, as reported by Deuteronomy. The Tabernacle followed Joshua into Palestine, and at the end of the war operations, it was erected in Shiloh. It was in Shiloh, inside the Tabernacle, that the newly conquered territory was allotted to the tribes of Israel (Joshua, 18.1).

After that, the Tabernacle disappears from the Bible's chronicles. Nowhere is written about what happened to such an important object. In the absence of information about it, we have to make some conjecture. The alternative is between two hypotheses: either the Tabernacle was somehow destroyed, or it was stored in some secret and secure hiding place.

The Bible provides precise indications that make this second hypothesis the most likely, as it plainly states that the Tabernacle was to be found on Mount Horeb at least four centuries before Jeremiah's time.

VI. The High Place of Gibeon

In Chronicles and Kings, it is repeatedly reported that during David and Solomon's time (therefore, at least 200 years after the partition of Palestine, when the very last reference to that object is made), the Tabernacle was to be found on the "*high place of Gibeon*".

Exegetes identify this Gibeon with the homonymous Canaanite town we meet in Joshua 9, at the beginning of Palestine's conquest. The Gibeonites avoided destruction by sending Joshua a delegation, which got an alliance treaty from him through an expedient. From then on, Gibeon is mentioned only a few times, always to specify that its inhabitants were still living amongst the Jews, although they were Canaanites. The existence of a sacred high place near Gibeon is never suggested.

Then suddenly, during David and Solomon's time, this "sacred high place of Gibeon" makes its unexpected appearance, seemingly playing an essential role in the events of that period, as it was "*the great high place*."

Following are the passages which mention it:

- 1 Chro, 21,29: "The Tabernacle and the altar of the burnt offering were at that season in the high place of Gibeon. But David could not go before it to inquire of God: for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the Lord."

- 1 Cro, 16,39: "(David appointed) Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests, before the tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was in Gibeon ..."

- 1 Re, 3,4: "And the King (Solomon) went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar. In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon …"

- 2 Cro, 1,3: "Solomon .. went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses the servant of the Lord had made in the wilderness … moreover the brazen altar, that Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur had made, he put before the tabernacle of the Lord … and Solomon went up thither to the brazen altar before the Lord, which was at the tabernacle of the congregation, and offered a thousand burnt offerings upon it ."

- 1 Re, 9,2: "The Lord appeared to Solomon the second time, as he had appeared to him at Gibeon ..."

The information conveyed by these verses is astonishing and highly significant. In essence, it says that in David and Solomon's time, there was a holy mountain, which was the most important of all; that on that mountain, the Tabernacle made by Moses in the wilderness and the altar of the burning offering were to be found; that king Solomon went there for the only reason that the Tabernacle and the altar were there; and finally that he offered upon it a thousand burnt offerings to the Lord, who honoured him by appearing.

This is the same information conveyed by the account of 2 Maccabees related to Mount Horeb. Could this mysterious "*high place of Gibeon*" be identified with Mount Horeb? The only reason that links this high place with the Canaanite town spared by Joshua during the conquest of Palestine is the name bestowed on it: "*Gibeon*". The word Gibeon - what a coincidence! - means "*mount*". The quoted verses, therefore, refer to a well-known and important mountain that did not need any other name to be identified: it was simply "*the mount*".

VII. Hanging of Saul's Descendants on the Mount of Yahweh

A passage of 2 Samuel openly states that this was the *"hill of Yahweh"* and, therefore, Mount Horeb and it furthermore links that mountain directly to the family of Jerusalem's priests.

2 Sam 21, 1 reports that:

"In the days of David there was a famine which lasted for three years on end. David consulted Yahweh, and Yahweh said, 'Saul and his family have incurred blood-guilt, by putting the Gibeonites to death.' Then the king summoned the Gibeonites and said - now the Gibeonites were not

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Israelites, but were a remnant of the Amorites, to whom the Israelites had bound themselves by oath; Saul, however, in his zeal for the Israelites and Judah, had done his best to exterminate them - *hence David said to the Gibeonites, 'What can I do for you? How can I make amends, so that you will call a blessing down on Yahweh's heritage?' The Gibeonites replied, 'Our quarrel with Saul and his family cannot be settled for silver or gold, nor by putting to death one man in Israel.' David said, 'Say what you want and I will do it for you.' Then they replied to the king, 'The man who dismembered us and planned to annihilate us, so that we should not exist anywhere in Israelite territory - we want seven of his descendants handed over to us; and we shall dismember them* ***before Yahweh at Gibeon on Yahweh's hill****.' 'I shall hand them over', said the king. The king, however, spare Meribbaal son of Jonathan, son of Saul, on account of the oath by Yahweh binding them together, binding David and Jonathan son of Saul. The king took the two sons born to Saul by Rizpah daughter of Aiah: Armoni and Meribbaal; and the five sons borne by Merab daughter of Saul to Adriel son of Barzillai, of Meholah. He handed them over to the Gibeonites, who dismembered them* ***before Yahweh on the hill****. The seven of them perished together; they were put to death in the first days of the harvest, at the beginning of the barley harvest.*" (The New Jerusalem Bible).

No mention is made in Saul's chronicles about a supposed relation between the king and the Canaanite town of Gibeon, let alone that he attempted to its inhabitants' lives! If he had committed an action so evil against them as to merit the divine wrath and such extremely cruel punishment, it would have indeed been reported in the chronicles of the king.

VIII. Saul Exterminates the "Gibeonites" (The Priests of Nob)

Samuel's books report, instead, with horror and many details, the news about a monstrous crime committed by Saul during his reign, when he killed not Gibeon's inhabitants but a whole family of Judah's priests. This episode is reported in 1 Sam.22.11:

"*Then the king send to call Ahimelek the priest, the son of Ahitub, and all his father's house, the priests that were in Nob: and they came, all of them, to the king. And Saul said, Hear now thou son of Ahitub. And he answered, Here I am, my Lord. And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse, in that thou hast given him bread, and a sword, and hast enquired of God for him, that he should rise against me, to lie in wait, as at this day? Then Ahimelek answered the king, and said, And who is so faithful among all thy servants as David, which is the king's son in law, and goeth at thy bidding, and is honorable in thine house? Did I then begin to inquire of God for him? Be it far from me: let not the king impute anything unto his servant, nor to all the house of my father: for thy servant knew nothing of all this, less or more.*

And the king said, Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou and all thy father's house. And the king said unto the footmen that stood about him, Turn and sly the priests of the Lord; because their hand also is with David, and because they knew when he fled, and did not shew it to me. But the servants of the king would not put forth their hand to fall upon the priests of the Lord.

And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod. And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep, with the edge of the sword.

And one of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, named Abiatar, escaped and fled after David. And Abiatar shewed David that Saul had slain the Lord's priests. And David said unto Abiatar, I knew it that day, when Doeg the Edomite was there, that he would surely tell Saul: I have occasioned the death of all the persons of thy father's house. Abide thou with me, fear not: for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life; but with me thou shalt be in safeguard."

This crime was so appalling that it cried out for vengeance to God and the whole of Israel. Nevertheless, according to the Bible versions, it went unpunished, as no mention is made of any consequences for Saul or his descendants because of it. God, instead, and King David on his behalf, according to 2 Sam.21,2, were irate with Israel and Saul's descendants because of an unknown act committed by the king against a population - Gibeon's inhabitants - who were not even Israelite! The least we can say is that it does not make sense.

If we translate the word "Gibeonites" with "those of the holy mountain, " immediately everything becomes clear.

"Those of the holy mountain" could be none other than the family of the priests, whom Saul nearly annihilated at Nob, accusing the high priest Ahimelech of having backed his rival David. The survivors and David himself, who felt responsible for what had happened, could not possibly leave such a crime unpunished. The punishment was perfectly appropriate: Saul's family members were hanged by "those of the holy mountain" in front of Yahweh, in a high place sacred to him. Undoubtedly, it was Mount Horeb.

There is also no doubt that the "Gibeonites", annihilated by Saul in 2 Sam.21, were the members of the priests' family. It proves that there was a strict relationship between that family and the mountain, which they visited regularly. Only they were entitled to do it because, as we learn from verse 1Chro.21,29, Moses' interdiction to climb up the mountain was still in force for everybody but the priests. That is why David refused to go there, "*for he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the Lord*." (1Chro, 21,29).

IX. Zadok Appointed as Custodian of the Hiding Place on the Mountain

Given what has been stated so far, the verse: "*(David appointed) Zadok the priest before the Tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was in*

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Gibeon ..." *(*1Chro, 16,39) becomes significant and important.

Together with verses 1 Chron. 21,29 and 2 Chron. 1,3, it confirms that the Tabernacle was to be found on Mount Horeb, evidently in the same place where Jeremiah would see it four centuries later, that is, in the secret cave.

Second, it means that David gave the "proprietorship" of the cave and its contents to the priests' family who ruled Jerusalem's Temple. Zadok became the high priest of Jerusalem when Abiatar was exiled to Anatot, and this office stayed with his family well beyond the exile to Babylon. During this period, the high priests of Jerusalem, and therefore Hilkiah and Saraja, were the legitimate "custodians" of the cave on Mount Horeb, where the Tabernacle and the Ark of Covenant were stored. It is not out of place to presume that they utilized it in times of hardship to hide the most sacred and precious objects of the Temple.

X. Conclusion

The passage of 2 Maccabees, which at first reading looks unreliable, is supported point by point by precise cross-reference in Samuel, Chronicles, and Kings. Overall, the evidence pointing to the existence of a hiding place on Mount Horeb is quite strong, as the cross-references are consistent and independent from each other.

Furthermore, the fact that those verses were somehow “manipulated” to avoid any direct hint to Mount Horeb (and to the hiding place upon it) proves that a specific "censorship" was exercised on the Bible on this subject, which is a further element in favour of its existence and of the enormous importance it had for the priests of Jerusalem.

