Het multiculturele Bolivia van Evo Morales – Nieuwe vormen van burgerschap – Deel Een

El Alto 2006 – Photo Joel Alvarez

Op 21 januari 2010 werd Evo Morales Aima voor de tweede maal geïnaugureerd als president van Bolivia. Precies vier jaar eerder, op 21 januari 2006 accepteerde Evo Morales, de eerste inheemse president van Bolivia, al een keer zijn '*inheemse autoriteit*' tijdens een kleurrijke ceremonie in Tiwanaku, een indrukwekkende archeologische plaats ongeveer 70 kilometer van La Paz, de (informele) hoofdstad van Bolivia. Getooid in de traditionele kledij van een inheemse *mallku – 'condor'* of inheemse leider – werd hij toegejuicht door duizenden aanhangers die zwaaiden met de *wiphala*, de kleurrijke vlag die – hoewel dit ook betwist wordt – symbool staat voor alle inheemse volkeren van Zuid-Amerika. Vervolgens werd de president op 22 januari 's ochtends beëdigd in het parlement door het omhangen van de presidentiële sjerp en het afleggen van de gelofte om de grondwet te respecteren. Rechterlijke en militaire prominenten, een aantal belangrijke buitenlandse politici en de nieuw verkozen leden van het parlement waren aanwezig.

Na de officiële inauguratie vertrok Morales naar de plaza San Francisco in La

Paz. Op dit plein werd hij nogmaals ingehuldigd als de president van het volk, die werd gesteund door de sociale bewegingen. Morales werd in 2006 dus niet één maar drie keer geïnaugureerd. Dit opvallende gegeven is een gevolg van de ongewone samenstelling van de hedendaagse Boliviaanse samenleving. Bolivia telt maar liefst 36 inheemse volken, waarvan de Quechua's en de Aymara's de grootste groepen zijn. Morales zelf is van Aymara afkomst. In totaal (maar over deze cijfers is in Bolivia wel het nodige debat) rekent 2/3 van de bevolking zich tot een van de inheemse groepen; 15% is blank en de rest is mesties.

Wat maakte de inauguratie van een Aymara president zo bijzonder? Tot 2005 hadden alle achtereenvolgende regeringen getracht neoliberale hervormingen in te voeren die hadden geleid tot een aanscherping van ongelijkheden. Deze regeringen werden daarnaast geplaagd door corruptie en gebrek aan uitvoeringscapaciteit. Deze mislukkingen vormden de aanleiding voor een serie protesten die uiteindelijk samen kwamen in een succesvolle, *"etnisch"* gelabelde partij: de *Movimiento al Socialismo,* (MAS) onder leiding van Evo Morales. Deze partij slaagde erin een politiek alternatief te presenteren dat inheemse én niet-inheemse bevolkingssectoren overtuigde door in te haken op de wijdverbreide frustratie over toenemende sociaal-economische en politieke uitsluiting. Het succes van de MAS zit hem in het gebruik van oude strijdvormen gecombineerd met de geleidelijke creatie van nieuwe vormen van, en motieven voor, politieke participatie: de oude strategieën zijn die van de traditioneel sterke vakbonden, ideologisch uitgesproken organisaties. De nieuwe vormen zijn geïnspireerd door inheemse standaarden en tradities, dat wil zeggen: werden gevoed door ideeën en criteria die belangrijk zijn in de inheemse tradities en kosmologieën. Deze werden op hun beurt beïnvloed door het feit dat de inheemse bevolking zich steeds meer bewust werd van hun getal, van de waarden van hun cultuur, en dientengevolge ook van hun recht om te regeren. In deze tekst zullen we een stuk van deze geschiedenis en de uitkomsten daarvan reconstrueren. We betogen daarbij dat de verkiezing (en recente herverkiezing) van Morales niet alleen de eis voor een ander politiek-economisch model reflecteerde, maar ook de uiting was van de opkomst van oorspronkelijke ideeën over burgerschap en over hoe Bolivia geregeerd zou moeten worden.

Evo Morales Photo by
Marcello Casal Jr.-ABr

Symboliek van de inauguraties

De verschillende locaties van de inauguratie van Evo Morales staan alle symbool voor de verschillende stromingen en politieke machtsvelden in Bolivia. Gedurende de afgelopen decennia is *Tiwanaku* uitgegroeid tot een krachtig symbool van de groeiende inheemse beweging in het publieke en politieke domein van Bolivia. De plek bevat grote tempelstructuren die nog slechts gedeeltelijk opgegraven zijn, en is bezaaid met verschillende intrigerende monolieten.

Morales' inauguratie als *mallku* – 'condor' of inheemse leider – op juist deze locatie is zeer symbolisch. De mensen die hem met het gewaad van de *mallku* en haar symbolen omhingen waren ceremoniële leiders van de inheemse bewoners van Bolivia en andere Latijns-Amerikaanse inheemse naties. Met deze gebeurtenis deden zij traditionele inauguratieprotocollen, symbolen en woordkeuzes herleven en vonden zij deze gedeeltelijk opnieuw uit. Daarmee onderstreepten ze een unieke gebeurtenis op het continent: een inheemse president werd aangesteld door 'zijn mensen', door middel van een ceremonie die noch werd erkend door nationale politieke conventies noch gebruikt was sinds de kolonisatie van het gebied.

De eerste inauguratie vond dus *niet* plaats daar waar de natiestaat (de Republiek Bolivia) haar machtscentrum had, het parlement in La Paz. Hier werd Evo Morales pas in tweede instantie beëdigd. Het parlement ligt aan de plaza Murillo in het historisch gezien Spaanse deel van de stad. Dit is daarmee eigenlijk het machtscentrum van, in de ogen van de nieuwe machthebbers, de traditionele,

blanke elite die tot dan toe het land had bestuurd.

Als laatste begaf Morales zich naar de plaza San Francisco, het plein dat zich in het deel van de stad bevindt dat in de koloniale tijd 'inheems gebied' was. In tegenstelling tot de plaza Murillo is de plaza San Francisco de plaats bij uitstek waar het *volk* – in al zijn diversiteit – samenkomt: hier hadden vele van de protesten die de stad had aanschouwd hun climax gehad, dit was de plaats waar politieke plechtstatige taal werd vertaald in omgangstaal. Hier beloofde Morales' vice-president Álvaro García Linera, een linkse *criollo* intellectueel, binnen vijf jaar terug te keren op deze plek om *rekenschap af te leggen* over de keuzes van de nieuwe autoriteiten. Het was ook de plek waar vertegenwoordigers van gelijkgestemde overheden en inheemse en volksbewegingen vanuit alle hoeken van het continent en verder bijeen kwamen om te feesten en hun respect te tonen. De euforie eindigde op de plaza San Francisco in muziek en dans. Deze derde inauguratie vertegenwoordigt de steun aan Morales van de Boliviaanse bevolking (in al haar 'saamhorigheid in diversiteit'), én van de linkse en inheemse bewegingen van het continent.

Morales werd dus drie keer ingehuldigd: door de inheemse volkeren, door de politieke instituties en door de 'gewone' *en* inheemse mensen. Achter deze bijzondere gebeurtenis gaat een complexe en intrigerende nationale realiteit schuil. Het is een realiteit waarin verschillende sectoren van de Boliviaanse bevolking recentelijk hun eigen manieren om de publieke sfeer te betreden hebben kunnen creëren, waarbij inheemse participatieve methoden werden gecombineerd met de gebruiken van de *criollos*. Het geeft de realiteit weer waarin de inheemse bevolking zich de nieuwe stedelijke omgevingen (Lindahl 2006) waar ze naartoe zijn verhuisd vanuit hun traditionele woonomgeving op de Westelijke hoogvlakten, eigen heeft gemaakt: de grotere steden, en de 'onderbevolkte' gebieden in het oosten en zuiden van het land. De resulterende nieuwe demografische en etnische verdeling in het land heeft bijgedragen aan de manieren waarop Bolivianen hun protest gericht op de voorgaande regeringen vormgaven, regeringen die zij zagen als corrupt, onbekwaam of onverschillig in hun verplichtingen jegens de armere bevolking. Deze nieuwe vormen van protest zinspelen op criteria over 'goed bestuur' die op zijn minst gedeeltelijk geïnspireerd zijn door inheemse tradities maar daarbij niet voorbijgaan aan de huidige politieke structuren en instituties van het land. Dit wordt weerspiegeld in het meervoudige karakter van Morales' inauguratie. Het ging hier niet om een rustieke, 'onveranderde' plattelandstraditie, maar om iets dat blijk gaf van de 'moderne' aanwezigheid van de inheemse bevolking in de steden, belichaamd in

hun aandeel in het gevecht tegen het neoliberale beleid. De beëdiging tot president, was een daad waarin de hoogste autoriteit van het land zijn taak aanvaardt *voor de burgers*. Aangezien de Boliviaanse bevolking zo'n bijzondere, heterogene samenstelling heeft, vroeg deze om een meervoudige, ongewone gebeurtenis.

Opzet van dit stuk

De manier waarop deze pluriforme Boliviaanse bevolking gestalte geeft aan politieke participatie en aan 'burgerschap' is het thema van dit stuk. We zullen verkennen op welke bijzondere en unieke manieren protesten niet alleen over specifieke problemen en beleid gingen, maar ook over de relaties tussen de politiek en de bevolking; een relatie die, met name in de ogen van de inheemse bevolking, in ernstig verval was geraakt. We zullen uitwerken hoe dit proces bijdroeg tot het besef van de uitdagingen waar Bolivia vandaag de dag voor staat: haar sociaaleconomische toekomst nieuwe richting geven *en* haar democratie opnieuw uitvinden.

In het volgende gedeelte wordt kort ingegaan op het huidige debat over 'meervoudig burgerschap' en de relevantie hiervan voor het idee dat er nieuwe vormen van burgerschap aan de orde zijn in de protesten die in Bolivia plaatsvonden tussen 2000 en 2005 en in de manieren waarop de regering van Morales nu probeert te regeren. We suggereren ook dat deze nieuwe vormen inheems geïnspireerd zijn.

Daarna wordt de recente, turbulente geschiedenis van Bolivia geschetst, om zo het belang van Morales' verkiezing te kunnen vaststellen. Om inzicht te krijgen in de oorsprong en betekenis van deze overwinning, wordt aandacht besteed aan de periode van aanhoudende protesten die eraan voorafging. De focus ligt hierbij op de stad El Alto. Met name daar werden nieuwe vormen van protest en van burgerschap gecreëerd.

In het vijfde deel wordt het blikveld verbreed en worden ideeën aangestipt over de specifieke eigenschappen van Bolivia's huidige zoektocht naar nieuwe vormen van politieke participatie.

Tot slot volgt een korte analyse van de situatie in Bolivia na Morales' tweede, nog overweldigender verkiezingsoverwinning in december 2009.

2. De twijfels over 'universeel burgerschap'

Verkiezingen – Photo Joel Alvarez,
Marcello Casal Jr./ABr

Over 'burgerschap' is tegenwoordig het nodige debat gaande. In heel algemene termen wordt onder burgerschap meestal de deelname in en aan de politieke gemeenschap die de natiestaat vormt verstaan. De natiestaat garandeert bepaalde rechten en privileges aan alle burgers. Omgekeerd hebben burgers verplichtingen, zoals het betalen van belastingen en het gehoorzamen aan de wet. In beide gevallen is het cruciale aspect ervan, niet alleen de wettelijke formulering, maar vooral de publieke erkenning van de waardigheid van eenieder, het recht van eenieder om te participeren in het bestuur van de natiestaat, en niet in de laatste plaats de gegarandeerde *gelijkheid* ten overstaan van alle andere burgers en ten overstaan van de wet. Dit laatste is ook politiek van cruciaal belang: het houdt de garantie in dat iedere burger zich mag uitspreken, en toegang hoort te hebben tot de bestuurlijke instituties, onafhankelijk van iemands etnische of religieuze achtergrond, iemands sekse, of welk ander verschil dan ook. De status van 'burger' te zijn doet iets paradoxaals met al die verschillen tussen mensen: aan de ene kant biedt burgerschap het recht om deze verschillen, deze individuele eigenschappen, deze identiteiten, in alle vrijheid te beleven, en er niet om gediscrimineerd of anderszins benadeeld door te worden. Aan de andere kant zijn al deze verschillen irrelevant wanneer de status van burger als zodanig aan de orde is. De burger is *gelijk*, precies omdát het er niet toe doet wat zijn of haar huidskleur, religie, kledingstijl, seksuele voorkeur, hobby, opleiding of beroep is. De burger áls burger is voor de wet en voor de staat ontdaan van al die bijzonderheden.

Gelijkheid of gelijkwaardigheid?
Dít idee van burgerschap werd lange tijd gezien als een 'standaard', een universeel idee – iets wat in alle staten geldig zou moeten zijn, en wat nauw

verbonden was met het ideaal van de democratie. Het kreeg zodoende ook een normatief karakter. Hoewel vaak geschonden, werd het ook als ideaal en model voor de opbouw van de Latijns-Amerikaanse staten na hun onafhankelijkheid gezien. Daarmee werd de *politieke* relevantie van zoiets als "van-indiaanse-afkomst-zijn" ontkend. De praktijk was anders. Indiaan-zijn bleef wel degelijk een reden tot uitsluiting, minachting, discriminatie en rechten-ongelijkheid. In de slechtste gevallen werd (tot in de twintigste eeuw) de inheemse bevolking een aparte status toegekend en werden hen andere – minder – rechten toebedeeld dan andere, 'gewone' burgers. Zo hadden zij bijvoorbeeld in Bolivia eeuwenlang geen stemrecht, en was hun getuigenis voor een rechtbank slechts de helft waard van een 'blanke' getuigenis. Pas sinds het midden van de twintigste eeuw werd beleid gevoerd dat gericht was op meer oprechte gelijkheid. In Bolivia werd dit proces in gang gezet na de Nationale Revolutie van 1952, waarna de inheemse bevolking stemrecht kreeg. Tegelijkertijd werd echter van hen verwacht dat zij assimileerden in de Europees georiënteerde samenleving. Lange tijd werden de inheemse bevolkingsgroepen in Bolivia daarom niet langer '*indio*' genoemd – dat begrip had een discriminerende ondertoon gekregen – maar '*campesino*' (boer). Er kwam ook aandacht voor onderwijs voor iedereen, maar dat werd dan wel in het Spaans gegeven. Voor de culturele rijkdom van de inheemse bevolking was ook in de schoolklas geen ruimte. Het instellen van 'nationaal burgerschap' voor iedereen werd hiermee een excuus voor een assimilatiepolitiek, waarin indianen hun eigenheid (taal, tradities, kleding, rituelen) werd ontnomen om hen zo in het 'uniforme burgerschap' een plaats te geven.

Pas later kwam ook de erkenning van de culturele verschillen binnen Bolivia – niet in de laatste plaats omdat de inheemse bevolking dat in steeds krachtiger bewoordingen eiste. Een consequentie daarvan was echter dat de klassieke standaard van wat 'burgerschap' precies inhield, onder vuur kwam te liggen. Bolivia is van zo'n proces een sprekend voorbeeld. De meest centrale steen des aanstoots werd de claim dat deze klassieke standaard universeel, algemeen geldig zou zijn.

Hoe universeel zijn burgerrechten?
Er ontstond steeds meer kritiek op de vermeend 'neutrale' en universele eigenschappen van zulke waarden en termen als 'democratie', 'de rechtstaat', en 'burgerrechten', die wortelen in de politieke geschiedenissen van Westerse landen in Europa en Noord-Amerika. Om te beginnen is er het argument dat er een *recht* op cultureel verschil zou moeten zijn, wat onder meer inhoudt dat

alternatieve vormen van bestuur en van bijvoorbeeld strafrecht zouden moeten mogen bestaan (Esteva and Prakash, 1998, Supiot 2003). Anderen – vooral historici en sociale wetenschappers – hebben erop gewezen dat veel onderzoek aantoont dat brede sectoren van de bevolking van allerlei verschillende landen de concepten van democratie, vrijheid en burgerrechten, die door het Westen zo wordt gepropageerd, helemaal niet begrijpen, niet steunen, of zelf vervormen tot concepten die beter passen bij de lokale situatie (Salman 2004, Camp (ed.) 2001, Baviskar and Malone 2004). Dat zijn twee heel verschillende argumenten, maar met een vergelijkbare conclusie: dat we niet langer als vanzelfsprekend kunnen aannemen dat een enkelvoudige, voor iedereen geldende notie rondom burgerschapsrechten en democratie wereldwijd geldt (Baviskar and Malone 2004, Cowan *et al.* 2001, Merry 2001, Schech and Haggis 2000, Salman 2000, Pinxten and De Munter 2006).

Ook zo'n conclusie wordt overigens bestreden. Velen menen dat we niet zouden moeten marchanderen met de standaard normen die begrepen zijn in termen als democratie, vrijheden en rechten. Wanneer je immers zulke normen begint los te laten, open je de weg voor autoriteiten om onder het mom van 'nationale tradities' of 'cultuur' rechten te beknotten, en transparantie en het afleggen van rekenschap 'cultureel irrelevant' te verklaren. Daarmee houden minderheden en onderdrukte groepen nog minder mogelijkheden over om hun rechten op te eisen of verhaal te halen. Bovendien is de promotie van 'democratie' en 'burgerrechten' een belangrijk internationaal politiek project. het heeft de kracht om schendingen van mensenrechten, en diepgaande ongelijkheden wereldwijd, aan te klagen, en de stem te verheffen tegen uitsluiting, tegen kansenongelijkheid, en tegen autoritarisme. Dit maakt het begrijpelijk dat sommigen de discussie rondom de "harde kern" (Meyenberg, 1999) van burgerschapsrechten met lede ogen aanzien. Juist die universaliteit, betogen zij, is de essentie, de legitimiteit en de kracht van het idee. Wanneer je het op zou breken in lokale 'varianten', open je de weg naar een geldigverklaring van ongelijkheid in behandeling die gebaseerd zou zijn op een onterechte overschatting van de betekenis van cultureel of etnisch verschil.

Universele pretentie van burgerschap
Toch houdt de kritiek op het idee van universeel burgerschap aan. Eén van de argumenten draait om de vraag hoe adequaat het eigenlijk is om steeds maar weer het *individu* de 'drager' van rechten te maken. Wérkt dat eigenlijk wel in

situaties waarin sprake is van de onderdrukking van hele bevolkingsgroepen? In zulke gevallen is de overheersing een complexer en minder gemakkelijk te bestrijden onrecht dan dat het met een beroep op individuele rechten onschadelijk zou kunnen worden gemaakt (Fanon 1967). Individuele claims op gelijke behandeling, gelijke rechten en gelijke kansen staan relatief machteloos ten opzichte van zulke groepsdiscriminatie. Een ander argument is dat de definitie van 'universeel burgerschap' in feite is bepaald door de meerderheid, of de overheersende cultuur. Niet zelden blijkt bij nauwkeurig onderzoek naar wat burgerrechten inhouden, dat in feite geredeneerd is vanuit de blanke, geletterde, heteroseksuele, eigendombezittende, en de meerderheidsgodsdienst-aanhangende *man*. Met de ervaringen van vrouwen en religieuze, etnische en andere minderheden is nooit rekening gehouden. De universele burger blijkt daarmee gemodelleerd te zijn naar een selecte uitsnede van al die zo diverse 'burgers'. In Bolivia zou je kunnen stellen dat de burgerrechten gebaseerd zijn op het voorbeeld van slechts 7,5% van de bevolking: de blanke man. En daarmee heeft die universele pretentie een behoorlijke deuk opgelopen. In feite worden de criteria en 'waarheden' van sommigen bevoorrecht boven die van anderen. Minderheden en/of onderliggende meerderheden (zoals de indianen in Bolivia), met hun eigen percepties van, en ervaringen met de 'algemene' burgerrechten, zijn in feite gemarginaliseerd, en hebben daardoor moeilijker toegang tot deze zogenaamd neutrale burgerrechten (Canessa 2005). De effecten daarvan zijn even kolossaal als verhuld: een machtige maar onzichtbare code over wat juist en onjuist, reëel en irreëel, en redelijk en irrationeel is wordt opgelegd aan allen – ook aan degenen die er geen invloed op hadden. Dit diskwalificeert het idee dat er zoiets als universeel burgerschap bestaat.

Dit betekent natuurlijk niet dat burgerrechten dan maar in hun geheel opgeheven kunnen worden. De strijd van minderheden om een stem te verwerven en toegang te krijgen tot bijvoorbeeld de definities van de burgerrechten, is het beste gediend met een nóg consequenter respect voor deze rechten. Indien gelijke rechten en gelijke toegang tot bestuursinstituties en het publieke debat daadwerkelijk zouden gelden, zou immers óók kritiek op de vertekende dominante invulling ervan mogelijk worden. En eigenlijk nog verdergaand: dan zou zelfs het recht om verschillend te mogen zijn beter kunnen worden gehandhaafd. Immers: de gelijkheid in zeggenschap over de invulling van de inhoud van die – universele – gelijkheid is de best mogelijke garantie voor het ongestraft mogen beleven en conserveren van het (culturele, religieuze, seksuele, en dergelijke) verschil. De

absolute gelijkheid als burger is de basis van de vrijheid anders te mogen zijn. Misschien was of is de inhoud van burgerschap wel bevooroordeeld. Misschien werden in het verleden vaak de rechten van sommige groepen niet voluit gerespecteerd en leden zij daaronder. Maar dan nog is de beste remedie daartegen het onverkort, categorisch wél hanteren van dezelfde rechten voor iedereen. In Bolivia heeft dat er uiteindelijk toe geleid dat een inheemse leider president werd en burgerschap nieuwe vormen lijkt aan te nemen, die meer gestoeld zijn op de inheemse perceptie ervan.

Individuele en collectieve rechten
Een andere manier om volledig aan ieders idee van burgerrechten te voldoen zou multicultureel burgerschap kunnen zijn. Kan het toekennen van *verschillende* rechten aan *verschillende* groepen helpen om de nadelen van een opgelegd specifiek, eenzijdig model te keren? En is het idee van 'collectieve rechten' daarbij behulpzaam? Het *behoren tot* een gemeenschap (*belonging*) is een cruciaal aspect van iemands identiteit. Zonder dit *'behoren tot'* leven mensen in een sociaal vacuüm, en kunnen ze hun potentieel niet ontplooien. Daarom is *belonging* van wezensbelang. En daarom is het negeren of minachten door de staat en de maatschappij van zo'n (culturele, religieuze, taal-) gemeenschap een schending van rechten, zelfs indien voor het overige de civiele, politieke en sociale rechten zijn gewaarborgd (Kymlicka and Norman 2000b: 5). En juist voor veel inheemse bevolkingsgroepen is de groep belangrijker dan het individu, in tegenstelling tot veel Westerse samenlevingen. Als het 'behoren tot' een groep een zodanig cruciaal gegeven is, dan is de discriminatie of ontkenning van die groep door de staat een schending van de rechten van de leden van die groep.

Daarom is de staat verplicht tot maatregelen die de ondergeschikte of minderheidspositie van zo'n groep pogen te compenseren – en bijzondere rechten kunnen daarvan deel uitmaken. Bijzondere collectieve rechten voor inheemse volkeren kunnen bijvoorbeeld zijn het recht op zelfbeschikking of het recht op een eigen rechtspraak (Kruyt 2009). Of, zoals nu in Bolivia is gewaarborgd, het recht om de eigen lokale autoriteiten of vertegenwoordigers in 'grotere' democratische instanties te mogen kiezen of aanwijzen volgens de eigen tradities. Het hoéft dus niet via een individuele geheime stemming te verlopen als de lokale traditie is om, bijvoorbeeld, zulke personen via een plenaire gemeenschapsvergadering, middels consensus, te selecteren. Het kan echter lastig zijn om individuele en collectieve rechten tegelijk te waarborgen. Een uitgangspunt moet daarom zijn dat het

groepen, gemeenschappen of andere collectieven nooit toegestaan kan worden de vrijheden van de leden te beperken. De vrije keuze blijft bij het individu: het individu mag dissident zijn, mag vragen stellen, mag er uitstappen, en dergelijke. De *groep* verdient bescherming, en extra maatregelen of rechten, maar het *individu* blijft de uiteindelijke titelhouder van universele rechten, bijvoorbeeld inzake persoonlijke vrijheden (Kymlicka 2000a).

Nieuwe vormen van burgerrechten in Bolivia
De discussie rondom burgerrechten behelst nog een laatste aspect: de meeste literatuur over dit onderwerp besteedt weinig aandacht aan de *schepping* van andere vormen van burgerschap en het uitoefenen van rechten. Vaak ligt het accent op het *ontbreken* of *schenden* van specifieke rechten. Daarbij wordt veel aandacht besteed aan autoritarisme, aan mechanismen van uitsluiting, aan discriminatie van minderheden, aan het veronachtzamen van de wereldvisies van etnische of culturele minderheidsgroepen – en weinig aandacht besteed aan wat die 'rechtenloze' of gediscrimineerde groepen nu eigenlijk *doen*. Zo ontsnapt aan onze blik hoe burgers ideeën rondom rechten en participatie concreet begrijpen en toepassen (S. Ramirez 1999: 8, Echeverría 1997: 77, Abello 1998, Zubiría Samper 1998) en nieuwe vormen van deelname uitvinden (Lazar 2008). Om dit te illustreren wenden we ons nu opnieuw tot Bolivia.

Op dit moment worden in Bolivia nieuwe vormen van burgerschap en vooral van politieke participatie uitgetest en beproefd. Het toegenomen zelfbewustzijn van de indiaanse bevolkingsgroepen in Bolivia genereerde bijvoorbeeld steeds explicieter eisen rondom 'respect', 'autonomie' en 'participatie'. Die eerste eis lijkt nog te passen in traditionele opvattingen over burgerschap: het gaat hier om de erkenning van de waardigheid, en daarmee van de gelijkwaardige status van 'andere' culturele tradities binnen een overkoepelend nationaal burgerschap. Maar de autonomie-eis is van een andere aard. Onderdelen van deze eis betreffen (gemeenschappelijk) territoriaal eigendom, zelfbestuur, eigen strafrechtpleging en de wettelijke erkenning van traditionele lokale bestuursvormen. Dit zijn eisen die het traditionele begrip van burgerschap kritisch ondervragen, en de historische *oplegging* van 'vreemde' codes en instituties aanklagen. Concreet zien we dat dat accent op het individu als enig denkbare drager van rechten afzwakt, en dat juist het collectieve recht van de groep centraal komt te staan. Zo gaan deze eisen niet over individuele, maar over collectieve rechten voor hele bevolkingsgroepen. Sinds het aantreden van Evo Morales zijn deze eisen

opgenomen in het regeringsbeleid. Nu is het idee van een 'gedifferentieerd burgerschap' niet langer een 'irreële en marginale aanspraak van minderheden', maar een beleidsprincipe. De eis van participatie is, in zekere zin, nog complexer en intrigerender. De inheemse groepen van Bolivia willen namelijk niet alleen meer deelname in de bestaande politieke structuren van het land, maar tegelijkertijd willen zij deze structuren aanpassen en volgens hun eigen tradities vormgeven. Dat wil zeggen dat zij het recht opeisen om bijvoorbeeld gemeenschapsbrede *'deliberatie'* erkend te krijgen als een geldig politiek principe, náást *'verkiezingen'* of *'representatie'* in het parlement. Men wil, naar eigen inzichten, vorm kunnen geven aan die politieke participatie. Er wordt gezocht naar mogelijkheden om politiek 'mee te doen' op een dusdanige manier dat bijvoorbeeld de krachtige collectivistische traditie en de gewoonte uitgebreid plenair te delibereren (beide ten dele indiaanse inspiraties) recht wordt gedaan. Daar is traditioneel burgerschap, met zijn accent op het *individu* als drager van (onder meer politieke) rechten, niet echt op berekend.

Deze nieuwe eisen van de inheemse bevolking zijn een direct gevolg van de grote migratiestromen van het platteland naar de stad vanaf de jaren '80 van de vorige eeuw. De indiaanse migranten belandden vaak in marginale posities na hun migratie naar de stad. Vanuit deze posities vonden leerprocessen plaats rondom de interpretaties van *'democratie'* en *'burgerrechten'* met uitkomsten die afweken van wat de conventionele politieke elite legitiem en tolerabel vond. Deze uitkomsten waren niet uitsluitend op (rurale) indiaanse tradities gebaseerd. Zij komen mede voort uit de ervaringen met specifieke politieke culturen en politieke 'mores' die in de stad en in de natiestaat, die zij daar leerden kennen, werden opgedaan. En zij komen ook voort uit een krachtige vakbondstraditie in Bolivia. Vele duizenden mijnwerkers belandden na het ontmantelen van de staatsmijnen in de jaren tachtig ook in de stad (vooral in El Alto), en zij hebben levendige herinneringen aan hun assertieve vakbondsoptreden. Deze 'gemengde inspiraties' waren de voedingsbodem voor de manier waarop de arme stedelijke Bolivianen, zowel van indiaanse als andere afkomst, invulling hebben gegeven aan hun strijd voor rechten en aan hun Boliviaans burgerschap (Salman 2004, 855, 869).

3. Bolivia's turbulente politieke verleden en heden

Verkiezingen Photo by Joel Alvarez,
Marcello Casal Jr./ABr

Vrijwel vanaf het begin ging Bolivia's terugkeer naar democratie in de jaren 1980 vergezeld van liberaal economisch beleid, in overeenstemming met de eisen van de Wereldbank en het Internationaal Monetair Fonds (IMF). De beleidshervormingen betroffen maatregelen die de export stimuleerden, een verlaging van overheidsuitgaven, deregulering en privatisering. Gewone Bolivianen hadden maar weinig profijt van deze maatregelen (Assies en Salman 2003a, 2003b). Onvrede met dit beleid nam toe maar de bestaande politieke partijen boden geen toereikende alternatieven. Tijdens verkiezingen spraken de traditionele partijen hun kritische

standpunten ten opzichte van het heersende beleid wel uit, maar na een verkiezingsoverwinning voerden ze hun plannen nauwelijks uit. Elke keer opnieuw kregen mensen het idee dat ze niet kregen waar ze om gevraagd hadden. Deze geleidelijke opeenhoping van frustratie leidde uiteindelijk tot erosie van de publieke steun voor het politieke systeem als geheel. Politici werden ervan beschuldigd alleen op hun eigen gewin uit te zijn (Salman 2006). Dit gevoel ging in toenemende mate overheersen in de evaluaties van *'de politiek'* in het algemeen in Bolivia. De verkiezingen in 1993 leidden tot een overwinning van de MNR, geleid door Gonzalo *"Goni"*Sánchez de Lozada en met de Aymara leider Víctor Hugo Cárdenas als vicepresident, in een verrassende samenwerking tussen de MNR en verschillende andere partijen, waaronder een kleine Katarista partij, de MRTK-L.

In de loop der tijd had Cárdenas zich omgevormd van een radicale naar een meer intellectuele en consensusgerichte politicus, die opkwam voor multiculturalisme en de erkenning van het bestaan van meerdere etniciteiten in Bolivia. Na de verkiezingen lanceerde de regeringscoalitie, in het parlement gesteund door een

aantal kleinere partijen, een soort "neoliberale sociale hervorming": economische herstructurering werd gecombineerd met maatregelen in de politieke sfeer om discriminatie, centralisatie en institutionele corruptie en inefficiëntie te verminderen. Zo lanceerde zij belangrijke hervormingen op het gebied van onderwijs en decentralisatie: de *Ley de Participación Popular* (LPP, een wetsvoorstel over publieke participatie), droeg zij budgetten en bevoegdheden over aan gemeenten en erkende daarbij 'traditionele' inheemse politieke organen als legitieme gesprekspartners in het ontwikkelen van beleid. Een neveneffect van deze maatregel was dat lokale inheemse leiders (zoals Evo Morales) een platform verkregen van waaruit ze het heersende beleid konden bekritiseren en hun actieradius konden uitbreiden naar het nationale staatsbestel.

Hoewel Sánchez de Lozada's eerste termijn als president door de meeste waarnemers als daadkrachtig en efficiënt wordt beoordeeld en binnen de bevolking aan minder desastreuze kritiek werd onderworpen dan voorgaande en opvolgende regeringen, was ook dit bewind verdacht succesvol in het verhullen van hun neoliberale politiek-economische filosofie, en in het verzwijgen van de gevolgen van hun maatregelen, zoals het afschaffen van subsidies en het privatiseren van – ook renderende – staatsbedrijven, net als eerdere regeringen hadden gedaan. Ze bleef zowel de overheidsbemoeienis met de economie als de *verantwoordelijkheid* van de staat voor de rechtvaardiger verdeling van rijkdom en kansen verminderen. Mede hierdoor creëerden de aanhoudende en toenemende problemen onder de gewone Bolivianen in 1997 nieuwe kansen voor ex-dictator Hugo Banzer, die de noodzaak voor meer sociale hervormingen in zijn campagne benadrukte. Maar zijn regering bleek een gesel voor het land te zijn: zijn mega-coalitie kenmerkte zich door corruptie, interne ruzies, verdere privatiseringen en algehele onbekwaamheid in combinatie met economische impasses en aanhoudende armoede.

Het einde van het neoliberale model
Deze twee regeringen droegen doorslaggevend bij aan de teloorgang van het vertrouwen in verkiezingen en democratisch bestuur. Maar het oude partijensysteem weigerde voorlopig te wijken. Want hoewel de verkiezingen in 2002 een behoorlijke winst voor de oppositie en haar inheemse alternatieven opleverde, negeerden de traditionele partijen de boodschap, flansten nogmaals een coalitie in elkaar en hervatten hun neoliberale beleid. Gedurende alle voorgaande regeringen en ook weer in Sánchez de Lozada's tweede termijn

(2002-2003) bleven twee elementen hardnekkig opvallen. Ten eerste was en bleef het neoliberale model leidend, ongeacht welke partij aan de macht was en ongeacht hun ideologische achtergrond (als die er al was). Ten tweede werd koste wat kost het model gehandhaafd en werd voorkomen dat er kritiek op het model gegeven zou kunnen worden, bijvoorbeeld tijdens verkiezingen. Het werd niet ter discussie gesteld.

En dat terwijl men wel probeerde om met thema's als corruptie, sociale programma's, infrastructuur en armoede in campagnes en politieke debatten op televisie de kiezers te lokken. Het vermijden van de discussie over het neoliberale model werd bevorderd door internationale factoren: in een rapport van de VN uit 2004 werden *'economische hervormingen'* die binnen dit model pasten zelfs gezien als een middel om democratische vooruitgang te toetsen. In dezelfde tekst wordt echter ook de frustratie van burgers over datzelfde model uitgelicht als een van de destabiliserende factoren van democratische geloofwaardigheid. In deze paradox vinden we een uitleg voor de 'onbetwistbaarheid' van het neoliberalisme als het enige geldige en legitieme model. De regering kon een discussie niet aangaan omdat zij dan ook ruimte zou moeten bieden aan de frustraties die er heersten. De effecten waren vernietigend voor het vertrouwen in, en de steun voor, het democratische systeem. In de ogen van de Bolivianen waren de *'pacten'* tussen de politieke partijen om macht te verkrijgen of behouden niets meer dan privéovereenkomsten om de koek te verdelen. Daar mee werd in hun ogen de weg vrijgemaakt voor vriendjespolitiek en toegang tot overheidsbudgetten die niet openlijk in de boekhouding genoteerd konden worden (Tapia Mealla and Toranzo, 2000: 79-81; Assies and Salman, 2003b: 48). Tegelijkertijd werd steeds nadrukkelijker gesteld dat het funeste neoliberale beleid gedragen en gesteund werd door partijen die de *'blanken'* vertegenwoordigden; het *'etnische'* ging een steeds grotere rol spelen in de kritiek op de politieke *'business-as-usual'*. Men voelde dat verschuivingen in stemgedrag, de eis om ruimte voor niet-traditionele partijen, en de vele protesten tegen regeringsmaatregelen, werden 'overruled' door dergelijke pacten.

Het algehele wantrouwen in de politiek had een onmiskenbaar effect op de tweede termijn van Sánchez de Lozada (2002-2003) en op die van zijn vicepresident en opvolger Mesa (2003-2004). Sánchez de Lozada werd geconfronteerd met een onophoudelijke en steeds fellere reeks van protesten tegen de neoliberale maatregelen van de regering. Voor veel Bolivianen was de druppel die de emmer deed overlopen een plan voor de bouw van een gasleiding

naar Chili, een land waarmee Bolivia een moeizame relatie heeft. De demonstranten vreesden dat de Boliviaanse gasvoorraad met deze pijpleiding in de uitverkoop zou gaan. Uiteindelijk mondden de protesten uit in de *Guerra del Gas* ('gasoorlog') in oktober 2003. Tienduizenden inheemse bewoners van El Alto blokkeerden de toegangswegen naar La Paz. Nadat deze protesten met grof geweld werden neergeslagen en er meer dan 70 doden vielen, werd Sánchez de Lozada gedwongen op te stappen.

Tijdens de gebeurtenissen in oktober werden voor het eerst de culturele en regionale dimensies van de crisis zichtbaar. De inheemse stad El Alto was het zenuwcentrum van de protesten. De stad liet nieuwe vormen van protest (zoals wegblokkades en buurt-brede deelname) zien, en liet in de manier waarop eisen en leuzen werden geformuleerd doorschemeren dat ándere, specifieke, cultureel geïnspireerde criteria mede een rol speelden in hun zeer kritische evaluatie van de *'gangbare politiek'*(De Munter 2004, Mamani 2005).

Culturele beoordeling van de politiek
Het oordeel van de Boliviaanse bevolking over het politieke bestuur werd in toenemende mate bepaald door drie specifieke culturele impulsen. Ten eerste had het toegenomen zelfbewustzijn van de inheemse Boliviaanse meerderheid bijgedragen aan een sterkere en explicietere afwijzing van de systematische uitsluiting die de inheemse vertegenwoordiging ten deel was gevallen in vorige regerende coalities. Cárdenas' vicepresidentschap, hoewel symbolisch significant, had niet geleid tot een echte omkering van het patroon van de blanke dominantie bij de besluitvorming. De protesten maakten de inheemse onvrede met deze stand van zaken onmiskenbaar duidelijk. De rol van Evo Morales, Felipe Quispeen andere inheemse leiders droeg bij aan een verdere assertiviteit aan de kant van de inheemse bevolking. Dit resulteerde in verrassende uitkomsten bij de verkiezingen van 2002, waarbij de partijen van Morales en Quispe respectievelijk 21 en 6% van de stemmen binnenhaalden.

Sánchez de Lozada's terugkeer naar de macht in augustus 2002 werd dan ook gezien als een enorme provocatie en bevestigde de wijdverbreide overtuiging dat de uitkomsten van de verkiezingen van geen enkel belang waren voor de zittende politici. De traditionele partijen deden alsof er niets gebeurd was. In de ogen van veel Bolivianen was de coalitie ditmaal geboren uit de beslissing van de traditionele partijen om Morales – de *indio* – buiten de macht te houden, ondanks zijn verrassende verkiezingsresultaat. Om er nog een schepje bovenop te doen begonnen de coalitiepartijen te ruziën over posities, afspraken en verdelingen van

zetels in de parlementaire commissie alsof er niets aan de hand was. Eigenlijk was Sánchez de Lozada's fiasco al een feit vanaf de aanvang van zijn regering.

Ten tweede nam de expliciete publieke kritiek op het economische vrijhandelmodel geleidelijk toe in volume en groeide uit tot een kritiek op de onderliggende aannames over de definities van de natie, haar identiteit en toekomst. Kritiek werd geuit over de 'Westerse' obsessie met vooruitgang en groei en het disrespect voor de natuur. Voor veel inheemse volkeren staat een leven in harmonie met de natuur en de gemeenschap centraal. Economische groei ten koste van andere mensen en ten koste van de natuur zijn daarom uit den boze, vanuit inheems perspectief gezien (Archondo *et al.* 2004). In de loop van het proces verschoof de vraag naar *ander beleid* naar een vraag naar andere manieren om naar het land, haar volkeren en hun wereldbeeld te kijken.

Ten derde werd de al jarenlang gangbare kritiek op Boliviaanse politici geleidelijk steeds explicieter gestoeld op inheemse modellen voor 'goed' leiderschap. De kritiek richtte zich niet langer uitsluitend op de onbekwaamheid, corruptheid en leugenachtigheid van politici, maar verwees in toenemende mate naar waarden als wederkerigheid, roulerende gemeenschapstaken en het *respect* dat autoriteiten moeten belichamen. Inheemse – of inheems geïnspireerde – beledigingen aan het adres van politici *'als soort'*, waarbij deze afgeschilderd werden als *mank'agastos*, (*'parasieten'*) gingen steeds meer domineren (Lazar 2005). Toen Sánchez de Lozada werd gedwongen af te treden, viel het presidentschap toe aan zijn vicepresident Carlos Mesa. Hij genoot een reputatie als een gematigde en oprechte *criollo* intellectueel en journalist. In eerste instantie werd hij met enthousiasme en *goodwill* ontvangen, maar dit veranderde snel. Hij werd geconfronteerd met de erfenis van zijn voorgangers. Hij kreeg te maken met het scherper geworden bewustzijn dat de inheemse stem gehóórd moest worden in de politiek, gecombineerd met het algehele wantrouwen in politiek en politici. Intussen was het land gepolariseerd en geradicaliseerd, en de vrees van de rijkere elite voor het inheemse oproer werd vertaald naar een steeds krachtiger wordende eis voor autonomie vanuit de oostelijke departementen. Het bleek een erfenis waar hij niet tegen was opgewassen. In een poging om zowel de inheemse bevolking uit de hooglanden en de rijkere bevolking uit de oostelijke laaglanden tevreden te stellen, ontwierp hij een nieuwe wet over de gaswinning. Ook al zou deze wet voor meer inkomsten uit de gaswinning voor Bolivia zelf leiden, het was voor de inheemse leiders niet genoeg. Zij eisten totale

nationalisering. Het feit dat Mesa dit standpunt niet onderschreef bracht opnieuw mensen de straat op, zijn ontslag eisend. In deze tweede gasoorlog werd La Paz wederom van de buitenwereld afgesneden en konden parlementsleden het parlementsgebouw niet eens meer bereiken. Na veel gemanoeuvreer trad Mesa op 9 juni 2005 uiteindelijk af en werd opgevolgd door Eduardo Rodríguez, voorheen president van het Hooggerechtshof van Bolivia.

Rodríguez leidde het land, in relatieve rust, tot de verkiezingen op 18 december 2005. De verkiezingscampagne resulteerde in een polarisatie: een rechtse coalitie ('PODEMOS') met haar zenuwcentrum in de oostelijke laaglanden, ver weg van La Paz, geleid door Banzer's voormalige vicepresident Jorge *"Tuto"* Quiroga stond lijnrecht tegenover Evo Morales' linkse MAS, welke haar bolwerk in de hooglanden had. Het spectrum van traditionele partijen was nog slechts vaag waarneembaar – zij waren zich zeer bewust van de afkeer die zij in brede lagen van de bevolking opriepen. Ondanks heel wat moddergooien tijdens de campagne verliep de dag van de verkiezing vredig. De dag resulteerde in een ongekende absolute meerderheid (54%) voor Morales.

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Lees verder: Het multiculturele Bolivia van Evo Morales – Nieuwe vormen van burgerschap.
Deel twee: http://rozenbergquarterly.com/?p=3540

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Koen de Munter – Since 1992 Koen de Munter has been involved in an ethnohistorical and ethnographic study of intercultural dynamics in Latin-America. On the one hand, this involves a study of the phenomenon of mestizaje (hybridization, creolization.) which is not simply considered as an ideology (because of a certain intellectual or political hegemony), but mostly as the changing, shifting term for complex and plurivalent processes of interculturality in the Americas.

On the other hand, within this quite encompassing theme for research the focus is placed upon the postcolonial situation of so-called indigenous groups, and upon proceeding as a tradition. The attempt is to understand such proceeding as material for intercultural comparison and to take hold of it on the basis of their cultural intuitions (in concert with 'the West'). More particularly, this research builds upon field work done in 1995 with several Aymara families in urban El Alto, a recent city of indigenous migrants in Bolivia (Andes). Important themes in this research are contextualization, plurivalent cosmological views, family and ritual action.

Het multiculturele Bolivia van Evo Morales – Nieuwe vormen van burgerschap – Deel Twee

El Alto Markt – Photo by Joel Alvarez

Aymara's in El Alto: Traditie en vernieuwing
El Alto werd in Bolivia het zenuwcentrum van de protesten tegen het neoliberale beleid. In het overwegend inheemse El Alto (zie verder) werd dit beleid gezien als de politiek *"van mestiezen en blanken"*. De protesten die uiteindelijk leidden tot het vertrek van Sánchez de Lozada begonnen in El Alto begin september 2003 en breidden zich aanzienlijk uit nadat een protest in het stadje Warisata op de hoogvlakte hard uiteen werd geslagen door het leger, waarbij zes doden vielen. Na verschillende dagen van protesten en blokkades in El Alto ontstonden (voornamelijk benzine) tekorten in La Paz – alle verkeer naar La Paz moet namelijk door El Alto. Sánchez de Lozada en zijn regering besloten dat er een door militairen bewaakt konvooi van tankwagens door El Alto moest komen. De gevolgen waren gruwelijk: er vielen 67 doden die dag.

De verontwaardiging was groot en de *Alteños* begonnen een politieke opstand (Mamani 2005). De verschillende buurten organiseerden zich onder leiding van hun *Juntas de Vecinos* (buurtraden), en onttrokken zich, onder meer via blokkades, aan de controle van de centrale overheid. In de daaropvolgende dagen marcheerden de *Alteños* naar beneden, naar de plaza San Francisco (we noemden het eerder), en eisten daar het aftreden van president Sánchez de Lozada. Uiteindelijk leidde deze massale opstand, die zich uitbreidde naar La Paz en andere steden, tot de vlucht van Sánchez de Lozada naar de VS.

De bijzondere dynamiek van El Alto
Geo-strategisch ligt El Alto bijzonder. Vrijwel alle toegangswegen naar La Paz gaan door El Alto, en in El Alto bevindt zich ook de luchthaven. El Alto is op de hoogvlakte ontstaan als arme buitenwijk van het overvolle en uitdijende La Paz, maar werd een onafhankelijke gemeente in 1988. Inmiddels is het qua inwonertal net zo groot als La Paz (ongeveer één miljoen inwoners). Pas in de 21e eeuw echter werd El Alto ten volle erkend als politieke hoofdrolspeler in Bolivia.
Het ligt op ruim 4000 meter boven zeeniveau, en is een metropolis met een geheel eigen karakter. El Alto heeft, met name in de oudere buurten, enorme markten die de brug slaan tussen het platteland en dit enorme urbane agglomeraat. El Alto is snel gegroeid de afgelopen decennia, waardoor de verschillen tussen de oude en nieuwe buurten groot is in termen van stedelijke voorzieningen en gradaties van armoede. De stad is arm, maar tegelijkertijd

bruisend, energiek en optimistisch. Het verkeer en het lawaai zijn, met name op de vervoerskruispunten, overweldigend. Het is de enige stad van een dergelijke omvang ter wereld met een zó groot aandeel inheemse bevolking. De meerderheid van de bevolking bestaat uit 'urbaan-rurale' indianen, de meerderheid van hen van Aymara afkomst (85%), en voor een kleiner deel uit voormalige mijnwerkers, die veelal ook inheems (Quechua) zijn. Beide groepen zijn sinds lang vertrouwd met politieke protesten. Hun achterstandsituatie in het verleden gaf daartoe dan ook volop aanleiding. De migranten waren vroeger kleine boeren op de ruige en niet heel vruchtbare hoogvlakte, de *altiplano*; nu wonen zij weliswaar in de stad maar onderhouden vaak intensieve contacten met hun dorpen van oorsprong. Zij helpen daar tijdens zaai- en oogsttijden en nemen deel aan de rituele feesten. Daaruit alleen al blijkt dat er geen rimpelloze assimilatie aan het stadsleven plaatsvond. Men is als het ware de plattelandstradities gaan vervlechten met die uit de stad. Er wordt bijvoorbeeld door jongeren in El Alto vrijelijk geëxperimenteerd met verkeringen en liefdesperikelen, en zij gaan naar de disco's alsof ze in willekeurig welke Westerse stad woonden. Maar ze nemen óók deel aan folkloristische dansfestijnen en roepen op het moment dat er trouwplannen ontstaan de hulp en rituele kennis van hun ouders in om het huwelijk '*gepast*' voor te bereiden.

Deze kenmerken maken van El Alto méér dan zomaar '*een arme stad*'; meer dan '*gewoon*' een stad van wanhoop, geweld, en frustratie over kansloosheid en achterstand. De migranten eigenden zich de stad op eigen voorwaarden toe: elementen die behoorden bij de dominante stedelijke leefwijze raakten vermengd met gewoontes uit de eigen herinneringen en praktijken kwamen. De participatie in de stad gaf precies dat patroon te zien: men werd een burger op een dusdanige manier dat ook het gemeenschapsleven van het platteland daarin tot uiting kwam. Dat vinden we bijvoorbeeld terug in de *Juntas de Vecinos*, de buurtraden die overal opkwamen. Deze raden, hoewel wettelijk geregeld in Bolivia, doen in El Alto denken aan de gemeenschaps-organisatievormen van het platteland, met langdurige plenaire vergaderingen en een roulatie van bestuursverantwoordelijkheid. Maar de thema's zijn nu de buurtbestrating, de riolering, en de overlast veroorzakende kroeg op de hoek. En de methodes zijn nu de petitie aan de gemeente, en de onderhandelingen met de gemeentelijke infrastructuurdiensten. We vinden de tradities ook terug in de manier waarop die buurtraden reageerden op de militaire intimidaties van september en oktober 2003. Men organiseerde, per buurt, blokkades, groef tankgrachten, en

mobiliseerde daarbij de hele buurt, niet zelden overigens via mobiele telefoons: de moderne stad vereist andere communicatiemiddelen (De Munter 2003). Hoewel sommigen spraken van een soort van 'buurt-dwang' (wie niet meedeed werd door zijn buren al snel gezien als een verrader), was in feite de massale dynamiek van deelname de belangrijkste reden dat ook de meestal wat passievere buurtgenoten deelnamen. De búúrt, de gemeenschap, werd de spil waarom de organisatie van het protest draaide. In de inheemse traditie is het vermogen om het gemeenschapsbelang gezamenlijk te formuleren én te realiseren, sterk. (Lazar 2008). Het tekent de manier waarop El Alto zich als stad met bijzondere culturele wortels liet kennen.

In El Alto *'ontdekten'* de bewoners in zekere zin hun gedeelde Aymara-identiteit. Het was de stad waarin zij, met hun taal, verhalen, herinneringen en blijvende interacties met hun geboortedorpen, de overgrote meerderheid waren. Die meerderheid gaf – in al zijn heterogeniteit– kracht en zelfvertrouwen, en nodigde uit tot het voluit beleven én *'recreëren'* van de eigen tradities, ook al was het dan nu in een bruisende en uitdagende grootstad en ingebed in een modern politiek stelsel, waar*binnen* men zich een plek wenste en probeerde te veroveren. Maar het werd geen proces van alleen maar aanpassing. Men wijzigde de blauwdrukken van wat *'vooruitgang'*, *'moderniteit'* en deelname daarin zouden moeten inhouden.

Zelfbewuster dan in vroeger tijden verwijst men dan bijvoorbeeld naar de centrale idee van *sarawi*, als een alternatief voor de 'blanke' manier van politiek bedrijven. *Sarawi* kan begrepen worden als de *reis* die iedere Aymara moet ontwerpen en ondernemen tijdens zijn of haar leven. Tijdens die reis moet de weg van reciprociteit *(ayni)* gestalte gegeven worden en gevolgd worden; alleen dán is de 'reis' volwaardig. Op die reciprociteit of wederkerigheid is het traditionele gemeenschapsleven gebaseerd. Een reis *ten koste* van de anderen die deel uit maken van je gemeenschap en de natuurlijke leefwereld is een mislukte reis. Deze reis biedt ook ruimte aan een proces van *voortgang*, van verandering. Deze 'voortgang' is echter iets heel anders dan het Westerse idee van *'vooruitgang'*, waarin bijna automatisch noties als *'expansie'*, *'groei'* en *'accumulatie'* meeklinken. Hier gaat het daarentegen om een reis die je samen met anderen doormaakt. En omdát het om een *reis,* dus een proces gaat, staat de mogelijkheid open om voort-te-gaan als traditie, om de traditie recht te doen en tegelijkertijd niet stil te blijven staan. Daarin zit beweging en een zekere flexibiliteit – en dat

wil zeggen dat het *voortgaan* niet gelijkstaat met *'conservering'* of behoud. Het verleden wordt niet opgegeven maar constant ingezet en omgewerkt. Het idee van s*arawi* is dubbel interessant omdat het ook het devies inhoudt om door het leven "te wandelen als (echte) mensen (*jaqi*)", in het Aymara: *jaqjam sarnaqaña*. *Jaqi* betreft dan degenen die de eigen culturele traditie delen – je wordt dus geacht de traditie niet op te geven, in ieder geval voor wat de waarden aangaat die een 'goed (samen)leven' mogelijk maken.

Hoe werkt zoiets dan, concreet, in de dagelijkse tijd en ruimte van El Alto? Hoe houden de Aymara's vast aan hun *'eigenheid'*, te midden van een wereld die in feite een uniform model van culturele identiteit en politieke eenheid oplegde, al sinds de verovering? Hoe geef je gestalte aan je *sarawi*, als je bijvoorbeeld op economisch gebied door en door verstrengeld raakt met die moderne stad? (De Munter 2004). Hoe verzoen je twee vormen van participatie in twee typen van *'markt'*: de markt als profijt-mechanisme, in de Westerse traditie, en de markt als mechanisme dat leunt op reciprociteit, op uitwisseling, op ontmoeting, op delen?

Strategieën in een nieuwe omgeving
Om de Aymara-wijze van omgaan met de wereld beter te duiden gebruikten we het begrip "culturele intuïties". Op basis van onze ontmoetingen en langdurige interviews met onze gesprekspartners zowel in El Alto als daarbuiten kwamen we tot de bevinding dat de Aymara's van vandaag zich laten leiden door een tweetal onderling nauw verbonden intuïties, die hen in staat stellen om te gaan met culturele verandering én continuïteit. Het gaat om principes die allerlei activiteiten en interpretaties *doortrekken* – ook in het zich toeëigenen van een plek en een status in het stadsleven. Het gaat dus niet om een 'schema' waarbij de blauwdruk de uitkomst al op voorhand vastlegt. Maar we geloven dat er een zeker patroon, of regelmatigheid bestaat die kan helpen het politieke en culturele handelen van de Aymara's in de stad te begrijpen en te kenmerken. We benoemden deze culturele intuïties van de Aymara's als die van *contextualisering* en die van *plurivalentie*, het simultaan aanwezig zijn van meerdere waarden en waarheden. Deze twee intuïties doortrekken allerlei activiteiten en interpretaties, zoals het vinden van een plek en een status in het stadsleven.

De eerste intuïtie is dus die van *contextualisering*. Dit wordt zichtbaar, naast veel andere manieren, in de frequente plengofferandes of *ch'allas*. In zulke ceremoniën worden verschillende 'contexten', zowel van tijd als van plaats, ritueel vervlochten en gezamenlijk herinnerd. Tijden en plaatsen worden

verbonden in een *pacha*-geheel, dat tijd en ruimte omvat. Door op zo'n manier verschillende tijdelijkheden en plaatsen met elkaar in verband te brengen kunnen de Aymara's hun weg vinden in nieuwe situaties, en hun toekomst mede bepalen. De verschillende tijden en plaatsen waarin de Aymara's zichzelf terugvinden raken dus niet geïsoleerd van elkaar; er is een ervaring die, hoe moeilijk de levensomstandigheden ook zijn, toch ergens samenhang en continuïteit garandeert. Veelzeggend in dit verband is dat de toekomst, volgens de Aymara-percepties (overigens net als in nogal wat andere inheemse denktradities), eigenlijk *achter* ons ligt: dat zien we niet. Het werken aan de toekomst – die ze niet kunnen zien – wordt dan beleefd als het voortdurend opnieuw vormgeven van het verleden dat vóór hen ligt – ze hebben het immers gezien – en dat hen gidst. Dit betekent ook dat het handelen van de Aymara vaak op herhaling is gebaseerd. Zo komt het verleden ook in de toekomst steeds weer terug. Dit Aymara-beeld van tijd en ruimte (*pacha*) geeft hen een radicaal andere manier om met beide om te gaan. In de Aymara-wereld staan het verleden (bijvoorbeeld de vroegere woonplaats, het geboortedorp), het heden (hun leven in de stad) en de toekomst dus niet zomaar achter of naast elkaar. Zij zijn niet van elkaar los te maken, maar lopen verstrengeld, en de verleden tijden zijn altijd ergens aanwezig – als potentie of daadwerkelijk – ín het heden dat te gebeuren staat. De plengoffers drukken dit uit; zij roepen de verschillende contexten *samen* op. De *pacha* (denk aan de *pachamama*) is de eenheid van tijd en ruimte, en de *ch'alla* is het ritueel waarmee die verbondenheid wordt opgeroepen.

De tweede intuïtie die we terugvonden in de Aymarawijze om hun tradities en het stadsleven met elkaar in overeenstemming te brengen is het idee van *plurivalentie*, het simultaan aanwezig zijn van meerdere waarheden. Volgens de Aymara hoeft er niet per se één waarheid te zijn: iets kan bijvoorbeeld in de ene situatie goed maar in een andere situatie slecht zijn. In de plattelands-gemeenschap is het bijvoorbeeld niet goed als mensen migreren; de gemeenschap desintegreert erdoor en er zijn minder handen om het werk te doen. Maar de regelmatige terugkeer van de migranten naar het dorp is goed: het bevestigt de verbondenheid, brengt extra handen voor bijvoorbeeld de oogst, en levert extra (financiële en technische) hulp op om in de gemeenschap bijvoorbeeld irrigatiewerken uit te voeren. Deze ambivalenties van de dingen komen tot uitdrukking in het Aymara woordje *ina*: 'misschien ja' *en* 'misschien nee', de twee samen. Het drukt de *'trivalente'*, de *'drievoudige'* logica van de Aymara taal en cultuur uit (Temple 1996). Alle menselijke en natuurlijke gebeurtenissen bevinden zich in de omvattende *pacha*, waarin het goede en het kwade niet van elkaar

gescheiden, maar telkens verbonden zijn. De gebeurtenissen zijn goed *en* kwaad, en wisselen elkaar daarin vaak af. *Sarawi* – door het leven te wandelen als mensen, als *jaqi* – vloeit voort uit precies die aanhoudende ontmoeting (en contextualisering) tussen tegengestelde krachten die steeds opnieuw gecombineerd en geïnterpreteerd moeten worden. De migratie naar de stad, de opname van nieuwe technologieën en kennis in het traditionele wereldbeeld, zijn niet alleen maar slecht of goed; ze zijn *beide*, en moeten als zodanig verwerkt worden in nieuwe beslissingen en leefstijlen, die tegelijkertijd het *'oude'* moeten eerbiedigen.

Beide intuïties, het contextualiseren en de mogelijkheid van meerdere waarheden, zijn nauw verbonden. Beide sámen dragen er zorg voor dat dat van vroeger niet verloren gaat in de nieuwe strategieën van het nú, en dat datgene waarmee men nú wordt geconfronteerd, niet categorisch wordt omhelsd of afgewezen. Beide zijn daarom nodig om te begrijpen hoe de Aymara's tradities hercreëren en verbinden met andere tradities – óók op politiek terrein. Een in de Aymara literatuur bekend voorbeeld daarvan is het overleven van de politieke en culturele gebruiken die horen bij de *ayllu,* de traditionele territoriale bestuursvorm op het platteland, en de manier waarop deze de dominante manieren van politiek maatschappelijke organisatie altijd, óók in de stad, zijn blijven uitdagen en aanvullen (Rivera *et al.* 1992). Volgens de Aymara-socioloog Mamani helpt de "praktische logica van de *ayllus* om reciprociteitssystemen levend te houden", óók in urbane omstandigheden. Ook in de stad blijven bijvoorbeeld de 'peetouder'-relaties bestaan; en dat zijn relaties die het mogelijk maken dat de armsten een beetje kunnen leunen op de iéts gevuldere portemonnee van hun buren en vroegere dorpsgenoten. In El Alto zal zelden een gezin hongerig naar bed gaan – in geval van nood déél je met je medemensen (Mamani 2005:83).

De Alteño als burger
Het is duidelijk dat de praktijken die de Aymara's in de stad ontwikkelen om zichzelf daar een plaats te veroveren in belangrijke mate geïnspireerd zijn door traditionele manieren waarop de Aymara's met het leven omgaan, zoals de contextualisering en de plurivalentie. Die praktijken variëren per plaats en in de tijd. Er is geen homogeen of uniform patroon. Maar er is wél een gedeelde inspiratie en oriëntatie. De praktijken, óók die van de protesten, zijn pogingen om de nieuwe uitdagingen in te passen in alle gegeven contexten, de contexten van de gemeenschap en de *Pachamama*, van het verleden in het heden, het heden in

de toekomst, van de tijd die terugkeert, van de harmonie met de wereld – en dat alles óók in de stad (Lazar 2008: 234).

El Alto – Photo by Joel Alvarez

De 'burger' uit El Alto is daarom méér dan het individu die het Westerse denken als vanzelfsprekend aanneemt. Het gaat om een burgerschap dat verder gaat dan dat van de Westerse traditie, en waarin creatief en autonoom handelen een belangrijke rol spelen. En dát, op zijn beurt, beïnvloedt de manier waarop de *Alteños* reageren op politieke ontwikkelingen en gebeurtenissen die men als groot onrecht ervaart. Daarmee is niet gezegd dat de Aymara's een totaal, van alles afwijkende interpretatie hebben: in veel opzichten komen die interpretaties overeen met wat andere Bolivianen ervaren, en met hoe zij eventueel gaan protesteren tegen de (politieke) gang van zaken. Toch wijzen de massale en op specifieke wijze georganiseerde protesten die zich opvallend in El Alto concentreerden in de jaren 2002-2005 op een specifieke, eigen manier van doen, die doet denken aan bijzondere, contextualiserende en strijdvaardige oriëntaties op tijd, ruimte, omwenteling en samenhang van de dingen die we hierboven bespraken.

Omgaan met verschillende tijdelijkheden
Dit dynamische omgaan met verschillende tijdelijkheden en energieën kan verder geïllustreerd worden door te verwijzen naar drie cruciale, samenhangende Aymara-begrippen: *tinku, taypi* en *kuti.* Deze vormen in zekere zin een uitdrukking van de wijze waarop met tegenstellingen en botsingen, met nederlagen en repressie, en met het in harmonie brengen van verleden, heden en toekomst moet worden omgegaan. *Tinku* en *taypi* horen onlosmakelijk bij elkaar. *Tinku* betreft het traditionele, rituele vechten tussen twee ogenschijnlijk

antagonistische gemeenschapshelften. En *taypi* is het 'midden', de plaats van ontmoeting, waar deze gevechten plaatsvinden.

Vanwege hun rituele en 'gewelddadige' karakter werden deze *tinku-taypi* dynamieken vaak onjuist geïnterpreteerd en ook onderdrukt. Maar *tinku* is de bron achter de veranderingen die de nieuwe sociale en politieke uitdagingen met zich meebrachten – en dat wordt uitgedrukt in de *kuti*-idee. *Kuti* was al vanaf de pre-koloniale tijden een kernconcept, en won nog aan urgentie na de Spaanse verovering. *Kuti* roept het idee van 'verandering' door menselijke interventie op en verwijst daarbij naar fysieke, rituele en 'politieke' omwentelingen. Het woord *kuti* verwierf daarbij in de loop der tijd revolutionaire en zelfs soms messianistische connotaties. Daarbij speelden de aanhoudende opstandentegen de koloniale en post-koloniale regimes een belangrijke rol. *Pachakuti!* was – en is nog steeds – de uitroep die de hoop uitdrukt dat vroeger tijden zouden terugkeren. Iets nauwkeuriger geïnterpreteerd is *kuti* de notie die een 'her-omwenteling' van het indiaanse *voortgaan* aanduidt. Het is het hernieuwd-herhalen van wat wás, om het heden te veranderen *vanuit* het verleden. Wij denken dat deze dynamieken, als *praktijken* meer dan als filosofieën, manieren zijn om het leven in de stad El Alto (en La Paz) te verbinden met overgeërfde inspiraties. Daaruit resulteren strategieën die niet zomaar een kopie zijn van het soort van Westers (urbaan) burgerschap dat alleen het individu als drager van een pakket van rechten erkent. De 'burger' uit El Alto is méér dan de cultureellege geïndividualiseerde status die het Westerse denken als vanzelfsprekend aanneemt. Het gaat om een burgerschap dat verder gaat dan dat van de Westerse traditie, en waarin creatief en autonoom handelen een belangrijke rol spelen.

En dát, op zijn beurt, beïnvloedt de manier waarop de *Alteños* reageren op politieke ont-wikkelingen en gebeurtenissen die men als groot onrecht ervaart. Dit zijn dan ook de beweegredenen die het de Aymara's mogelijk maken om om te gaan met de moeilijke omstandigheden waarmee ze in de stad te maken krijgen; daartoe wordt *pachakuti* ingezet. Deze manier van het creëren van verandering-met-continuïteit verandert de ontmoeting met al het nieuwe in de stad, via *tinku–taypi* (dat is: strijd en ontmoeting) in *taypi-kuti* (dat is: de ontmoetingsplaats die verandering brengt, en eventueel een her-omwenteling, in dekoloniserende zin). En misschien speelt er daarbij een zekere 'ontnuchtering', maar het wordt nooit fatalistisch. Het is de gangmaker van aanhoudende verandering (zowel cultureel als politiek) die de bodem is onder het gemeenschapsleven en de praktijken waarin deze kosmologische noties tot uiting komen (De Munter en Note, 2008).

De 'ingrediënten' om een El Alto-identiteit of een El Alto-burgerschap te vormen zijn dus veelkleurig en horen bij de complexe, meerlagige werkelijkheid van (de migratie naar) de stad. Dit komt tot uitdrukking in El Alto's basisorganisaties, die ontmoeting en dialoog zijn, kruispunten van generaties en van de transitie naar de stad, van het *nu* en de inbedding daarvan in verleden en toekomst. Deze organisaties zijn in staat tot fel en massaal protest waar de traditionele contra-technieken van repressie of hypocriete onderhandelingen niet echt vat op krijgen. In die protesten wordt in feite getwijfeld aan de *criollo*-logica van hoe je politiek bedrijft en als 'burger' participeert. Het zijn grensgebieden van interculturele dialoog, waarin de ervaringen met de stad en met de politiek creatief verwerkt worden tot nieuwe doelen, tot nieuwe levensprojecten, waarin elementen als werk, onderwijs voor de kinderen, een fatsoenlijk dak boven het hoofd, en gezondheidszorg een belangrijke plaats krijgen. Zulke projecten zijn voorbeelden van het combineren van individuele en collectieve rechten, gebaseerd op ervaringen waarin deze rechten vaak grof werden – en worden – geschonden Ze grijpen terug op eigen manieren om met de wereld en het samen leven om te gaan. Hier wordt de participatie in de politiek op een nieuwe manier gestalte te geven. 'De politiek', als institutie en apparaat, is niet het bepalende; het bepalende is de manier waarop mensen zélf aan 'dat politieke' gestalte geven.

De creatie van burgerschap

De Aymara migranten in El Alto conformeerden zich niet simpelweg aan de dominante vormen van stadsleven. In plaats daarvan creëerden zij continu vormen en 'tussenruimtes' die hen in staat stelden om zowel aan de eisen van hun hedendaagse leefwereld te voldoen als hun eigen waarden in ere te houden. Zo haken zij aan bij het wettelijk geregelde fenomeen van de buurtraad. Maar de manier waarop ze hieraan vormgeven, in termen van brede deelname, strijdbaarheid en interne organisatiemechanismen, gaan deels terug op patronen die zij zich (actief) herinneren uit de tijden dat ze in plattelandsgemeenschappen leefden. Deze vormen en tussenruimtes vervingen het klassieke concept van burgerschap niet maar waren reacties op en aanpassingen van de inadequate manieren waarop, in de ogen van vele Bolivianen, democratie en burgerschap functioneerden. Protesterende maatschappelijke sectoren benadrukten op die manier de noodzaak om de democratie 'te heroveren' (reinvidicar of recuperar) als een collectief politiek geboorterecht dat meegedragen wordt (Albro 2006:402), De protesten, en de manieren waarop dingen tijdens de protesten werden afgestemd waren geïnspireerd door Aymara ideeën over bestuur, over

contextualiseren en in harmonie met de omgeving leven, en over verplichtingen en morele standaarden in de politieke sfeer.

Protesten

In de afgelopen jaren is in Bolivia massaal geprotesteerd. Deze protesten pleitten tegen een hele serie maatregelen die over heden aan het voorbereiden of aan het invoeren waren, en kwamen uit verschillende sectoren van de Boliviaanse bevolking. Waterconsumenten beklaagden zich over privatisering en tariefstijgingen, cocaboeren waren woedend over de vernietiging van hun cocavelden, pensioengerechtigden klaagden over de bezuinigingen of vertragingen in betalingen, vrachtwagenchauffeurs maakten bezwaar tegen de stijging van de brandstofprijzen, boeren en bewegingen tegen vrijhandelsverdragen waren beducht voor de onderhandelingen over vrije handel, stedelingen verzetten zich tegen tariefstijgingen of ontoereikende levering door geprivatiseerde servicebedrijven, enzovoort. Maar te midden van de diversiteit van de protesten waren er wel enige gemene delers: ze waren alle ingegeven door het gevoelde gebrek aan echte democratische invloed, benadrukten een afkeer van corruptie en van 'bedriegers-' gedrag van politici, en vonden hun motivatie in het falende beleid om de levensomstandigheden van de armen te verbeteren. In wezen berispten alle protesten 'losbandige' politiek (Margalit 1998). Een van de meest voorkomende uitspraken onder de Bolivianen is dat "politici leugenaars en dieven zijn". In hun vonnis zijn Bolivianen negatiever over hun politici dan enig ander land in de regio (Latinobarómetro 2004).