In conclusion, the information we gather from these verses looks credible. We can summarize it as follows:

1. There has been a cave on Mount Horeb since Moses' time, the entrance of which was well concealed.
2. After the partition of Palestine, the Tabernacle, the altar of burnt offerings, the Ark of Covenant and other sacred objects were stored in that cave.
3. King David appointed the high priests of Jerusalem as custodians of the cave.
4. During Judah’s reign, the priests of Jerusalem used the crypt to hide the Temple's most precious objects in times of danger.
5. When Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, the high priest Saraja asked Jeremiah, who had then complete freedom of movement, to hide in the secret crypt some precious vessels of the Temple, giving him precise instructions on how to find it and how to keep it secret.

At this point, the main question remains: Where was Mount Horeb? It is supposed that during the exile in Babylon, knowledge of its location and the secret of its hiding place was lost. However, there are testimonies about people who visited it afterwards, well supported by solid archaeological evidence. This is what we expect to know from the ongoing research in the area of Har Karkom.

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The Path from *The Hustler* to *The Man Who does Sex Work*: Changes and Perspectives in Anglophonic Literature

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Abstract- This article explores the academic literature on male sex work, particularly on English-language publications. This research covers more than 150 articles and books, offering a literature review that investigates three distinct historical periods: the *hustler* as a social problem; the male sex worker as a vector of disease; and sex work as a profession. Our analysis reveals the development of perceptions about male sex work, highlighting its transition from a pathologizing understanding to a more professionalized recognition. Issues of identity, economics, Health, and technology are examined, demonstrating how the intersection of these factors shapes men's experiences and lives within the sex industry. Case studies from diverse geographies illustrate the varied academic concerns, from violence and legislation to Public Health and sex tourism. This article highlights the predominance of Health in this field of study, reflecting on the implications of this concern for the dissemination and impact of knowledge about male sex work.

Keywords: *sex work, men, english language, Health.*

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The Path from *The Hustler* to *The Man Who does Sex Work*: Changes and Perspectives in Anglophonic Literature

Josafá Barros Camargo Borges [α] & Guilherme R. Passamani [σ]

Abstract- This article explores the academic literature on male sex work, particularly on English-language publications. This research covers more than 150 articles and books, offering a literature review that investigates three distinct historical periods: the *hustler* as a social problem; the male sex worker as a vector of disease; and sex work as a profession. Our analysis reveals the development of perceptions about male sex work, highlighting its transition from a pathologizing understanding to a more professionalized recognition. Issues of identity, economics, Health, and technology are examined, demonstrating how the intersection of these factors shapes men's experiences and lives within the sex industry. Case studies from diverse geographies illustrate the varied academic concerns, from violence and legislation to Public Health and sex tourism. This article highlights the predominance of Health in this field of study, reflecting on the implications of this concern for the dissemination and impact of knowledge about male sex work.

Keywords: sex work, men, english language, Health.

Resumo- O presente artigo explora a produção acadêmica sobre o trabalho sexual de homens, com um foco particular em publicações de língua inglesa. A pesquisa abrange mais de 150 artigos e livros, oferecendo uma revisão bibliográfica que investiga três períodos históricos distintos: o *hustler* como problema social; o homem que faz trabalho sexual como vetor de doenças e; o trabalho sexual como profissão. A análise revela o desenvolvimento das percepções sobre o trabalho sexual de homens, destacando a transição deste de um entendimento patologizante para um reconhecimento mais profissionalizado. Questões de identidade, economia, saúde e tecnologia são examinadas, demonstrando como a intersecção desses fatores molda as experiências e vidas dos homens dentro da indústria do sexo. Estudos de caso em diversas geografias ilustram as variadas preocupações acadêmicas, desde violência e legislação até saúde pública e turismo sexual. Este artigo sublinha a predominância da saúde nesse campo de estudo, refletindo sobre as implicações dessa preocupação na disseminação e impacto do conhecimento sobre o trabalho sexual de homens.

Palavras-chave: trabalho sexual; homens; língua inglesa; saúde.

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Introduction

Sex work has occupied different spaces in recent decades in terms of production and research. Traditionally, male sex work has been stigmatized and made invisible in its nuances, forms and performances. Ideas such as marginality, deviance and risk have often been associated with both the figure of the man who does sex work and his client. The internet and technology, however, have played an important role in overcoming stigmatized understandings about the profession. This research, a bibliographic survey on male sex work, shows a significant proportion of books, reports, articles and newspapers published in English. The general objective is to present critically three periods that brought with them different understandings on male sex work. As can be seen, in all these periods one particular element has remained as a part of the research. This element concerns since the beginning of the investigations.

John Scott (2003) observes that the English language is the major language in this area of studies since the first publications were published in the United States and England. Although they cannot be considered the first countries for empirical production, the joint and larger productions from the United States and England, according to the author, justify these first publications. There are also "loose" pioneering publications carried out empirically in Germany (Scheinmann, 1929; Picton, 1931). These publications, however, were published in English language. They also can be found newspapers from the United States and England.

Although there is this relationship with language, the cases and studies produced vary between countries. The productions are many, divided into specific areas of knowledge, such as Anthropology,

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Criminology, Sociology, History, Human Rights, Literature, Psychology, Public Health, among others. Themes, as can be seen in this work, also have alternations linked to other variables, such as, for example, the specific period of production on sex work and men.

This work is part of a larger research project entitled *A rota Campo Grande (MS) - Lisboa (PT) da prostituição masculina - fluxos, trânsitos, relações e performances*[1], funded by the Foundation for the Support of the Development of Education, Science and Technology of the State of Mato Grosso do Sul (Fundect-MS). The main objective of this more extensive research is to carry out an analysis of the sexual work carried out by Brazilian men on the route between Brazil and Portugal, considering issues involving flows, traffic, relationships and performances of subjects who prostituted themselves in the city of Campo Grande, capital of Mato Grosso do Sul, and today do so in the city of Lisbon.

Regarding the scope of this article, more than 150 productions were selected for theoretical basis and discussion of the production in the English language about men who do sex work (MDSW). Keywords as *male sex workers*, *male sex work*, men *who sell sex*, *men selling sex*, *male prostitution*, *male prostitutes* and *male escorts* were used to find publications in platforms like *Google Scholar*, *Scielo*, *Scopus*, *Science Direct* and *World Wide Science*. This selection of productions covered a period of three months, from october 2022 to december of the same year. The articles and books were divided into publication areas such as Anthropology, Law, History, Literature, Psychology, Sociology and Public Health.

Reading the texts in this section allowed us to discover things beyond the specific areas of knowledge. Themes show us three periods of academic production on male sex work. Although they are not present in a closed form for each of the three periods, most of them show three different, but correlated, perspectives on male sex work. The leading clipping for achieving the objective of this article, in addition to the criterion regarding the language of production, is the division of three distinct production periods. These moments, which also demarcate three themes, present distinct perceptions on the commercialization of sex from the man who had his person represented from an individual danger, part of a collective risk until the moment when his sexual services began to be considered within the scope of work, its regulation and overcoming of stigmas.

[1] Translation: *The Campo Grande (MS) - Lisbon (PT) route of male prostitution-flows, transits, relationships and performances*.

Some works analyzed agree with this division into three research periods of sex work. The justifications are presented in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The selection of the periods of literature in this work will present examples of the three moments. As shown below, there are continuities and dialogues between the three periods in a central concern up to the present moment: Health.

The article is organized in four parts. The first three chronologically outline the historical-thematic division of male sex work: (1) the *hustler* as a social problem; (2) the man who does sex work as a vector for the transmission of diseases; and (3) sex work as a profession. The fourth and final part concludes with what can be seen at each moment of this production.

We also talk about the centrality that Health seems to have assumed since the beginning of production.

I. The Hustler as a Social Problem

The first moment of analysis on male sex work was "understood through a scientific lens, and typically associated with intergenerational sex and economic exploitation." (Scott, 2003, p. 179).

David Bimbi (2015) points out that during the 1940s, homosexuality as a mental illness was the paradigm developed by psychologists and psychiatrists for analyzing individual and social issues. Homosexuality, and not prostitution[2], was the problem to be faced. This is a historical moment that Victor Minichiello, Denton Callander and John Scott (2013) specifically delimit from the 1940s to the 1970s[3].

Analyses at the time investigated the relationship between older clients and young men who worked in sex work. Differences were not only related to age, but also class, once disproportions between the parties were observed. That is, clients generally came from the middle and/or upper classes, as the "survival sex" (Aggleton; Parker, 2015; Bimbi, 2015; Bimbi; Parsons, 2005; Luckenbill, 1985) of the young

[2] We refer to the term "sex work" as the provision of sexual services in exchange for money or otherwise (MIMIAGA, 2008). This choice is made given the stigmatized nature that the term "prostitution" has historically carried, as well as the fact that etymologically "'prostituting' does not refer to the business of selling sexual services – it simply means 'to offer publicly'." (LEIGH, 1997, p. 228,). "Prostitution" and "prostitute" will appear at specific points in the text because of the preference for using native terms, especially from the first two periods analyzed in the article. That is, the two terms mentioned above will be used in relation to the literal use of the term in the analyzed works.

[3] The three periods outlined in this article correspond only to a division proposed by some duly referenced works. Although there is this division, some themes and concerns permeated and permeate the three periods. Some permanencies justify their continuity within a larger sphere where their genesis, *a priori*, is limited to Criminology and Medicine.

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men spoke for themselves about their economic position.

Young people involved in sex work, called hustlers at the time, worked on the street (Smith; Seal, 2007), where they advertised their sexual services. The street, in contrast to the home, exhibited a model of danger, concerning drug trafficking and use, exploitation, surveillance and violence (Whowell, 2010). The locations on the street varied between subway stations, bars, clubs, parks, public bathrooms, neighborhoods and tunnels.

The term *hustler* (which was common translated as *drug dealer*) justified its use for cases of men who did sex work on the street at the time. David Bimbi (2015) reports that the vernacular term of *hustler* was used to bring negative connotations to male prostitution. Sari Van Der Poel (1992, p. 264) says that this term was developed to identify men who support themselves through a vast arsenal of illegal activities. "They are often addicted to drugs and they are part of a delinquent street-culture (...). In some, the males are involved in prostitution, in others they are not."