Politieke gedragsstandaard

Dergelijke beschuldigingen komen voort uit een onderliggende gedragsstandaard en een overtuiging over hoe politiek, en politici, zouden *moeten* en *kunnen* zijn. Voor veel mensen gaat de gedragsstandaard over zaken als eerlijkheid, 'zorg', respect, en de plicht om iets voor anderen te doen. Deze plicht geldt niet alleen voor de mensen zelf, mensen eisen tevens een staat die zorgzaam is en aan de behoeften van de kwetsbaren tegemoet komt. In beide gevallen lijkt men te refereren aan kwaliteiten waarmee ze zelf hun materiële armoede compenseren: "We zijn arm, maar we zijn tenminste wel eerlijk en *we zorgen actief* voor elkaar". Mensen wensen uitdrukkelijk dat politici net als 'gewone, eenvoudige mensen' zijn: eerlijk, niet achterbaks, waakzaam en zorgzaam. Het feit dat, in hun opinie, deze criteria continu worden geschonden door politici zorgt voor grote woede. Het gaat hierbij natuurlijk niet om een aantal goedgelovige, naïeve Aymara's of

om een Boliviaans wereldbeeld waarin alleen 'goede mensen' deel hebben. Leugenachtigheid, machtsmisbruik en zelfzucht komt niet alleen bij de blanke politici in de steden voor, maar ook bij inheemse leiders op het platteland. Echter, de 'maatstaf' die Bolivianen toepassen op hun staatsbestel is, menen wij, óók geïnspireerd door de standaard van eerlijkheid, respect en de zorg voor anderen, voortkomend uit hun cultuur, die een extra dimensie toevoegt aan hun houding in de confrontatie met de ontgoochelende politiek die ze waarnemen.

Dit betekent niet dat alleen de inheemse bevolking bepaalde eisen stelt aan politici; ook voor veel blanken geldt dat zij van politici verlangen dat zij eerlijk zijn en niet alleen aan zichzelf maar aan het belang van het land en haar bevolking denken. Daarom vonden de protesten niet alleen in El Alto en door de inheemse bevolking plaats, maar ook in andere plaatsen en met deelname door andere bevolkingsgroepen. Op die manier is een multiculturele Boliviaanse standaard ontstaan die is gebaseerd op zowel de gebruiken van de traditionele Boliviaanse natiestaat en haar instituten, als ook op de inheemse idealen van wederkerigheid, eerlijkheid en zorgplicht. Het inheemse wereldbeeld werd in de protesten langzaamaan vermengd met het Westerse, stedelijke wereldbeeld, waarmee de protesten uiteindelijk niet meer als een puur 'inheemse kwestie' gezien kunnen worden (Albro 2005: 437).

'Organische' verbinding

In het Westen wordt de duidelijke scheiding tussen de wereld van de burgers en de wereld van het bestuur en het staatsbestel beschouwd als een vaststaand gegeven. De maatstaf voor het meten van de legitimiteit van politiek is haar 'representativiteit': wetgevende en uitvoerende machten moeten de samenstelling van de bevolking eerlijk en proportioneel weerspiegelen. Het moment voor de 'afrekening' tussen politici en de bevolking is tijdens de verkiezingen. In dit politieke stelsel blijft de interactie tussen politiek en samenleving beperkt tot de momenten van campagne voeren en de stembus. In inheemse gemeenschappen, inclusief stedelijke inheemse gemeenschappen, is het niet mogelijk dat leiderschap zo los staat van het 'normale' leven.

Bestuurs- en leiderschapsfuncties zijn in veel Aymara-gemeenschappen roulerend. De keuze valt op een echtpaar (vrijgezellen doen niet mee), en dat echtpaar (vooral de man) neemt gedurende een vaste periode de last op zich. Het wordt inderdaad gezien als een 'last'; je moet je medebewoners helpen, je moet bemiddelen, en je moet hen vertegenwoordigen. Dat laatste doe je door voortdurend in overleg te blijven met de hele gemeenschap. Veel mensen

eindigen hun bestuursschap armer dan ze begonnen – en dat wordt gezien als 'juist'. Iemands aanzien in de gemeenschap hangt af van hoe hij of zij heeft gefunctioneerd als gezagsdrager gedurende de ambtstermijn. Bovendien vinden vaak gemeenschapsbrede bijeenkomsten plaats en worden deze gekenmerkt door enorme participatie vanuit de hele gemeenschap. Beslissingen worden genomen na het langdurig en uitgebreid uitwisselen van overwegingen en zijn gericht op consensus, in plaats van een stemming over concurrerende stellingen. Autoriteiten in inheemse gemeenschappen zien zichzelf als 'afgezanten' die continu in contact moeten staan met het volk en hun positie moeten herbevestigen en legitimeren (Rivera 1990, Delgadillo Terceros 2004:107-109) in plaats van het volk te vertegenwoordigen als 'afgevaardigde zonder last of ruggespraak', zoals de uitdrukking in Nederland luidt. Zo beloofde Morales plechtig om *mandar obedeciendo la voz del pueblo*, om het volk 'gehoorzaam' te regeren. Deze meer 'organische' verbinding tussen leiders en bevolking heeft bijgedragen aan het ontstaan van de protesten. Politici stelden de Bolivianen keer op keer teleur door zich te onttrekken aan oprechte verantwoording van hun daden en keuzes, en het minachten van de organische relatie. Toen protesten die de politici verzochten op hun schreden terug te keren faalden, veranderden deze logischerwijs in de eis om hun aftreden.

Er moet daarbij wel een aantal belangrijke kanttekeningen worden gemaakt: Ten eerste was er geen duidelijke botsing tussen de twee denkbeelden (inheems vs. Westers) over politieke heerschappij. De Aymara's in El Alto zijn zich goed bewust van het heersende politieke systeem in het land en van hun rechten en plichten als inwoners van de Boliviaanse natiestaat. In die zin zijn ze wel degelijk óók Boliviaans staatsburger. Ten tweede waren niet alle voorstanders van de 2000-2005 protesten in Bolivia van Aymara, Quechua of andere inheemse afkomst. En ten derde werden de politieke problemen in Bolivia niet veroorzaakt door het feit dat opeenvolgende overheden en autoriteiten alleen de 'inheemse' waarden voor deugdzaam leiderschap schonden, ook niet-inheemsen voelden zich vaak geschoffeerd.

Verzet tegen de 'uitverkoop van Bolivia'
Een aantal opvallende kenmerken verdient echter de aandacht: Tijdens de protesten in 2003 en 2005 was de verontwaardiging het krachtigst en meest massaal in de stad El Alto. Protesten in El Alto bestonden uit voortdurende, doelgerichte en steeds groeiende samenkomsten van verschillende groeperingen

en organisaties. De inzet veranderde geleidelijk van concrete eisen over het terugdraaien van de aswinningwetten of specifieke maatregelen met betrekking tot de geprivatiseerde watertoevoer, in eisen om het aftreden van de autoriteiten die weigerden te onderhandelen over hun standpunten. In de ogen van veel Bolivianen zouden de voorstellen van de overheid de nationale invloed op de exploitatie van natuurlijke hulpbronnen als gas eenzijdig opgeven en daarmee ook het toekomstige recht om de voorwaarden van exploitatie te wijzigen. Het zou betekenen dat het land het recht om 'vooruitgang' – als 'voortgang'- binnen het domein van nationale soevereiniteit vorm te geven, zou opgeven.

Politici werden in de tijd vaak als *vendepatrias* ('verkopers van het vaderland') gekenschetst. De voorgenomen 'uitverkoop' van de natuurlijke hulpbronnen was in de ogen van velen een ernstige bedreiging voor de *voortgang* van Bolivia, en daarmee voor de levensreis, de *sarawi*, van alle Bolivianen. Bovendien ging deze extreme vorm van neoliberalisme in tegen de standaarden van de zorgplicht voor anderen en het principe dat je je *sarawi* niet mag uitvoeren ten koste van anderen. Deze vorm van uitbuiting van de natuurlijke hulpbronnen zou het inkomen van enkele politici en vooral van buitenlandse investeerders weliswaar verhogen, maar dit zou ten koste gaan van de inkomsten in de staatskas en daarmee van de mogelijkheden van de staat om voor minderbedeelden te zorgen. De enige manier om deze bedreiging af te wenden, was door een radicale verandering in de regering. Dat is de reden dat de bevolking van El Alto en de rest van Bolivia in de eerste jaren van de 21e eeuw zo vaak en zo massaal de straat opging.

Samenvattend kan men stellen dat in Bolivia twee ontwikkelingslijnen botsten. De ene lijn was die van het neoliberale beleid, vergezeld van incompetente en corrupte bestuurspraktijken, en van een slecht functionerende democratie. Volgens de hegemonische krachten was dít Bolivia's beste kans – maar er werd zelden open kaart gespeeld over de plannen en de consequenties die deze zouden hebben.

De tweede lijn was die van het langzaam ontstaan van specifieke vormen van burgerschap, vooral waar het ging om politieke participatie. Het heersende systeem bood weinig ruimte om feitelijke invloed op het beleid uit te oefenen. Daarom ontstonden er *buiten* het gevestigde politieke systeem nieuwe vormen van politieke participatie, en nieuwe vertogen over hoe politiek zou *moeten* functioneren. Deze vormen en vertogen ontleenden in belangrijke mate hun inspiratie aan inheemse waarden en praktijken. Déze waarden en praktijken

werden volgens velen met voeten getreden. De nieuwe vertogen en participatie-strategieën betroffen in essentie het recht om (ook in de toekomst) zeggenschap over de 'voortgang' en identiteit van Bolivia te mogen uitoefenen, het recht op een politiek systeem dat aan *allen* werkelijke toegang en 'oprechtheid' bood, en een einde te maken aan uitsluitingsmechanismen van inheemse vertegenwoordigers en wereldbeelden. De praktijken betroffen massale, deelname vanuit buurten en gemeenschappen, de plenaire deliberaties, en de marsen en blokkades die georganiseerd werden op 'inheemse wijze'. Zo ontstonden nieuwe vormen van burgerschap, die weliswaar geen getrouwe replica van 'oude' inheemse gebruiken en tradities waren, maar die daar wél door geïnspireerd waren. De nieuwe vormen baseerden zich op 'de inheemse ervaring in de stad' – en waren sterk genoeg om ook niet-inheemsen te overtuigen. Dát is de basis onder Bolivia's 'veelkleurige burgerschap', waarvan de kracht opnieuw bevestigd werd tijdens Evo Morales' klinkende herverkiezing in december 2009.

Na de verkiezingen van 2009

Evo Morales' eerste verkiezingsoverwinning, in december 2005, was al een wapenfeit zonder precedent: hij won een absolute meerderheid van 54%. Daarmee brak hij de 'vloek' van de noodzaak tot coalitievorming, die in de jaren daarvoor tot zoveel politiek gemarchandeer en frustratie onder de bevolking had geleid. Zijn beleid, zijn beschouwingen en zijn plannen zijn blijkbaar aangeslagen: zijn herverkiezing in december 2009 leverde hem een denderende 64% op.

De steun van 64% levert Morales en zijn partij MAS, dankzij regels over zetelverdelingen, een tweederde meerderheid op in zowel de kamer van afgevaardigden als de senaat. Daarmee heeft de MAS de vrije hand: zelfs grondwetswijzigingen en wetten die een 'organisch' karakter hebben, kunnen zonder noodzaak tot onderhandelingen met de oppositie worden goedgekeurd (hoewel Morales te kennen gaf liever de dialoog te zoeken dan eigenmachtig en solistisch te regeren). De redenen waarom het Boliviaanse electoraat aan de MAS zo'n *carte blanche* gaf, lopen uiteen. Om te beginnen ligt het voor een deel aan de oppositie.

Oppositiekrachten

De oppositie tegen Morales gedurende zijn eerste ambtstermijn nam een regionaal karakter aan. De gouverneurs van verschillende departementen in het oosten van het land behoorden tot de oppositie en ontpopten zich tot Morales' belangrijkste tegenspelers. Het centrale strijdpunt van het oppositievoeren werd

de eis tot autonomie voor deze departementen. Deze eis werd gevoed door drie inspiraties. Om te beginnen bestaat er van oudsher in Bolivia een regionale tweedeling, tussen het hoog- en het laagland. Waar – om in stereotypen te spreken – het hoogland vooral 'indiaans' is, ziet het laagland zichzelf graag als blank en mesties (de inheemse volkeren die er wonen vormen samen geen meerderheid). De lokale termen zijn *Cambas* voor de laagland-bewoners en *Collas* voor de hooglandbewoners. Het gebruik van deze termen kan variëren van goedmoedig-plagerig tot ronduit racistisch. Sommigen noemen Morales laatdunkend *'el Indio'* en willen niet door hem geregeerd worden. Een latent verzet in het laagland tegen 'centralisme' vanuit La Paz (dat in het hoogland ligt), dat vrijwel afwezig bleef in periodes waarin het laagland veel centrale steun ontving, werd nu gemobiliseerd en kreeg een zeer grimmig karakter: verschillende departementen gingen uiteindelijk zover eigenhandig referenda over departementale autonomie te organiseren, waarbij dankzij massale propaganda grote meerderheden werden verworven. Zo werd een politiek-ideologische tegenstelling vertaald naar een etnische en regionale.

In de tweede plaats is juist dankzij protesten van de indianen het idee van 'autonomie' legitiem geworden in Bolivia. In zekere zin speelden de oppositiekrachten leentjebuur bij de inheemse sociale bewegingen in hun gehamer op de noodzaak tot autonomie. Nu echter werd het idee van 'autonomie' een meervoud: niet alleen inheemse, ook departementale autonomie en zelfs (in de jaren negentig al ingevoerde) gemeentelijke autonomie gingen door elkaar spelen – totdat niemand meer wist hoe die autonomieën zich tot elkaar zouden moeten verhouden. De nieuwe regeringsperiode (2010-2015) zal tot de ontwarring van deze knoop moeten leiden.

In de derde plaats ging het de oppositiekrachten om niets meer of minder dan een spaak in het wiel van Morales' beleid te steken. Omdat ze op nationaal niveau hun macht kwijt waren, wilden ze hun positie in het laagland verstevigen, niet in de laatste plaats vanwege economische belangen. De oppositiekrachten vrezen door het nationaliseringsbeleid van Morales ook hun economische macht kwijt te raken. De autonomie kon een platform worden om zich te hergroeperen en om de uitvoering van het nieuwe beleid in hun eigen regio's daadwerkelijk te blokkeren.

Al deze drie inspiraties maakten van *'autonomie'* het belangrijkste wapen dat tegen Morales werd ingezet. Maar het bleek een strategie met grote nadelen. Op politiek niveau droeg het bij tot een houding van "obstructie liever dan onderhandelingen", maar ook tot de geleidelijke verdere marginalisering van de

nationale rechtse oppositiepartij PODEMOS die in het parlement nog tegenwicht bood. Deze partij (van meet af aan al zeer heterogeen) desintegreerde, en bleek bij de verkiezingen van 2009 volledig uitgerangeerd. Op het niveau van de samenleving leidde de strategie tot een reeks van polarisaties: tussen de pro-Morales en anti-Morales bewoners van de betreffende departementen, tussen mensen die zich 'blank' vonden en hun inheemse mede-landers, tussen de *Collas* en de *Cambas*, tussen de migranten en de 'inheemsen' in de laaglanddepartementen, met natuurlijk veel overlap tussen al deze sectoren. Eén en ander mondde uit in gewelddadige confrontaties op straat in steden als Santa Cruz en Sucre, en uiteindelijk in een bloedbad aangericht door 'pro-autonomisten' in het departement Pando (ook laagland) onder boeren die Morales steunden. De daders werden daarbij, volgens plausibele beschuldigingen, gesteund door de prefect, Leopoldo Fernandez, die kort daarop werd gearresteerd en nu wacht op zijn proces. De stemming die daarop in het land ontstond ontnam aan de 'autonomisten' een deel van hun basis en steun. In Bolivia willen ook veel mensen die Morales niét steunen, zo'n oplopende geweldsspiraal per se niét.

De verlegenheid waarin de oppositie daardoor terechtkwam, werd duidelijk zichtbaar toen de verkiezingen van 2009 naderden. Er kon geen eenheidskandidaat worden gevonden, en als belangrijkste tegenstander van Morales kwam voormalig prefect van Cochabamba Manfred Reyes Villa bovendrijven, die als zijn *runningmate* de inmiddels gedetineerde Leopoldo Fernandez koos. De verdeeldheid, plus deze provocatie, zorgden voor een verdere verzwakking van de oppositie: 'Morales' tegenstanders schakelden deels zichzelf uit.

Positief ontvangen beleid
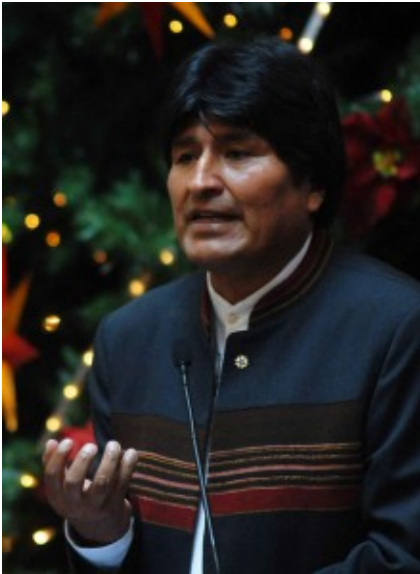
Evo Morales – Photo by
Marcello Casal Jr.-Abr.

Maar Morales' enorme verkiezingssucces is natuurlijk niet alleen aan de zwakke en verdeelde oppositie te danken; het is ook een gevolg van wat hij in de jaren 2006-2009 heeft laten zien. Beleidsmaatregelen waarmee hij grote steun heeft verworven zijn onder meer de nationalisatie van strategische natuurlijke hulpbronnen, zoals het aardgas. Dit leverde een verveelvoudiging van het nationale inkomen op. Daarmee creëerde de MAS een aantal subsidies of *bonos*: een verhoging van de al bestaande tegemoetkoming voor ouderen (de *bono dignidad*), een tegemoetkoming voor alle kinderen die hun schooljaar afrondden (de *bono Juancito Pinto*), en een toelage voor alle vrouwen die tijdens zwangerschap en totdat het kind anderhalf zou zijn, regelmatig de consultatiebureaus bezochten (de *bono Juana Azurduy*). Met zulke maatregelen wordt, naast het stimuleren van de nationale koopkracht en het verzachten van extreme armoede, natuurlijk ook bereikt dat het onderwijsniveau langzaam omhoog gaat en dat de kinder- en moedersterfte dalen. Andere maatregelen betroffen de verhoging van het minimumloon, een begin maken met van een serie infrastructurele projecten, wat werkgelegenheid met zich meebracht. Daarnaast is er een reeks kleinschalige lokale steunmaatregelen en zijn er (micro)kredieten om de nationale productiviteit te stimuleren. Dit alles onder het handhaven van kerngezonde staatsfinanciën: nog nooit eerder kon de Boliviaanse overheid bogen op een zo grote financiële reserve. Hoewel zulke maatregelen niet voor alle Bolivianen direct voelbaar worden als verbetering van hun omstandigheden, is het effect groot genoeg om brede steun te genereren – en waagt geen oppositiepartij zich eraan aan te kondigen dat deze dingen onder hun bestuur

ongedaan gemaakt gaan worden.

Maar het grootste en opvallendste resultaat van de eerste 4 jaar onder Evo Morales is het ontwerpen en invoeren van een nieuwe grondwet. In deze grondwet wordt voor het eerst het plurinationale karakter van Bolivia erkend. Het inheemse wereldbeeld staat centraal in de nieuwe grondwet. Voorbeelden zijn het doel om 'in harmonie te leven', de heiligverklaring van de cocaplant (die grote ceremoniële betekenis heeft voor de Aymara's) en het schrappen van het katholieke geloof als staatsgodsdienst. Het ontwerpproces van deze grondwet is aanleiding geweest van vele conflicten maar uiteindelijk hebben ze verschillende betrokken partijen een compromis kunnen sluiten, geheel naar het Aymara principe van consensusvorming. De grondwet is in januari 2009 door middel van een referendum goedgekeurd door 61% van de kiezers. Naast deze concrete beleidsmaatregelen is er ook een immaterieel effect van Morales' eerste regeringsperiode: het zelfvertrouwen en de zichtbaarheid van de inheemse bevolkings-groepen. Natuurlijk zijn er om te beginnen de inheemse ministers, regeringswoordvoerders, en andere lokale autoriteiten (Salman 2009a). Daarnaast spreekt Morales zelf regelmatig over de noodzaak om het indiaanse wereldbeeld en de inheemse 'mores' een volwaardige plek te geven in de democratie, in het basis- en universitair onderwijs, in de economische strategieën, en dergelijke. En tenslotte is er de erkenning van de legitimiteit en volwaardigheid van inheemse talen, rechtspraak, en zelfbestuur. Hopelijk mondt die ook uit in een iets respectvollere manier om de (soms laaggeschoolde en slecht Spaansprekende) inheemse burgers te woord te staan bij allerlei bureaucratische instanties. Dit alles wordt wellicht nog het best gesymboliseerd in de nieuwe namen die zowel het land als verschillende instituties kregen na het instellen van de nieuwe grondwet: de *Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia*, het parlement is de *Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional*, en de grondwetstoetsende raad heet het *Tribunal Constitucional Plurinacional*. Zodat de indianen nooit meer vergeten of genegeerd kunnen worden, en de illusie van een cultureel homogeen land (waarin iedereen zich maar heeft aan te passen) voorgoed tot verleden tijd wordt verklaard.

Sommige waarnemers hebben de afgelopen jaren hun zorgen geuit over het té exclusieve *spotlight* op inheemse denkbeelden, tradities en rechten, onder meer in 'Morales' toespraken. Zij meenden dat Morales riskeerde er zijn steun onder de wat progressievere middenklassen mee te verliezen. Dat blijkt, gezien de verpletterende overwinning, niet het geval te zijn geweest – al speelt hier ook

zeker een rol dat de oppositie voor deze groep geen enkel aantrekkelijk alternatief bood. En wel degelijk zijn de niet-indiaanse bevolkingssectoren soms wat ongelukkig met de té grote nadruk op de indiaanse inspiraties om 'het nieuwe Bolivia te bouwen'.

Commentaren op de verkiezingsuitslag

De commentaren in Bolivia over de verkiezingsuitslag en de nabije toekomst vallen in drie categorieën uiteen: om te beginnen is er onder de MAS-aanhangers en -voorlieden euforie. Zij staan te dringen om het 'nieuwe Bolivia' nu definitief vorm te gaan geven en de nieuwe grondwet te gaan implementeren (Salman 2009b). Zij zullen de komende jaren weliswaar nauwelijks geconfronteerd gaan worden met een serieuze oppositie, maar wel met "de hardnekkigheid der dingen". Van Bolivia een land maken dat niet vooral grondstoffen exporteert maar deze ook zélf industrieel verwerkt, waarin iedereen tenminste één inheemse taal spreekt, waarin het onderwijs-curriculum de inheemse kosmologieën reflecteert, en waarin verschillende strafrechtsystemen en autonomieën harmonieus samenwerken, het zullen moeizame en lange-termijn transitieprocessen blijken te zijn.

De tweede groep betreft de oppositie. Hoewel er uit die kringen wel oprispingen komen en felle kritiek op de *'autoritaire'*, *'pre-moderne'*, *'socialistische'* regeringsplannen wordt geuit, is het daarnaast ook een sector die haar wonden likt. Zelden eerder werd rechts in Bolivia zo roemloos verslagen. Tekenend is dat oppositiekandidaat Manfred Reyes Villa, beschuldigd van grootscheepse corruptie tijdens zijn periode als gouverneur, het land is ontvlucht. De oppositie raapt aarzelend, en nog steeds onderling ruziënd, de scherven op, en maakt de borst nat voor de aanstaande gemeentelijke en departementale verkiezingen in april 2010.

Tenslotte is er de *'aarzelgroep'*. Dit is de groep die het veranderingsproces dat Morales initieerde weliswaar in principe steunt, maar twijfels heeft over de té sterk inheemse teneur ervan, over de polemische toon die soms door regeringswoordvoerders wordt aangeslagen, en vooral over het risico van een hooghartige, zelfingenomen en zelfgenoegzame MAS: onaantastbaar, en daardoor, vreest men, weinig bereid tot overleg, tot matiging, tot compromis. Vooral omdat compromissen niet meer nodig zijn met een twee derde meerderheid in parlement en senaat.

Op 21 januari 2010 is Evo Morales, opnieuw in Tiwanaku, groots beëdigd als

nieuwe *'spirituele en politieke leider'* van het indiaanse Bolivia. Op 22 januari is hij in het parlement tot nieuwe president benoemd. In zijn toespraken bij beide gelegenheden combineerde hij felle kritiek aan het adres van het kapitalisme, de milieuvervuilers en de Westerse zelfgenoegzaamheid met verzoenende taal, waarin de dialoog en de openheid om te luisteren overheersten. Welke van de twee gaat domineren zullen de komende jaren leren. Saai zal Bolivia voorlopig niet worden.

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Deel Een: http://rozenbergquarterly.com/?p=3496

Deze tekst is gebaseerd op het artikel: *Extending Political Participation and Citizenship: Pluricultural Civil Practices in Contemporary Bolivia.*

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Koen de Munter – Since 1992 Koen de Munter has been involved in an ethnohistorical and ethnographic study of intercultural dynamics in Latin-America. On the one hand, this involves a study of the phenomenon of mestizaje (hybridization, creolization.) which is not simply considered as an ideology (because of a certain intellectual or political hegemony), but mostly as the changing, shifting term for complex and plurivalent processes of interculturality in the Americas.
On the other hand, within this quite encompassing theme for research the focus is placed upon the postcolonial situation of so-called indigenous groups, and upon proceeding as a tradition. The attempt is to understand such proceeding as material for intercultural comparison and to take hold of it on the basis of their

cultural intuitions (in concert with 'the West'). More particularly, this research builds upon field work done in 1995 with several Aymara families in urban El Alto, a recent city of indigenous migrants in Bolivia (Andes). Important themes in this research are contextualization, plurivalent cosmological views, family and ritual action.

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Time to say Goodbye. Again.

 Prologue

You are cordially invited to read the following notes – but please accept: though reading the reflections is hopefully at times entertaining, the notes are not easy to comprehend, presenting thoughts as they are: interconnected, being a complex structure that cannot be easily deconstructed without doing damage to the overall existence. It had been the easy ways of looking at history that allowed the total demonisation of Zarathustra – in the postscript you will see the reasoning behind this reference. Having said this, you should allow the postscript to be a postscript, as I would otherwise made it myself a Prologue or a Prolegomena.

Looking once back, aiming on a huge leap forward – or: Luhmann's Strawberry Cake

Each second we live is a new and unique moment of the universe, a moment that will never be again. And what do we teach our children? We teach them that two and two make four, and that Paris is the capital of France.
When will we also teach them what they are? We should say to each of them: Do you know what you are? You are a marvel. You are unique. In all the years that have passed, there has never been another child like you. Yes, you are a marvel. And when you grow up, can you then harm another who is, like you, a marvel?
You must work, we must all work, to make the world worthy of its children. –
Pablo Picasso

Dear colleagues, dear friends;

At least those of who engaged with me (and of course also those who engaged

against me) over the years will know that for me academic activity is a matter of personal engagement (probably something that Max Weber had in mind when he talked about *'vocational calling'* – in German it sounds less pathetic), political obligation (as it is for instance reflected in the 11th Thesis on Feuerbach). And I also see academic activity as social process, aiming on the search for *'news and innovations'* (if you want it metaphorically, consciously getting up every morning, entering the stream of life, knowing about the panta rhei famously mentioned by Herákleitos ho Ephésios). And academia – seemingly abstract thinking of complex economic models and differentiated socio-philosophical relationalities are not least also a matter of every day's life – for me much easier than calculating the shopping at the grocers.

All the old stuff you may say – references dating back to 19th and early 20th century and even back to the ancient times.

Well, of course, all this may be simply a matter of life courses – don't we all remember the – as I perceive it, very touching words Shakespeare uses while talking about the Seven Ages of Men?

So, it may be simply time for me to say good-bye, time to hand the key over to younger colleagues – you may take it as you want: leaving a world behind which changed to a large extent in ways that make it difficult to maintain such claims as I would still see as valuable – the resignation of the old man, beginning to be grumpy, mockingly withdrawing into a corner, where it is easier to survive sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste,… sans everything?

Or at least just time to leave the playfulness behind and behave like an adult person – not believing anymore what I once heard *If you haven't grown up by the age of 50, you don't have to.*

However, you may see it in a more positive light – leaving some, though tiny, in ways unrecognisable, marks behind and looking for a news places of activity where impulses may be better placed. A colleague of ours once said, leaving an organisation which he established in Cork: *'Well, we all have different roles. May be I am good in initialising something. And after that it is time for me to move to something else.'* May be in this understanding I gave some impulses, now reaching borders that tell me to move on. Also: accepting that I tried to give other stimuli, failing in finding fertile ground. One of the most worrying is for me that

academia today still finds it so difficult to overcome the Us and Them. For instance I suggested to invite student reps to the Departmental meetings – it had been easier to re-establish departments as schools than to move this actually tiny step towards a genuine participative and empowering mode of academic self-governance, bringing full-time staff, tutors and mentors, students together, establishing what had been the Agora in ancient Greece: a space for real and open debates. Instead academia is now required to watch out for the *'customer'* – or at least it accepts easily such requirement from outside, going itself a opportunist way. Moreover, academia internalised over the years the pressure – like a spider that is victim of the self-created web. Some may have heard me quoting Schiller, emphasising that only play – presenting some independence of the impediments of crude need – allows us to be human being in a higher sense, being humane.

And Marx referred to the difference between the architect and the bee, the first starting with a plan, while the second is bound to and guided by instincts. It is also this moment which allows humans a very specific sovereignty.

And although I am still entirely and increasingly optimistic about human potential to overcome the various limitations, I am still aware of the iron cage mentioned by Max Weber – a cage that he saw in bureaucracy, and that I would see more fundamentally rooted in the individualist structure established by the Utilitarian understanding of rationality, outlined by – at the end – rather short-sighted Cartesian and in particular Kantian philosophy.

This lets me think of another area where I would have liked to do more: the area of collective and non-positivist research, the making of a *'real school'* – I made in earlier years some efforts, with limited recourses, but have to admit having failed in this respect – and I do not see it with satisfaction that others, who had been specifically employed for developing this area, did not succeed, or should I say: did not really sufficiently engage? Research can only be if it is understood as a collective undertaking: standing against individualism and also standing vehemently against competitive research management.

It may be worth a side remark that while UCC – as other Irish universities – are still striving for stars, other European universities are in the meantime back on earth – reaching out for heaven: *'top universities'* are openly and decisively leaving the farce of rankings and peer reviews rather than celebrating it – the good old 11th Feuerbach thesis, where Marx states that it is not sufficient to criticise things (we are all full of it) but we have to be ready change, collectively

engage and brake open the bars of the cage. Sure, certain income brackets and also certain obligations are paralysing.

 In any case, another world emerges frequently in history. This had been the case for instance at the time when those philosophers aimed on overcoming the feudal system – I am well aware that at the time the old nobility cursed against the aspiring new classes with the noble rationales.

Perhaps we have to see a similarly severe change now – taking it from the a presentation during the 8th International Kondratieff Conference *'Cyclical Patterns in Global Processes, Kondratieff Cycles and the Concepts of Long-Term Development of Russia and the World':*
Reference is increasingly made to a general crisis – going beyond seeing the current situation as especially severe and also highlighting that both, causes and effects reach deep into different areas of life: from the personal and life styles over production and private and public finances to the ecological foundation of the current socio-economic way of life.
Taking up an argument of my colleague, friend, mentor and not least comrade Paul Boccara. The challenge is, indeed, the search for a new modèle anthroponomique.
In any case, we can and have to turn arguments back on the feet again – there may be some reason to bemoan that Aristotle is dead. But the problem has to be seen on a different level, to be precise: in two different perspectives: his value system . – You will mention this tension on a somewhat trivial level, namely when you discuss with Amartya Sen and Joseph Stiglitz.

The first – in my experience genuinely honest academic – being driven by Aristotelian values and Smithian individualist liberalism, looking for some *'Keynesian straw'* in order to secure moral sentiments which are – and Amartya is well aware of this – incompatible with global modernity. The second – not able to overcome his endowment: World bank training apparently doesn't allow him to overcome a critique of values, claiming their *'regulation'* , but without interfering into the principle maintenance of the very system. Sure, in some respect we find a gradual difference only – but in the genuineness of the efforts there is a huge one. And it is based in Amartya's conviction to actually question the mode of production.

Looking now again at the Seven Ages – mindfully depicted by William Mulready in

his replica of Shakespeare's thoughts – I am not too sure if I am really on my knees, not being able to keep pace and moving towards final resignation or if I am actually leaning against the wall. If you allow the metaphor: a matter of leaning back towards the future, moving towards life – you can see this posture in the same piece of fine art.

– At least there seems to be a time for everything – and so there will be a place for everybody.

In terms of academia, I am hopefully not simply looking back in resignation, longing for re-establishing the supposedly old academia – we easily forget that it had been a highly elitist system, a replication of a highly paternalist society, btw. with an equally patronising welfare-system. To be honest, I think that I am on the contrary looking for a different perspective – opening academia in a genuine sense: not by moving further on the way of teaching skills but towards a knowing understanding of complexities and contradictoriness. Especially in recent publications, probably beginning with the working paper *'Rethinking Precarity in a Global World'*, I tried to outline such perspective. Not taking an affirmative stance to current mainstream developments but looking behind the scene, looking for the more fundamental changes – reaching much beyond the thesis of neo-liberalism, managerialism, capitalisation etc.

Let him who would move the world first move himself – Socrates

So we may also find very well a handover of torchbearers: The panta rhei returns on the agenda – the permanent movement which apparently gets even stronger if and to the extent we resist to move. Of course, stepping in the river, there are four options: trying to leave immediately again; just allowing oneself following the stream; standing still; or swimming against it. As long as the latter means swimming with the own stream, following personal and social integrity, it may be the best even if there is the permanent danger of partial drowning – at the end everything will be good; and if it is not good it is not the end yet.

And we have to look also at Herákleitos' notion that nature tends to conceal itself (krúptesthai phileî). In the more lyrical version it is Violetta's words from La Traviata:

Sempre libera degg'io
Folleggiar di gioia in gioia,
Vo' che scorra il viver mio

Pei sentieri del piacer,
Nasca il giorno, o il giorno muoia,
Sempre lieta ne' ritrovi
A diletti sempre nuovi
Dee volare il mio pensier.

Of course, it is always easier to hold on to known patterns – and there are surely good reasons to defend the known mechanisms of teaching, academic work, the old welfare system. Especially if you never had been fully acknowledged by the system, you easily see the grass much greener on the side of health insurance, your monthly pay check, …, more metaphorically: the famous good cup of tea and a slice of toast at your kitchen table. But there is something that is left from the time making headlines in 1967 when not only German students protested behind the slogan *Under the professorial robe a thousand years of mold [Unter den Talaren – Muff von 1000 Jahren].*
Many of current changes – consciously geared this way or abused by systemic integration: assessments, managerial control, community orientation of research, governance strategies, excellence research, requirement and opportunity to publish…, are changes where – I am aware of what I am writing – the sheep turn up in the wolf-skin: seemingly far reaching changes, putting staff and students under pressure … . But in actual fact most of this is nothing else than securing that no real change happens, making us to sheep, trotting on the path that we are supposed to follow.

So I may return to Shakespeare, now the famous soliloquy:

To be, or not to be: that is the question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them? …

All the different interpretations actually fail to address the real challenge – the need to go beyond the system rather than improving it. On the one hand we in the *'social professions'* easily fail to look beyond the social agenda: rejecting economisation rather than properly analysing the *'kind of economisation'* we need. On the other hand the economists amongst us, also those on the left, have huge difficulties to detach ourselves from understanding capitalism as genuinely

historical phase, one phase of the longer durée: a phase of transition which is as ephemeral as feudalism – Oh, mighty schizophrenia if you belong to both groups, the 'social professions' and the economists – you may feel like Eukleidēs, damned to eternal failure.

 Would I only have listened to my parents: I would have learned something real. Study ing composing music and now making beautiful masterpieces like Stravinski, taking my piano lessons serious and now being able to play – ah, of course like my friend Danny, or working hard to obtain painting skills like Caravaggio; sure, it left masters like him also living in the gutter which only shows that there is no easy solution for anything. The only is probably to take things and oneself not to serious as that would easily leads to a series of troublesome entrapments.

Coming to the end – though more surely than slowly: all this means that the beginning of this academic year 2012/13 will be the beginning of my final academic year at UCC with the status of a *'casual support teacher'*. This depends of course on getting another contract – actually over the years I got only annual contracts and this only after commencement of work – personally I didn't and don't really mind, simply as I enjoy(ed) teaching too much. Looking beyond the personal situation, I highlighted frequently in the reports to the Max-Planck Institute for Foreign and International Social Law (now: Max Planck Institute for Social Law and Social Policy) the more general problematique of the Irish way of handling of law, in a lax way conflating law and right, resulting in a hopeless confusion of the two – in a side remark, just to make responsible people and systems proud of their contribution to the collection of international bad practice: it is not only a matter in the reports but also a matter which I frequently discussed with Hans F. Zacher, friend and a kind of mentor – he founded the Institute from a rather conservative side and although he maintained this position we take every possibility to enter constructive – controversial, mutually enriching and most enjoyable – disputes. The point here is not least: even a pronouncedly conservative lawyer is thoroughly aware of the meaning of collective agreements, acknowledging that they are more valuable than moral sentiments which will always remain paralysing means, independent of being considered from a *'right'* or *'left'* political claim.

In a side remark – finally I am also and not least sociologist: with world systems theory we rightly talk about the power of the centre. But at the same time there is

usually a new power, a new productive force developing from the periphery. Having tried frequently – may be too much with my own ideas (once I heard them being characterised outlandish) – to fully enter into Irish academic life and being confronted with inlandish (ah, yeah, sounds outlandish, I know) fences and walls, allowed my personally in some ways to develop something that may be seen as privileges: it is not about the privileges of airline food or conference dinners and hotel beds; instead, I am talking about the privilege of permanent 'disciplinary uprooting' – the privilege of permanent challenges, new opportunities and permanent confrontation with …, myself. I am still not sure if this is exhausting or not – the really exhausting part is probably that one lives at the end in this society: as much as the members of the *'old Travelling Community'* face the difficulties of every days life in settled communities, new travellers face the difficulties of global-postmodern patchworking in a global society which is strictly not more than a patchwork of nations, undermining notions of working and thinking in different patches.

I may make another side remark – isn't all this epistle a side remark, personal reflections on various issues in which personal, social and societal issues conflate? So then a short note on dialogue. There is perhaps a reason for talking about the master and bachelor in ARTS that we should not push aside without reflection – as social scientists in particular we are part of a complex social structure – its history in past, present and future. And though we are not independent, we are part of a process that we may consider as symphonic piece of war and peace (borrowing the title from Tolstoi). Monumental and complex, full of contradictions and thoroughly determined by our readiness to truly engage in looking for collective solutions. Recently I have had the opportunity to attend an exciting concert in Munich – exciting not least as it presented a tensional line from Bach's 5th Brandenburgische Concert, passing Schubert's 4th Symphony *('The Tragic')*, leading to Strauss *'Thus Spoke Zarathustra'*. Being confronted with the latter, consequently with the highly problematic oeuvre by Wagner provoked to move further moving beyond the smooth integrity of the Court Society, overcoming the tragedy and crossing the borderline of nihilism – not by denying it but by looking for a synthesis, for instance offered in the magnificent masterpiece we inherited from Shostakovich in the Symphony No.12 in D minor, Op.112 *'The Year 1917'* – Admittedly something one has to learn listening – Barenboim once had been teaching me to admire Shostakovich's work. And admittedly revolutionary processes and *'results of revolutions'* (which, of course, will always

be processes themselves) have to be learned. And looking at processes of learning, the words by Albert Schweitzer on Bach's work gave to come to mind:

It is not about alternating between the Tutti and the Concertino; the different bodies are related to each other in an intrinsic tension, penetrate, differentiate and conflate for another time – and all this emerges from an unfathomable necessity, inherent in the art. ... One gets the impression to really face what philosophy throughout all times presented as a higher occurrence, the unfolding of an idea, creating its contradiction in order to overcome it, creates from here a new contradiction, overcoming it again and so forth, until it returns to itself, after it went through all stages of life. It is the same impression of unfathomable necessity and enigmatic satisfaction while listening to these concerts, following the subject matter as it first presents itself in the Tutti, then being subject to enigmatic divisive powers, finally returning in the final Tutti again to its inner entity, coherence.

(quoted in Wolfgang Stähr, 2003: Nicht nur zur Weihnachtszeit – Konzerte von Arcangelo Corelli bis Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Berliner Philharmony Programmheft Nr. 25 zum 21.12.2003 – my translation)

Leaving UCC and a transformed Ireland, making space for somebody who may be better able to fill this small and peripheral position I had been granted over the years; means also moving towards something else ... – amongst others a stronger orientation on a more radical political engagement and a shift in substantial terms. As I recently emphasised:

This award is a special honour for me at a time when policy is getting itself increasingly helpless, answering the challenges by neoliberalism very much by claiming what actually is very much the cause of neoloberalism itself. A rights-based approach is something that needs very careful consideration. As much as the definition of rights is not thoroughly based in a clear understanding of the generating and underlying economic formation , as long as they are derived from abstract humanitarian pricples they do not offer a sufficiently thought through argument. Basroso in his recent speech on the State of the Union made such a shallow reference – and many academics think it is sufficient to reclaim values and virtues without seeing the conditionalities of th existing 'bad' values.

It is not least a special honour to see that against all the odds – not least here in Hungary and in Europe – a tradition is maintained that is closely linked to the work of that person who has been for some time namegiver of what is now Covinus University.

 His statue is still standing in the main hall, and though there is a hugme pressure, his spirit is still something that plays a role in the work of many … – well, I may now say: of us.

On the occasion of this epistle and nearing the end of my time in Cork I want to thank in particular all the students with whom I had the pleasure of enjoying studying, exploring new things and exercising patience. Hearing after half of a year's work a sentence, more whispered to a classmate, like: *'Actually, it makes sense; what he says really makes sense – one just has to open oneself to it'* is a special teaching-award as much as it is to see a student bumping about two years after the finishing the course into the office, sitting down: *'…if you can spare a little time for old students with way more questions than answers!!'*
Yes, I can still spare a little time for that: time for looking for questions, time for searching answers – but I do not have so much for endlessly debating different interpretations. This remains true for this academic year and it will also carry on in later times to come – it is easy to find me under the old e-mail address.
And I am particularly glad that in some cases the relationships had not been maintained as relationship between academics but emerged as friendships.

I could have made it much shorter – but some have stopped reading already somewhere before anyway. So I am not sorry for having written so much, at times somewhat poetically and pathetically, and hopefully expressing personal engagement, political obligation.

Also I could have written more: about part-time income, personal issues, precarity, lack of strategic vision and readiness to collectively search for it – the fights and quarrels we are all involved in: small things of everyday, each of them nevertheless reflecting in very fundamental ways *Zeitgeist*, considering them as fundamental like the fights of pure colourful forms, hiding the substances – or just suggesting the substance to those who now the symbolic meaning of the two main colours and who are open to see forms emerging from the suggested unformed.

And I am very well aware that many if not most of the issues are very much experienced in a similar way by many others in their jobs and studies. The paradox is that we – and I am at least here part of a *'real collective'* – that we look for individual solutions. It is such a weird paradox that it nearly has to evoke Faustian joy – and I have my doubt that Nero had been sitting there, enjoying Rome in flames; it is more likely that he walked into it, poking the fire.

All in the same boat then? And the same boat crossing the same waves of soci(et)al developments over centuries?

History is not a sequence of events that are repeated in different forms; however, it is very much a matter of finding an answer to basically the same question – some of you will have heard me talking about processes of relational appropriation; but these answers – thus the reason why history doesn't repeat itself – have to be found under different, historically specific conditions, broadly the mode of production. And this is very much the same on the societal, the social and the individual level. The question however is – avoiding the trap of a trinity – the thorough consideration of the conditions and with this the need to look at the ascribed and standardised constitutive processes. One of my teachers, Niklas Luhmann, came up with grasshoppers as example. They maintain the permanence of movement (which translates into chirping) by producing with this very movement the stimulation of new movement: they cannot stop – and if they ever do, they cannot start again from their own impulses. Well, surely a somewhat simplified version of Maturana/Varela presentation of autopoiesis. But there are on the different levels – societal, social and individual – the specific mechanisms of producing the roles we are supposed to play. Problems occur at the borderlines: soccer players waiting somewhere as reserve, required to play the game, determined to be spectators. In the court societies they had been especially employed as jesters – privileged: the only who had been allowed to make jokes about the kings; doomed: in permanent danger of complete expulsion: undefined and permanently requiring new definitions not least in terms of basic material conditions which applied social studies, of course, presents in lecture theatres as right for everyone: the jester and the king, as long as it is just and benign. *Divide in unitate …*

And the paradox continues: especially those societies that are highly individualised, suggesting the distinctiveness of each of the members, are most likely unable and unwilling to cope with exceptions. Of course, we all know too well that we are living in such a society and in such times where accepting exceptions is historically a moral damnability – here in Ireland we have this as particular problem with members of the Travelling Community. Much of the talk about integration, assimilation, naturalisation, multiculturalism is just a proof that we accept *'difference'* only to the extent to which it allows us to resist – it may be that there is no other solution to it. At least in periods of transformations the problem is one that pushes many people to the limits – rather than providing the

statistics, the following may be saying more:

– though speaking of capitalism is not entirely exact in capturing the problem: it is a specific capitalist pattern; and it is not capitalism but the societal order that had been emerging as progressive against the feudal state: the citoyenitée as predecessor and friendly sister of the harsher brother, the bourgeois. Conciliatory and rational, of course, trusting in dialogical forms of conflict resolution and easily convinced that contradictions will be well solved by smart suggestions – overlooking that it is in many cases reason, applied on muddy ground. And so it is those who are used to play on muddy grounds and those how manage them that are celebrated as idols of the academic world. However, I am not hurling player, thus the perspectives for acknowledgement seems to be rather limited for me at UCC, a university that, under the glorious leadership of some people who frequently evidenced that there understanding of progress is limited to numbers, representative banners and Tyndallian perspectives.

Sure, you may see it as desertion. Still, there is the saying somewhere in this world: A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. In this light you may also consider my step as a surely risky one, moving towards taking up the challenge. In this light I surely go with Ernst Bloch's the *Principle of Hope* – surely not entirely driven by adulthood and its adulteries and idolatry – admiring too much the dream of a Child with a dove.

You should sleep nine hours without dreams. Then you have the day for dreams. – Herbert Marcuse

I am aware of the fact that some statements come across as offending to some of those who had been reading the lines. Those who read them carefully will know exactly what is written and what is meant. Andwe should not take things personally. So I do not take it personally that many of my students remained excluded: seeing the achievements of all others being recognised, their success being celebrated during conferrings, the Higher Diploma students being left out although most of them did a brave step: being already qualified and taking up something that had been entirely new – not following the path of traditional career development but ready to follow Socrates: *Let him who would move the world first move himself.*

Sure, it is nothing to be taken personally – it is even more serious: I can only take it as matter of an academic institution disrespecting its own claims as *Social Justice (including Equity), Solidarity, Human Security, Democratic Citizenship* – exactly, *Social Quality* and the lack of it in everyday's life of universities.

 Though I am not believer in healing and mystification, I finally keep it with what I learned from an aboriginal friend from Australia, slightly changing the wording: *When the dust is settled on our lives, all we get to keep and take with us is our dignity, our integrity and the love and respect we shared with people. It is founded on a cultural belief that we are one people, one mob who do not own but belong to this land.*

For now, best wishes and a successful new academic year – hoping for friendship and tolerance for another couple of month, the time of my last academic year as part-time adjunct senior lecturer here at UCC; surely not an easy decision for me, knowing that I loose something, and some buddies,
Cork, 24/09/2012

Postscript
You may take it as my personal *'Ecce Homo – how one becomes what one is'*; in certain ways borrowing from Nietzsche you find here the Ecce Homo of a dwarf. Or I may also write an Anti-Ecce Homo, though this would easily open the gate to misunderstandings to those who know (about) Nietzsche's work. Though he is surely not my favourite thinker; and though his thinking is problematic, he is with equal certainty one of those thinkers who had been ready to accept the consequences of his thinking, analysing very much the time he had been living in and also applying in the very same way this analysis to his own thinking and being, without hesitation applying the supposed nihilism in all ways of life. (An interesting note can be found in Ludovici's introduction).
It admittedly led him to his *'personal Waterloo'* – and it had been used to justify a national and even global disaster. But it may be seen as open question (a) if this had been an abuse of his work and/or (b) if, under the consideration that it had not been abuse, it had been the only consequence.
With all rejection of a conservative Nietzsche-interpretation we – and I mean all of us – should not forget our own role when it comes to the question of historical responsibility then and now and in the future.
– At the end of Anthony M. Ludovici's introduction to the Ecce Homo he states that *'no one who reads this work with understanding, will be in need of this*

introductory note of mine; for, to all who know, these pages must speak for themselves. We are no longer in the nineteenth century. We have learned many things since then, and if caution is only one of these things, at least it will prevent us from judging a book such as this one, …' – surely a statement that remains *cum grano salis* true also today: In the meantime another century passed. And in many respects we forget that, suggest movement while standing still.

Being Human: Attraction And Relationships ~ The Journey From Initial Attachments To Romantic Love
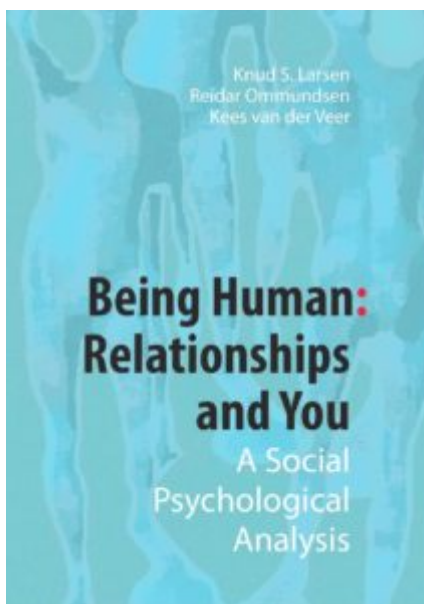
December 2018: Being Human. Relationships and You will be published completely online soon: [Being Human – Contents](#)

Many years ago two boys were walking home from school. They were seven years old, lived in the same neighborhood, but went to different grade schools. Although living close to each other they had not met before running into each other on this

day on the road leading up the hill to their neighborhood. Both seemed quite determined to assert themselves that day, and soon they began pushing each other that gradually turned to wrestling, and attempts to dominate. After what seemed hours, the two little boys were still rolling down the surrounding hills as the sun was going down. Neither succeeded in achieving victory that day. In fact, they never again exchanged blows but became the best of friends. Today it is more than 50 years later, and their friendship has endured time and distance. Friendship is like a rusty coin; all you need to do is polish it at times!

In this essay we shall examine the research on attachment, attraction and relationships. The intrinsic interest in these fields by most people is shared by social psychologists, and attachment, attraction, and love relationships constitute one of the most prolific areas of investigation in social psychology. The early attachment theory advanced by Bowlby (1982) emphasized the importance of the field when he suggested that our attachments to parents to a large extent shape all succeeding relationships in the future. Other research focus on exchange and communal relationships and point to the different ways we have of relating to each other. The importance of relationships cannot be overemphasized since we as humans have a fundamental need to belong. Relationships also contribute to the social self as discussed in the book, and effects social cognition discussed in the same (see: at the end of this article). The variables that determine attraction may be understood theoretically as functions of a reward perspective.

The importance of relationships is demonstrated by findings that show that among all age groups relationships are considered essential to happiness (Berscheid, 1985; Berscheid & Reis, 1998). The absence of close relationships makes the individual feel worthless, powerless, and alienated (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Stroebe & Stroebe, 1996). Our very humanity is defined by our relationships (Bersheid & Regan, 2005).

1. Attachment: The start to relationships
This chapter is about the development of attachment, intimate relationships between adults, and the road leading toward love relationships. No greater love has a person than giving his life for another. This idea from the Bible brings to mind the passion of deep commitment and the willingness to sacrifice, even in the ultimate sense. This willingness to sacrifice is one manifestation of love, but as we all know there is much more to relationships and love.

The research described in the following pages concerns early attachment, and attraction and love between adults. These relationships may be institutionalized by marriage, or (registered) partnership, or take some other form (living-apart-together) in relationships. Since the vast majority of romantic relationships exist between heterosexual partners we describe the journey from attraction to romantic relationship from this perspective. There is little research so there is no way to know, however, there is no convincing reason to assume that this journey is completely different for homosexuals.

Most people will experience the delirious feelings of infatuation and love sometime in their lives. What is love? How can we achieve love? And how can we build these feelings into lasting relationships? Are there ways we can improve our chances for satisfying long-lasting and happy relationships? This chapter will show that there are behaviors to avoid, but that we can also contribute much to lasting attachments. Long-lasting romance depends on positive illusions and bringing novelty and renewal to our intimate relationships.

We live in a changing world. Although in many parts of the world couples are still united through arranged marriages, more and more modern communications are changing the ways people relate, for example learning about other culture to value freedom or the individual right to choose one's spouse. Computers provide platforms from which to initiate relationships, and opportunities to screen for important characteristics prior to any encounter. Does that take away something of the mystery of liking and loving relationships? Some do feel that how we encounter and meet people should remain in the realm of the mysterious.

However, as we shall see in this chapter, learning to like and commit to one another follows predictable patterns. The fact that divorce rates increase in the western world, suggests that we could all benefit from a greater understanding of how relationships develop, and how to make them enduring and satisfying. To give up one's life for another is a noble commitment, but to live one's life for the beloved is a different, but equally high calling. How do we move from the initial encounter of liking to romance and love and lasting commitment? We shall see that liking and love are universal behaviors, although cultures affect how they are expressed.

In this chapter we shall discuss the research from initial attachments to long

lasting relationships. Is there a basic need to belong? Does evolutionary thinking contribute to our understanding of the universality of attachment? There is evidence, as we shall see, that we all need to be connected to others, to experience a network of varying relationships. These needs are universal, present in all cultures and societies. Our needs to belong motivate our unconscious and conscious thoughts, and our behavior in the search for satisfying relationships. Without such relationships we suffer the pangs of loneliness with negative physical and psychological consequences.

1.1 An evolutionary approach to attachment

Many textbooks in psychology refer to feral children as evidence that negative consequences occur when a child grows up without normal human attachments. The child Victor was found in 1800 in the French village of Saint-Sernin. He was believed to have grown up in the forests without human contact, and proved devoid of any recognizable human characteristics. Initially he refused to wear clothes, understood no language, and never showed human emotion. This "wild boy of Aveyron" was taken into the care of Jean Itard, who devoted considerable energy to teach Victor language and human interaction. He did eventually learn some words, but never developed normal human interaction or relationships (Itard, 1801; 1962). Do feral children demonstrate the essence of human nature in the absence of relationships? We can see from the story of Victor, and that of other feral children, that what we describe as human is forged in our relationships with others. Without these interactions there is little discernable human in our behavior. Without relationships provided by parents, family, and society, we are without language with which to communicate, and without civilization to teach appropriate norms for behavior, and we have no "human nature". We are human because of our relationships.

1.2 Early attachment forms the basis for our adult relationships

What are some of the deciding factors that enable us to establish interpersonal relationships? Interpersonal relationships are essential to human satisfaction and happiness, and refer to the bonds of friendship and love that hold together two or more people over time. Interdependence is manifested by how individuals spend significant time thinking about each other, and engage in common activities, and have shared histories and memories. Although central to our understanding of what it means to be human, social psychology has a short history of studying relationships (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). Since we cannot experiment with

relationships among humans, research takes a different form. In research on relationships we face different problems with methodology than encountered elsewhere in experimental social psychology (Karney & Bradbury, 1997). Since research may affect self-awareness and the relationship ethical concerns must dictate sensitivity in the questions asked allowing us to use primarily the interview and survey methods.

Harlow (1959) performed a famous experiment with baby rhesus monkeys that supported the conclusions drawn from the studies of feral children: social isolation is traumatic and prevents normal development. In this classic study baby monkeys were raised without any contact with a mother or other monkeys. They were provided two "mother substitutes"; one was a wire feeder, and the other feeding substitute was softer and covered with terry cloth. The importance of contact was shown by the baby monkeys clinging to the terry cloth "mother", and when frightened rushing to this substitute for comfort. Like the feral children these monkeys were abnormal when they approached adolescence or adulthood. They displayed high anxiety, could not playfully interact with peers, and failed to engage in normal sexual behavior. It would appear that social interaction, particularly with parent figures, is essential for normal functioning in adulthood. What we describe as human nature would evaporate in the absence of relationships as we are socialized by our interactions. The universality of the desire to belong would suggest a biological basis similar to other biological needs.

Some will suggest that the need to belong is indeed part of our evolutionary heritage (Bercheid & Regan, 2005). No other species display a longer dependency period than humans, and we need nurturing relationships to survive. Parents who in the past failed to display essential nurturing behavior did not produce offspring that survived. We are all descendants of relationships that took parenting very serious. It is possible to perceive bonding from the very beginning of life. Initially only the mother establishes relationships by gazing at the infant, who in turn responds by cooing and smiling. That is the beginning of all subsequent bonding in the child's life. Later as the child grows, other bonds are established with the father and other family members. Throughout life a normal human being will seek out relationships responding to a biological need for companionship.

Baumeister & Leary (1995) proposed five criteria to demonstrate the fundamental biological nature of the need to belong. First, since relationships make a direct contribution to survival, an evolutionary basis is supported (Simpson & Kenrick,

1998). Evolutionary causality would require us to accept that even romantic bonds with all the giddiness and mystery are primarily vehicles that create conditions for reproduction and survival of the infants (Ellis & Malamuth, 2000; Hrdy, 1999). Without that special attachment between mother and infant the child would be unable to survive or achieve independence (Buss, 1994).

A second criterion for the evolutionary basis of relationships is the universality of the mother-child and romantic lover interdependence. As we shall see, such relationships are found in all cultures expressed with some variations. Thirdly, if relationships are a product of evolution, it should have a profound effect on social cognition. There is much support that our relationships to a significant degree define who we are, our memories, and the attributions we make in varying situations (Karney & Coombs, 2000; Reis & Downey, 1999). Fourthly, if need to belong is similar to other biological drives the desire for relationships should be satiable. When deprived we should manifest searching behavior similar to that which occurs for food or water when deprived of these essentials. Once our relationships needs are satisfied, we are no longer motivated to establish new connections (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977), but if deprived we will seek substitutions for even close family relationships (Burkhart, 1973). Finally, according to Baumeister and Leary, if we are deprived chronically the consequences are devastating. There is a great deal of evidence that relationships are fundamental to our sense of physical and psychological well-being, and to how happy or satisfied we are (Myers, 2000b).

For those deprived, the evidence is uncontroversial. Divorced people have higher mortality rates (Lynch, 1979), whereas social integration is associated with lower death rates (Berkman, 1995). Suicide rates are higher for the divorced (Rothberg & Jones, 1987), whereas breast cancer victims are more likely to survive with support groups (Spiegel, Bloom, Kraemer, & Gottheil, 1989). Other research has shown that social support strengthens our immune and cardiovascular systems (Oxman & Hull, 1997). The literature is very clear on this. With social support we do better against all that life throws against us, without relationships we are likely to lead unhappy lives and die prematurely.

1.3 Biology versus culture
There is no more controversial issue than deciding in favor of an evolutionary or a cultural explanation of attraction. Evidence will show that women in all cultures tend to prefer partners who possess material resources, whereas men prefer

youth and beauty. However, in the human species the male is also physically larger, stronger, and more dominant. This has led to male control over material resources. Since women are more vulnerable, they are naturally more concerned with meeting these material needs. (Eagly & Wood, 1999; Wood & Eagly, 2002). The cross-cultural consistency in gender preference may simply reflect size differences and the gender based control of economic resources.

The evolutionary perspective asserts that gender based preferences have reproductive reasons. Symmetrical men are thought attractive because they signal good reproductive health. Some intriguing studies show that women who ovulate show a preference for the smell derived from "symmetric" men (Gangestad & Thornhill, 1998; Thornstead & Gangestad, 1999). Women in the ovulatory phase also prefer men who have confident and assertive self presentations (Gangestad, Simpson, Cousins, Carvar-Apgar, & Christensen, 2004). There is no definitive solution to the biology versus culture argument. Perhaps what matters is, regardless of the origin, these gender differences exist and persist.

1.4 The experience of loneliness

The psychological distress we feel when deprived of social relationships is loneliness (Perlman & Peplau, 1998). For each individual there exists an optimal number of relationships depending on age, and perhaps other factors. We join clubs, political organizations, special interest groups, and religious organizations in an effort to remove deficit in social relationships. We can have many acquaintances, but still feel lonely. Some of us feel lonely being in a crowd where social relations are plentiful, but intimacy is absent. Clearly, the answer to loneliness is not just the quantity of relationships, but whether the connections satisfy emotional needs. Some people have few relationships, and enjoy the experience of being alone. If we find in ourselves good company, our needs for others are diminished. Those who have rich emotional lives are less dependent on others for satisfaction of emotional needs.

However, many people feel the wrenching experience of loneliness. In our society it is very prevalent (Perlman & Peplau, 1998) with 25 percent reporting feeling very lonely and alienated. Some causes of loneliness are situational due to common life changes in our mobile societies. We move often, and when we do we lose some of our relationships. For example, new opportunities for work require our presence in another part of the country or abroad, and young students attend

universities away from family and friends. In these and in many other cases people lose their known social network and support groups. On some occasions we lose relationships permanently due to the death of loved ones, and the resulting grief can produce feelings of prolonged loneliness.

Other people suffer from chronic loneliness. These are people who describe themselves as "always lonely", with continuous feelings of sadness and loss. Chronically lonely people are often in poor health, and their lives are associated with many issues of social maladjustment including alcohol abuse and depression. Loneliness is a form of stress and is associated with increased health problems resulting in death (Hawkley, Burleson, Berntson, & Cacioppo, 2003).

Weiss (1973) described two forms of loneliness. Social loneliness is produced by the absence of an adequate social network of friends. The answer to that kind of loneliness is establishing new contacts, perhaps by involvement in the community. Emotional loneliness, on the other hand is the deprivation felt from the absence of intimacy in our lives. We all need at least one significant other with whom we can share intimate thoughts and feelings, whether in the form of a friend or spouse. An emotionally lonely person may be well connected, but still feel the gnawing disquiet even in the midst of a crowd.

As we noted in the introduction, our childhood experiences predispose us toward a variety of relationship problems or enjoyments of life. Children of the divorced are at risk for loneliness, and may develop shyness and lower self-esteem (Brehm, Miller, Perlman, & Campbell, 2002). On the other hand, being in a satisfying relationship is a primary guard against feelings of loneliness, this is especially true for those who commit themselves to lifelong relationships (e.g. marriage) (Pinquart, 2003).

Demographic variables also have an effect on loneliness. Those who are poor struggle more with all forms of insecurity, and have less possibilities for participating in social relationships. For example due to lack of money poor people often cannot participate in social activities. Age is also a factor. Most may think that old age is a time of loneliness as people lose relationships to death or other causes. Some research (Perlman, 1990) however, shows that teenagers and young adults suffer most from isolation. Youth is a time when biology is insistent on connecting with others, particularly with a member of the opposite sex, and the absence of intimate relationships is felt most keenly. Some young people feel

not only lonely, but rejected and ostracized. When that occurs we see the rejection play out in severe anti-social behavior as in the case of the school shootings of recent years (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001).

Interacting with people affects our emotional lives. We feel better being around others, particularly in close or romantic relationships (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003; Delespaul, Reis, & DeVries, 1996). Unhappiness in lonely people, however, may not be due to the absence of people alone. Unhappy friends are not rewarding to be around, and they might be lonely because they are unhappy, rather than unhappy because they are lonely (Gotlib, 1992).

Our need to belong is manifest in all cultures and societies. It is obviously functional to the infant who needs protection. However, adults also could not function in society without supportive relationships. These needs to belong are universal, and if not satisfied produce many negative results. Further, our relationships help form our self-concept (chapter 2) and our most significant behaviors. Our relationships largely determine how we think about the world, and our emotional well-being.

1.5 The beginnings of attachment
Infants demonstrate stubborn attachments to their primary caregiver. This is sometimes manifested by total devotion to the mother, gazing and smiling when in contact, crying when she leaves the room. As the child gets a little older the pattern may continue, initially having nothing to do with the rest of the family. The attachments of the child may gradually change and she or he becomes fond of the father, grandmother and other relatives, proceeding normally from long attachment to the mother, to establishing new relationships with other people in her or his life. Attachment refers to the positive emotions expressed in the presence of the caregiver, the feeling of security in the child, and the desire to be with the caregiver, initially exclusively, but later with other significant others (Bowlby, 1988; Cassidy & Shaver, 1999).

The personal security and emotional warmth offered to the child is different for each caregiver. Therefore infants develop different attachment styles that in turn have profound effect on adult relationships. Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall (1978) proposed three infant attachment styles. *The secure attachment* occurs when the caregiver is available, and the infant feels secure, and when the child's emotional needs are met. *The avoidant attachment* occurs when the caregiver is

detached, unresponsive to the infant, and when in some cases the infant is rejected. This type of attachment leads to premature detachment and self-reliance. When the parent figure is at times available, but at other times not, and therefore is inconsistent in meeting the emotional needs of the child, the result is *an anxious-ambivalent attachment* style. This type of infant may be anxious and often feel threatened.

Essentially the three attachment styles develop in response to the caregiver's emotional behavior; i.e., how consistent the emotional needs are met, and how secure the child feels as a consequence. From the perspective of evolutionary theory, attachment has obvious survival value for the infant. If mothers did not find the baby's cooing and smile endearing, and if the infant did not find her presence so reassuring, the lack of attachment could be disastrous for the infant. Infants and small children cannot survive without parental attention, so both the caregiver's behavior and infant's responses are very functional to the survival of the human species.

1.6 Attachment styles of adults
How comfortable are we with our relationships, and to what degree can we form secure and intimate relations with family, friends, and lovers? Hazan & Shaver (1987) found that adults continue with the same attachment styles adopted as infants. Whether an adult is secure in relationships, and can foster shared intimacy, depends on the three attachment styles described above. Psychoanalysis asserted that our childhood experiences have profound effects on adult behavior.

The attachment theorist likewise believes that the relationship styles developed as infants are stable across a person's lifetime. Infant attachment styles determine whom we associate with as adults and the quality of our relationships. Some longitudinal studies have in fact demonstrated attachment styles developed early in life determine how we later relate to our love partners, our friends, and eventually our own children (Fraley & Spieker, 2003; Kirkpatrick & Hazan, 1994). Other researchers however, have found changes between infant and adult attachment styles (Baldwin & Fehr, 1995). The infant's relationship with the primary caregiver is critical to the success of adult relationships. However, there is some hope that we can change from infant maladaptive styles to more functional adult behaviors and relationship satisfaction.

Life events may also influence our ability to form secure relationships. Traumatic events that separate us from beloved family members through death or divorce, affect our ability to develop intimate relations. So does childhood abuse, or family instability (Brennan & Shaver, 1993; Klohnen & Bera, 1998). Within intimate relationships the type of attachment has profound effects (Collins & Feeney, 2000; Fraley & Shaver, 1996). How we say goodbye, for example, at train stations and airports is reflective of our attachment styles. Avoidant romantic partners spent less time giving embraces, whereas those who were anxious expressed sadness and fear when separating. How we express attachment may vary with culture. Being reserved is not universally diagnostic of having an avoidant attachment style.

1.7 Secure attachment styles bring many benefits
Secure individuals bring out the best in others. Even when significant others display negative behaviors such as unjustified criticisms, the secure person will see that behavior in a positive light (Collins, 1996). A secure and positive outlook brings its own rewards. These include, not surprisingly, more relationship satisfaction. Secure partners are less likely to break up the relationship, and more likely to stay married, they experience fewer marital tensions, and generally fewer general negative outcomes (Shaver & Brennan, 1992; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003). On the other hand, anxious people are more likely to perceive threat. They view life events in pessimistic ways leading to depression, substance abuse, and eating disorders. Our early bonds with caregivers matter a great deal as we move on in life. These attachment styles have significant effects on our current relationships, and our own sense of well-being. Secure life styles based on a good

start in life produce healthier relationships, and good personal health.

2. Culture and socialization produce different relationships

Fiske (1991; 1992) proposed a theory of relationships that suggest that we behave in four distinct ways in defining who we are, how we distribute resources, and how we make moral judgments. A *communal relationship* put the interest of the group ahead of that of the individual. Types of groups in this category include families, or close social allies. In families what we contribute depends on what we can offer, and what is right to receive depends on the needs of the individual informed by benevolence and caring. In a family, children are different and require different resources. One child may be intellectually gifted, and parental care may be shown by support for education. Disproportionate support for one child may result in fewer resources for another child. In communal groups or families, resource distribution is decided by the needs of each member, and desire to help all.

In the *authority ranking groups* the status and ranking hierarchy is what matters. Members of these groups are aware of the status differences, and roles tend to be clearly specified. Military organizations are examples, but so are modern capitalist organizations that depend on a top down authoritarian structure. Tribal organizations are usually also authoritarian, and the chief determines who does what, and in what way performance is rewarded or punished.