Due to the fact it was linked to issues such as crime, danger and delinquency, sex work in this first period was analyzed by some specific sciences. These areas were: Social Assistance, Criminology (within the larger area of Law) and Psychology. The man who did sex work was investigated - based on these disciplines - individually and, as usual, factors such as his socioeconomic background and possible psychosexual and psychosocial disorders (Coleman, 1989) were used to seek justification for working through sex.

John Scott (2003) notes in the work of the German psychiatrist Fritz Adolf Freyhan one of the first studies on this theme of sexual services provided by men. In *Homosexual prostitution - a case report*, a report published in 1947, Freyhan, in reality, reproduces what would be observed in the first moment of investigations into male prostitution.

Hustlers should undergo outpatient, psycho-analytic and (or) behavioral treatments through institutions such as correctional centers, inpatient hospitals, residential or collective houses, social service units, professional training and educational courses.

According to Scott (2003), Freyhan's hustler figure had personality disorders. Homosexuality assumed a deviant character since it was not related to the homosexuality experienced during puberty. In this sense, the hustler's psychopathic personality was linked to something seen as not "natural" in the sense of not being explained by biological factors and phases. The solution proposed by the author, then, was the lobotomy procedure. The procedure would be the only option "that could curtail the patient's current behavior." (Scott, 2003, p. 183).

Emphasizing this interventional role of Medicine in communicating the characteristics of men who work in prostitution, doctors such as Gandy and Deisher (1970) proposed other practical interventions in the lives of men who worked in sex work in Seattle. From 1967 to 1969, the authors worked with 30 young men who, according to the first, were individuals from a very low socioeconomic background, with a frequently cited family disorganization. Family disorganization is described as the boy leaving home before reaching adulthood. The departure was justified by the following factors: separated parents, inability to have healthy relationships with stepfathers and/or the discovery of "homosexual practice" (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1662).

According to researchers,

> In their conversation, the young men revealed an overwhelming sense of rejection by their families and society in general. Very low self-esteem was a prevailing characteristic of the group. Almost none of the youths had any knowledge of or useful contact with the municipal agencies or private services that assist alienated groups. (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1662).

In the view of this work, the decision of young men not to opt for "legitimate employment" (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1661) was motivated by factors linked to socioeconomic issues.

During the conversations with the interlocutors, the authors began to ask them about jobs that might attract their attention. After a young man had expressed interest in a training or employment program, several attempts were made to find the situation considered right for him. During the 15 months of the work, the 30 young men who expressed interest in the rehabilitation process proposed by the work were allocated.

> Some of the types of positions were gas station attendant, hospital orderly, lab assistant, warehouseman, bus boy, laborer, lift-truck operator, import-export clerk, waiter, assembly line worker, truck driver, janitorial service, library assistant, and salesman. (Deisher; Gandy, 1970, p. 1665).

From this specific moment of production about male sex work, Neil R. Combs' work (1974) is one of the most revisited and explored in the literature review we conducted. A member of the Psychosocial Counseling Center in Long Beach, California, Coombs presents a comparison of an experimental group of men who do sex work (MDSW) and a control group, that is, young men of similar age and socioeconomic conditions, but who do not engage in sex work, or prostitution, as the author calls it.

One of the hypotheses that the psychologist had developed, after analyzing the data produced by the comparison, had proven true in his research: the motivations for male prostitution were early homosexual seduction followed by reward. The hypothesis arose from a constant theme in the interviews conducted by Coombs: when young, the subjects in the MDSW group first experienced sex with a partner of the same sex who rewarded them.

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The work has some problems, such as not taking into account the fact that the boys in the group of men who worked in prostitution in their sample were, for the most part, those who worked on the street and, possibly, within what the works of the time understood as *survival sex*.

Another problem is the crystallized image of – in Coombs' terms – the male prostitute, as a man:

> Described between fifteen and twenty-three years of age and unemployed. Usually, he goes out of his way to insist what he is not homosexual. Actually, he probably is not homosexual. In any case he overcompensates in the direction of masculinity, and is often very sensitive on the subject of his virility. His dress, gestures, and behavior are exaggeratedly male. (Coombs, 1974, p. 783).

The pathologized and pathologizing typification of men who prostituted themselves was frequent in research. The *male prostitute*, according to Coombs and much of the work of his time, is the figure of an indolent person who "has a poor record and possesses neither vocational skill nor adequate education" (Coombs, 1974, p. 788).

In this first period, the connection between sex work and homosexuality is highlighted. Homosexuality was also treated as a psychopathology, a mental illness to be treated by medical professionals, such as psychiatrists. David S. Bimbi (2007) also reports on another study in this area produced during the 1940s.

In 1947, William Marlin Butts observed 128 men known in the English-language literature as *street-based male sex workers*. Despite the relatively large number of men working in sex in a single city (not disclosed by the author), Butts reported a final sample of only 26 young men. The justification for the reduction was based on the fact that he had sufficient data for the analysis. This sufficient data involved interviews with each young man more than once and his account of what the author wanted to investigate: the *background* of street sex workers.

Homosexuality for Butts was inferred from homosexual behavior. Therefore, by assuming such homosexuality in MDSW because they could only serve same-sex clients, the psychologist understands such subjects, according to Bimbi (2007), as poorly adjusted and unhappy. Some other aspects also raised in the work about MDSW are: the fact that they come from overcrowded homes, have low salaries and participate in a larger delinquent culture which paid sex would be one of the subcultures.

These works reveal a persistent focus of the period on the sociodemographic *background* of the MDWS, as well as possible psychological issues that made a pathological figure when related to sex work, and a deviant figure when related to society. The justification for young people's involvement in sex work finds its place of investigation in these Health and deviance issues in this first period.

Health assumes center stage based on specific research studies. Whether through the efforts of doctors in a supposed social reintegration (Bimb, 2007) or work for the MDSW (Deisher; Gandy, 1970), as well as surgical interventions such as lobotomy (Scott, 2003; Bimbi, 2007) for the "treatment" of homosexuality.

II. Sex Workers as Vectors of Disease

D. R. Tomlinson *et al* (1991) argue that the illegal nature and taboo of prostitution, especially of women, are factors that harper producing data on this group of individuals. And if this is the case for female prostitution, the work from the first phase highlights the fact that the field of research on men who work in the sex industry is even more difficult.

Some studies point to a kind of dual stigma linked to sex work performed by men (Koken, 2004; Morrison; Whitehead, 2008; Whovell, 2010; Kumar; Scott; Minichiello, 2017; Woensdregt; Nencel, 2020). The dual stigma would be characterized by the fact that men are under two taboos: sex work and homosexuality. The taboo of sex work because this form of work was and still is often considered a deviation from the forms of work considered "legitimate" by hegemonic social conventions. The taboo of homosexuality, in turn, is better explained in a context of refusal of heteronormativity based on men's sex work, directing new perspectives of relationships, business, performances and desires in the interaction between two or more men. More than that, both stigmas challenge the canon of predominant literature that understands sex work as exclusively provided by women to male clients and also positioned heterosexual relationships as a norm to be followed or as a "natural" factor in relationships.

The production of data on male sex work was based, as seen in the previous moment, on the figure of a single man or a small group without sample relevance. In this second moment, however, despite the difficulties reported above, the research attempted to work with more extensive subjects and groups on the topic. Health assumes a more manifest and, in a certain way, leading role within the themes of the works. Collective works, by several professionals, took place in the production together with the help of financing from institutions in the areas of Medicine.

This moment is historically understood by the period from 1970 to 1995 (Minichiello; Callander; Scott, 2013). In this second period, academic production on male prostitution shifts the analysis from the individual to the social and collective understandings of sex work. In the words of John Scott,

> Male prostitution has been transformed from a moral aberration of limited social significance into a social problem, closely associated with issues of health and welfare. This shift in understanding, which has allowed for male prostitution to be classified as a Public Health

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> problem during the era of HIV/AIDS, will be analysed. (Scott, 2003, p. 179-180).

John Scott's findings are the same as Jan Browne and Victor Minichiello's research on the history and directions of research on male sex work (1996). In their perceptions of *male sex work* as a form of work and as a cultural phenomenon that is understood in a limited way or with little attention paid to it, the authors point out that

> With incorporation of sex work research into the AIDS context in the late 1980s, the focus of research into male commercial sex has changed from an emphasis on the individual sex worker to sex workers as a potentially dangerous and high-risk group for the spread of HIV. Large studies funded for medical and social science research have been conducted on groups of sex workers, seeking confirmation of the extent of HIV among sex workers and evidence of behavior that might identify sex workers as a risk. (BROWNE; MINICHIELLO, 1996, p. 30).

From this point of view, people who worked in sex work, with an emphasis on men who worked in sex work, were no longer individuals understood in their pathologized individuality and subjectivity. From then on, through the public advent of HIV/AIDS and other STIs, they became part of a larger group: the sex industry.

Laura Agustín (2005) thinks about the sex industry not only in terms of the workers who are part of it. Observing the phenomenon of globalization – contemporary to the period demarcated here for this moment of productions on male sex work – the author shows the complexity of the term and its scope. Her perception shows that the term is not limited to the classic assumption of the relationships of "woman-sex-worker/male client" (Agustín, 2005, p. 110, our translation), but rather encompasses ambiguities of relationships between several variables that can be articulated.

Regarding male workers in the sex industry, Jan Browne and Victor Minichiello (1996) speak of the presence of "large studies funded for medical and social science research" focusing on groups of sex workers. Health plays a leading role at this time, "seeking confirmation of the extent of HIV among sex workers and evidence of behavior that might identify sex workers as a risk group." (Browne; Minichiello, p. 30).

Dan Waldorf *et al.* (1990) conducted a study similar to the aforementioned characteristics of the studies of the time. As part of the *AIDS Project* funded by the *National Institute on Drug Abuse* of the United States, the researchers presented preliminary qualitative findings regarding the sharing of needles among a group of 178 male prostitutes in the city of San Francisco in 1990. We highlight the more significant number of interlocutors in the research and the fact that most investigations aimed at a sample aspect of the groups to generalize inferences to the population of male sex workers.

The work from this period, moreover, exhibits a methodology similar to that of the first phase when dealing with issues such as family history, sexual experiences and behaviors, criminal and work histories, substance use, and other Health issues. What was perceived as different, however, is the purpose of using this data. The usefulness that it provides is for understanding men who prostitute themselves as one of the groups involved in the sex industry.

Christopher Earls and Hélène David (1989), for example, administered a semi structured questionnaire to 50 men who were engaged in sex work and 50 men in a control group in Quebec, Canada. By "control group", the authors referred to men of the same age, sexuality (at times) and socioeconomic status, but who did not prostitute themselves.

This psychosocial study revealed issues such as the fact that families of prostitutes are more prominent in terms of the number of people living in the same house. Other findings include that these young men's first sexual experience was with another man and that this group was three times more likely to contract a sexually transmitted disease than the control group. The topic of violence in the authors' work also begins to emerge within the theme, as the research shows an average 40% greater likelihood of physical violence at work against men who prostitute themselves.

A higher average probability for the risk of HIV infection and different STIs is also indicated in the work. The interlocutors presented knowledge about HIV, AIDS and STIs. Sexual behaviors analyzed, however, indicated several situations of HIV's risk infection and/or transmission even with the knowledge of the young men about the virus. Although this high risk was perceived for HIV in men who did sex work, there was still no significant production on behaviors and sexual orientations of MDSW and their clients during the early 1980s.

This is the argument of two members of the New York State Psychiatric Institute and Columbia University (Pleak; Meyer - Bahlburg, 1990) who investigated male sex workers and young gay men in Manhattan in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

From the beginning of the AIDS pandemic in 1981 until at least 1988, there was a lack of data on sexual behavior of male prostitutes (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990). This lack of data has led to debates in the *American Psychiatric Association (APA)*, *International Academy of Sex Research* and the *International AIDS Conferences*. Richard R. Pleak and Heino F. L. Meyer-Bahlburg's article was then designed to obtain data on sexual behavior of young prostitutes in Manhattan, New York.

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The authors provide extensive reference to studies that began to address issues of data related to HIV/AIDS risks in the 1980s. Research on several locations – including national and international studies in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro – is presented by the researchers in this article (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 560-561).

However in Manhattan the variation and diversity in the composition of the samples demonstrated that there are significant differences on HIV's prevalence among men who engage in prostitution. What was expected, based psychiatrists, was the issue of the prevalence of HIV among prostitutes being higher than in the general population in the area of Manhattan. The justifications for the research include quantitative epidemiological data and qualitative analyses of sexual behavior, number of sexual partners and condom use. Based on these findings, the group of young New York prostitutes was defined as a population "at risk". (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 561).

Another variation displayed in some of the works of this phase is the issue of sexuality. The figure of the *hustler*, the *street prostitute* of the first phase portrays the so-called *gay for* pay, that is, a heterosexual individual involved in homosexual practices only in contexts in which sex is a commercial service. Pleak and Meyer-Bahlburg, however, demonstrate with their research, and through other articles they analyze, a change in the self-identification of men who prostitute themselves. What is new is that "studies conducted in the late 1970s and 1980s, including the present report, found increasing proportions of male prostitutes as bisexual and homosexual." (Pleak; Meyer-Bahlburg, 1990, p. 577).

This change in self-identification may have occurred due to the transformation in the way men who prostitute themselves are interpreted. If before they had been pathologized, at this time the figure of the prostitute is found in a broader field, a more heterogeneous group. Added to this period is the feminist movement that began in 1980 and the intellectual endeavors against the moral panic surrounding sexualities considered dissident. Furthermore, according to Richard Miskolci,

> It was the deadliest period of the AIDS epidemic and, in the United States, the time of the *sexual wars* – when feminisms were divided between those who supported an anti-pornography crusade against sexual harassment, and those who criticized the puritanism that governed this agenda. (Miskolci, 2021, p. 24-25, our translation).

As previously mentioned, one of the main characteristics of the second period was the shift from individual investigation of men who prostituted themselves to a macro understanding, understanding sex work from a group perspective, whether through a sample or population. Because of this group perspective, some studies from this period developed typologies for subgroups of men in sex work. The classifications can change between variables that can be articulated, such as age, location, class and sexuality, in addition to other factors such as the forms of contact with the client, advertising and provision of sexual services.

Sivan E. Caukins and Neil R. Coombs (1976) classify "male prostitutes" into four categories. The division is made to explore the "homosexual psycho-dynamics" of each group. The authors understood that male prostitution was prevalent enough to deserve the serious attention of behavioral scientists. Male prostitutes were identified as a flexible group, where young men began their careers on the street to ascend to a higher status: being *call -boys* or *kept* boys. There are four proposed categories: *street prostitutes*, *bar hustlers*, *call-boys* and *kept boys.*

Street prostitutes, as the name suggests, are those who advertise their services on the street in strategic locations, such as alleys, tunnels, specific neighborhoods, etc. According to Caukins and Coombs, it is on the streets that "most of these young people begin their activities in the world's oldest profession. Paradoxically, it is also where they end up - when their youth has gone (...)" (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 442).

For this category, the authors outline a cyclical and precarious trajectory of sexually active workers, highlighting the intrinsic vulnerability of sex work done in public spaces. When starting in the "world's oldest profession" on the streets, men encounter an environment of marginalization, where they are constantly exposed to risk, whether through violence, stigma, or adverse health and safety conditions. The street, as a space of beginning and also of end, symbolizes the illusion of false opportunities and social mobility, especially as youth and physical attractiveness, elements valued in the sex market, decline.

Bar hustlers, in turn, would be part of the larger *hustler culture*, that is, the young man involved in a larger culture of deviance or criminality for the time. The work portrays the figure of this typology as an exploitative and addicted person. His means of subsistence is through alternative forms of employment, "alcohol and drugs are now the means by which he seeks to alley his guilt over homosexuality." (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 444).

Call boys are observed as the most successful prostitutes in the research. Some factors are listed for this succession: good-looking, well-defined body, easy to make business with clients, attractive, versatile in sex and trustworthy in relationships.

Finally, *kept-boys* are "highly flexible, adaptable and, opportunistic type" (Caukins; Coombs, 1976, p. 445). This means that their survival and "prestige" needs are sustained by the client with whom they assume a

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more established role than the strictly sexual one. Because of such an easy way of life, the article under analysis says that being a *kept-boy* is the goal of every prostitute.

The authors show that each category carries a specific pejorative burden on the man who prostitutes himself. From his *background* to his personality, moral burdens are associated with the men in Caukins and Coombs' work and their forms of prostitution. David F. Luckenbill (1985) draws attention to the fact that these categories of male prostitution and their respective organizations make up what he called "deviant careers".

What can be observed from this second period is the emphasis on Health, especially from two main points: the psychological and psychiatric issues of men who prostitute themselves and their role as a possible vector for the acquisition and transmission of HIV/AIDS and other STIs. There is also another continuity from the first period that can be observed in the second period. Some works from the latter period depict prostitution and, consequently, the people involved in it, as part of a phenomenon of deviance. What changes is the transformation of individual deviance into social deviance.

The combination of moral and medical factors contributed to reinforcing the stigmatized image of men who worked as sex workers in the second period. In a pioneering work in sociology on deviance, sociologist Erving Goffman (2004) argues that stigmatized people are those whose characteristics differ from what is socially expected of them. Due to this conflict, the author coined "virtual social identity" and "real social identity".

Virtual social identity would represent the normative standards that society imposes on its individuals. In contrast, real social identity would be the way an individual is, being able to deviate from virtual standards, that is, the norm (Goffman, 2004). The second period of productions on male sexual work, therefore, similarly to the first, conveys to men who did sexual work and their clients the ideas of deviation through the friction between the identities exposed above. The real social identity of men within sexual work at the time could be captured in issues seen as unregulated sexuality, extramarital relationships, homosexuality, the taboo of prostitution, the focus of HIV/AIDS transmission, STIs, among other issues.

III. Sex Work as a Profession

The third periodization, which is also contemporary, refers to sex work as work, focusing on its aspects as a profession. According to some authors, it begins in 1995 (Minichiello; Callander; Scott, 2013). David Bimbi (2007) names this stage as *The Cybersex Worker: The Age of the Internet*, where pricing of sex (Pocahy 2011; 2012), or the monetization of the body (Perlongher, 1986), are seen in the quality of MDSW's professionalism. Scientific efforts, as suggested by Bimbi (2007), also show internet's corporation as a site for sex work and its sub-sites in the diversification of modes of interaction available on the web. Data science, in dialogue with other areas of knowledge, and the wider theme of sex work allow for a broader observation of several issues, such as, for example, the types of services offered by sex work, client profiles, the different locations of these two and, again, Health related issues.

We will now emphasize the role of the internet and technology, given the predominant presence of this topic in much of the most recent literature on male sex work. As can be seen, some issues from the first two periods persist within academic concerns about male sex work, presenting continuities and permanence of themes that can be problematized.

According to Trevon D. Logan (2017), the internet has been responsible for a complete change in the dynamics of male sex work. Entry and exit from the market are more accessible, as are the functionalities of forums that allow descriptive and detailed evaluations by clients of the men who serve them (Logan, 2017; Tewksbury; Lapsey, 2016, 2017).

The first study observed in this research to discuss the issue of male sex work and the online sphere was published in 2005. Matthew V. Pruitt (2005) provides a descriptive and exploratory analysis of 1.262 escorts[4] from a single classifieds website in the United States. His research aimed to compare the data produced with the existing literature at the time on male prostitution.