The third type of relationship is *equality matching*. These relationships are based on equality in resources and preferred outcomes. Many friendships and marriages are governed by some norm of equality. Members should have on the average the same rights, constraints or freedoms. The essential question asked in response to any requests or demands is: is it fair? Is it also applicable to the capitalist market system based on the market pricing relationships. Fourth, relationships emerging from the market economy are governed in principle by *equity*, by what is considered fair. Salaries should be based on merit and equity, where the compensation received is proportional to the quality and effort made by the individual (for example if you cannot pay for medical help, then you get none). While Fiske claims these four types are universal, some relationships are emphasized in a particular culture. Capitalist societies rely on market pricing relationships, and increasingly we are seeing similar relationships in current and formerly socialist countries.

2.1 The child in the relationship

Many social psychologists find attachment theory useful in understanding the relationships between adults both platonic and romantic (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). They are interested in what ways adult love relationships are similar to the attachment patterns of infants. It seems that the intense fascination with the love object, parent or lover, is similar. The adult lover may gaze with intense fascination into the eyes of the beloved, much as the infant gazes into the eyes of the mother. Lovers feel distress at separation, as do infants when the mother leaves the room. In both situations strong efforts are made to be together, spend time together and avoid separation.

Adult love relationships also fall into the three attachment patterns described for children. One study showed that the majority of US citizens (59 %) are securely attached, whereas 25 percent are avoidant, and 11 percent are anxious-ambivalent (Mickelson, Kessler, & Shaver, 1997). There are differences as well, as adult relationships involve reciprocal care, and in some cases sexual attraction. Still, the mother would not gaze at the infant unless she found it very rewarding, and there is some reciprocal behavior there. The mother loves her child and is rewarded by adorable gazing and smiles of the infant.

Some psychologists feel that this early model of love becomes a working framework for later relationships. The infant who has secure attachments with parents comes to believe that similar relationships can be established as an adult, that people are good and can be trusted. On the other hand the anxious-ambivalent attachment may produce fear, rejection of intimacy, and distrust in the relationship in the adult. The burden of the generations occurs when a parent passes on to the next generation the attachment style he developed as an infant. The rejection a mother experienced as an infant may become the working model for her child rearing when she is a parent.

There is hope for victims of dysfunctional attachment styles. Sometimes an adult love relationship is so powerful that it can overcome any negative experiences from childhood. On the whole however, absent any major event affecting attachment, there is great stability in attachment styles across the life span (Fraley, 2002; Collins & Feeney, 2004). Secure adults are comfortable with intimacy and feel worthy of receiving affection from another person. As a consequence, they also perceive happiness and joy in their love relationships built on self-disclosure and shared activities. It should come as no surprise that secure

individuals also have positive perceptions of parents as loving and fair. Later in life secure people develop more satisfying relationships. Secure people experience more satisfying intimacy and enjoyment, and feel positive emotions in their relationships (Tidwell, Reis, & Shaver, 1996). When life becomes stressful, secure individuals provide more mutual support, and are more effective and responsive to the partners needs (Feeney & Collins, 2001; Feeney & Hohaus, 2001). Avoidant persons, on the other hand, are often uncomfortable in getting intimate, and never develop full trust in the love partner. They spend much time denying love needs, do not self disclose, and place more importance on being independent and self-reliant. The anxious- ambivalent person wants to become intimate, but worry that the other person does not feel the same. Anxious adults tend to be obsessed with the object of love, experience emotional highs and lows, feel intense sexual attraction, and jealousy. They often feel unappreciated by their partners, and view their parents as being unhappy.

2.2 The transfer effect in our relationships

The transfer effect is well known in clinical psychology. In the effort to help the patient the therapist allows the patient to transfer feelings from some other significant other to the therapist. Temporarily the therapist becomes the father figure, or some other significant person in the therapeutic relationship. We have all met people who remind us of others. The authors have all had the experience of meeting someone who was certain to have met one of us before, or believed we were closely related to someone they knew. Does the professor of this class remind you of a favored uncle or aunt? Chances are that you will transfer positive feelings toward the professor, and with such an auspicious beginning the outcome may be very good for your study. The relational self-theory is based on the idea that our prior relationships determine how we feel toward those who remind us of such significant others from our past.

Andersen & Chen (2002) developed the idea of relational self-theory to demonstrate how prior relationships affect our current cognitions and interactions with others. They hypothesized that when we encounter someone who reminds us of a significant other from the past we are likely to activate a relational self that determines our interactions with the new person. Meeting people who remind us of past significant others even has emotional consequences. In one study the researchers assessed the participant's emotional expressions after being exposed to information that resembled a positive or

negative significant other from the past (Andersen, Reznik, & Manzella, 1996). The participants expressed more positive emotion as judged by facial expressions after being exposed to information about a past positive significant other, and more negative facial expressions after exposure to the information of a negative person.

Our past relationships also determine our current interactions. When we interact with someone who reminds us of someone else it affects our self-concept and behavior (Hinkley & Andersen, 1996). Encountering such a person alters how we think of ourselves, and the past relationship may affect our behavior at the automatic level (Andersen, Reznik, & Manzella, 1996). This finding helps explain our preference for some individuals, and our rejection of others. Positive emotions result from being in the presence of people who remind us of previous positive relations. However, we should remind ourselves that these gut feelings are not the consequence of actual behavior or interactions. Any immediate dislike may have more to do with unpleasant relations of the past, than the person with whom you are currently interacting.

2.3 Social cognition and previous relationships
We construe the world through processes of social cognition. Previous relationships affect how we come about this construction of the world. This is logical when we realize that relationships form the basis of many of our memories. In one study, for instance, participants were better able to remember information based on relationships than other sources of information (Sedikides, Olsen, & Reis, 1993).

We tend to be optimistic about self and close friends believing that the outcomes of life will be positive for ourselves and those with whom we relate (Perlof & Fetzer, 1986), and we include close others in our attributional biases assessing more positive traits and behaviors to partners in close relationships. Success for self and friends is attributed to dispositional causes, while failures are attributed to the situational environment (Fincham & Bradbury, 1993). Close others become in a very real sense a part of the self-concept (Aron & Aron, 1997; Aron & Fraley, 1999). A relationship helps to expand the self-concept by utilizing the resources and characteristics of the other person. These characteristics then become part of the self-concept. This became very visible to us when a close follower of a prominent leader we knew took on characteristics of the admired leader, even to the point of mimicking his speech patterns. Later this same individual married the

former wife of the leader, and served as the director of the leader's institute. Relationships are functional because of the self-concept expansion (Wegner, Erber, & Raymond, 1991). So-called transactive memory is demonstrated when partners know each other so well, that they can complete stories told by the other partner, and remember more information than two randomly paired people. Partners also collaborate in remembering facts. In driving to locations one partner may have good understanding of direction and long distance goals, and the other may remember specific street locations. Collaborative memory is based on such close relationships. Social cognition is central to an understanding of social psychology and will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

3. Liking someone: the start of relationships

Why do we like some people and not others? Our past relationships with parents and close significant others have profound effects on attachment and liking, but that only partly answers the question of attraction. Another answer to what motivates people to embark on a relationship is its contribution to survival and success. However, the average person probably does not evaluate attraction to others on such a calculating basis. That is to say, when it comes to understanding deeper levels of motivation, we like those who are associated with rewarding events and whose behavior is intrinsically rewarding. We dislike those whose behaviors are a burden to us. At the level of motivation, conscious or unconscious, we seek to maximize our rewards and minimize costs. We seek relationships and continue in these if the rewards exceed the costs and therefore yield a profit (Kelley, 1979; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Rusbult, 1980).

3.1 Antecedents of attraction

Propinquity, similarity and physical attraction have been studied extensively by social psychologists. Many would consider these to be obvious variables in interpersonal attraction. Yet, in our culture we say, "beauty is only skin deep", thereby denigrating the potential influence of physical attractiveness. As we shall see beauty is much more than skin deep, and along with similarity and propinquity have profound effects on whom we like, and on our relationships and social successes.

3.2 Propinquity: we like those living near us

Some of the very earliest research on attraction focused on the proximity of relationships (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950). These early researchers performed a sociometric study in a housing complex for married students at MIT

called Westgate West. The residents were asked to name their three closest friends. The majority of the respondents named people who lived in the same building, even though other housing units were nearby. Even within the building proximity was a striking factor, with 41 percent naming their next-door neighbors as best friends, 22 percent named those living two doors away, and only 10 percent pointed to those living at the end of hallways as close friends. The critical factor was the chance of coming in contact. Festinger et al. called this functional distance.

Although there are exceptions when we come to dislike people living next door the result of Festinger and colleagues is a very optimistic finding of social psychology. It suggests that most people have the capacity for friendships if only given the opportunity. This might even be extended to the most intimate relationships. Rather than waiting for the one and only knight on the white horse, or Cinderella, as romantic illusions would have you do, propinquity findings would suggest that there are millions of potential partners if only given the chance for encounters.

3.3 Mere exposure and familiarity
What is it about being given the chance to meet that leads to liking? Some research would indicate that proximity brings on a sense of familiarity that leads to liking (Borstein, 1989; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982; Zajonc, 1968). In the literature it is called the "mere exposure effect". The more we see people the more we like them, so proximity is about familiarity. Then why does familiarity produce liking? Is there some sense of security that comes from knowing that the familiar produces no harm? Is it an evolutionary mechanism where the familiar reduces threat? Do we have an innate fear of the unfamiliar? Are strangers a threat, because we do not know enough about them to predict their behavior? Perhaps it is. Perhaps we like those who are familiar, because we can predict their behavior and they are non-threatening. Milgram (1970) suggested that the fear of living in large cities among strangers was eased by seeing the same faces or "familiar strangers" – as they passed on their way to work.

A study by Moreland and Beach (1992) showed that the "mere exposure" produced liking. They had female confederates attend class sitting in the first row. There was otherwise no interaction between the female confederates, the instructor, or other students. Yet, when asked at the end of the term, the students rated these women highly for both liking and attractiveness. The literature

supports the idea that familiarity promotes liking (Bornstein, 1989; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982). There is one caveat. If you find yourself instantly disliking what you consider an obnoxious person, exposure will intensify that effect (Swap, 1977).

Still a large amount of literature has been published supporting the "mere exposure" effect (Borstein, 1989; Zajonc, 1968). For example there are strong correlations between the frequency of exposure to a variety of objects and liking. Flowers that are mentioned more frequently in our literature are liked more than those mentioned less frequently, e.g., violets are liked more than hyacinths. People, at least in the US, also like pine trees more than birches, and like frequently mentioned cities more than those less well known. Zajonc argues that it is the mere exposure effect. However, on the other hand perhaps people write more about violets than hyacinths because they are liked more? How do we explain the preferences for different letters in the English alphabet that correspond to the frequency of appearance in writing (Alluisi & Adams, 1962)? We also tend to see letters in our own name more frequently, and have a greater liking for these letters (Hoorens, Nuttin, Herman, & Pavakanun, 1990).

In another study the more the participants were exposed to words they did not understand (Turkish words or Chinese pictographs) the more they liked them (Zajonc, 1968). Still, even "mere exposure" effects must have an explanation in term of rewards or the absence of threats that familiarity brings from repeated exposure. Zajonc (2001) recently explained the "mere exposure' effect as a form of classical conditioning. The stimulus is paired with something desirable, namely the absence of any aversive conditions. Therefore over time we learn to approach those objects considered "safe' and avoid those that are unfamiliar.

Computers are often used to make contact these days. Keeping in mind that it is the "functional distance" which is important, how does computer technology contribute to establishing new relationships? (Lea & Spears, 1995). All modern tools of communication can be used either for ethical or unethical purposes. There are predators online who lie or manipulate to take advantage of innocent young people. It is not safe. Online the individual has no way to confirm the truth of what another person is saying. Person-to-person we can check for all the nonverbal signals that we have learned from experience indicating truthfulness and trust. On the other hand, we do not have to worry much about rejection in Internet relationships, so perhaps we have less to loose and therefore can be

more honest online? We can more quickly establish intimate relationships, but we may in the process idealize the other person. Only face-to-face can we decide what is real, and even then we may idealize, although as we will see this can be healthy for long term relationship survival.

Proximity effects means that we often marry people who live in the same neighborhoods, or work for the same firm (Burr, 1973; Clarke, 1952). The variable is optimistic about meeting someone because our world of potential relationships is unlimited. If our eyes are open we can find a mate somewhere close by, certainly within walking distance. Perhaps proximity also points to other forms of interpersonal similarity. Generally people living in the same neighborhoods often also come from similar social classes, ethnic groups, and in some parts of the world from the same religious groups. Proximity may therefore also be another way of pointing to similarity as a basis for liking. Familiarity provides the basis for sharing, and the gradual building of trust (Latané, Liu, Bonevento, & Zheng, 1995). The vast majority of those who have had memorable interactions leading to intimacy lived either at the same residence or within one mile from the trusted person.

The mere exposure effect can also be discerned in peoples' reactions to their own faces. Faces are not completely symmetrical as most of us display some asymmetry where the left side of the face does not perfectly match the right. Our face to a friend looks different from that we see our selves. The mirror image with which we are familiar is reverse from that which the world sees. If familiarity or mere exposure has an effect, our friends should like the face to which they are accustomed, whereas the individual should also like the mirror image with which he is familiar. Mita, Dermer, & Knight (1977) showed that the participants liked best the face with which they were most familiar.

3.4 Proximity and anticipating the cost of negative relationships
Proximity, moreover, reduces the cost of interaction. It takes a great deal of effort and expense to maintain long distance relationships. As a result of our work we have relationships in different parts of the world. As the years go by it is more and more difficult to continue with friendships that when we were young we thought would last forever. When you do not see someone in the course of daily activities it takes more effort, and may be costly in other ways. Long distance relationships take more dedication, time, and expense.

Proximity may exert pressures toward liking. It is difficult living or working with someone we dislike. That cognitive dissonance may cause us to remove stress by stronger efforts of liking the individual. Therefore, even the anticipation of interaction will increase liking, because we want to get along (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976). When we know we will interact with someone over time we are likely to focus on the positive qualities, as the alternative is too costly. Think of working with a boss you do not like, how costly that could be? Therefore we put our best foot forward when we meet people who may become part of our daily lives. Even the anticipation of interaction with others produce liking. Why else would people make extraordinary efforts to be nice at "get acquainted parties" at work, or in new neighborhoods? Putting your best foot forward is a strategy to produce reciprocal liking.

4. Similarity: rubbing our back
We like to be massaged, and therefore like those who validate and reinforce who we are and what we believe. The research literature supports this proposition (Bercheid & Reis, 1998; Ptacek & Dodge, 1995; Rosenblatt & Greenberg, 1988). It will come as no surprise that we tend to find our spouse among those who are similar to us on many different characteristics including race, religion, and political persuasion (Burgess & Wallin, 1953). Showing again the opportunistic nature of our most intimate relationships, similarity in social class and religion were the strongest predictors of liking.

Similarity of religion or social class may just be frequency or proximity factors, as the likelihood of exposure is greater for these categories. Similarity in physical attractiveness also plays a role and personality characteristics, although to a lesser extent (Buss, 1984). In a classic study, Newcomb (1961) showed that after a year of living together, student's liking of roommates was determined by how similar they were. In other studies where the participants thought they were rating another participant (in fact a bogus participant) either similar or dissimilar, the similar person was liked more (Byrne, 1961; Tan & Singh, 1995). The similarity effect holds true across a variety of relationships including friendship and marriage.

Similarity in education and even age seems to determine attraction (Kupersmidt, DeRosier, & Patterson, 1995). Not only are friends similar in social class and education, but also gender, academic achievement, and social behavior. A meta-analysis of 80 separate studies showed moderate relationships between similarity

and attraction (AhYun, 2002). Today dating services are established on the principle that similarity is good and functional in relationships. A good match means finding someone who is similar. Dating services try to match after background checks and participant surveys of values, attitudes, and even physical appearance (Hill & Peplau, 1998). Those participants who were matched in attitudes toward gender roles and sexual behavior had the most lasting relationships, one year and even 15 years later.

4.1 How does similarity work?

As mentioned above similarity is a potent variable in friendship and mate selection. What are some of the mechanisms that produce this effect? Similarity gives a common platform for understanding, and that in turn promotes feelings of intimacy essential for trust, empathy and long lasting relationships (Aron, 1988; Kalick & Hamilton, 1988). If the issue is important only those with the same or similar values are acceptable. So attraction is selective and we rarely encounter those whose views are different. In relationships where the participant committed to someone with different values, or where the parties successfully hide their views, similarity could still be the outcome. Typically long time married couples have similar views because over time they persuade the partner to change his/her mind. Social influence may also change our views over time and produce more similarity.

We find pleasure in our relationships with similar others because they confirm our beliefs and the value of our person. When we meet with likeminded people, they validate our inner most values and expressed attitudes. The rest of the world may cast doubt on our beliefs, and may question who we are as persons, but the likeminded validate our ideologies and personal achievements. Even our physiological arousal corresponds to our liking someone (Clore & Gormly, 1974). Similarity allows for functional relationships and for more effective communication. When we are with those who are similar, communication is effortless, since we do not have to be on guard for disagreement or rejection.

4.2 A common social environment

Of course the social environment also has a selectivity bias. People meet likeminded people at Church, or those with similar occupational interests at work. In many cases the apparent similarity is caused by the selectivity of our social environment. A politically progressive person does not attend meetings of the Ku Klux Klan (a racist group) in order to find a soul mate. A longitudinal study of

married couples showed that couples became more and more similar over time as they continued to persuade and experience a shared environment (Gruber-Baldini, Shai, & Willis, 1995).

We choose our friends from our social environment. In college we find our friends among those who are on the same track academically and can be of mutual aid (Kubitschek & Hallinan, 1998). Being in the same environment produces shared experiences and memories that serve to bond people. We perceive similarity and from that conclude that the other person will like us, thereby initiating communication (Berscheid, 1985). It is reinforcing to meet someone with similar views, as they validate our feelings of being right (Byrne & Clore, 1970). At the same time and for the same reasons we find those who disagree unpleasant (Rosenbaum, 1986; Houts, Robins, & Huston, 1996). As a result of having a common basis, similarity in personality traits provides for smooth communications and interactions between people, therefore similarity is less costly.

4.3 We like those who like us: reciprocal liking
Reciprocal liking is even a more powerful determinant of liking than similarity. In one study a young woman expressed an interest in a male participant by eye contact, listening with rapt attention, and leaning forward with interest. Even when told she had different views the male participants still expressed great liking for the woman (Gold, Ryckman, & Mosley, 1984). Regardless whether we show by means of verbal or non-verbal responses, the most significant factor determining our liking of another person is the belief that the person likes us (Berscheid & Walster, 1978; Kenny, 1994). When we come to believe someone likes us we behave in ways that encourage mutual liking. We express more warmth, and are more likely to disclose, and behave in a pleasant way. So liking someone works like a self-fulfilling prophecy. Expressing liking elicits pleasant behavior and reciprocal liking (Curtis & Miller, 1986).

4.4 Personal characteristics associated with liking
Physical attractiveness is very culturally bound. In some societies voluptuous women are considered beautiful, while in our society the fashion industry and the media define attractiveness as being thin. When it comes to personality based characteristics two factors lead to liking. We like people who show warmth toward others, and people who are socially competent (Lydon, Jamieson, & Zanna, 1988). Warm people are those who have an optimistic outlook on life and people. We like them because they are a source of encouragement in an otherwise

discouraging world. Warm people are a pleasure to be around and therefore rewarding. In one study (Folkes & Sears, 1977) the researchers had the participants listen to an interviewee evaluate a variety of objects including movie stars, cities, political leaders. Sometimes the interviewees expressed negativity toward these objects, in other cases positive views. The participants expressed a greater liking for the interviewee who expressed positive views, i.e. displayed warmth toward the rated people and objects.

4.5 Communication skills
Likewise we like more the socially skilled. Social intelligence can be demonstrated by being a good conversationalist. Skilled speakers were seen as more likeable, whereas boring communicators were not only rated as less likeable, but also as less friendly and more impersonal (Leary, Rogers, Canfield, & Coe, 1986). Obviously communication skills are essential to long-lasting relationships. We are especially fond of people whose ways of relating to others are similar to our own (Burleson & Samter, 1996). Those with high communication skills saw interactions as complex with highly valued psychological components. People with low skill levels saw communications as more straightforward and less complicated. To communicate at the same level is a very important aspect of attraction and liking. Operating at the same skill level is rewarding, as we feel empathy and understanding. Those who do not share the same level of communications are less likely to develop long-lasting relationships (Burleson, 1994; Duck & Pittman, 1994).

4.6 Complementarity: Do opposites attract?
The importance of similarity suggests "birds of a feather flock together". But are we not also told that opposites attract? Do tall dark men not prefer short attractive blonds? What about the assertive person meeting the less dominant individual? Or the person who has a rich fantasy life marrying the realist? Are there not times when opposites attract because in some ways we complement each other? Certainly, for sexual relations the vast majority of humankind seeks the opposite sex, only a minority is attracted to similarity. The masculine and feminine is the supreme example from nature that opposites attract.

Complementary personality traits produce liking for only a few personality traits (Levinger, 1964; Winch, 1955). On the whole, however, most studies fail to find evidence that complementarities attract in relationships (Antill, 1983; Levinger, Senn, & Jorgensen, 1970; Neimeyer & Mitchell, 1988). When complementarities

lead to attraction, it appears to be a rare exception to the dominant effect of similarity. Even in cases where personalities are complementary on some traits, they have many more similar traits in common.

4.7 Ethnicity and relationships
Ethnic identification is only one dimension of similarity. Interracial couples are similar in other significant ways, in attitudes and values. The dissimilarity is, however, more prominent and is judged more prominently by society which affects an individual evaluation of the dissimilarity. But the significance of similarity in interethnic friendships is less important today than in former times. For example more and more US citizens are dating and marrying outside their own racial and ethnic groups (Fears & Deane, 2001). Attitudes toward interracial relationships and marriage are becoming increasingly accepted in society, and interracial marriages are on the increase. The vast majority of all racial groups in the US approve of interracial marriages today (Goodheart, 2004).

The studies which support interracial tolerance in intimate relationships appear to differ with the public opinion survey to be cited in chapter 9 which indicated parents prefer similarity of race for their daughters. The conclusion of the public opinion survey was that social norms now favor such relationships. However, when the respondents were asked something more personal namely, how would they feel if their daughter would be part of an interracial marriage, the outcome was slightly different. The respondents preferred that their daughter not be a part of an interracial relationship. People are willing to give the normative correct responses to surveys, but hold private and subtler negative attitudes when it affects members of their own family. It must be said, however, that negative evaluations of interracial relationships occur before a relationship is established. Once an interracial relationship is a fact, many opinions change in favor of family harmony and acceptance.

5. Physical Attractiveness: A recommendation for success!
Physical attraction is a powerful determinant of liking and has lifelong benefits. Attend any social event and who do you first notice? If you are a heterosexual man, you will first notice the attractive women, and if you are a woman your eyes will feast on the handsome men. As we shall see there are little differences between the sexes in the appeal of physical attractiveness. First impressions are important, as without these few people would initiate contact. So while physical attractiveness is important in the early phases of a relationship, the benefits

continue in a variety of ways.

Notwithstanding the proverb "beauty is only skin deep", most people behave strongly to physical attraction. There may even be a biological basis as preferences for attractive appearance occur early in life. Fortunately "love is blind", and we also tend to find those whom we love to be attractive (Kniffin & Wilson, 2004). Since we idealize the beloved we observe beauty where others fail to see it (Murray & Holmes, 1997). Then there is always the case of the "ugly duckling" that later grew into a beautiful swan. Physical development sometimes brings beauty later in life (Zebrowitz, 1997).

In a now classic study (Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, & Rottman, 1966) the researchers randomly assigned freshmen at the University of Minnesota for dates to a dance. The students had previously taken a number of personality measures and aptitude tests. Participants had also been rated independently on physical attractiveness. Having spent a short time dancing and talking, the couples were asked to indicate liking and desire to meet the person again. Perhaps there was insufficient time to evaluate the complex aspects of the date's personality, but the overriding factor in liking was the physical attractiveness of the date. It is also common to think that men pay more attention to women's attractiveness than women do to male bodies. However, in this study there were no differences as female as well as males expressed preferences for physical attractiveness.

5.1 Women like attractive men: Imagine!
Despite the common stereotype that women are attracted to the deeper aspects of a person's character, such as intelligence and competence, women, like men, are impressed by physical attractiveness. They pay as much attention to a handsome man as men do to beautiful women (Duck, 1994a; 1994b; Speed & Gangestad, 1997; Woll, 1986). However, a meta-analysis showed a slightly greater effect for physical attractiveness in men than in women (Feingold, 1990), and some studies supported the stereotype of stronger male preferences for physical attractiveness (Buss, 1989; Howard, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1987). The contradictions are easy to explain when we remember the different norms governing the attractiveness issue for men and women. Men are more likely to respond to the common and accepted stereotype that physical attractiveness is important for men, whereas women respond to their stereotype that other traits matter. But in actual behavioral preferences there are few differences. In sexual preferences both men and women rate physical attractiveness as the single most important variable

(Regan & Berscheid, 1997).

Physical attractiveness probably has biological roots as both genders think it is the single most important trait in eliciting sexual desire (Graziano, Jensen-Campbell, Shebilske, & Lundgren, 1993; Regan & Berscheid, 1995). In one study women participants looked at a photograph of either an attractive or unattractive man, and were led to believe they spoke with him on the phone (Andersen & Bem, 1981). The two photos were used to elicit the physical attractiveness or unattractiveness stereotype. The respondents in both the attractive and unattractive conditions spoke to the same person.

The purpose here, as in the previous study with men (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977), was to see if the women's perceptions of likeability would change depending on whom they thought they were speaking with, an attractive or unattractive man. The "beautiful is good" stereotype also worked for women. When they believed they spoke to an attractive man they perceived him to be more sociable and likeable, compared to when they thought they "talked" to the unattractive man. Later meta-analyses across numerous studies (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992; Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein, Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000) produced convincing evidence that physical attractiveness is an important factor also in women's lives.

5.2 As society sees it: the social advantages of the physically attractive
For both sexes and in nearly all the arenas of life the physical attractiveness of both sexes has profound advantages. The attractive person is more popular with both sexes (Curran & Lippold, 1975; Reis, Nezlek, & Wheeler, 1980). In the new age of video dating, participants show strong preferences for attractive potential dates (Woll, 1986). Are those who seek out video dating more shallow? Have they impossible high standards encouraged by Playboy and Glamour magazine? Perhaps, but attractiveness continues to be a positive trait across many forms of social interactions. When an attractive and unattractive confederate is presented as "author" of a novel, the novel is judged better if the participants believe it written by the "attractive author" (Cash & Trimer, 1984; Maruyama & Miller, 1981). Studies have also demonstrated direct effects in the workplace. Individuals make more money the higher their rating on physical attractiveness (Frieze, Oleson, & Russell, 1991; Roszell, Kennedy, & Grabb, 1989). Good looking victims are more likely to receive assistance (West & Brown, 1975), and good looking criminals to receive lower sentence (Stewart, 1980).

5.3 Some gender differences
However, the physical attractiveness factor may be muted for women, and compromises are sometimes made when evaluating a desirable long-term relationship involving the raising of children and the creation of a family. In the committed partnership women recognize also the importance of other traits like integrity, income potential, and stability. They are therefore more willing to marry a partner who is less than perfect in physical appearance. Perhaps for similar reasons women also prefer older partners, whereas men have a preference for youthful women. If the goal of the relationship is family development, women also pay more attention to the economic potential of their partners, whereas this is an indifferent issue for most men (Sprecher, Sullivan, & Hatfield, 1994). For men physical attractiveness is a necessity, whereas for women, while still important, it is more like a luxury. A partner's status and access to resources on the other hand were considered a necessity for women, but a luxury for men (Li, Bailey, Kenrick, & Linsenmeier, 2002). In selecting long term partners, women gave more importance to a man's warmth, trustworthiness, and status, whereas men placed more emphasis on the potential partners attractiveness and vitality (Fletcher, Tither, O'Loughlin, Friesen, & Overall, 2004). So there are some consistent gender differences.

5.4 What do gender differences in partner preference mean?
Evolutionary psychology would assert that gender differences exist because they are functional to the survival of the species. "What leads to maximum reproductive success?" is the question posed by evolutionary psychology (Buss & Kenrick, 1998). Women invest much effort and time in bringing a child into the world. To be successful in reproduction requires that women have stable partners with adequate economic and other resources. In the days of the caveman that meant a good cave, warm fire, and ability to provide game. In our day women look for good earning potential. Men on the other hand invest little, and can impregnate several females. For men therefore the key factor is physical attractiveness. In our evolutionary history men learned that youth and attractiveness is more sexually arousing, and incidentally these qualities in women are associated with fertility and health – men are not looking for fertility and health in the first place, but for good sex.

sociocultural perspective points to the different roles played by the genders historically (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Men have throughout history been the

providers and builders of material comfort; women have been the homemakers. The greater interest in a man's economic potential grew from the unfavorable position of women who even today earn less than men for comparable work. As noted some cross-cultural data (Eagly & Wood, 1999), sex differences in preferences for mates have shifted as women have made socio-economic gains. Other research shows that preferences leading to mate selection have changed, especially over the last number of decades of improved socioeconomic possibilities for women (Buss, Shackelford, Kirkpatrick, & Larson, 2001). Men in many Western countries now think it is a good idea that women earn money, and both sexes place more importance on physical attractiveness. So perhaps physical attractiveness was always important for women also, but confounded by the need for socio-economic support.

5.5 Selecting our mates: gender specific wanted ads in newspapers
Evolution has instilled the majority of both sexes with the desire to reproduce with mates who signal good reproductive health. Heterosexual men and women differ however, in the burden of bringing children into the world, and looking after their babies during the most vulnerable period. This gender difference would suggest that women would be more selective in their choices, as they have more at stake. In all societies studied men are more promiscuous, and women exercise more care in selecting partners, especially for long term relationships (Schmitt, 2003).

Men are attracted to fertility and physical qualities that happen to be associated with fertility, and therefore toward feminine features signaling youth (Singh, 1993). Women on the other hand, with a shorter biological clock, intuitively look for men who have the capacity and desire to invest in their children, and have a good economic future. In fact this difference can be observed weekly in the personal ads that appear in many local papers. Typically men seek youth and attractiveness whereas women seek accomplishments and economic resources (Kenrick & Keefe, 1992; Rajecki, Bledso, & Rasmussen, 1991). Support for this gender difference was found cross-culturally in a study of 37 different societies (Buss, 1989). In all cultures men rated physical attractiveness as more important in a mate, and they preferred younger partners. Women on the other hand preferred partners who were older, and who could provide material resources.

Consistent with the sociocultural perspective, gender differences in mate preferences have shifted somewhat across many cultures as women have gained

more socio-economic and political power (Eagly & Wood, 1999). However, these recent changes have not removed fully the historical gender preferences. Men still rank good looks and health higher than women, and women rank the financial prospects of potential mates higher than men. These results call for an interactionist point of view. Gender differences are a function of both our evolutionary past, and our socio-cultural heritage, and it is unlikely we can separate one from the other.

5.6 Social attributions: What we believe about the physical attractive
All cultures have stereotypes that attribute positive qualities to the physically attractive. Dion, Berscheid, & Walster (1972) call this the "what is beautiful is good" attribution. Others have also found support for this common stereotype (Ashmore & Longo, 1995; Calvert, 1988). Meta-analyses have demonstrated the common belief that attractive people have higher levels of social competence, are more extraverted, happier, more assertive, and more sexual (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991, Feingold, 1991).

Even young children at a very early age have an awareness of who is and is not attractive. Commonly accepted stereotypes attribute many positive traits and behaviors to the physically attractive. In several experiments the participants were asked to rate a variety of photographs varying in attractiveness (Bar-Tel & Saxe, 1976; Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992b). Persons rated attractive were perceived to be happier, more intelligent, as having more socio-economic success, and possessing desirable personality traits. This undeserved stereotype is consistent across cultures but varies according to cultural values.

For women more than for men, physical attractiveness is a door opener. Just a look at women's journals, and the obsessive concern with beauty and weight suggests a differential advantage accrues to attractive women. This affects not only personal interactions, but also treatment on the job (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1976). Over the centuries, physical attractiveness for women was tied to their survival, and social success. It is no wonder then that these historical facts have created a much stronger preoccupation with attractiveness for women (Fredrickson & Roberts (1997).

Some studies show that even from birth babies differ in their relative attractiveness. Mothers provide more affection and play more with their

attractive infants than with those babies deemed less attractive (Langois, Ritter, Casey, & Sawin, 1995), and nursery school teachers see them as more intelligent (Martinek, 1981). Many rewards accrue to those deemed attractive in our society. While still infants the attractive child is more popular with other children (Dion & Berscheid, 1974). So very early in life the attractive child is given many benefits, including the perception that he/she posses many positive traits and behaviors (Dion, 1972).

There must be a biological basis when, even before interaction or experience, infants themselves show strong preferences for attractive faces (Langlois, Roggman, Casey, Ritter, Rieser-Danner, & Jenkins, 1987;Langlois, Ritter, Roggman, & Vaughn, 1991). Infant preferences for attractive faces held true for both adults as well as for the faces of other infants. Even when presented to strangers, the infants showed preference for the attractive face, and were more content to play and interact with the attractive stranger. On the other hand they turned away three times as often from the stranger deemed unattractive as from the one rated attractive (Langlois, Roggman, & Rieser-Danner, 1990).

Being given such great advantages at birth, it is no wonder that a person's relative attractiveness has an effect on development and self-confidence. The physically attractive do in fact display more contentment and satisfaction with life, and feel more in control of their fates (Diener, Wolsic, & Fujita, 1995; Umberson & Hughes, 1987). Being treated so nice from birth onward produces the confidence and traits that encourage further positive interactions and rewards (Langlois et al, 2000). Other people by their positive regards create a self-fulfilling prophecy as the attractive person responds with the expected socially skillful behavior.

5.7 The universality of the "beautiful is good" attribution
Is the stereotype present in various cultures? Research would tend to support this contention (Albright, Malloy, Dong, Kenny, Fang, Winquist, & Yu, 1997; Chen, Shaffer, & Wu, 1997; Wheeler & Kim, 1997). Although beauty is a door opener in all cultures, each culture may vary as to what traits are considered desirable. Some traits associated with attractiveness like being strong and assertive are especially valued in North American samples. Other traits such as being sensitive, honest, and generous are valued in Korean cultures. Some traits like happy, poised, extraverted, and sexually warm and responsive are liked in all the cultures studied.

5.8 Physical attractiveness has immediate impact and provides vicarious prestige
Experimental research shows that vicarious prestige is derived from association with an attractive person (Sigall & Landy, 1973). In one study the participant's impression of an experimental confederate was influenced by whether the collaborator was seated with an attractive or unattractive woman. When with an attractive woman the confederate was perceived as both likeable and confident. There are predictable gender differences. Being with an attractive woman has more positive consequences for a man, than being with an attractive man has for a woman (Bar-Tal & Saxe, 1976; Hebl & Mannix, 2003). US society has coined the term "trophy wife" to demonstrate the appreciation of a man, usually wealthy, being with a young and attractive spouse.