Previous work had shown generational boundaries that did not exceed 30 years for groups of men who did sex work. Results from Pruitt's work, then, begin with the generation. This factor is analyzed once the age of the young men in his research ranged from 18 to 50 years. The category "young man" is traditionally associated with youth and a set of social expectations linked to vitality, vigor and availability for certain activities, as, for example, could be the case of sex work.

Pruitt's study, however, by expanding the age range of men studied to include individuals in their 50 years old, challenges this youth's association by questioning the generational boundaries traditionally imposed on MDSW. It problematizes the notion of a "boy" (*young man*) by revealing that the involvement in sex work is not exclusively a youth phenomenon, but encompasses a broader range of ages. Extending these boundaries generates a reassessment of what can be considered "youth" *and* how the sexual and professional

[4] Nomenclature used in some of the studies surveyed. It refers to MDSW who, through online advertisements, in chats and websites, advertise, negotiate and sell their sexual work.

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identities of these men are shaped and perceived over time. This perspective initiated in this research by Matthew V. Pruitt challenges ageist stereotypes. It suggests that sex work can involve different stages of life, reflecting the complexity of men's experiences and identities in the sex industry.

The category of sexual services is also analyzed through new configurations. While much of the research from the two previous phases tended to dichotomize MDSW between *tops* and *bottoms* (active and passive), the present Pruitt's work analysis found other forms within the versatile: *versatile*, *versatile -top* and *versatile-bottom*. Regarding the last two types, Pruitt says that they "may take either role in intercourse but prefers or usually takes the role identified after 'versatile.'" (Pruitt, 2005, p. 193).

It is crucial to highlight how the categorization of sexual services into *tops* and *bottoms* reflects a simplification of sexual dynamics, often rooted in heteronormative norms that reduce sexual identities to fixed roles. Pruitt's (2005) introduction of the categories *versatile*, *versatile top* and *versatile-bottom* challenges this dichotomy, revealing a fluidity in sexual performances that reflects the complexity of the experiences of MDSW.

By describing these new configurations, Pruitt not only expands the understanding of sexual practices within male sex work, but also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of sexual identities that resist rigid categorization. This multiplicity of roles not only reflects individual preferences, but also reflects how these professionals navigate client expectations and market demands. Furthermore, this discussion is embedded in a broader context of debates about the social construction of sexuality, where sexual performances are both an expression of identity and a response to power dynamics and the economy of desire.

Regarding the use of quantitative data and escorts, in 2010, Trevon D. Logan published in *American Sociological Review* what he called the first quantitative analysis of escorts in the United States. In a collection of 1.932 profiles from the largest online site for MDSW in the United States at the time, *Rentboy*, the work uses variables that can be articulated to consider how men who have sex with men reify and criticize patterns that constitute hegemonic masculinity.

One of the axes of analysis used by Logan was territoriality. By examining the geographic distribution of MDSW, the data demonstrated that sex work in the United States is nationwide and not – as many researchers imagine, according to Logan – "driven exclusively by gay-identified participants." (Logan, 2010, p. 692).

Another inference also drawn by Logan (2010) from the sample data concerns the intersection between hegemonic masculinity and racial and sexual stereotypes. These stereotypes, when combined, are called by Cameron, Collins and Thew (1999) of ethnic-racial stereotypes and representations. "The intersection of hegemonic masculinity with racial sexual stereotypes can create multiple forms of sexual objectification for particular groups of gay men." (Logan, 2010, p. 685). This intersection would be responsible for the variation in prices and "rewards" for those men who are invested with the signs of hegemonic masculinities in the United States.

Some studies also use software to process and analyze the data produced. Ana Barros, Sonia Dias and Maria Martins (2015) use the statistical software *SPSS® 22*[5] to review the success or failure of sampling methods in populations of men who have sex with men and STIs. In their study, the authors seek to combine men who have sex with men and MDSW as a homogeneous group. This group is considered a component of complex populations that are hard to reach. This notion is used in the study because the subjects under analysis are associated with illegal or stigmatized behaviors, as well as with the risks of acquiring HIV/AIDS and other STIs. Public Health, then, would be responsible for investigating these populations, which are considered vital to understand the "spread of communicable diseases like HIV or tuberculosis" (Barros; Dias; Martins, 2015, p. 1).

In a systematic review of literature produced in English over 10-year period, recruitment methods were grouped by the authors into three categories: non-probability sampling methods, probability sampling methods, and semi-probability sampling methods. Of these three, semi probability sampling methods were the most widely used, accounting for 59% of the studies surveyed in the research. These methods, in turn, were subdivided into two types: (1) respondent-driven sampling and; (2) time-location sampling.

With this work, we highlight the presence of Health, now from the perspective of Public Health combined with Data Sciences. Disease perspective still appears frequently, even in a systematic literature review with the proposal of investigating methodologies in studies on hard-to-reach populations. The methods, in this sense, are observed from the war against HIV and with the development of targeted and successful Public Health interventions.

Technology and other areas of knowledge illustrate that they are areas that, when well articulated, provide a more significant arsenal of analyses for research that intends to account for populations. Macphail, Minichiello and Scott (2014), for example, observe the fundamental role of new technologies and globalization for MDSW in facilitating the normalization of male sex work. According to the authors:

[5] The acronym refers to the *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.*

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> Changes to the structure and organisation of sex work, in part facilitated by technology, have allowed for sex work (once 'prostitution' and considered almost exclusively in terms of female supply) to be imagined as an everyday phenomenon in many contemporary western cultures. In particular, it is the contention (...) that male sex work has been normalised in recent decades, shifting from a stigmatised activity for both the sex worker and client, to something which represents, depending on contexts, an everyday object of consumption or risk. (Macphail; Minichiello; Scott, 2014, p. 4).

The quote from MacPhail, Minichiello and Scott (2014) reports the transformation in perception and organization of sex work, highlighting the impact of technology on this process. Previously stigmatized and associated almost exclusively with women, sex work has come to be seen as a daily phenomenon. This change is particularly evident in the context of male sex work, which in recent decades has ceased to be a marginalized activity and has become something normalized in certain spheres. Depending on the context, male sex work can be perceived as a consumer good or a risk, reflecting the complexity of social relations surrounding sex work in contemporary society. The analysis suggests a growing visibility of male sex work, although it continues to be influenced by contextual factors that determine its positive visibility or stigmatization.

Analyzing works from the period that understand sex work as a profession, Minichiello, Callander and Scott observed that

> Recent changes in the structure and organization of male sex work have provided visibility to the increasingly diverse geographical distribution of MDSW, the commodification of race and racialized desire, new populations of heterosexual men and women as clients, and the successful dissemination of safer sexual messages to MDSW through online channels. (Macphail; Minichiello; Scott, 2013, p. 263).

Minichiello, Callander and Scott (2013) offer an opportunity for a more accurate analysis of contemporary male sex work and its production possibilities.

Some dimensions of this phenomenon can be explored, such as: (1) the increasing visibility of the diverse geographic distribution of men who do sex work - suggesting that male sex work is no longer confined to specific regions, but it is a global phenomenon. This can be seen as a result of globalization and increased mobility, allowing people within the sex industry to move and operate in different cultural and geographic contexts; (2) the commodification of race and racialized desire - indicating that racial identities are being brokered in the sex work market, which may reflect how social constructions of race and desire are influenced and reproduced within the sexual economy. Anthropologically, this raises questions about power, identity and the dynamics of exoticization and fetishization, among other issues and; (3) new client populations - the emergence of new populations of heterosexual people as clients challenges traditional conceptions of who consumes sexual services. This raises questions about changing social norms and perceptions about paid sex.

Safe sex messaging and technology also feature prominently. They reinforce the idea of the continuity of Health across the three periods. The successful dissemination of safe sex messages through online channels demonstrates the crucial role of technology in the organization and practice of sex work. An intersection between Public Health and technology thus emerges; where digital platforms are being used to educate and protect MDSW and their clients. This movement can be examined in terms of how health practices, support networks and MSDW communities are embedded in technology.

Social Sciences are also gaining strength in the production and analysis of the topic of male sex work. Subjects like Anthropology and Sociology are gaining more visibility, quality and quantity in studies in the various countries where male sex work occurs. More generally, male sex work is gaining more visibility academically, whether in countries where it occurs legally or not, and it is discussed through various themes. This allows for a more in-depth exploration of the transformations in male sex work, highlighting issues such as identity, economy, Health and technology.

To name a few possibilities provided by the Social Sciences, we have: violence and legislation in Australia, Sweden and the Netherlands (Scott *et al*, 2005); sexual identity and risk in Peru (Fernándes - Dávila *et al*, 2008); Public Health in Kenya (Woendsdrgt; Nencel, 2020); clients in Australia (Prestage *et al*, 2014) and the United States (Tewksbury; Lapsey, 2016, 2017); *Instagram* as a digital environment for self-advertising in Ireland (Ryan, 2019); sex tourism in the Philippines (Mathews, 1987); male prostitution and media in China (Jeffreys, 2007); bar prostitution in Berlin and Prague (Ellison; Weitzer, 2017); male identities, youth and violence in Indonesia (Alcano, 2016); colonization of the body of the MDSW in Cuba (Hodge, 2001); counter-hegemonic masculinities and performances in Brazil (Mitchell, 2011), among other diverse subjects that are currently under analysis and production.

Through Social Sciences we can better understand the complex interactions between these diverse thematic factors and how they shape the lives and experiences of MDSW in a world that is constantly interconnected and that provides investigative and thematic possibilities. The research sites span the continents and the research proposals also demonstrate their variety.

However, as seen in some headlines, Health remains one of the main concerns. Although it has incorporated technology, with the use of data for sample

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analysis, health is still seen from the perspective of sexual risks, HIV/AIDS rates and other STIs. Its presence, however, is less visible and more subdued, considering the progress of this third period in increasingly recognizing sex work as a job, with a view, therefore, to eliminate the stigmatized and pathologized images of the subjects involved in this work.

IV. Final Considerations

This paper aimed to present part of the history of academic production on male sex work in English language. The justification for the Anglophone literature was because the first investigations were published in the English language. Although there was and still there is a wide geographical and thematic distribution on sex work, the majority of publications are still published and made available in English language in magazines, journals or books in the same language. This shows a historical predominance of the language that continues to the present day in most academic productions.

Some outstanding works on the subject of sex work were discussed, presenting their problems and also their academic contributions to the sex industry and the people who comprise it. The intention was to understand what the academy has produced and continues producing, as well as to understand characteristic aspects of each phase.

Divided into three periods, the productions can be classified as follows: first period - the *hustler* as a social problem; second period - the man who does sex work as a vector of diseases and; third period - sex work as a profession.

Initially, sex work was perceived mainly as a social problem. Areas such as Social Welfare, Criminology, Psychiatry and Psychology had patho-logizing psychosocial and psychosexual aspects of the subjects involved in prostitution. Homosexuality or the homosexual nature of the services provided to mostly male clients also came up against deviant understandings of the figure of the prostitute. These productions began in the 1940s and continued until the 1970s, according to some works presented throughout the text.

The second period has Public Health as the most recurrent part of its productions and concerns. In terms of period, it emerged in the 1970s and lasted until 1995. The man who worked in the sex industry was observed as a "vector" of transmission and acquisition of HIV/AIDS, as well as other sexually transmitted infections. Furthermore, the individual character of the first period was replaced by the understanding of these individuals as a "group", which in its majority was accompanied by "risk". Thus, epidemiologists, nurses, doctors, among other professionals in the Health area, assumed what is considered to be the more significant number of studies in terms of the number of studies for this phase. Sexual risk was observed in the relationship that the man who worked had with several clients, as well as "non-commercial" partners, whether male or not.

Finally, there is the third period, known as the new paradigm, in which paid, priced and profitable commercial sex is recognized as a profession and is sometimes interpreted based on the accounts, experiences and knowledge of the people involved in sex work. According to some bibliographies, the beginning of this period dates from 1995 and continues to the present.

There are many different works on this topic, covering many areas of knowledge and also various locations around the world.

The Social Sciences are gaining strength in the production and analysis of the topic of male sex work in this contemporary period. Areas such as Anthropology and Sociology are gaining more visibility, quality and quantity in studies in the various countries where prostitution occurs. Not only prostitution, but more generally, male sex work, whether in countries where it occurs legally or not, is discussed through various themes. This allows for a more in-depth exploration of the transformations in male sex work, highlighting issues such as identity, economy, Health and technology.

We observe the presence of a common denominator from the first period to the current period: Health. The study of male sex work has often been framed within restrictive paradigms that underestimate the complexity and diversity of this practice. In the context of Public Health and harm reduction intervention policies, traditional approaches have tended and continue to focus exclusively on the risks associated with sex work, neglecting the experiences, demands and agencies of the men who do sex work themselves.

The dominant perspective of Public Health sometimes still portrays – as in the second moment – men who engage in sex work as mere vectors of disease transmission, perpetuating stigmas that marginalize these individuals and even hinder their access to adequate Health Services. Flávio Cruz Lenz Cesar (2014) points out that modern biomedical knowledge/power is the result of the transition from the era of miasmas to the bacteriological era. This advance in medical science gave doctors a leading role in diseases that, from then on, focused on people.

For the author (Cesar, 2014), during the 1980s, with the first news about AIDS, always associated with homosexual men, the concept of risk groups was created. The State, firstly, assumed the responsibility of fighting AIDS through methodologies such as, for example, peer education. Cesar's criticism is that this responsibility was confined to the Health Sector.

This study also observed this presence and permanence in the Health Sector, but not only by the part of the State (seen as a protagonist especially

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in the second period). These presence and permanence are shown in academic aspirations to investigate male sex work. Continuities in Health were observed in all three periods, although with differences in the emphasis on this theme. This reductionist view not only obscures the diversity of practices and identities among men who do sex work, but also disregards their agencies in other areas beyond Health. The ever present discussions about risk groups and sexual risks often neglect other dynamics of power and other social structures that influence men's entry into and permanence in sex work.

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An Assessment Study of Displacement due to Land Acquisition in West Bengal, India

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Abstract- The current study is related to the nature of land acquisition for new coal mining, industrial establishments, and resettlement occurring in different regions of West Bengal, India as highly diverse regional socioeconomic issues. The study finds the source of challenges to public laws and institutions providing humanitarian assistance as well as a matter of deep concern for human rights. This study also finds various dimensions of bulk land acquisition cases in West Bengal and problems associated with it. Thus, the land acquisition due to coal mining and establishment of new industry is increasingly becoming a coercive operation lacking in sensitivity to human consequences involved in trail if devastation and trauma it leaves behind. The piece of work probes into the deep land acquisition policy of the state government and people's reaction on land acquisition for establishment of new industry as well as extension of existing industry. The findings focus on various dimensions of bulk land acquisition cases in West Bengal and problems associated with it.

Keywords: environment, coal mining, displacement, land acquisition, rehabilitation.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HD1286



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An Assessment Study of Displacement due to Land Acquisition in West Bengal, India

Sribas Goswami [α] & Tania Ghosh [σ]

Abstract- The current study is related to the nature of land acquisition for new coal mining, industrial establishments, and resettlement occurring in different regions of West Bengal, India as highly diverse regional socioeconomic issues. The study finds the source of challenges to public laws and institutions providing humanitarian assistance as well as a matter of deep concern for human rights. This study also finds various dimensions of bulk land acquisition cases in West Bengal and problems associated with it. Thus, the land acquisition due to coal mining and establishment of new industry is increasingly becoming a coercive operation lacking in sensitivity to human consequences involved in trail if devastation and trauma it leaves behind. The piece of work probes into the deep land acquisition policy of the state government and people's reaction on land acquisition for establishment of new industry as well as extension of existing industry. The findings focus on various dimensions of bulk land acquisition cases in West Bengal and problems associated with it.

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I. Introduction

Displacement is a significant issue faced by the people of India. It results in the uprooting of individuals from their homes, land, and surroundings, leading to distressing outcomes in their lives. Displacement can occur due to natural disasters like floods, cyclones, tsunamis, earthquakes, as well as human-made factors such as political conflicts, wars, and social unrest. Additionally, the development process, which is also a human-made factor, has become a third source of displacement. While the first two causes have been a recurring occurrence throughout the evolution of civilization, the emergence of the third cause can be attributed to government efforts to modernize traditional societies. Of the three, the first two categories of displacement are unplanned & usually unanticipated. The third category of displacement, however, is the result of prior & conscious planning & therefore anticipated. Of the two categories of unplanned displacement, the one that is due to natural calamities is usually of a shorter duration while the rather arising out of war, political conflict, & social strife may have a little longer duration &, in some situations, even of a permanent nature if the issues giving rise to it do not set satisfactorily resolved. But displacement from development projects is invariably permanent. This is because modern development is associated with big projects requiring huge areas of land, such as dams, airports, extraction of minerals, industrial plants, housing, provision of social service, etc. Since huge chunks of vacant land at a particular location are available in rural areas only, though already under productive use by and large, it is the people in rural areas subsisting on these lands who bear the brunt of acquisition for them. As a result of this acquisition, the persons affected by it are shifted to alternative locations. The acquisition of land is carried out in a specified manner under a law which empowers the state to do so even without the consent of affected persons in public interest through a limited opportunity is given to them to raise any objection and the acquisition authority is required to compensate the land losers for this loss. Altogether, this exercise is heavily tilted in favour of the state which has overriding powers to take over the desired land, if necessary, by using force. Thus, the land acquisition is increasingly becoming a coercive operation lacking in sensitivity to human consequences involved in trail if devastation and trauma it leaves behind. There are several laws, central and state, under which land is acquired. While most other laws confine the acquisition for a specified sector of 'public purpose' such as coal mines, atomic energy, post and telegraph, highways, town planning, bulk of the acquisition takes place under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 which applies to acquisition for any 'public purpose' and also provides the general structural framework for it (Goswami, 2019). The law was enacted by the colonial government along with the Indian Forest Act, 1865 to have control over natural resources of the country for their commercial exploitation. The acquisition law has continued to be used by the government after Independence for diverse development activities. This has led to the displacement of a large number of persons from their land, habitat and livelihood. The changes made in the Act in 1984 extended its use to acquisition of land for companies, public and private including registered societies and cooperatives, as well which added to the scope of acquisition. The shift to a neo-liberal economy and its integration with the global economic order has widened the scale of acquisition of

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land and accelerated its pace. The enactment of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Act, 2005 has brought a new dimension to the demand for acquisition of land in terms of area, location, size and geographical spread (Goswami, 2019). The resistance to such acquisition has been spontaneous and widespread the government has responded with use of force to suppress this opposition. Land acquisition is a burning problem in the present time. The impacts of development projects occur in different forms. While significant benefits result for the society, the project area people may often bear the brunt of adverse impacts. This can happen, for example, when they are forced to relocate to make way for such interventions. There is now a growing concern over the fate of the displaced people. This has given rise to the need to understand the implications of adverse project impacts so that mitigation plans could be put in place in advance. The mining industry is frequently associated with decisions that have enormous social consequences. One of the most negative effects of mining today is the forcing of thousands of people to abandon their current places of residence. The acquisition of agricultural land for industrialization leads to a number of socio-economic consequences. These socio-political developments raised the level of consciousness and expectation about economic development among the poorer sections (landless labourers, marginal farmers, rural artisans etc.) of the rural population in India. Now it has been discussed in Economics, Sociology, Development studies, Law, Policy making, Political science, Geography etc. This problem may be studied from different perspectives to make feasible solutions so that developmental activities will continue in future without compromising the social peace.