5.9 Cultural differences and consistencies in physical attractiveness: Reproductive health
There are some variations among cultures as to what is considered attractive. Western society has changed over time in evaluation of female beauty. Like mentioned before, just a short historical time ago voluptuous women were considered attractive whereas today the skinny woman is considered more alluring. In different cultures there is also different preferences for skin color and ornaments (Hebl & Heatherton, 1997). In the China of the past, artificially bound small feet of women were thought sexually stimulating and in other cultures women lengthened their necks by adding rings and stretching that body part. So there are cultural variations in what is considered beautiful and attractive. However, there is also considerable cross-cultural agreement on what is physically attractive as there are features of the human face and body that have universal appeal (Langlois et al, 2000; Rhodes, Yoshikawa, Clark, Lee, McKay, & Akamatsu, 2001). Asians, Blacks and Caucasians share common opinions about what are considered attractive facial features (Bernstein, Lin, McClennan, 1982; Perrett, May, & Yoshikawa, 1994).

As discussed previously, even infants have a preference for attractive faces. The appreciation of beauty must derive from something very functional to our survival and hence to reproduction. Physical attractiveness most importantly signifies good health, and reproductive fitness. Keep in mind that those traits that are functional to our survival are also preserved in biology and our genes. If our ancestors had been attracted to unhealthy persons, they would not have had any offspring. Nature informs us by physical attractiveness that the proposed partner

possesses good reproductive health.

We are attracted to faces that typify the norm, and stay away from those that are anomalous. Langlois & Roggman, (1990) in fact, found evidence for the preference for the face scored by independent judges to be culturally typical or average. By means of computer technology, they managed to make composite faces of a number of persons (or average faces), and found that these were considered more attractive than different individual faces. Having average features is one component of beauty. Others have, however, shown that there are also other features (higher cheek bones, thinner jaw, and larger eyes) that contribute to attractiveness (Perett, May, & Yoshikawa, 2994).

Bilateral symmetryis a significant feature in physical attraction (Thornhill & Gangestad, 1993). Departures from bilateral symmetry may indicate the presence of disease, or the inability to resist disease. Average features and symmetry are attractive, from the evolutionary perspective, conceivably because they signal good health to a prospective mate. These cues exist at such a basic level that we have no conscious awareness of their presence. We just know what is attractive to us, and approach the other person depending on that quality, and our own level of attractiveness.

5.10 Attraction variables and first encounters
If we ask people to recall relationships of the past, what do they volunteer as being the cause of initial attraction? In one study, the participants were asked to describe how they had fallen in love or formed a friendship describing a specific relationship from the past (Aron, Dutton, Aron, & Iverson, 1989). These accounts were then categorized for the presence or absence of the attraction variables. For those describing falling in love, reciprocal liking and attractiveness were mentioned with high frequency. To start a relationship many of us just wait to see if an attractive person makes a move that we can interpret as liking. Reciprocal liking and attractiveness in several meanings are also associated with the formation of friendships. Although this holds true for both genders, conversation appears as one additional important quality for females. Women find quality conversation of greater importance than do men in friendship attraction (Duck, 1994a; Fehr, 1996).

Similarity and proximity, on the other hand, were mentioned with lower frequency. Perhaps these variables seem obvious and therefore do not become

part of our memory or consciousness. Similarity and proximity may still play very important roles in interpersonal attraction. They respectively focus attention on those deemed eligible and of interest, and on opportunities for encounters. Similar reports emphasizing the importance of the attraction variables, reciprocal liking, attractiveness, similarity, and proximity, have been obtained from memory reports of initial encounters in other cultures as well (Aron & Rodriquez, 1992; Sprecher, Aron, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994).

5.11 Level of attractiveness
Water finds its own level, and that seems to hold true for relationships. People seek out mates at the approximate same level of attractiveness they possess (Murstein, 1986). We tend to pair off with people who are rated similar in attractiveness whether for dating or for long-term relationships (Feingold, 1988). Similarity in physical attractiveness affects relationship satisfaction (White, 1980). Those similar in physical attractiveness fall in love.

What is an equitable match in the market place of relationships? If one partner is less attractive perhaps he has compensating qualities like being rich. The dating market is a social market place where potential friends or mates sell compensating qualities. Consistent with the previous discussion, men offer social status and seek attractiveness (Koestner & Wheeler, 1988). Since the market place dominates our psychology perhaps that explains also why beautiful women seek compensation if they are to consider a less attractive man. Beautiful women tend to marry higher in social status (Elder, 1969). In the long run market place psychology may also be responsible for our incredible divorce rates. If the exchange of relationship qualities is not satisfactory why not just look for something better? When relationships are based on exchange, and qualities like physical attractiveness deteriorate over the lifespan, no wonder that many become dissatisfied and consider their alternatives.

6. Theories of Interpersonal attraction
In some societies the market place seems to determine all aspects of culture and interpersonal interactions. It is no wonder then that theories of interpersonal attraction emphasize qualities important in the market place: rewards, costs, alternatives, and fairness. All relationships involve interdependence and we have the power to influence outcomes and satisfaction. In chapter1 we briefly discussed the following theories. Now it is time to see their application to interpersonal attraction.

6.1 Social exchange theory

The attraction variables we have discussed all contain potential rewards. Why is it rewarding to be with people who are similar? Similar people validate our self-concept, and that is experienced as rewarding. What are the rewarding aspects of propinquity? If a potential friend lives next door, we do not have to make much of an effort to meet him or her, and that is experienced as rewarding. Is physical attractiveness rewarding? Physical attractiveness brings status to the partner, and that is rewarding. What about reciprocal liking? That can be experienced as validating our self-concept and our sense of worthiness. So many of the variables we have discussed previously can be interpreted by a theory that has rewards and costs as a basis, one such theory is social exchange theory (Homans, 1961; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Secord & Backman, 1964; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959).

According to the economic perspective of social exchange theory people feel positive or negative toward their relationships depending on costs and benefits. All relationships involve rewards as well as costs, and relationship outcomes are defined as the rewards minus the costs. The partner may bring comfort, sexual excitement, support in bad times, someone to share information, someone to learn from, all possible rewards. However, the partnership also has costs. The partner might be arrogant, a poor provider, unfaithful, and have different values. These are the potential costs. Social exchange theory proposes that we calculate these rewards and costs consciously or at the subliminal level. If the outcome is positive, we are satisfied and stay in the relationship; if not, we bring the relationship to an end (Foa & Foa, 1974; Lott& Lott, 1974).

Relationship satisfaction in social exchange theory depends on one additional variable: our comparison level. What do you expect to be the outcome of your current relationship based on your past experiences in other relationships? If you were married to a fantastic man who died you will always have high expectations when meeting potential new partners. On the other hand, at work you have experienced successive poor managers. In transferring to a new department you are pleasantly surprised by an ordinary supervisor, as all your previous work relationships have been negative. Social exchange theory asserts that what we expect from current relationships is laid down in the history of our relationships. Some of us have had successful and rewarding friendships and therefore have high comparison levels. Others have experienced much disappointment and therefore have low expectations. Your satisfaction therefore depends on the

comparison level developed from experience.

However, you may also evaluate the relationship from the perspective of what is possible. Perhaps you have friends that have rewarding relationships or rich partners. This provides you with another level of comparison, namely a comparison level of alternatives. If you ditched this partner and started circulating again, you might meet mister right who is rich, attractive and supportive. After all it is a big world so there is a probability that another relationship will prove more rewarding.

Some people have high comparison levels; they have had good fortune in past relationships. Their comparison level for an alternative relationship may therefore be very high, and not easy to meet. Others have low comparison levels for alternatives and will stay in a costly relationship, as they have no expectation that other attachments will provide better results. Women in abusive relationships, for example, often stay because they do not believe that other relationships will improve life (Simpson, 1987).

6.2 Equity theory: Our expectation of fairness
According to equity theory, we feel content in a relationship when what we offer is proportionate to what we receive. Happiness in relationships comes from a balance between inputs and rewards, so we are content when our social relationships are perceived to be equitable. On the other hand, our sense of fairness is disturbed when we are exploited and others take advantage of us. We all possess intuitive rules for determining whether we are being treated fairly (Clark & Chrisman, 1994). Workers who are paid very little while working very hard feel the unfairness or imbalance between input and reward, especially when others benefit from their hard work. These feelings of injustice constituted the original motivation of the workers movement, the trade unions, and the workers political parties.

At dinnertime do all the children get the same size piece of pie, do we distribute the food in an equitable manner? Equality is the main determinant of our evaluation of the outcome among friends and in family interactions (Austin, 1980). There are of course times when one child's needs are greater than another sibling. Many will recognize that families respond to that issue with "from each according to his ability to each according to his need". One child might be very sick and need all the family's resources. The idea that benefits should be

distributed according to need is another aspect of fairness (Clark, Graham, & Grote, 2002).

Equity theory asserts furthermore that people's benefits should equal their input. If we work harder than others we should receive a larger salary (Hatfield, Traupmann, Sprecher, Utne, & Hay, 1985). When people perceive unfairness or inequity they will try to restore the balance. For example, if you work for a low wage you may get together with others who are unfairly treated as well and seek more compensation. You may also cognitively adjust by reasoning that there are no alternatives, and that you are lucky to have any income at all. Then you can use cognitive strategies to change your perception of unfairness. If neither of the strategies bring satisfaction, then it is time to quit and look for some other career.

In intimate relationships satisfaction is also determined to some degree by equity (Sprecher, 2001). For example, how to distribute the household work fairly is an important issue for many young couples. Those couples that cannot find an equitable balance report more distress (Grote & Clark, 2001). Gender ideology plays a role in relationship satisfaction. Feminist ideology historically reacted to the great unfairness brought on by discrimination toward women at home and at work. Feminist women may therefore be unhappier if they perceive inequity in household work (Van Yperen & Buunk, 1991).

6.3 Equity and power
Partners may prefer different solutions to daily equity problems. Should the resources of the family go toward the husband's education, or to buying a house? In a world of scarce resources there are always decisions that may favor only one party. The power balance decides to what degree either partner in an intimate relationship can influence the feelings, thoughts and behaviors of the other partner. Are all decisions made mutually? How do partners come to an agreement about what type of decision-making is fair and equitable?

What determines power in a relationship? Social norms about gender behavior are a powerful determinant. Traditionally women were taught to respect the dominant role of men as "head" of the family. The man historically had total control over wife and children. Today similar traditional patterns continue throughout the world. There is even the very famous case of a princess in the Saudi Arabian royal family who was executed by orders of her grandfather. Her offense was having a relationship based on romance rather than accepting her

father's decision for an arranged marriage. These so-called honor killings, when women are murdered to restore family "honor", follow a similar pattern of absolute male control. In the western world these traditional gender roles are giving way to more equitable relations in society and in the family.

Partners may have different resources. When the man has resource advantages, he also tends to be more dominant. When the wife earns at least 50 percent of the household income, there is more equitable power sharing. Power is also partly based on the feelings of dependency within the relationship (Waller, 1938). When one partner is more dependent, the other has more power. This holds also for psychological dependency. If one partner has a greater interest in maintaining the relationship than the other, the dependency gives more power to the partner.

So there are variations in how power works out in relationships. In some relationships the man is totally dominant, and some cultures support this sex role resolution. However, we have observed many changes in gender roles and relations over the past decades. Women have gained more social power and more equity in intimate relationships. In one US survey of married couples the majority (64%) claimed equality in power relations (Blumstein & Schawartz, 1983). A large number (27%) reported that the man was dominant, and 9 percent that the wife controlled power in the marriage. In a more recent US study (Felmlee, 1994) 48 percent of the women and 42 percent of the men described their relationship as equal in power, with most of the remaining respondents reporting that the man was dominant. Couples can achieve equality in different ways with a division of responsibilities. Depending on the situation one of the parties may have more power, but overall there is a sense of equality. Some studies find that consensus between a couple is more important than negotiating all the fine details of power sharing, and relationship satisfaction appears equally high in male dominated as in power sharing relationships (Peplau, 1984). In close relationships there is less need to negotiate everything and produce equitable solutions. If the satisfaction level is high, the parties are less concerned with perfect equity. It is whether the relationship is rewarding that counts (Berscheid & Reis, 1998).

7. Exchange among strangers and in close communal relationships
Exchange relationships also exist between strangers or in functional relationships at work. Exchange relationships tend to be more temporary and the partners feel less responsibility toward one another compared to more intimate relationships. Satisfaction in all exchange relationships is as noted determined by the principle

of fairness. Did your professor give you a grade that reflected your work? Work related outcomes and satisfactions are determined by application of the fairness principle.

In communal relationships, such as families, on the other hand, people's outcome depends on their need. In family relationships we give what we can, and receive from the family what it is able to provide. Communal relationships are typically long-lasting, and promote feelings of mutual responsibility (Clark & Mills, 1979). We look after our children not because we expect a reward, but rather to respond to the needs of our dependants. Likewise children look after their infirm parents, because of feelings of responsibility. In intimate relationships partners respond to the needs of the other, without expecting to be paid back in exact coin or immediately. There may be rewards for both parties in the long run. In short, exchange theory better predicts behavior in relationships where the parties are preoccupied with inputs and rewards, whereas in communal relations the partners are more concerned with meeting the needs of the relationship (Clark, Mills, Powell, 1986).

Mills and Clark (1994; 2001) have defined further differences between exchange in different types of relationships. Among strangers you are not likely to discuss emotional topics whereas that is expected in communal interactions. In communal relationships helping behavior is expected, whereas it would be seen as altruistic in relations between strangers. Moreover, a person is perceived as more selfish if failing to help a friend, than if he failed to come to the aid of a stranger. In real intimate relations between lovers the lines between partners is blurred as a feeling of "we" pervades. When we benefit a loved one, we feel like we are benefiting ourselves (Aron & Aron, 2000). The beloved is seen as part of the self, and terms like "we" is used more frequently than "I" as relations move beyond exchange and equity concerns (Agnew, Van Lange, Rusbolt, & Langston, 1998).

7.1 Culture and social exchange
Cultural differences affect relationships. In Western society some of our relationships reflect market economic values such as exchange and some forms of equity. Asian societies have in the past been based on more traditional, communal standards. Economic companies in Asia often take a paternal role, offering life long job security. How are the new market economies affecting psychology in Asia and Eastern Europe? Assuming a relationship between economic relations and psychology, we might expect a greater shift toward social exchange relations.

Social exchange theory also plays a role in intimate relationships in a variety of cultures (Lin & Rusbult, 1995; Rusbult & Van Lange, 1996; Van Lange, Rusbolt, Drigotas, Arriaga, Witcher, & Cox, 1997). Although communal relations are more characteristic of interdependent cultures, there is still a role for social exchange for some relationships in these societies as well as in more independent cultures.

7.2 Evaluation of relationship satisfaction

How committed people are to a relationship depends on satisfaction, on the potential alternatives available, and on the investment made (Rusbult, 1983). If we are not satisfied in a relationship there are alternatives to be explored. Before we end the relationship we carefully assess one particular factor. Namely, how much have I invested in the relationship? How much would I lose if I left the relationship? Would I be better or worse off, many women in abusive relationships ask themselves. Investment is also a factor the individual considers prior to the commitment to dissolve of a relationship. Investment comprises several things: the money available for a new life, a house that might be lost, the emotional well being of children in the relationship, and of course all the work that has been invested in the relationship. This model also predicts commitment in destructive relationships (Rusbult & Martz, 1995). Women who had poorer economic prospects, and were strongly invested with children present, were more likely to tolerate some forms of abuse.

It is difficult to evaluate equitable outcomes as partners trade different resources. Equity however, remains a factor even in intimate relationships (Canary & Stafford, 2001). In intimate relationships there are few rigid give and take rules. Perhaps the wife does all the housework, does most of the child rising, and is a romantic partner while the husband is only a student. It may seem unfair, but the investment may pay off down the line in higher income and status. In intimate relationships partners have the long view in mind when evaluating equity. The partners trust that eventually everything will work out to the benefit of the whole family unit.

7.3 Self-disclosure: building intimate relationships

Self-disclosure is the bridge to intimacy and liking (Collins & Miller, 1994). When we disclose important information to others we become vulnerable, and so self-disclosure is a form of trust that invites reciprocation. People who self-disclose are therefore seen as trusting people, and trust is an essential component in intimate relationships. When we open ourselves up to another, reciprocation

tends to occur (Dindia, 2002). Telling someone something significant is an investment in trust, and if the relationship is to move to another level, a gradual process of reciprocation is required. Reciprocal self-disclosure is a key factor in liking and builds bridges to the deeper and more meaningful part of a person's inner self (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974).

There are of course risks involved in self-disclosure. The other person may not be interested and fail to reciprocate. We may also reveal something about ourselves that offends the values of the other person thereby causing rejection. Having revealed significant information, we have made ourselves vulnerable to the other person's ability to manipulate or betray our confidence. Many prisoners have after the fact found it unwise that they confessed their crimes to cell mates who later sold the information. For these and other reasons we are often cautious in self-disclosure and will conceal inner feelings (Finkenauer & Hazam, 2000).

In individualist cultures relationship satisfaction is related to self-disclosure. In the more collectivist cultures social relations are often more inhibited (Barnlund, 1989). Japanese students were found to self-disclose much less than American students. Self-disclosure is important to love-based marriages in both American and Indian societies (Yelsma & Athappilly, 1988). However for Indian couples in arranged marriages, marital satisfaction was independent of self-disclosure. Perhaps in these formal relationships satisfaction depends more on completion of agreements and contractual expectations.

Cultural norms determine to a large extent the pattern of self-disclosure across many societies. In western culture emotional expression is normative for women and therefore acceptable. The emphasis on rugged individualism for men suggests that our society suppresses intimacy among men. Hence emotional expression by men is generally directed toward females. In Muslim countries and some societies in Asia, same sex intimacy is encouraged (Reis & Wheeler, 1991).

7.4 Gender *differences in self-disclosure?*
A meta-analysis of hundreds of studies showed that women disclose significantly more than men (Dindia & Allen, 1992). Although the overall differences were not large they were statistically significant. Within same sex friendships, women reveal more of themselves than men who are more cautious with their male friends. Verbal communication appears especially important to women, whereas men cement their relationships with best friends through shared activities

(Caldwell & Peplau, 1992). Women also seem more willing to share their weaknesses, whereas men will disclose their strengths. The sexes also differ in revealing gender specific information. Men like to share their risk-taking behavior, for example their last mountain climbing trip, or when they saved someone from drowning. Women are more likely to share concerns about their appearance (Derlega, Durham, Gockel, & Sholis, 1981). Social psychology is history so perhaps things have changed since the time of this study.

8. Romantic and loving intimacy
Reciprocal liking is the first step on the road to romance and intimacy. Some basic components are common to all love relationships, whether romantic or friendship. Hallmarks of these loving relationships include valuing the partner, showing mutual support, and experiencing mutual enjoyment (Davis, 1985). Romantic love differs from friendship or parental love by its sexual interest, by fascination with the beloved, and by expectation of exclusiveness of affection. Passionate love is deeply emotional and exciting. It is the pervading and overwhelming desire for a union with the beloved (Hatfield, 1988). When reciprocated passionate love brings with it feelings of joy and fulfillment, all life can be managed with such a relationship secured. When the partners are insecure however, passionate love can also bring jealousy and pain (Kenrick & Cialdini, 1977).

8.1 Physiological arousal or emotion of love?
We can feel intense emotional excitement in a variety of situations. The physiological reactions are similar whether you are mountain climbing or being aroused by being physically close to your beloved. The attributions we make are what make some emotions romantic. Anything that arouses us physiologically can also create romantic feelings and more intense attractions (Dutton & Aron, 1989). From their classic experiment in which an attractive young lady approached young men as they crossed on a long suspension bridge high above the river (described in chapter 2) it would appear that the physical arousal produced by the high bridge (probably fear) increased the men's romantic responses.

Are there gender differences in experiencing romantic love? Some findings indicate that men are more likely to fall in love, and are less likely to fall out of love, or break up a premarital relationship (Peplau & Gordon, 1985). Since the experience of love is different from promiscuity this finding is not a contradiction of the male tendency in that direction. Perhaps men are more deprived of

intimacy and feel the greater need?

8.2 Intimacy and love

Many people in our world long to experience the feelings of intimacy and love with another person. What is intimacy and love? We may know how it feels, yet find it difficult to understand. Loneliness comes from being disconnected from others, and from feeling misunderstood or unappreciated. Intimacy is the reverse of that coin. Intimacy is that lovely moment when someone understands and validates us (Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004; Reis & Shaver, 1988). We feel intimate when our partner responds and extends to us unconditional positive regard. Intimacy is felt when despite our shortcomings our partner extends full support, and when we can truly "count on the other person" being steadfast despite the trials of life.

Initially intimacy may manifest itself as a giddy feeling of joy. We feel the fascination or infatuation, but do not always understand the experience at any rational level. The process begins by sharing important feelings either verbally or non-verbally. The partner reciprocates and conveys a feeling of understanding and support (Berscheid & Reis, 1998). Communication is the key to intimacy, the more partners engage in meaningful conversation the more intimacy is experienced (Reis, Sheldon, Gable, Roscoe, & Ryan, 2000). Sharing deep feelings of love and having these feelings reciprocated is the bridge over the still waters of love (Mackey, Diemer, & O'Brien, 2000).

Men and women experience intimacy in similar ways (Burleson, 2003). We all attach value and meaning to our intimate relationships. Women, however, tend to express more readily the emotions leading to intimacy (Aries, 1996). Women also tend to be more intimate in same sex relationships than men, and place a higher value on intimate relations. Our socialization allows women greater emotional expressiveness, and they become more skilled emotional communicators compared to men. One source of relationship dissatisfaction is the discrepancy between the genders in the desire for intimate interactions.

Romantic relationship brings intimacy to a logical conclusion. When two people fall in love, trust each other, and communicate at a meaningful level of intimacy, sexual relations becomes one more expression of love. Intimacy leads to passion, and if lucky also to commitment (Sternberg, 1986). Intimacy combined with passion is romantic love. In long lasting relationships the passion may fade away.

When that occurs intimacy may combine with commitment and form companionate love, or intimacy without sexual arousal.

For those who have long futures together, intimacy, passion, and commitment form what Sternberg calls consummate love, the basis of a life long relationship. The longer a relationship survives the trials of life, the more likely it is to move toward companionate love. Companionate love is based on deep feelings of affectionate attachment derived from mutual history and shared values (Carlson & Hatfield, 1992). Many couples feel disillusionment when the romantic phase moves to the next step in life. The inability to keep the romantic flame alive contributes to loss of affection and our high divorce rate. People in the US tend to focus on the personal feelings of romance, a luxury of a wealthy society. People in Asia are more concerned with the practical aspects of living together (Dion & Dion, 1991; 1993). Passionate love brings children, but to raise them requires companionate love and not mutual obsession. Companionate love is just as real as the initial passion, and is essential for the survival of families and the species.

Most people experience romantic relationships at some point in their lives. Some will say that these relationships are essential to our sense of well-being (Myers, 2000a, Myers, 2000b). Successful romantic relations contribute to life satisfaction, and to our overall condition of health (Berscheid & Reis, 1998). However, not all romantic relationships are successful. As noted earlier about 50 percent of all marriages in the western world end in divorce, perhaps half of those that remain are unhappy. We need to understand what causes such profound disillusionment (Fincham, 2003).

8.3 Disillusionment and divorce
Many relationships become bankrupt and one or both parties decide to split (Myers, 2000a, Thernstrom, 2003). There are some who feel that if the trend continues eventually two-thirds of all marriages and partnerships will end in divorce (Spanier, 1992). And what of the surviving marriages? We cannot assume that they continue because the parties are happy in their relationship! Some unhappy relationships continue for reasons of dependency or moral requirements. The divorce statistics are a tragic commentary about our inability to adjust to changing sex roles in modern society. Divorce becomes an option for many couples in modern society as women feel less economically dependent on men, and feel they have alternatives.

Many studies indicate that marriages produce less contentment than they did 30 years ago (Glenn, 1991). Conflict in marriages has caused many negative health consequences, for example cardiac illness, and negative effects on the immune system (Kiecolt-Glaser, Malarkey, Cacioppo, & Glaser, 1994). There are always victims in divorce. Children of divorced parents experience many negative outcomes in childhood as well as later in life (Wallerstein, Lewis, & Blakeslee, 2000). Ending a romantic relationship produces extreme disillusionment in couples, and ranks among life's most stressful experiences.

8.4 The role of social exchange and stressful negotiations

Why do relationships fail? We live in a world dominated by preoccupations about what is fair in relationships, is it a wonder that couples tire of the constant negotiations? Social exchange theory has helped researchers identify both destructive and constructive behaviors affecting divorce (Rusbult, 1987; Rusbult & Zembrodt, 1983). Contributing to divorce occurs when one party abuses his/her partner and threatens to leave the marriage. Other couples allow the relationship to slowly deteriorate by passively retreating and refusing to deal with issues. When both parties exhibit these destructive patterns, divorce is the typical outcome (Rusbult, Yovetich, & Verne, 1996).

8.5 Fatal attractions

One cause for divorce is what is called "fatal attractions" (Femlee, 1995). Often the qualities that first attract one to another end up being the quality most disliked. The outgoing individual attracts the shy person. However, after enduring constant social activity the shy person feels that enough is enough. Fatal attractions occur when someone is significantly different from the other person. The immature person is attracted to someone much older. Later in the marriage when the older person is not interested in youthful activities, the age difference becomes the cause for conflict (Femlee, 1998). These findings again point to the importance of similarity in the relationship which functions not just to produces initial attraction, but also long-term contentment. Some initial attractions of the socially gifted lead to negative outcomes also labeled "fatal attractions" (Felmlee, Flynn, & Bahr, 2004). An initial attraction to a partner's competence and drive for example, was later in the relationship perceived as alienating and as demonstrating workaholic attitudes that were destructive to the relationship. Some respondents who were initially attracted to a partner's intelligence later were repelled by what they considered a considerable ego.

8.6 Personality differences and demography

Other research has focused on the personality of those who divorce. People who come into a relationship with negative baggage from other relationships are more likely to split. Those who are neurotic, anxious, and emotionally volatile are divorce prone (Karney & Bradbury, 1997; Kurdek, 1992). Neurotics spend much time feeling negative emotions that negatively impacts the partner and the marriage. They are also more likely to bring other types of stress to the relationship including health issues and problems (Watson & Pennebaker, 1989). Neurotic people react strongly to interpersonal conflict and therefore are less satisfied in relationships (Bolger & Schilling, 1991). If a person is overly sensitive, he or she is more likely to look for rejection and have greater difficulties in establishing or continuing intimate relationships (Downey & Feldman, 1996;Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998).

8.7 Demographic variables and divorce

Some demographic factors are related to dissatisfaction. Generally those who have lower socioeconomic status are more likely to end marriages (Williams & Collins, 1995). Lower socioeconomic status brings stress into a marriage, including money worries and job insecurity. Marrying at a young age is related to lower socioeconomic resources (Berscheid & Reis, 1998). Sometimes the very young do not have the education needed to succeed in an increasingly competitive world. If they have no other resources they often depend on minimum wage jobs, in a constant struggle to keep their heads above water. In the US young married couples often have no insurance, poor housing, and few prospects for improvement, but this situation is different in Western Europe. Young couples often lack the maturity to cope, and a willingness to put the interests of the other person first.

8.8 Conflict in intimate relationships

Most people do not care what mere acquaintances think of their preferences in life. Whatever acquaintances believe will have few consequences either good or bad. However, those people who are close to us can have profound effects on our goal attainment and our happiness. The frequency of interaction with intimate friends or family produces more opportunities for conflict. For example, a teenager wants to attend a party, but his parents want him to study. In intimate relationships we feel the stresses of life, and often latch out at those we should love and protect. The birth of a new child is experienced as stress by most

couples, as is death in the family or other significant loss (Bradbury, Rogge, & Lawrence, 2001) but these types of stress usually does not lead to conflicts.

Most marriages experience at least occasional unpleasant disagreements (McGonagle, Kesler, & Schilling, 1992). No marriage or partnership is perfect, all relationships reflect varying interests and preferences. As couples become more interdependent, and do more things together, opportunities for conflict increase (McGonagle, Kessler, & Schilling, 1992). Intimate partners fight over a variety of issues from political and religious disagreements, to household responsibilities (Fincham, 2003).

Conflict occurs when we interfere with someone's preferences, and frustrate goal attainment. One partner thinks it is important to save for a house or children's education. The other partner wants to enjoy life now and use the money for travel. Compromises can often be found, but at times conflicting goals add to tension and disillusionment in the relationship.

Some conflicts are caused by the behaviors of the partner. Drinking to excess or using drugs are causes for conflict. Since we live in a changing world, we may also differ in our perceptions of our responsibilities and privileges in the relationship. A tradition minded man may see household chores as "woman's work", whereas an egalitarian woman may have expectations of an equal division of such tasks. Finally, conflict may also be caused by the attributions we make of the partner's behavior. Do we give the partner the benefit of the doubt, or do we attribute her/his behavior to bad intent? If the partner has difficulty in finding rewarding work do we attribute that to an unpromising work situation and general unemployment, or do we believe the partner is indifferent and lazy?

These three levels of conflict – level of integration, interference and behavior – reflect the three ways that partners are interdependent. At the behavioral level, partners may have different expectations. At the normative level the partners believe in different rules (egalitarian or traditional) for their relationship. Conflict is likely if the wife has an egalitarian perspective, but the husband is traditionally minded. At the dispositional level, conflict may be a result of the partner's disagreement over attributions for the conflictive behavior (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). Most conflicts have the potential to be harmful to marriages, but some relationships can be helped by an open discussion of disagreements and recognition of the possibility for change (Holman & Jarvis, 2003).

Conflict may also occur as a result of the blaming game. Attributions of blame are especially toxic to a relationship (Bradbury & Fincham, 1990). Dissatisfied couples blame each other for problems in the relationship. Blaming is another way of attributing negative causes to the partner's behavior. Even when the partner performs a positive act the partner may attribute it to bad intentions. Gifts of flowers may for example not be considered an act of love by the blaming partner, but as designed to serve some ulterior purpose. Dissatisfied couples make attributions that consistently cast the partner's behavior in a negative light (McNulty & Karney, 2001).

8.9 The interpersonal dynamics of unhappy couples
Studies of married partners have pointed to some significant dynamics that are powerful predictors of divorce (Levenson & Gottman 1983; Gottman & Levenson, 1992). The researchers got married couples to talk about a significant conflict in their lives and then subsequently coded the interaction for negative responses. Based on these observations the researchers identified four types of behaviors that could predict with 93 percent accuracy whether the couple would divorce (Gottman & Levenson, 2000).

The four toxic behaviors include criticism (1). Those who consistently find fault with their partners will have unhappy marriages. The tone of the criticism (2) also makes a difference. Some partners criticize in ways that belittle the other person. Others know how to criticize in a lighthearted or playful way, and the outcome can then be positive (Keltner, Young, Heerey, Oemig, & Monarch, 1998). To solve problems in a relationship requires the ability to talk openly, and without eliciting defensiveness in the partner. Some people are so neurotic that even the slightest criticism elicits anxiety and rejection. Another dysfunctional way of dealing with conflict is to stonewall the issue (3), deny the existence of any problems, or convey the impression that the problem is unworthy of serious discussion. Conflict denial is also related to the final toxic behavior, the emotion of contempt (4). When a partner consistently looks down on the other person as inferior and expresses feelings of superiority that contempt is the ultimate expression of disillusionment and highly predictive of divorce (Gottman & Levenson, 1999).

8.10 The market economy and divorce in China
Chinese society now exhibits similar marital problems to those of long established market economies. Nationwide the divorce rate has skyrocketed 67 percent between 2000 and 2005, and is still increasing (Beech, 2006). It would appear

that psychological concepts derived from the market economy have entered marital relations in China with similar consequences to those in western capitalist nations. However, this development might also been explained by an emerging courage by women to break away from traditions and demand justice and an equal say in a relationship. New terms such as "flash divorce" have emerged as it is now possible to get divorced in China in as little as 15 minutes. The divorce rate is mainly due to women's dissatisfaction with the unfaithfulness of men. Women themselves now have more economic power and do not have to put up with relationships that doomed the happiness of their mothers and grandmothers. Economic independence has increased women's expectations from their relationships and, when not met, disillusionment has led to dissatisfaction. The material underpinnings of this revolution are indicated by female requirements for marriage in Shanghai that now include the necessity of the man owning a car, a nice apartment, and a considerable bank account. There are those who say, "materialism is being pursued at the expense of traditional values like love" (Beach, 2006: 52). Couples have become more skeptical or cynical about the marriage relationship. According to Beach there were 441,000 fewer marriages in 2005 compared to the previous year. The difference in valuing marriage between individualistic and collectivistic cultures is broken down by the relentless march of market economy psychology resulting from globalization (Dion & Dion, 1993; Dion & Dion, 1996).

8.11 The emotional consequences of ending a relationship
A key factor in how people react to a breakup of a relationship is the role each person played in the decision (Akert, 1998). The research showed that the person who decided the breakup coped the best. The partner who decided to split generally found the ending of the relationship less sad, although even in that case there were some negative consequences reported, including higher frequency of headaches. The party who was least responsible for the decision reported more unhappiness and anger. All partners in a breakup situation reported some physical reactions within weeks. The break of deep emotional ties is extremely stressful.

The least negative consequences occur when the couple allow for mutual decision-making. It reduces somewhat the negative symptoms reported, although 60 percent still reported some negative reactions, with women suffering the most (or perhaps being more honest in reporting). Can people stay friends after a

romantic breakup? It depends on gender. Men are usually not interested in continuing a relationship on a friendship basis, whereas women are more interested. Again what seems to be a key is whether the breakup is based on a mutual decision; in that case there are stronger possibilities for a continued friendship.

8.12 Forming satisfying and lasting relationships
How can we create relationships that result in happy outcomes? From the perspective of exchange theory, the focus must be on more profit in the relationship. We can increase profit by either reducing the costs of interaction, or increasing rewards to each partner (Rusbult, 1983). The more rewarding a relationship as defined by the individual the more satisfactionit produces. What constitute costs is less well understood. When the wife puts a husband through college while raising their children is that a cost or a sacrifice for a happier future (Clark & Grote, 1998)? In intimate and close relationships costs are simply the willingness to put aside egoistic interest for the sake of the relationship. As noted earlier sacrifice may be perceived as being rewarding in the long-term vision of the future life of the couple.

Since we live in market economies which encourages social comparison and affects our psychology, many partners are tempted to look at the outcomes for other couples as well as their own expectations of satisfaction when evaluating their relationship. A key to happiness is to meet the expectations we had when we married. We can always find those that are doing less well that we are on a variety of criteria. One party may not be happy with the level of emotional intimacy in the relationship, but can point to the neighbor with an alcoholic spouse as a comparison standard (Buunk, Oldersma, & De Dreu, 2001). The satisfaction of downward comparison can be seen in the popularity of the yellow press and the scandal newspapers. Many people enjoy reading about the misfortune of the rich and famous because it makes them feel better about their own less than perfect lives.