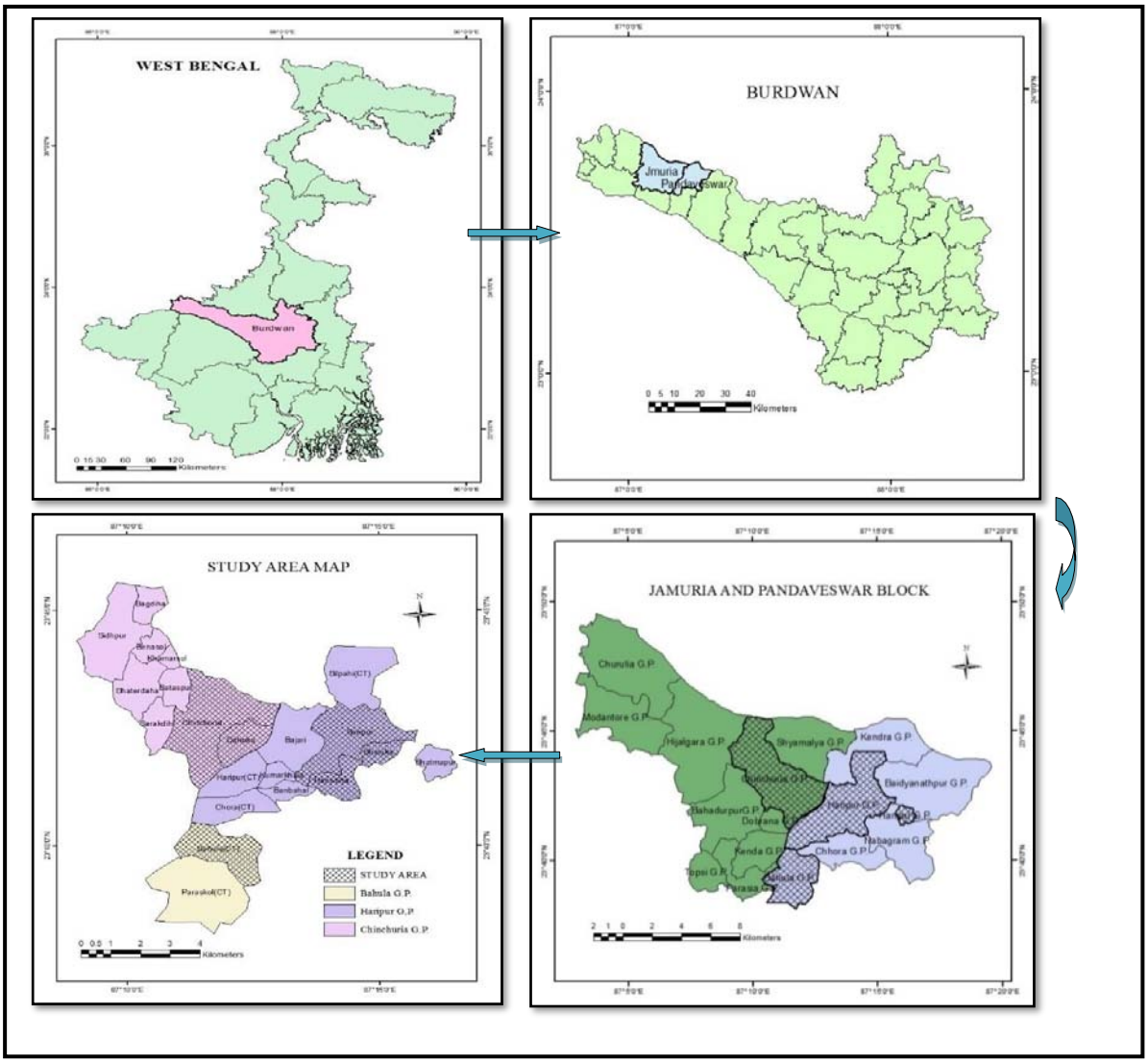
II. Objectives of the Study

- To study the socio - economic impact of land acquisition on rural people. For this purpose we include those whose primary occupation is agricultural and non- agricultural work, in order to gauge the effect of the acquisition on these groups as well.
- To examine the changes in employment status of the affected people in pre & post acquisition scenario.
- To focus on the types of compensation offered by the state government to the owners of land.
- To see how the compensation is being used (where it is already done).
- To assess the impact of displacement in living standard of the people involved.
- To make recommendations on the basis of the findings of the study. Those recommendations are expected to be very helpful in Government's policy making.

III. Study Area Methodology of the Study

The areas taken for present study are West Bengal which includes districts namely West Burdwan, Bankura and Purulia which have the highest concentration of several industries in West Bengal, India. Both a descriptive and analytical approach is proposed for the study. As a tool an interview schedule is prepared to collect primary information from the people. Other distractions like Birbhum and Hooghly have been visited for study. The research primarily based on extensive firsthand observation and interviews with individuals impacted by land acquisition. Demographic and economic surveys are carried out among all households using structured and open-ended questionnaires. Qualitative data on the emotions and attitudes of those affected by the acquisition are gathered through repeated conversations over an extended period. The hardships and economic struggles faced by individual family members are examined through the case study approach. In addition to the field study mentioned above, previously published and unpublished materials from various sources are incorporated into this research.

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Map 1: Location Map of the Study Area

IV. Results and Discussions

The concept of mining activities leading to growth which encompass the comprehensive improvement in an individual's standard of living, including access to adequate food, clothing, and shelter, as well as a healthy environment that promotes longevity and happiness. In West Bengal the development process reveals the indications and effects of widening inequalities between the "haves" and "have-nots" and the growing deprivation of the vulnerable and marginalized sectors of the population (World Bank, 2007). There are very small trickle down effects of the economic development associated with this model of growth. But when it is necessary to undertake development projects that engage the displacement of communities, it is indispensable that these projects obtain the legal permission and support of the people who are affected and that in return for giving up their land and homes they receive priority if not exclusive rights to the benefits emanating from these projects (Goswami, 20018).

The study shows that respondent's age groups. Majority of the respondents fall under the age groups of 18-35 years and indicate the gender of the respondents with 15% of the respondents being male and 85% being female. Findings depicts that the major occupation of the respondents 70% are involved in agriculture and agricultural activities, 30% in other occupations namely as homemakers. Data shows 33% of the respondents earn less than Rs. 25,000 per annum, 40% earn more than Rs. 25,000 per annum and 26% don't have a calculable income as they are homemakers.

When the participants were asked if they make use of the proposed project land, most of them said that since this land belongs to the *Ukhra*, only some family members use this land for seasonal cultivation. Since this land is used as a transit point for the people from Birbhum district most of the community members from

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Burdwan district use this route to travel to Birbhum to carry out their agricultural activities in *Pandaveswar* area.

The proposed land to be acquired is mainly used for seasonal cultivation because during the rainy season the water level of the River Ajay rises up to this proposed acquired land. So the people cannot cultivate during the heavy monsoon season. However, most of the years this land remain unused and is used as a transit point by the community members (Goswami, 2018).

As per the findings more than 1000 hectares of land has been lost over a span of 20 years in only two blocks in *Asansol* subdivision and *Burdwan* district. The effect of land loss on agricultural activities may however be more objectively estimated through the statistics of the number of persons employed in agriculture and their migration if any. The decrease of cultivable land is clearly visible in Raniganj coalfield is estimated 17.40%.

a) Displacement as a Problem

The problem of displacement is not merely economic; it is also a socio-cultural problem because it disturbs a network of social relationships supporting an ethos and a way of life. It affects the entire gamut of traditional activity and an established social order. It forces people to adopt new ways of occupational activities and an unknown environment. As such, the process is akin to 'replacement' in a new location. The displaced people are forced to change their social patterns, without getting any compensation for social costs and, thus, they are under pressure, causing a situation of socio-cultural stress (Corbridge, 2004).

b) Development versus Displacement

Displacement claims the social and human costs of development that some citizens have to bear as best as they tend to promote the greater good of all. The evil (at least in the Benthamite sense as deliberative imposition of pain and suffering) is outweighed by the larger 'good' (welfare) arising from 'development' projects. Costs are simply inevitable; there is no development without displacement. All that developmental planning should do, we are constantly told, is to engage in cost-benefit analysis, especially factoring in social and human costs of displacement, and provide for measures of rehabilitation and compensation. Most Indian developmental projects, insofar as they affect the impoverished masses, ignore both these aspects (Upadhyay, 2009).

There were several struggles against rules of land acquisition and the changes made in the colonial times, the best known among them being the one of Mulshi-Peta near Pune in the 1920s (Bhuskute, 1997). The struggle was appropriated by the freedom fighters. But, though they opposed the colonial government on this particular issue, the nationalist leaders had themselves internalized much of the colonial value system including that of the eminent domain. So, the thinking behind development in India remains more or less unchanged even half a century after independence (Lahiri-Dutt, 2012). When they became the decision-makers of independent India, the freedom fighters who had earlier supported the Mulshi-Peta struggle, continued to use the same colonial legislation to displace people in the name of national development. There has been much greater displacement and many more struggles after independence, because of the policies adopted for the use of land, water, forests and other resources. Displacement has caused impoverishment of the already poor downtrodden. There has been an enormous increase in the number of DPs and PAPs. Despite this, no official database exists on the total number and the type of DPs/PAPs. The country does not have a uniform rehabilitation policy though millions have been deprived of their lands and livelihoods (Morris, 2009).

Table 2: Land Use Details of Sonpur-Bazari, West Burdwan, West Bengal.

SL. NO.	Land Use Type	Present Land Use
1.	Excavated Area including haul road	466.0
2.	Undisturbed Area	1225.40
3.	Colliery Infrastructure/Built-up	135.45
4.	Village	28.59
5.	External OB Dump (Active)	60
6.	Plantation on External OB Dumps	5.0
7.	CHP	-
8.	Railway Siding	-
9.	Road	9.50
10.	Nallah	38.21
11.	Tank	18.62
12.	Lagoon	-
13.	Greenbelt/ Plantation	82

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14.	Backfilled area (Active	222.21
15.	Plantation on backfilled area	3.0
Total		2293.98
Land outside project area		
Project Township and Rehab Site		110.87
Gross Total		2404.85

Source: CMPDI Report of Sonpur Bazari OCP, Aug 2023.