Equity theory may also play a role in evaluating satisfaction in relationships. A balanced relationship where each partner contributes a fair share is more satisfying and happy (Cate & Lloyd, 1992). Fairness is always at the perceptual level, and so our evaluation of fairness depends on the quality of the relationship. If the partners are happy, the occasional inequity in contributions will be seen as a minor distraction. For unhappy relationships even minor discrepancies of

contributions will contribute to dissatisfaction and conflict.

Cate & Lloyd (1992) also provide some practical ideas for creating lasting relationships. Marrying a little older for example, allows for better preparation and a better socioeconomic platform for marriage. Furthermore, they suggest we try to get over the infatuation stage and evaluate the prospective partners level of neuroticism and maturity because we all carry some baggage from past relationships, but some people's burdens impact negatively on intimacy. Thirdly, happiness is also somewhat dependent on getting out of the blaming game. We should give our partner the benefit of the doubt and be willing to attribute positive dispositions and intent, and reward all positive acts by word and deed. These steps may avoid the trap and cycle of misery that lead to dissolution of relationships that once promised intimacy.

8.13 Making real commitments
Commitment is discussed in the psychological literature from several perspectives. Can your partner make the commitment and is it for the long haul? There are three variables related to commitment (Rusbult, 1983). The first is the accumulation of all the rewards of the relationship. The rewarding aspects of a romantic relationship are by far the most important determinant of satisfaction (Cate, Lloyd, Henton, &Larson, 1982). The support we receive, sexual satisfactions, home security, adventure and novelty, are all-important rewards that contribute to lasting relationships.

The second variable concerns the temptations of alternative partners. This may decrease commitment. The fewer alternatives that are present the less likely that the relationship will flounder (White & Booth, 1991). When the partners are young there are more temptations and more alternatives, but as time passes there are fewer alternatives. If you see your relationship as the only one possible, and if the feeling is mutual, the relationship will be more satisfying and lasting. Finally, the investments we have made may determine commitment. If we have invested a great deal in our mutual history, children, home, common religion, we are likely to stay within the relationship. More committed relationships produce more interdependent lives where the focus is on the unit and not the individual (Agnew, Van Lange, Rusbult, & Langston, 1998). The more committed can more easily adjust to demands and stresses of life such as the arrival of a new child. Commitment also encourages forgiveness, the feeling that one should never let the sun set on a bad argument (Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002).

8.14 The moral commitment

The foregoing emphasizes the social psychological factors that encourage commitment. For many in permanent relationships, commitment refers to basic integrity. From a moral perspective when you commit to another person your word should mean something, and support for your partner is for the better or worse of life. For some, moral commitment is a social obligation. It is the right thing to do for the marriage and the family. That does not imply that a relationship built on such commitment is loveless, on the contrary moral commitment may allow greater security and happiness. For some couples, commitment is also reinforced by religious beliefs. They believe that marriage is a religious duty not to be taken lightly. Marriage for some is an existential commitment; there are some things in life that are meant to last in an ever-changing world.

8.15 The positive view of life and the beloved

Much research points to the negative effects of having children on the happiness of marriage partners (Myers, 2000a). The arrival of children creates new conditions as children demand the focus of parents, and the relationship suffers. Partners often fail to return to the pre-child happiness until they are again alone after their children leave home. However, those who fight for their intimacy find it rewarding (Aron, Norman, Aron, McKenna, & Heyman, 2000). The key to marital happiness is to overcome boredom by finding new and exciting things to do as a couple. We all have needs for rootedness, but also for new and novel experiences. Those couples that build occasional excitement into their relationship feel more satisfied (Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004). However, it takes an effort to do something new and different, and fighting for intimacy is a life long struggle. What novel activities couples can bring into their lives depends on many factors including socioeconomic variables and age. In the end it may be the effort toward renewal that wins over our partners and keeps the flame of intimacy alive. Rewards, pleasure and novelty are the keys to long-lasting romance and satisfaction with love and life.

8.16 Idealizations, positive illusions, and commitment

Romantic partners who feel "totally" in love manifest unrealistic, but delightful illusions about their partner's behaviors and qualities. In chapter 2 we discussed positive illusions and mental health. Do such positive illusions also contribute to satisfaction and enduring relationships? There is much to support that contention.

Partners who have positive illusions can think of nothing negative about the beloved. With powerful positive illusions dominating our perceptions, we experience the behaviors of our partner as rewarding and feel stronger commitment to the relationship. Murray (1999) suggested that satisfaction, and stability of a relationship depended on overstating the positive qualities of the partner. Those in love look at the behavior and reactions of the partner in the most positive way, consistently giving the partner any benefit of doubt, or not allowing doubt in the first place. The idealization of romantic partners is an essential component in satisfaction of intimate relationships (Murray & Holmes, 1993; 1997;Neff & Karney, 2002).

With positive illusions we overestimate what is good and underestimate the negative. Remember the results of reciprocal liking! In a similar way, idealizing the partner produces mutual liking and more relationship satisfaction. Even when asked about the partner's greatest fault (Murray & Holmes, 1999), romantic participants were likely to refuse to accept the presence of any fault or turn it into a virtue. For example, if the partner was not ambitious, he was still a wonderful husband who helped around the house. If the partner did not express emotions, well it was because he felt so deeply, and expressed his feelings in other ways. So even the partner's emotions were idealized (Hawkins, Carrere, & Gottman, 2002). In a study where the partner rated how much positive affect was expressed in a discussion on conflict, satisfied romantic partners overestimated the positive expressions of their partners when compared to neutral judge's perceptions. In general, romantic couples that are happy see the interactions of their partner in a continuous positive way. There seems to be no substitute for happiness in couples, and it is as if a romantic partner can do no wrong. Having these positive illusions contributes to lasting relationships.

Even though half of all marriages in the US end in divorce, romantic illusions lead to the belief that one's own marriage will succeed. Most people are unrealistic on probability grounds, and think there is little or no chance for divorce in their future (Fowers, Lyons, Montel, & Shakel, 2001). We can also see positive illusions at work when participants were asked about the quality of their relationships and these outcomes are compared to ratings of those who knew them well, such as parents and roommates. The participants were primarily positive and saw fewer obstacles to success than did those who were intimate observers. The observers were more evenhanded and saw both the strengths as well as the problems in the

relationship.

Positive illusions are aided by our faulty memory. Many people believe their relationship is getting better all the time (Frye & Karney, 2004). For example although women's satisfactions declined in a longitudinal study, the participants expressed beliefs that their current relationship was better than ever (Karney & Coombs, 2000). It is of course very useful to longevity of relationships that we do not remember the bad times or believe those days were better than was actually the case. It is helpful to long-lasting marriages that couples see an unbroken path to an ever improving and more intimate relationship. The relationship bias is found in American, European and Asian cultures (Endo, Heine, & Lehman, 2000). Participants consistently rated their own relationships better when compared to those of the "average" students. These results together demonstrate the functional utility of unconditional positive regard. If we want to be successful in love, we must really love the beloved!

Summary
This essay covered the most significant relationships of human life from the initial attachments to long lasting commitments. We introduced evolutionary psychology in an attempt to understand the initial attachments of infants present in all societies and cultures. The examples of feral children in the literature and the absence of discernable human traits in these children support the idea that human traits are forged in the interaction with significant others. There is also much to suggest that early attachment forms the basis for later relationships. The inference from Harlow's studies is that social isolation is traumatic and results in abnormal development and adult personality. Humans have an even longer dependency period than the monkeys studied by Harlow, and need nurturing to survive. The bonding that occurs initially with the mother becomes the basis of all other bonding relationships.

If the need to belong is a biological drive, is that expressed in the universality of the mother-child relationship and romantic love? If the need to relate to other people is a biological drive, the need to belong should be satiable. When not sufficient the individual will reach out to establish new relationships; however, when sufficient there is no longer a motive to do so. Our relationships are essential to our sense of well-being and happiness. Those people who are deprived of supportive relations largely live unhappy lives, and isolation has negative consequences for health. Our relationship history defines largely who we

are and the attributions we make.

The role of biology can be observed in the preferences of the two genders for qualities in the opposite sex. In all cultures women prefer men with material resources, and men prefer youth and beauty. Perhaps this finding could reflect the relative size differences between the two genders and the historical control of males over economic resources. On the other hand the evolutionary perspective suggests that these differences have a reproductive cause. There is no resolution of these varying interpretations, but the gender differences exist.

The experience of loneliness has many negative consequences. People may have an optimal number of relationships and still feel lonely. Perhaps the relationships are not satisfying some basic emotional needs for intimacy. We do know that those who live rich emotional lives are less dependent on others for satisfying emotional needs. There are those who are chronically lonely. Often that is related to the mobility and temporary nature of relationships due to movement, death, and life changes. Demographic variables may also play a role as the poor struggle with many forms of insecurity and have less time for relationships. Youth is a time of special danger of loneliness as biology demands attachments especially in this stage of life.

The initial attachment is with the mother; later in normal development attachment is expanded to include the father, other family members and friends. The caregiver's own sense of security and warmth is of signal importance to the infant's attachment style. If the infant is secure and feels the human warmth of its mother, a similar pattern can be expected in adult attachments. The infant attachment style is stable over the individual's lifetime, and those who were emotionally secure as infants will find it easier to develop similar healthy relationships as adults. Traumatic life events may also affect our ability to establish and maintain secure relationships. The death of a parent or divorce may produce lasting insecurity in the child. Secure attachments bring many benefits to the individual. Secure individuals bring out the best in others as they generally look for the positive even for negative behavior. Consequently there are fewer health problems and divorce among those who possess a basic sense of security.

Cultures produce somewhat different relationships and expectations. Some cultures are communal and put the interests of the family ahead of that of the individual. In these cultures resource distribution depend on the need of the

family member at least as perceived by controlling heads of families. In individualist cultures the rights and needs of the individual is primary, and people generally look after number one or themselves. Some societies are authoritarian like the military, and emphasize status and the established hierarchy. In modern society in which individualistic culture dominates we see more emphasis on equality in resource distribution and outcomes. The question that couples seek to answer is, is the relationship fair.

Relational self-theory is based on the idea that prior relationships provide the framework for understanding our current attitudes and behaviors. If your current lover, boss or other significant person remind you of someone previously significant in your life, you may transfer the feeling you had from that previously significant person to the current relationship. Those who remind us of a positive relationship will have positive feelings transferred to the current relationship. Our past relationships may affect us at the automatic level and we may remain unaware of how these previous relationships affect our current thinking. Previous relationships form the basis of memories and social cognition. We also include family and close friends in our attributional biases, believing that the success of our beloved is due to personal dispositions, whereas failure in those close to us is thought to be caused by unfavorable environmental factors.

Liking someone is the start of relationships. In all its simplicity, we like those who are rewarding to us and we dislike those who are a burden. The literature supports the importance of some antecedents to liking; these include propinquity, similarity, and physical attraction. We tend to like those who live near us because propinquity provides the opportunity to meet, and repeated exposure creates feelings of familiarity. This is an optimistic finding from social psychology that suggests that many relationships are possible in a person's life given the opportunity. The mere exposure effect supports the idea that repeated exposure leads to liking as exposure creates feelings of safety and security. Proximity may mask another variable important to liking relationships, that of similarity, as we often live in social environments where people share common values, or other characteristics. Also long distance relationships are more difficult to maintain and therefore more costly. Similarity is a powerful variable in liking relationships. We marry those who are similar to us in social class, religion and values. The more similar we are to someone, the more we like the other person. Dating services are based on the idea that a good match is with someone who is similar in values,

attitudes, and even physical appearance. The reason similarity is central to liking relationships is that it provides a common platform for understanding the other person and therefore promotes intimacy and trust. Of course it is also reassuring to have our values confirmed by another person. Again, the similarity may be caused by selectivity of the social environment which produces shared experiences and therefore bonding. Those who come from the same culture would have a large set of experiences and values in common not present to outsiders.

Nothing can beat reciprocal liking in eliciting positive feelings; we like those who like us. Reciprocal liking is even more powerful than similarity in producing liking toward someone. Personal traits are also important. The research supports the significance of personal warmth and competence in producing liking in most people. Most members of the sexes are attracted to the opposite sex. Do opposites attract? It seems that opposite attraction holds only for the sexual relationship. Only a few complementary personality traits affect attraction. Although society is moving toward more tolerance on different ethnic relationships, these changing attitudes may only reflect changing norms and may not hold for the individual's own family.

Physical attractiveness is a powerful antecedent to liking. There is in fact little difference between the genders, both like the physically attractive member of the opposite sex. It seems that physical attractiveness is the single most important variable in eliciting sexual desire and arousal. There are some gender differences. Women place greater importance on economic security and stability when considering marriage. They will therefore marry a less desirable male, or an older male, who possesses material resources. Evolutionary psychology would say that these gender differences exist for reproductive reasons. To form family, women must have stable partners. However, as society advances toward economic equality, both sexes place more importance on physical attractiveness.

The physically attractive have many social advantages. All societies subscribe to the "beautiful is good" norm. One consequence is the attribution of positive traits like competence to the physically attractive. It is no wonder they also experience more socio-economic success. Culture determines somewhat the features that are considered attractive. However, there are also universal traits considered attractive in all cultures. Faces that signal reproductive fitness and health are considered attractive in all societies. This lends support to the evolutionary perspective. Faces that typify the norm, and express bilateral symmetry also have

universal appeal. From an evolutionary perspective these faces signal reproductive fitness.

In today's world the market place economy dominates in all aspects of culture and interpersonal interactions. Interpersonal attraction is also dominated by market ideas. The theories of interpersonal attraction emerged in western capitalist societies and reflect therefore common social ideas of rewards, costs, and fairness. Social exchange theory states that relationship liking depends on outcomes that is defined as the rewards minus the costs of a relationship. The theory suggests that relationships have rewards, but also costs and the rewards must be larger for the relationship to be lasting and satisfying. Our satisfaction may also to some degree depend on past relationships that serve as a comparison level. Equity theory states that contentment depends on equity, the give and take in a relationship. Essentially equality and fairness is what governs relationship satisfaction from this perspective. In modern times this perspective in intimate relations leads to tiresome negotiations, issues perhaps better solved by consensus about division of responsibilities.

Theories of interpersonal attraction seem more valid for functional relationships one might find at work or school. Western-based societies are more based on exchange, equity and market economies, whereas societies in Asia are more communally based. In communal relations the outcome for the individual depends on need. Also in close relationships, topics dealing with emotional support and satisfaction are relevant, and altruistic behaviors are expected.

Relationship satisfaction depends also on other factors. First of all the level of investment in the relationship in terms of children, common history, and economic achievements may affect stability. Secondly, what is the level of commitment, and do the partners have alternatives and other prospects? In all these cases, intimate relationships are dominated by the long view, and not just the immediate reward. Thirdly, self-disclosure is an essential factor in building trust and intimate relations. When self-disclosure is reciprocated, such behavior leads to intimacy. Self-disclosure is perhaps more important in individualist societies, as in collectivist societies couples are more inhibited. Women disclose more within same sex relationships, and men are more cautious. Men are more likely to share risk-taking experiences, whereas women will share concerns about appearance.

Romantic love differs from friendship by its emphasis on sexual interest, by the fascination and infatuation with the partner, and the exclusiveness of the relationship. Such relationships are emotional and exciting. Men and women experience intimacy in similar ways, but women are more likely to express the feelings that lead to intimacy. Romantic love can be defined as intimacy combined with passionate feelings. When couples also feel commitment there is the basis for lasting relationships. Having a successful romantic relationship is basic to feelings of well-being and health.

However, we can observe by the reported divorce statistics that all is not well in marriages. This discontentment appears a tragic commentary on our inability to adjust to changing gender roles as society moves toward more equality. Central to many relationship failures is a preoccupation with fairness and endless negations requiring change in partners. Personality also matters in discontentment. The neurotic individual's preoccupation with negative emotions kills intimate relations. The neurotics bad past experiences influence current expectations, and cause the neurotic to act with strong emotion to any conflict. Stress as represented by socio-economic factors may produce discontentment. The poor are struggling with many forms of insecurity and have little time for intimate relations. Likewise the young are at risk for divorce as lacking the maturity, and struggling with many stresses.

Conflict in relationships comes furthermore about when we interfere with a person's preferences, or frustrate important goals. The behavior of the partner may also have an effect. Drug abuse for example kills the possibility of intimate relations. Attributional blame is also toxic, along with endless criticisms, denying the existence of problems, and displaying the emotion of contempt toward the partner. Breaking emotional ties is extremely painful. The party that is least responsible suffers more unhappiness. What can be done? If we believe in social exchange and equity, we can increase rewards and seek to develop more fairness in the relationship. Presumably the more rewarding and fair our relationship, the more happy. We can also just love more.

Awareness Is Power: Tactics For Staying Safe In Violent Spaces

Unfinished Structure –
Photo by author

Violence is everywhere (Lindiwe, Hector Peterson Residence).

In order to understand the concept 'awareness', Hastrup's (1995) explanation of consciousness is invaluable, especially to identify with people's behaviour in violent situations. She explains that our patterns of thinking are not subject to paths of practical reason, but that we rather constantly reformulate our whole existence through our actions; a reconsideration of our ideas of consciousness is thus necessitated (ibid.: 99). Hastrup reminds us that we are inarticulate and that expression is not limited to the verbal. Expression, rather, takes place in various forms (ibid.).

Given Hastrup's suggestion to understand consciousness from multiple angles, we approach a field within which questions of ontology and methodology join: how do people think and how do we know? (ibid.; Ross 2004: 35). What tools should anthropologists use to access these forms of consciousness that are so intertwined in social space, affecting it, being affected by it and being its defining capacity? In an environment of violence, students are affected, they can potentially have an influence on this through the tactics they use to stay safe and, at the same time, can become the defining capacity of such an environment. These are among the dynamics involved in conceptualising 'awareness' of

potential danger in potentially dangerous areas. This awareness is positioned on various levels.

We cannot fully comprehend other people, except through structured imagining or 'intuition', perhaps deducing part of their implicit reasoning from its ('intuition's') various expressions. Knowledge is not directly and exclusively expressed in words. Situating knowledge in experience rather than in words and, consequently, in the recentred self rather than in the floating mind, changes the location of knowledge. It is largely unexpressed and reserved in the habit-memory, and not exclusively in the brain. Even when they are conscious of the environment of which they are part, this involves a degree of inarticulacy on the part of human agents (Hastrup 1995: 99-100). I argue that knowledge of a violent environment (informed by experience, stories or witnessing) becomes inscribed in students' bodies through habituation; the tactics used to stay safe are thus relocated in expressed, and (very importantly), unexpressed consciousness. Therefore, bodily experiences (in addition to the exchanging of stories, investing in a technology of safety, and exchanging gossip in social networks) of being in the world inform our knowledge of violence and the way we distinguish between the safe and unsafe (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 46). It is in this light that the concept 'awareness' is employed throughout this chapter.

Space, violence and resistance
Former notions of space regarded it as merely an area which is permeable, neutral and accessible to all. But more recently ideas of space suggest that it is never neutral, and even, as the history of South Africa's spatial planning proves, that spatiality is overwhelmingly ideological (Ross 2004: 35). According to Michel De Certeau (1988, cited in Ross 2004: 35), to understand a place is intimately related to one's own position in it. This suggests that the views of onlookers or passers-by will differ from those of people who more permanently occupy the space 'looked onto'. Ross thus argues that employing spatiality entails an engagement with the emotion and the sensual in everyday life, which would otherwise be 'alien' (see also Clifford 1998: 35). Moreover, these spaces are also very fluid and experiences of them differ from person to person. What can be a space of opportunity for a robber is a space of threat and potential loss for another person. While some use the space for calculating escape in situations of robbery, others use it to confront and retaliate. Furthermore, gender and age do not necessarily occupy space in the same ways – movements are moulded by

(unwritten) social rules dictated by violence and fear. Space also mutates with time. The scene of laughter can be a scene of murder the next moment, and the same spaces are experienced differently by different people who occupy them. 'The encoded body and killing zone bec[o]me sites of a transaction where residual historical and political codes and terror and alterity [a]re fused, thus transforming these sites into repositories of a social imaginary' (Feldman 1991: 64). Spaces of violence may also expand, given the involvement of witnesses or people who come to the assistance of somebody who is being violated.

This brings me to how the concept 'tactics' will be employed in this section. There is a number of ways in which the 'powerless' employ tactics in negotiating ideologies (notions of who should stay away from certain spaces and when) of proper living. With respect to the definition of 'tactics', De Certeau explains:

A tactic is a calculated action, determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power ... (1984: 36-7).

Later on, he elaborates that:

Tactics are procedures that gain validity in relation to the pertinence they lend to time -to the circumstances which the precise instant of an intervention transforms into a favorable situation, to the rapidity of the movements that change the organization of a space, to the relations among successive moments in an action, to the possible intersections of durations and heterogeneous rhythms, etc. (1984: 38).

Ideology, he argues, is a product of power, a strategic practice, which is used by the weak. The weak or the marginalised resist ideology through tactics and reproduce it to new ends, although for moments at a time. Although they resist, they do not change the broader structural order. As a result of restrictions imposed by for example race, class and gender, they must manage within an ideological space and within broader structures of power. This is achieved through everyday practices of appropriation and consumption, with which people create room to move. These practices take place in a realm divided into two fractions: one where strategy and production occur

(powerful/apartheid/segregation) and one where consumption and tactics (weak/segregated/victims/survivors) occur, as a result of which the differentiations within the group of the weak – or the strong, for that matter – become indistinguishable. For instance, in the vicinity of the University of the Western Cape elements of violence (e.g. robbers or murderers) use tactics in relation to the broader structural order – state institutions – and engage in strategic practices toward other people (student victims of violence). The ideology is the existing segregated townships known as the Cape Flats inherited from the apartheid regime which forms part of the broader structural order. Hunted and troubled by intense state interventions, the elements survive through the strategic domination of territory (the vicinity of campus) (Jensen 2001: 32).

Strategies, on the other hand, are the 'forces' (structural violence, e.g. racial segregation that caused poverty and crime) that place the people on the Cape Flats in positions where they need to protect themselves (Jensen 2001: 31). Tactics are thus used to resist the strategies (structural order), which is expressed in the forms of violence students are exposed to in the vicinity of UWC.

Lindegaard and Henriksen (2005: 44), on the other hand, use the word 'strategy' instead of 'tactic', and use it similar to the way Bourdieu (1990) does. According to them, strategies are acts of awareness which are rarely deliberate and reflected upon. Although the term is potentially confusing given its strong connotations to rational choice theory, it refers to social agents' continuous construction in and through practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 129). On the one hand strategies of safety are rational since they make perfect sense to the agent, yet on the other hand, these acts are not necessarily expressed or well-planned. I use the word tactic instead, especially to emphasise structures surrounding the university that students resist. In addition, although these tactics are used daily, they do not necessarily change the general social order (poverty, unemployment, crime and so forth). It is here where the significant distinction lies that I make.

Experiences of violence
The violence experienced by students who stay in Hector Peterson Residence and Belhar mostly takes place *en route* to campus. Students from Hector Peterson Residence are more prone to experiencing violence than those who stay on campus because they move around in places that are considered dangerous,

especially the route to campus. At Symphony Way and between the hostel and campus, students have been robbed and stories of rape and attempted rape are told about this area. Furthermore, taxis in the vicinity of Belhar pose additional safety hazards by being the sites of robberies and by being linked to drivers known to be reckless. Students tell stories about their experiences and this serves as a warning to others.

When I took a taxi from the hostel to Delft one Sunday afternoon, I got a great shock when a man sitting in front of me pulled out a gun and demanded money from the taxi guard at gunpoint. Other people in the taxi looked at the man and he asked them what they were looking at, probably to avoid them looking at his face. The money the man received from t he guard was probably enough because he did not harass the other passengers. The driver sped off after the incident and then stopped to tell another taxi driver along the way what happened, in Afrikaans. I cannot really understand Afrikaans, but gathered from their conversation that they wanted to get hold of the man (Peter, Hector Peterson Residence).

Whether they stay in Hector Peterson Residence or in on-campus residences students generally may experience violence in taxis since all residents need to travel to Bellville or other surrounding areas for shopping, religious reasons, research or extra-mural activities. Lindiwe also found herself in a situation which could have led to gun violence:

Violence is everywhere and just the other day when I took a taxi from Bellville, the guard instructed somebody to sit in a specific seat in the taxi. An argument ensued and the guy next to me pulled out a huge gun. I demanded to get out of the taxi, but the guard asked what happened. I told him to open the door first and then ask questions. I got out as fast as possible. The guy with the knife ran away but his friend sat in the front of that taxi. Because the guard got hold of the friend, he was beaten up (Lindiwe, Hector Peterson Residence).

Viewing violence as omnipresent is a way of staying safe because it reminds students to be on guard all the time as it might happen at any time and in any place. If they are not constantly aware of their environment they can become unsafe. Thus students continuously draw on tactics of safety to keep out of harm's way.

The question of safety when in a crowd

The safety perceived to ensue from being in a crowd, for instance in a confined public space like a taxi, was shaken in the examples of Peter and Lindiwe. When a number of people are together in a small confined space, they tend to feel safe. The presence of others sets aside danger and sociability works to ease fear (Ross 2004: 39) – until a gun is pulled out. Yet the supposed safety found in a group can be largely imagined. The safety felt when in a crowd of people is based on the assumption that others will come to one's assistance when needed. Accordingly, when people are alone they feel more powerless against potential violence (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 55). Yet in this study it was evident that students often do not come to the assistance of others who they perceive to be under threat. This is mostly because they are afraid that by intervening they might become violated themselves. This is especially the case with female students who see it as risky to get involved since intervening may be to their own detriment.

I heard a desperate cry coming from my neighbour's room in HPR early one evening. I was unsure from which room the cry came so I stepped out into the corridor to see if I could spot the room. Standing in the corridor I was uncertain whether I should intervene out of fear for the perpetrator turning on me. Instead I decided to retreat to my room and fortunately the security staff came and I later heard that it was a guy beating his girlfriend in her room. What led to my uncertainty to intervene is the xenophobia I often experience in taxis. When people are treated badly by the drivers or taxi guards, I noticed that other passengers simply ignore it. This gives me the feeling that if I should intervene to help a victim and the perpetrator turns on me, other people will not support me (Synthia, Hector Peterson Residence).

Awareness of the possible consequences of intervention therefore holds Synthia back and keeps her safe. She does, however, feel torn between not helping and intervening and in a different setting (Malawi) she would be more willing to intervene. Testing the level of safety in situations is therefore necessary, although students may be more willing to take risks when a significant other is in danger. Mary also fears that when she is in trouble people around will not help her.

I fear that when someone rapes me nobody will intervene while it happens. In Nigeria this will not happen, because other men will run after the offender and beat him up (Mary, Eduardo Dos Santos Residence).

A sense of camaraderie in Nigeria therefore contributes to a feeling of safety for Mary, as well as the fact that she knows justice will be served because offenders will pay for the consequences of their actions. Men act as protectors and the bearers of justice. Because she fears that bystanders in Cape Town will not help her should something bad happen to her, she always walks with fellow students when she goes to her department on campus at night, again confirming that the mere presence of people, especially people who are not complete strangers, is a tactic of safety.

Phumzile experienced an incident where her bag was snatched from her in a public space. Bystanders did not intervene. The bag-snatching took place in Symphony Way where taxis drop off passengers or pick them up.

I saw two guys sitting on the opposite side of the road and it looked to me as if they were waiting for a taxi. When I stepped out of the taxi I saw the two guys move toward me, but I thought they were crossing the road because they were walking to Extension. But then they came toward me, one guy with his hand under his top as if hiding a knife or a gun (I did not see him with anything while he sat waiting) and walked to me as I walked backwards but he then got hold of my bag. I shouted and one guy ran away, but I held onto my bag the other guy held and there was a struggle. At one point the bag was on his side and I held onto the straps. He managed to get hold of the bag and ran off. I followed the guy and ran closely behind him. The guy couldn't even run. My adrenalin was pumping and I was determined to get my bag, but the guy managed to escape. I told a traffic officer who came by that I had been robbed, but he just went off on his own after I thought that he would help me see if I could get hold of some of my belongings. People passed by asking what happened, but nobody would come up with a solution. My cellphone, cards, ID were in the handbag and it meant that I had to start afresh (Phumzile, Hector Peterson Residence).

Belhar is a predominantly coloured area and racism is often rife in such communities especially towards blacks (see Adams 2005: 9; Du Preez 2005: 14). It is possible that the traffic officer and bystanders did not help Phumzile because she was a black woman. Studies show that whites in America are more likely to help whites in emergencies than blacks (Bryan and Test 1967; Gaertner 1971; 1973; Piljavin, Rodin and Piljavin 1969; Levine *et al.* 2002). This is not conclusive in the decision not to intervene, however, since other factors may play a role as well. Bystanders may also decide against helping victims depending on the costs

involved (Gaertner 1975: 95). On the other hand, Levine (1999: 12) explains that bystanders also interpret incidents a certain way and that the incident needs to be contextualised. People's accounts of their interpretations of incidents shed light on their decision not to intervene. Not helping a victim, especially when a weapon or threat to be physically harmed oneself is involved, can also be a way to stay safe.

While making a telephone call in Parow one Saturday morning, a guy held a friend of mine at gunpoint. She called me to draw my attention, and thinking she was teasing and not turning back immediately, I turned around eventually to see what was happening. The guy holding the gun was very nervous because his fingers were trembling on the trigger. I thought that I could easily fight the guy, only if the lady were not there. I simply handed my cellphone over. Other people walked by without offering any support and Saturday mornings are very busy around shopping malls. If I were alone I would have held the guy's hand up to empty his cartridge, and then would have beaten the guy up (Collin, Hector Peterson Residence).

At the same time the response by a group of people against someone who offers violence can equally help everyone to keep safe, as is mentioned by Bulelwa. She said that in Johannesburg, where she comes from, people stand together against violence.

Everybody has this idea that Jo'burg is rough but people can talk on their phones when walking in the streets. Even in the townships. Hillbrow and Yeoville are rough where the Nigerians are though. At the taxi rank near home the taxi drivers will beat someone up if they steal a cellphone. Here people can get away with it and the others will do nothing. So back home there is more unity (Bulelwa, Coline Williams Residence).

In Nigeria, according to Collin and Mary, and in Johannesburg, according to Bulelwa, bystanders would fight the perpetrator. According to Chekroun and Brauer (2002), people are more likely to exercise 'social control' in high-personal-implication situations. They define social control as 'any verbal or nonverbal communication by which individuals show to another person that they disapprove of his or her deviant (counternormative) behaviour' (Chekroun and Brauer 2002: 854). Put differently: if people feel a personal threat in situations where they see someone else being held at gunpoint, they are more likely to intervene, and thus

contribute to restoring order in a sense.

Latané and Darley (1970) cite instances where victims of murder and other offences were left unattended even after the assailant had already left. In one instance a switchboard operator who was raped and beaten in her office in the Bronx ran outside the building naked. Forty people surrounded her and watched how the assailant tried to drag her back into the office and none of them interfered. Two policemen happened to pass by the incident and arrested the assailant (Latané and Darley 1970: 2). The authors conclude that if bystanders fail to *notice*, *interpret* and decide that they have *personal responsibility* toward the victim, they are less likely to intervene. In addition, the presence of other people is more likely to keep a bystander from rescuing a victim. These explanations help understand the possible thinking processes involved in people's decisions to intervene when seeing something bad happen to somebody.

When drastic situations call for extreme tactics
Using the train to commute around Cape Town is known to be risky and many commuters have experienced violence of one or other form (Marud 2002), leading to protests against the absence of security on trains. A number of participants in this study also told of frightening experiences they had on trains. Other stories tell about people who were robbed in trains, especially trains that run along Cape Flats lines. Such stories are part of the symbolic order students create to stay safe. Because of such stories students avoid commuting by train. Here follow stories told by two students who survived after they had no choice but to jump from the train.

At every station stop I raised my head from the book I was reading to check who get on and off and at one stop 4 guys boarded the train. Although I found it strange that they were standing since there were vacant seats, I resumed reading. A commotion and people scurrying drew my attention to those 4 guys. I had heard about gangsters who rob people, but it was clear that these guys were not interested in people's belongings, so they must have been out to kill. It was very surreal, and even seeing one of the guys stabbing an old man repeatedly with a knife, seemed like a dream to me. Women ran around in the carriage and it dawned on me that I needed to do something fast. The window behind me was fortunately broken and I told myself that I needed to jump because the guys were coming my way. I told myself this continuously to convince myself and looked out the window to scan the railway track in search for poles. I previously heard that

when people jump from trains, the poles along the tracks are what kill them. Fortunately there were no poles. I knew that the same knife that killed the old man was what would kill me. The train fast gained momentum and as it did so, I moved out of the train through the window frame, held on the outside and jumped. Fortunately there was no oncoming train otherwise I would have been killed. I moved as I fell so as not to do too much damage to one part of my body especially, my head, but could not avoid bashing my forehead. I lost consciousness from the fall. Security guards patrolling the tracks found me and they took me to the next station. Later I learned that people in that train were thrown off by those guys (Peter, Hector Peterson Residence).

Because Peter had to use the train to commute, he had his own safety tactic while he was doing so – he looked at the doors at every stop, making a 'mental' note of potentially threatening people who boarded. This tactic was informed by stories he heard about what happened to other commuters who were robbed in trains and he used it to stay safe. His tactic was also based on a tacit embodied response to what made him feel uncomfortable or raised a feeling of potential threat in him. His first clue was that the four men remained standing although there were seats available. When he saw the men stab someone his response was almost wholly embodied, initially making it seem like a bad dream. When he realised that jumping out of the train might be all that could save him, he drew on other peoples' stories, informing him that, 1) he could jump and might survive, and, 2) that hitting a pole might kill him. Before jumping he scanned the railway tracks for poles. Grabbing onto the window frame and hanging outside for a moment was apparently almost instinctual, as was the realisation that he should try to fall in a way that would not damage his head. As Lindegaard and Henriksen (2005) argue, the body is socially informed – one perceives and experiences the world in an embodied way, while at the same time also 'learning' how to behave and respond in bodily ways, albeit often without thinking about it consciously (cf. Csordas 1994; Bourdieu 1990).

Phillip also had a horrible experience on the train. He traveled first class on the train – another tactic of safety since the tickets are more expensive, and therefore a 'better class' of people will supposedly travel first class. According to Philip:

The train was full of passengers and I was in a first class carriage. Then at Belhar Station most of the people got off and there were only three remaining, me and two other passengers. At that point I was busy reading a letter my brother sent

from home and was not paying much attention to my surroundings, but four guys stepped onto the train when it stopped. The next thing I saw was those guys pulling out knives and they started stabbing people. People rushed to each other so that they could be together and my hand was stabbed because I tried to stop one guy. Then the guys started throwing us off the train through the windows. One man died instantly as his head hit the ground, but I and two others survived. This happened below the bridge at Spa and men were playing cricket close by. I could not get up after the fall and told the guys about what happened without realizing that I was bleeding. Metro Rail Security then came and called the ambulance who took me to Delft clinic, while the others went to Groote Schuur Hospital. Staff at the clinic was not very helpful and did not even x-ray me. They just stitched me up. I did not even bother taking it up with them because it would not help, so I just returned there to have the stitches removed (Phillip, Hector Peterson Residence).