V. Resettlement and Rehabilitation

Resettlement of the displaced people is a one-time relocation at a new site with payment of compensation for the land acquired and without other support such as jobs, training and welfare inputs to resettle in a new society and economic situation. Rehabilitation focuses on social and cultural factors and attempts to rebind the dispossessed livelihoods of the displaced and project-affected people. It is not limited to economic compensation but goes beyond to include welfare approach.

Rehabilitation is more often understood as an economic rather than a psycho-sociological phenomenon resulting from displacement. It is normally perceived as a 'planned change effort'. In a strict sense, it implies that, the overall objective of the change is to restore the situation to its original condition (Stuligross, 2008). The nature of rehabilitation is quite different from other developmental processes. All developmental efforts imply planned change to improve existing conditions, whereas rehabilitation is designed to restore the status quo. This makes it imperative to understand the term rehabilitation in a much wider perspective, and its components, which make it different from other developmental processes (Sharma, 2003). However, rehabilitation should go beyond maintaining of the status quo and adopt welfare approach to improve the standard of living of the displaced population

a) Components of Rehabilitation

Displacement and rehabilitation of people are required when certain antecedent conditions of the displaced, the cognitive state of the individuals and their affective state. He further describes their manifest and rehabilitation programme which includes allotment of land, house, occupation and many other facilities required for resettlement and consideration of further demands by people from the government.

The process of rehabilitation has to be carried out along with resettlement and it should restore the socio-economic status of the displaced. Land for land is considered as one of the ways of rehabilitation of the displaced persons, whose economy centres on agriculture. There are also other ways of rehabilitation, which include engagement in small scale and cottage industries, dairy, piggery, fishery, poultry etc. PAPs have been demanding employment in the concerned project.

Cernea (1991) has identified eight main potential risks of impoverishment in case of the displaced persons. These are: (i) landlessness (ii) joblessness, (ii) homelessness, (iv) marginalization, (v) increased morbidity and mortality, (vi) food insecurity, (vii) loss of access to common property, and (viii) social disintegration. Resettlement and rehabilitation (R&R) approach should focus on overcoming these risks. Social and cultural aspects should be well-considered in the process of rehabilitation.

Land-based rehabilitation is governed by

1. Replacement of livelihood lost;
2. The ownership of the replaced means of production;
3. 'Quality of life' after rehabilitation;
4. Security/guarantee against future displacement or multiple displacement; and.
5. 'Land for land' to be one of the main criteria for replacement of livelihood lost.

Income restoration is the basic objective of rehabilitation, the restoration activities should be based on the principle that no project-affected person shall be worse off than he shall or she was before the land acquisition. Restoration income is an important part of rehabilitating individuals, households, and socio-economic and cultural systems in affected communities.

To achieve this objective, preparation of income restoration (IR) programmes could be approached as if they were economic development programmes in their own right. Income restoration schemes could be designed in consultation with affected persons and they will explicitly approve programmes designed to benefit them.

Income restoration entitlements are provided to the persons losing livelihood or suffering loss of income as a result of land acquisition in urban areas. These include land-based economic activities as well as non-land economic activities.

Individual income restoration schemes should consider the resource base of affected person and their socio-economic characteristics and preferences. These should consider their education level, skill possession and likely economic activities in the post-displacement period, extent of land left and extent of land purchased. Along with this, the suitability of economic activity to supplement the income and market potential and marketing facilities should be assessed.

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Although it is widely recognized that the best option is to allow them to continue their former occupations, circumstances may not permit this option. When they elect to change activities, possible income restoration options could be explored. In addition, long-term socio-economic monitoring of the displaced is considered an important aspect of rehabilitation. It is evident that social support accompanied with sociological analysis helps in controlling social and cultural stress. The sociologists can play an important role in rehabilitation of the displaced.

b) Features of Displacement and Methodology

Development has created a situation where more and more land is being acquired for urban development and lakhs of people are being displaced from their communities and traditional way of life. In the first part of the chapter, an attempt has been made to discuss the features of displacement, urban development and problems of displacement. In the second part, methodologies of resettlement and rehabilitation relevant to this study, areas of study and social background of sample population have been analyzed (Deininger *et al,* 2011).

c) Features of Displacement

The fundamental feature of forced displacement is that it causes a profound unravelling of existing patterns of social organization. This unravelling occurs at many levels. When people are forcibly moved production systems are dismantled. Long established residential communities and settlements are disorganized, while kinship groups and family systems are often scattered (Jha-Thakur, 2008). Lives sustaining informal social networks that provide mutual help are rendered non-functional. Trade linkages between producers and their customer base are interrupted, and local labour markets are disrupted. Formal and informal associations, and self-organized services, are wiped out by the sudden scattering of their membership. Traditional management systems tend to lose their leaders. The coerced abandonment of symbolic markers, or of spatial contexts, cuts off some of the physical and psychological linkages with the past and saps at the roots of people's cultural identity. This indicates change in social and cultural aspects of the displaced persons (Szablowski, 2010).

d) Lack of Concern for Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons

In the absence of an obligation in law for the state to rehabilitate and resettle affected persons, the concerned governments have resorted to most minimum amenities required for shifting the displaced persons after evicting them from the land acquired. Even the limited ad-hoc assurances given to the displaced about rehabilitation to neutralize their opposition to the project have been diluted or reversed in the course of implementation. Government feels that payment of compensation, a provision of a small house and a minimum of infrastructure at the resettlement site is sufficient to discharge its obligation (Sharan, 2010). This has left behind a trail of devastation. The affected persons are left to face an uncertain and bleak future. This deficiency is responsible for increasing hostility of the affected persons to acquisition proposals. A legally enforceable commitment to provide comprehensive rehabilitation and resettlement to all the displaced persons who should include, besides financial assistance for subsistence during the transition period, alternative land, employment, residential house, skill development, infrastructure facilities and social amenities has been sought to prevent this catastrophic consequence (Levien, 2011).

e) Displacement as Sociological Issue and Rehabilitation as Administrative Policy

Both displacement and rehabilitation are social processes taking place at two different and interrelated levels. The nature of the forces underlying these processes is different with respect to the social, geographical, cultural and temporal dimensions of the space where they take shape. The former is a geo-social process which involves involuntary dislocation of the population from their traditional habitat. As a sociological issue, displacement needs to be constructed as a category to include all occurrences of involuntary population movements from original habitats. While constructing the category 'displaced', the reasons for de-territorialization can be identified in the form of a prefix, for example, development-induced displacement, war-induced displacement, revolution-induced displacement, ethnic-violence-induced displacement, and terrorism-induced displacement to name a few (Bhushan, 2008).

We may bring in a distinction between internally displaced and internationally displaced people. The types of displaced mentioned earlier within the national border do not encounter the problems of citizenship and national identity. On the other hand, refugees are internationally displaced who encounter the problem of alienation. Due to various historical reasons India has accepted refugees from the nation-states in the neighbourhood and their number is increasing. Strictly speaking, sociology of displacement should consider issues pertaining to their life too within its scope (Jewitt, 2008).

The displaced are the victims and are therefore vulnerable. They require the support of the state machinery to restart their livelihood in alien environments. The rehabilitation policies enacted by the respective governments are administrative mechanisms to facilitate the displaced to start a decent living in a new environment. The displaced have to build new societies and new cultural atmospheres in new locations. The

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R&R policy provides guidelines and support in this process. Though R&R policy is now synonymous with rehabilitation of the development-induced displaced, ideally it should look into the administrative aspects of the internationally displaced also. However, there is a separate sub-discipline by name Refugee Studies and the Ministries of External Affairs and Home implement the policies relating to their lives. I am of the opinion that to manage the administrative aspects of all the internally displaced peoples we should work towards evolving one inclusive R&R policy.

VI. Conclusions

The local community in the eastern coal mining region (ECL) of West Burdwan district is experiencing the consequences of coal mining, which serves as a prime example of accumulations by dispossession resulting from the government's new mining policy in the era of globalization. The fundamental aspect of this dispossession-driven growth is the substitution of traditional modes of production with new market-oriented methods of production and consumption. In the Sonepur Bazari, Ukhra mining area, accumulations by dispossession is enacted through the process of displacement and force integration of the tribal as well as farmer population using indirect force and conversion of different forms of property rights by the weaknesses of existing laws and also by the Rehabilitation and Resettlement policies. It also creates a propensity towards polarisation. The *adivasi* (Tribe) communities of ECL of West Bengal have emerged in their current state of dispossession through stages. The present stage of physical dispossessions can be understood as the final stage with fundamental changes of traditional ways of subsistence level cultivation to non-agricultural informal sector. This is one of the main characteristics of industrial development (Singh, 2010).

Therefore, the Sonepur Bazari, Ukhra projects of ECL exemplifies two crucial characteristics of accumulation by dispossession. It also describes how the capitalists' affiliation is contingent upon development strategies of Govt and transferring the productive resources in the hands of the few while dispossessing the public from their rights.

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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.

.

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

INDEX

A

Ambiguities · 5
Amenities · 2
Arsenal · 3, 9
Astonishing · 4

C

Coercive · 1
Coherent · 1
Congregation · 4
Conjecture · 4

D

Delinquent · 3, 4
Demarcated · 5
Deviance · 1, 4, 6, 7
Diluted · 2
Diminishes · 2
Dissatisfied · 1, 2

E

Exegetes · 2
Explicitly · 2
Extensive · 1, 6, 2

F

Fluidity · 8

I

Imperative · 2
Impoverished · 2
Invariably · 1

L

Longevity · 1

M

Meticulous · 4
Miasmas · 10
Morbidity · 2

P

Perished · 5
Permanence · 7, 11
Persistent · 4
Precarious · 6
Prevailing · 3, 1
Purged · 1

R

Reluctance · 2
Revisited · 3

V

Vague · 2
Vengeance · 5



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