In extreme situations such as the one in which Peter found himself, people in the area of Belhar and students at UWC particularly, are forced to think fast to save their lives. After Peter's traumatic experience, he never used the train again. Since Collin (see his story further in this chapter) and other students learned of Peter's experience, they never take the train anymore. I also hardly use the train unless someone accompanies me. The few occasions on which I actually used the train, I felt very uncomfortable. As I sat in a deserted carriage in front of broken windows it conjured up stories I had heard about robberies and of outsiders throwing bricks at passengers through broken windows. Yet, for some students the train is the only reliable form of transport and they are comfortable using it. Bulelwa, who comes from Gauteng said:

Commuting by train feels very normal. Even wearing my chain and bracelet is fine. I even use my cellphone in the train. At the moment the train is my only means of transport. The train is also cheaper although it is not very reliable because one can be late for an appointment (Bulelwa, Coline Williams Residence).

My own gendered expectation was that Bulelwa, rather than Collin, would be particularly careful of the train. Besides being aware of the possibility that something might happen to her on the train, Bulelwa also behaves with confidence. For her Gauteng is more violent than Cape Town and she feels and behaves as if she is 'tough'. This is very similar to how I generally behave when walking in the vicinity of the university. Lindegaard and Henriksen give similar

examples, but of men who adopt 'feminine' strategies of safety, that is, they move together in groups or run fast to cover potentially threatening spaces. Bulelwa and I use more 'masculine' tactics and at the same time we also obtain a sense of safety through the idea that bad things only happen to 'other' people. By behaving in this way, consciously or unconsciously, we both create a space in which we feel safe, but it may also make us more vulnerable.

The following section looks at the influence gender roles have on the way people create safety for themselves. Information gathered at a workshop at the university helped explore how students relate to each other in terms of gender.

Gender roles
Attending a workshop run by the HIV/AIDS Unit of the University of the Western Cape, it was very interesting to learn what perspectives peer facilitators of workshops hold about what it means to be a man and a woman respectively, especially concerning HIV/AIDS. More interestingly, the men attending the workshop were part of MAP (Men As Partners), and were being trained to facilitate HIV/AIDS workshops on campus. At one point during the workshop men and women formed separate groups and listed things about their gender they were proud of. The women struggled for a long time to think of things they could be proud of, as opposed to the men, and only after a long time managed to list some. Taking a look at the discourses around gender is important when studying violence, since they impact on how women and men view themselves, and each other, in relation to violence. Although their lists might not have been the same had the context been different, or perhaps did not reflect what they would have stated individually, this was what each group listed:

What it means to be a woman
They are able to express emotions without being ashamed of it; give birth; are more sensitive and caring; do not have to pretend that they are strong; can take advantage of men; are happy about affirmative action; make better parents than men; can do anything without being stigmatised, e.g. have a man's name and not be called a *moffie.*

What it means to be a man
They were born to lead; can physically dominate; when they speak people listen; have better opportunities and salaries; do not live in fear; can protect; women depend on them.

During this group exercise, women and men took pride in stereotypes pertaining to their respective genders without even realising it. The outcome of this exercise not only mirrors gender roles in broader society, but also the way most of the participants deal with and think about violence. Unlike the men, the women failed to see themselves as initiators, leaders, protectors, speakers, and as being able to physically dominate or protect.

When women and men were asked to say what they *could* do if they switched gender roles, it was interesting that women failed to see their value as women as opposed to their value if they were men. Men valued themselves both as men and as women. Each group listed what they *could* do if they were members of the opposite gender:

What women could *do if they were men*
They would not worry about sagging breasts; could wear the same shirt the whole week; do anything they want to and go anywhere; respect women; break the silence around women abuse; have the physical and financial power to start a war; leave responsibility of children to woman (and just pay the money); have sex with anybody; teach sons not to cry but to 'be a man'.

What men could *do if they were women*
They could express their emotions; get their pension at the age of 60; share affection; look after their partner; be open about sex issues to other women; spend more time with the family; be open and honest; get away with lots of things; be loving and caring; break the silence; be conscious about nutrition.

Apart from the fact that women felt they would be freed from sagging breasts if they were men, women also imagined having freedom of movement, sex and action; they identified with being men who respected women, taking the initiative, starting war and fighting against abuse. Fighting against abuse comes across more as a wish in this context and this would likely not have been among the responses in a different situation where MAP was not the focus of the workshop. The men's responses also formed part of gender-stereotypes about women and the idea of breaking the silence seemed more of a wish, especially given the fact that women themselves did not mention that in the first round of the exercise. Such '… *discourses inform tactics of safety*' (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 58) and are generally the ideas women have of men in danger and *vice versa*. If women for instance feel restricted in their movements and actions and feel that

they need to stay indoors to stay safe as opposed to what they described men's experiences are, their perceptions of women and safety inform the way they keep themselves safe.

Although the students in the workshop were aware of changes that have taken place in South Africa with regard to social mobility for women (for example, the significant presence of women in parliament), their responses suggested that dominant gender stereotypes still affect their thinking. Culturally defined beliefs about what it means to be female or male thus still persist (Golombok and Fivush 1994: 18). *'Males are stereotypically considered to be aggressive or instrumental; they act on the world and they make things happen. Females are stereotypically relational; they are concerned with social interaction and emotions'* (Bakan 1996; Block 1973, cited in Golombok and Fivush 1994: 18).

Education influences how strongly people adhere to dominant discourses (Golombok and Fivush 1994: 19). During the workshop women with university degrees nevertheless agreed on gender stereotypes and regarded male traits more highly than their own. If women value themselves less than men, this will affect the relationship between them (Bammeke 2002: 76) and their attitude towards violence.

Gender and violence

Women and violence
Men and women in this study had different experiences of violence based on gender. Because women are viewed as 'soft targets', they are violated through robbery, rape and other forms of violence. For women, living in a potentially violent situation can be difficult, not only because they fear victimization, but also because it is difficult to speak out against it.

Women also should learn to speak about violence, because when they talk, others will hear their stories and will also want to talk. In this way women can then build networks and fight against violence (Liz, Hector Peterson Residence).

Men have power over women partly because of the dominant discourse and expectation that women are weak and vulnerable (Boonzaier and de la Ray 2004). This reinforces the subordination of women who fear being violated.

Being a woman makes one feel vulnerable because one does not have the strength

to fight and one does not have a voice to talk. The threat of something happening to me is always real. Not a day passes when I do not feel conscious of security. [Practicals in] Nyanga [Nyanga, meaning 'the moon', is one of the oldest black townships in Cape Town. It was established in 1955 as a result of labour migration from the Eastern Cape and was a site of protests against the 'pass laws' in apartheid in the 1960s and 1970s. Black-in-black fighting allegedly perpetrated by corrupt police in the early 1980s made Nyanga well-known] is the closest place I could choose [to conduct my research] but it poses quite a danger because of hijackings that take place there. I am conscious walking around there every time and not speaking the language puts me at greater risk. I am told at different times to go home and not take up South Africans' jobs. The speed at which taxi drivers drive is very careless and as if there is no tomorrow. I just feel unsafe (Synthia, Hector Peterson Residence).

A number of things make Synthia feel insecure as a woman in the midst of possible violence. She is not strong and fears she will not be able to ward off an attacker. Hijackings that take place in the vicinity of her research site are threatening and she fears exposure to this. The language barrier between her and the people in Nyanga, the xenophobia directed at her and the speed at which taxis drive alsomake her feel unsafe. This is even more harrowing since Synthia needs to pass through this space every day. Yet Synthia refuses to stay silent about violence and after the recent attack on her, close to Hector Peterson Residence, she pursued the fact that the residence staff acted very imperturbably in that regard.

Expectations about how women should behave in dangerous places affect their responses in potentially violent situations. Female passivity is viewed as second nature, '*but it illustrates that emotions as other forms of practice are informed by discourse*' (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 55).

… men usually weigh up the situation and see what they should do, if they should confront the perpetrators. Women can't weigh up the situation, they should avoid it at all costs and that is what I do (Melanie, Hector Peterson Residence).

Women express a double vulnerability – they fear being mugged but also being raped.

Men have advantage because they think that women are the weaker sex. So

women feel scared that they are women because men would not only take away women's purse, but could also rape them. But things are a bit level now because guys should also be scared that they could get raped. Things are a bit safe now because there are security staff at the hostels and they are trying their best. We also have to think about not walking around late because that makes a person an easy target. This Kenyan guy who was killed during the vac[ation] must have gone to a shebeen. The Barn was closed and they should really think about keeping The Barn open (Lindiwe, Hector Peterson Residence).

The murder of a Kenyan student from Hector Peterson Residence near the hostel triggered awareness of the danger students face outside the hostel. Unlike in the past, the rape of males is increasingly feared.

Women nevertheless feel vulnerable and in need of protection by men; female students who cross the field (see figure 1.1 A-C) to campus get a sense of safety from the presence of security staff who stand watch at an unfinished structure on the field. Since men are viewed as protectors, they stand guard, irrespective of whether they are equipped or even trained to deal with violence. If anything should happen to a student, security is supposed to release the dog to chase the perpetrator off. Yet in one instance where a student was attacked the security staff member held onto the dog – probably as a means of self-protection.

Fig.1.1.A – The field between UWC
and Hector Peterson Residence

Often security staff do not stand watch on the field between campus and HPR.

Students who cross the field at midnight run the risk of attack because the field is deserted. The unfinished structure seems to be a good place for muggers to hide and catch their 'prey' unguarded, which is exactly why security staff are placed there. It is also one of the places both males and females have identified as a dangerous space. It makes them feel very vulnerable and they only feel at ease once they passed it.

Fig.1.1.B – Unfinished structure

Thando feels safe once she gets to campus, and those years when she stayed in the hostel, she felt safe once she passed that unfinished structure. *'People just hide away behind that structure and appear very unexpectedly. It is that unexpectance that catches people off-guard'* (Thando – used to stay in Hector Peterson Residence).
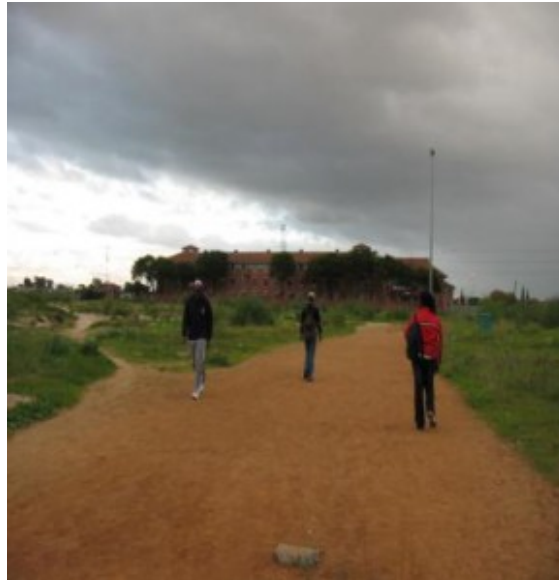
Fig.1.1.C – Path to Hector Peterson Residence

Staying safe through confrontation or escape

Women who do not respond to situations of violence in the way Phumzile did in the example given earlier, rather run away or simply do nothing. This is often caused by the fact that they have been socialized and are expected to be passive. Women who are socialised into fulfilling traditional roles of 'submissiveness' tend to sustain such behaviour because that is how things are supposed to be (Bourdieu 1977). There are usually other significant similarities among women who are abused, such as low income, low level of education and residence in a village (Faramarzi, Esmailzadeh and Mosavi 2005: 5). Studies conducted among wealthier, highly educated women from affluent areas might show different results. Once women are exposed to stories that contest such passive notions, for example, of an abused woman who took her children and left the house, they behave differently. Examining women's exposure and responses to domestic violence is very helpful in understanding their responses in relation to community violence.

What factors contribute to women either fighting or taking flight in situations of violence? This can be illuminated by comparing two participants in this study.

It was after four in the afternoon and I walked to my previous home which is close to the University's train station. It was very windy that day. As I walked I saw two guys walking in my direction but they passed me. I continued walking but then something told me to turn around. It was really windy and when I turned one of

the guys grabbed at my bag. The guy was caught off guard as he was not expecting me to turn around before he had taken my bag. Immediately, he said that he was only looking for a R5. I replied that I did not have a R5 even though I had money as well as my cell-phone in my bag. The second guy then approached. The first guy insisted that he was only looking for a R5 as if a R5 was of little value to a university student. When I again replied that I did not have any money, the first guy then rudely demanded that I give him my earrings. As I attempted to pull the earrings from my ears, I insisted that I remove them myself. At this time, the second guy seemed extremely irritable as I was still trying to assert myself under the circumstances. He threatened to kick me. The earrings were not such a concern because they were old. After giving them the earrings, the guys noticed my tekkies. I noticed this and subsequently realised that they were not done with me yet. The two guys then walked with me to a nearby park where I could sit down to remove my tekkies. I decided that I would not allow them to take my shoes, and starting to think about possible ways to prevent this. At the park, the two guys sat down on poles situated towards the end of the park. I stood between the two poles (that they were sitting on) at this time, and while they looked down the road in one direction to watch for any oncoming people, I ran in the opposite direction. I ran towards a road where I saw another guy and other people who were building on one of the houses in that road. I knew that if the two guys chose to follow me, they would have to deal with those builders. I managed to get away safely (Jo-Anne, lives slantly opposite Hector Peterson Residence).

Jo-Anne did many things – she looked out for men (who are viewed by women as a potential threat), and, when she passed them, she turned around. Although she lied about the contents of her bag, she gave them her earrings, but tried to maintain control by taking them off herself. As soon as she saw an opportunity she ran away – towards other people. Although in a distressing situation, she planned her escape and waited for an opportunity to do so. Afterwards she became even more careful and hardly ever walked home alone again. She rather waited for her mother to come from work in the evening to pick her up from campus than leave campus earlier. She now also avoids spaces that she thinks will place her in a compromising position. These fears are spread throughout other areas in her life:

I recently obtained my driver's licence, but even so am very afraid to drive on routes unfamiliar to me. My fear is inadvertently encouraged by my mother's bad

experience with driving. When my mother took my father to work one evening she took the wrong turn on her way back home. She ended up in a very dangerous place and could not even get out of the car to ask for directions in fear that something might happen to the car or to her. Since then my mother sticks to routes she is familiar with and where she can maintain a sense of safety. Due to the fact that my mother displays this behaviour, I fear that something bad might happen to me should I dare to drive on unfamiliar routes (Jo-Anne, slantly opposite Hector Peterson Residence).

This example is one of many that reflects how Jo-Anne's socialisation in her family impedes the way she faces threatening situations. Because I encouraged her to drive to a mall she had never driven to before, she said she would think about it, but later that night called me to ask if I would accompany her. This was the first time she drove outside of the area where she stays. Although she decided to drive to the Mall, she asked to be accompanied.

Jo Anne had heard stories about potential danger and had been exposed to it. She is aware of tactics to stay safe and actually behaved in a very calculated way when she was confronted by thieves, but she generally responds in a more 'feminine' way in terms of safety tactics – she tries to avoid danger by staying in safe spaces or by looking for the company of people she knows and trusts. It must be noted that stories involving danger may also induce fear, but still informs people about what might otherwise not be experienced. In other words, hearing stories of what other people do in situations of danger informs people of what to do in such situations. 'Naiveté' could also put people at risk and they may even be blamed for their 'ignorance' especially in instances where people believe our actions are 'unintelligible' (Richardson and May 1999: 313). Still in other situations where people are inundated with stories involving danger, they may shut off to the stories.

Everyday I walk down that road I am very anxious because of the robbery before and I would rather have my mother pick me up from campus after work and wait an extra hour than walk home. Otherwise my brother would wait in front of the house and watch that I walk safely. But that road to campus is very dangerous because it is isolated and surrounded by bushes. Subsequently, you cannot see when someone is hiding behind these bushes. Even though there are security guards, one hardly sees them as they tend to focus more on the students walking towards the Belhar residence. I feel safer on campus because there are other

people around. Walking down that road with anxiety may be a bad thing because the robbers will sense the fear and will prey on that, is what my brother told me. If one walks boldly they will wonder why the person is so bold and assume that the person is carrying a weapon. And when my mother informs me that she will not be able to pick me up from campus I worry about getting home that whole day and have butterflies in my stomach. If I were a man I would have felt confident in my ability to protect myself. Men usually have some or other experience with violence either on school or elsewhere which enables them to protect themselves. Women on the other hand, usually do not get into fights and I am one who stays in the house most of the time and therefore do not feel confident in protecting myself (Jo-Anne, lives slantly opposite Hector Peterson Residence).

Women like Jo-Anne mostly follow passive tactics, especially when dominant figures in their lives like mothers or brothers reinforce their understanding of themselves as potentially 'acted-upon' females. According to Lindegaard and Henriksen (2005) staying inside the home is a female tactic of safety, and is often explained as being a result of women's weaker physique and lack of ability to defend themselves. Greater culpability is attributed to women, partly because of the assumption that they run a higher risk of being confronted with violence. Women are expected to stay inside the home because being in the 'wrong' place at the 'wrong' time makes women vulnerable to violence (Richardson and May 1999: 313). This tactic reinforces gendered behaviour – Jo-Anne does not move around by herself because she feels vulnerable, while this tactic also confirms that she is a female. What is also evident in Jo-Anne's story is that she would value being a man because she would have more confidence then – similar to the women's responses in the workshop discussed previously. Such notions aid passivity and perpetuate the idea of women being the weaker sex. Lindiwe, however, because of her exposure to stories that counter notions of women as passive and complacent, responds differently to the threat of violence.

Someone in Bellville asked me if I had a cellphone and someone else wanted it, what I would do. I said that I would tell him to buy his own. He then asked me what I would do if the guy had a gun and wanted my cellphone. I said that I would let it fall to the ground so that neither of us could have one. The guy told me I'm crazy. It is not as if I am not afraid of violence, but I feared it for a long time. When people tell me that they have been robbed, I tell them to be glad their life was not taken away from them. Some people would count their possessions more

valuable than their lives (Lindiwe, Hector Peterson Residence).

Lindiwe had been exposed to potential violence in her home for many years. She eventually decided that she had lived in fear for too long and needed to have a sense of control in her environment. Lindiwe had a friend who defended herself in a near-rape situation. Being surrounded by people who confront threats, I suggest can empower women to do the same. Daring the attacker was used by Lindiwe's friend to reduce the power the attacker had over her as a potential victim, thus confronting potential danger, and can be a tactic to stay safe.

If someone should try to rape me I would tell him to go ahead and rape me. My friend did this and they [the assailants] wondered why she said so, and walked off thinking that maybe she had HIV and would pass it on to them (Lindiwe, Hector Peterson Residence).

In Lindegaard and Henriksen's (2005) scheme of possible tactics to stay safe, this would be a more masculine strategy (seen in the example of Colin at the train station, discussed further below), although used by a woman.

Men and violence
As noted earlier, men feel responsible for women in unsafe areas, take on roles of protectors and will more often than not fight in situations of danger. Yet women are supposed to be protected from men. The following incident illustrates how men respond in ways similar to the tactic used by Lindiwe's friend, thereby reducing the power they feel potential attackers might exert over them.

Women on the other hand will not necessarily fight but will try a different tactic to avoid dangerous situations by either waiting for another person to walk with, or by turning back. In addition, women might also say something to their potential attacker to keep him from attacking, like screaming or speaking aggressively to hold on to their possessions, as in Phumzile's case.

As I neared Unibell Station I saw a guy rushing across the bridge to say something to another guy on the other side of the station, while looking in my direction. I then walked to one guy of really big build and stood in front of him chest-to-chest looking him four-square in the eyes. The guy then greeted me. I told the guy: 'You're crazy', and walked away (Collin, Hector Peterson Residence).

What happened in Collin's instance was that he could see the two men on both

sides of the station planning something against him. It was December vacation and the area around the station was deserted. The two men obviously communicated with each other and the big man smiled at the other as he crossed the bridge towards Collin. This was Collin's clue. He faced the bigger man and because of his boldness the two men were caught off-guard. One of the stories that circulated among students and people who have experienced violence, is that robbers detect their potential victim's fear and capitalise on that – this was also what Jo-Anne's brother told her. Behaving boldly is accordingly seen as a good defence mechanism.

Fig. 1.2 Unibell Station Unibell Station, which is the train station between UWC and Belhar. This was where Collin confronted one of the men he suspected was conspiring to rob him – Photo by author

Collin comes from Nigeria and from a university where violent student uprisings are rife, and the cause of many fatalities (Bammeke 2000). He had been in the army and was trained to sense and act on any suspicious behaviour of people who pose threats. Being socialised and trained to be aware of his environment thus help him to keep safe, while it also masculinises him (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2005: 49).

According to one of my participants, women become distraught in situations of danger and therefore are easy targets. '… women tend to be overtaken by their emotions more than men. Therefore, men would be able to separate themselves from the situation and will act swiftly' (Graham, Hector Peterson Residence). Without neglecting to mention that masculinities are fluid over time and in

different places (Barker and Ricardo 2005), men tend to grow up in environments where they need to be able to defend themselves. Boys tend to play roughly in school grounds and are expected to pick fights with other boys as part of learning to be a man. Exactly because of these discourses about what it means to be a man, police tend to laugh at men when they report sexual assault. The views men have of women have implications for gender-based violence (Barker and Ricardo 2005: 19).

Like men, some women also behave in a confrontational manner or will resist when threatened. When two men tried to grab Phumzile's bag from her, she screamed and held to it tightly. One of the men ran off while she continued to fight to keep her bag from the other. He managed to thrust the bag under his armpit while she held onto the sling, but eventually he tore it out of her grip.

Man or moffie?: Hierarchical masculinities
As discussed earlier, men are often seen as protectors against, or initiators of violence. *Moffie* is a derogatory term referring to gay men, but is also a term used to refer to males who display 'feminine' traits by talking in a feminine voice, or moving in 'feminine' ways, or who, in relation to danger, would run away instead of fight. A *moffie* would not be able to defend himself when in a confrontational situation with another man. When a man is referred to as a *moffie* this is very insulting because it constructs him as a lesser man. This might happen, for example, when mothers pamper boys too much – they are told that the boy will grow up to be a *moffie*. Such boys are teased at school. Khaya would be referred to as a *moffie* among coloured men, or *isyoyo* among Xhosa-speakers. His safety tactic is not necessarily to stay inside or to avoid unsafe spaces, but to run away when he senses or sees a threat.

At one big fight in front of Chris Hani Residence I was told that I am a betrayer, but I went to call for help while they fought. Fighting is something I avoid at all costs. I am short-tempered and would just throw something at a person (Khaya, Eduardo Dos Santos Residence).

Tactics to stay safe (in this case running away from danger and calling for help) communicates what kind of man Khaya is. Challenging the 'feminine' or 'masculine' tactics for safety therefore makes a person less of a woman or man in the eyes of others (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: vi). Gender discourses inform tactics of safety. Men are socialised to respond to threats of violence with anger;

no signs of vulnerability must be seen when men are on their own, walk to campus, to Symphony Way and so forth. Men are protectors and potentially violent; when they speak people listen. Men deal with violence either in protective or aggressive ways (ibid.: 58). In the words of Simpiwe, 'violence makes me feel very responsible to people who are vulnerable in such (violent) situations', the 'people' being women and children. However, as we have seen in this chapter, these engendered tactics for safety are sometimes contested, as when a woman resists robbers, outwits them and calculates a safe escape.

In contexts of South African prisons and labour compounds where masculinity is renegotiated, the 'weaker' male inmates are claimed as 'wives' of the stronger male prisoners. The dominance of the stronger man is sustained through fear evoked by violence (Niehaus 2000: 81; Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 61). These roles as 'husbands' exaggerate men's masculinity enabling them to be 'real' men (Niehaus 2000: 85). Masculinity is not the only factor to consider in understanding how men deal with perceived threats.

Issues of connectedness and race further compound spatiality. The space around the university campus is different from the spaces occupied by the adolescents in Lindegaard and Henriksen's research. Since students staying in residences may not originally be from Cape Town or South Africa even, there is no sense of belonging to the area, particularly among men. There is no attachment to a place as there would be when one lives there. These students like Simpiwe come from other parts of the world, and when they walk into 'danger zones' Belhar or Bellville, they 'know' they 'should not be there' in the first place.

Bellville is kind of scary, especially the coloureds. I have nothing against coloureds but there are strange characters around there. There is just a feeling that tells me that I have to be alert. If I need directions, I would rather find the place on my own. The taxi rank area is especially unsafe (Simpiwe, Cassinga Residence).

At the same time Simpiwe's statement seems to hint at a homogenisation of coloureds. Jensen (2001: 4) explains that the homogenisation of coloured men is so forceful that each and every coloured man on the Cape Flats is under persistent suspicion of being a gangster. Even men coming from townships (both coloured and black) in Cape Town are 'aware' of the racial boundaries between coloured and black townships. This means that blame is not only directed at

gender when treading in 'wrong' places, but at people of 'other' races, too. In addition blacks cross these racialised boundaries more often than the other races to go shopping, or to university – basically due to economic inequities.

Storytelling

Knowing the power of a story heard is that the story occurs within the listener (Simms 2001).

As indicated earlier, people's experiences of violence are informed by the exchange of stories about violence. Storytelling informs tactics of safety and makes people aware instead of conscious of violence. Tactics are in other words people's means to avoid, escape or confront danger, which they do not necessarily consciously reflect on (Lindegaard and Henriksen 2004: 46). Storytelling also creates a feeling of solidarity among group members and may not necessarily be based on actual events that occurred in a specific place. It might have the purpose of reinforcing feelings of mutuality – a group feeling. Stories of danger may also be based on what might possibly happen to a person. Such feelings are then associated with preconceived ideas of a violent situation someone else was in, and, based on these feelings, we employ tactics to keep safe. We do not know if walking in a 'dangerous place' at a specific moment will result in our belongings being snatched from us or in being held at gunpoint. But it is stories that inform us not to walk in certain places at certain times of the day – when such places are deserted, when we have valuable things with us, or when we are alone. This does not, however, make danger less real or less likely to happen.

When foreigners come to South Africa they are unable to distinguish between the safe and unsafe because they are not informed through stories or by witnessing people being held at gunpoint, for example, apart from the stories they may have read in the news media. They are not a part of the formation of a symbolic order. This might make foreigners easier targets. In addition, foreigners are perceived as having money on them and are therefore targeted for robbery.

Recognising 'shady characters' – Tactics for staying safe

One should also always listen to one's instincts as Oprah Winfrey says, because in those situations they are women's best bet! (Melanie, Hector Peterson Residence).

As argued previously, storytelling, in person or via the mass media, about violence

informs our tactics of safety. These stories could also inform foreign and/or first-year campus residents to distinguish between the safe and unsafe, and also help them to recognise 'signs' of people and places that are potentially unsafe. Although I discussed this awareness briefly through Collin's experience at the train station, this section tries to unravel how participants 'recognised' 'shady' characters and used tactics to escape dangerous situations. The characteristics described by the participants cannot perfectly determine who is dangerous or not, but nevertheless aid them in creating feelings of safety.

I waited at the bus stop not far from the residence. I saw two guys approaching the bus stop and they looked very suspicious. What makes them look suspicious is the way they walk, their behaviour and especially the way they look at a person – intimidatingly! A woman walking in front of them crossed the road to walk to the garage. A year ago the garage did not exist. Then I planned that if they came too close to me I would run across the street to the garage as well and I moved toward the pedestrian crossing. The guys then saw my plan and stopped in their tracks. They started telling me things like 'Do you think we want to rob you?' They tried talking to me saying all sorts of things and then the one guy tried to get closer to me. I said 'Don't you dare get closer!' The guy saw I outwitted them and then started walking away from the bus stop in the direction they were walking and I returned to the bus stop. The other woman who crossed the road then walked to the bus stop when the guys had left and the woman told me 'They would have robbed you now!' I said I knew what their intentions were but was prepared for them. But they also saw that I did not have valuable things on me otherwise they would have made the effort to rob me. I only had my bus fare and bank card on me, but they could have taken my cellphone which is what they often target. Another woman approached the bus stop with an expensive gold watch, which is foolish in that area (Melanie, Hector Peterson Residence).

The bus stop where Melanie was nearly robbed falls directly on the threshold between Hector Peterson Residence and the Belhar community. Robbers regularly dwell there. They sometimes disguise themselves as school pupils since a school is nearby, but can also wear balaclavas.

According to Melanie, who grew up in Belhar, suspicious characters look at their victims intimidatingly, as if to make them docile. Robbers also stare at their potential victims thoroughly – looking for possessions on their bodies before they strike. The woman who walked in front of them apparently perceived the same

danger and crossed over to the other side of the road. Melanie instead moved to a place where she could more easily escape if the men came too close to her. The men noticed what was happening and remarked that she was wrong – but because they were outwitted, they walked away.

Awareness of a suspicious person is evidently important in staying safe. Due to students' awareness through stories and exposure, many are able to outwit their 'predators' and escape.

Two Fridays after my first arrival in Cape Town in 2003, I walked from campus around 5pm. When I left the station's side, 6 students walked in front of me but I overtook them because I walked fast. The field was very bushy and as I approached the intersection to the main path that leads to the hostel, I considered which route I should take. As I contemplated this, two guys appeared from behind a bush where they were hiding. I then weighed up the situation and thought it would be best if I walked back in the direction of campus and fortunately there were guys coming from campus walking my way and the two guys ran off into the bushes. They ran off because I told the group of students what I suspected the two guys were up to and pointed at them (Graham, Hector Peterson Residence).

Two men who hid behind bushes on the field were immediately viewed with suspicion. After many complaints from students about the height of the bushes, they are now regularly mowed. Graham's case emphasises the point that awareness of suspicious behaviour is a tactic of safety. Following 'instinct', as Melanie stated, is viewed as a reliable way to stay safe. This was what Graham relied on although he was new to the area. When he told others about the men they disappeared.

In situations where students are uncertain of whether or not a suspicious-looking person may pose a threat, they tend to look for a sign from the oncomer to either confirm their suspicion or refute it. Graham 'tested' a suspicious oncomer by greeting him to see what the response would be.

One Saturday evening walking from campus, I was about to swipe myself out of the gate and saw someone sitting close to the entrance with a cellphone. The person looked suspicious and I felt uncomfortable. Weighing up the situation I wanted to stay inside campus, but then just swiped myself out and greeted the guy. The guy returned my greeting and I just walked by. Other times in situations

like that I would just start up a conversation with a security guard at the gate until things are settled for me to pass (Graham, Hector Peterson Residence).

Because the oncomer responded by greeting, Graham felt assured that it was fine to proceed, and thus continued walking. Graham generally greets passers-by because it gives him a feeling of control in environments which make him feel unsafe – such as crossing the field or using taxis. His sunglasses also help him to scrutinise oncomers without them realising it.

To Phumzile, oncomers who do or do not greet her also serve to confirm or refute her suspicions – this is in addition to the type of clothes the person wears. However, other types of behaviour also serve this purpose.

As we walked, a guy walked behind us. He wore tekkies, ¾ shorts, a t-shirt and a jacket. We slowed down allowing him to pass. As he passed, I greeted him because people usually greet in return, but this guy did not. So when he was in front of us, he continuously turned back to look at us, and this made him very suspicious. We then walked in such a way as to see if we could get rid of him and walked to Sasol garage. When we came out of the garage, we saw him standing where we had to pass to walk to the hostel. Then some other students who walked with suitcases came and he followed them closely. It was as if he was trying to see what they had on them. I then went to tell someone inside the shop about this guy and they called the police. After that I accepted a lift to the hostel (Phumzile, Hector Peterson Residence).

The clothes someone wears are not a determining factor of present danger. In this case, what was more prominent as an indicator of danger was the man's strange behaviour: not greeting Phumzile and her friend in return and turning back to look at them continuously. His behaviour was thus out of place for someone not interested in harming them. When he followed them he confirmed their suspicions.

Distinguishing between safe and unsafe spaces
People generally identify violence as occurring in specific places and spaces. Potentially violent spaces tend to be associated with 'public spaces'. Outside of the 'public' domain, that is in 'private' spaces, it seems to be more difficult to make sense of violence (Richardson and May 1999: 312). In relation to this, some of the participants felt safer when in the confines of the campus. Phillip

experienced being on campus with some ambivalence.

Being on campus does not even feel safe because a friend of mine was stabbed on campus one night. There was even a joke that I heard once, that anybody who walks around late at night is a foreigner and will be killed. This implies then that the locals do not work until late. Even at the gates on campus, people who are not students are let in so easily, while students who occasionally forget their student cards are harassed, even if security staff know the student passed by for years. This makes campus a very unsafe place (Phillip, Hector Peterson Residence).

Being on campus does not necessarily make Phillip feel safe, despite the security staff that patrol regularly. The stabbing of a friend heightened Phillip's feelings of unsafety. His status as a foreigner and experience of xenophobia strengthened this sense of being unsafe. Furthermore, easy access allowed to outsiders onto the campus increases the risk of the presence of violent people who come to The Barn and to Condom Square, which often results in fights.

Fig.1.3 – The Barn, where students go for drinks and to dance. Fights are known to occur outside after people vacate The Barn

Walking past Condom Square on a Friday night is particularly dangerous because people smoke dagga, get drunk there and loud music is always heard playing there. If anything should happen to me there and I scream, nobody would be able to hear because the music will muffle the sound. One day I even saw condoms and a pair of panties lying there (Catherine, Eduardo Dos Santos Residence).

Figure 1.4 – Condom Square, which is adjacent to The Barn. According to rumours, a woman student was raped here – Photo by author

To the stranger's eye, The Barn and Condom Square may look like places of relaxation which offer extra-mural activities to students. On weekends one might get a different picture due to the rowdiness, the loud music, the smell of alcohol and marijuana and the poor lighting at night, all coming from the direction of those two places. As a result of this, students feel unsafe, especially when fights break out. Catherine's fear that if something happens to her nobody will hear, makes her feel unsafe whenever she passes by *en route* to campus. The sight of a pair of panties and condoms gave her the feeling that forced sex had happened and that she might be in danger. A reported instance of attempted rape also took place on Condom Square when a number of men jumped from the trees and tried to rape a woman student. She managed to free herself. Stories about Condom Square, although not corresponding with what Campus Protection Services report, may also make students feel unsafe. Avoiding such a space is a safety tactic.

The place on campus which seems unsafe to me is the area in front of The Barn, that whole area is unsafe. Last year a lady was raped there by guys who jumped out of the tree (Catherine, Eduardo Dos Santos Residence).

A staff member from Campus Protection Services stated that it was an attempted rape, not a 'real' one. The student's mother wrote a letter to the university in which she made clear that it was an attempted rape case. But students feel unsafe in the area of Condom Square because people get drunk there and become

aggressive. Because 'outsiders' come into The Barn, students feel unsafe. Women also get drunk and once they leave The Barn, men follow them to their rooms and may 'take advantage of them'.

I mean you can see people, even if we go there (The Barn) now. ... people who, there are those people who do not have cards to go to the tavern, so you don't know. You can just feel that these people they might do something to me (Khaya, Eduardo Dos Santos Residence).

Coming from Gauteng Province, being in the Western Cape makes Bulelwa feel uncomfortable, especially in the townships. Additionally, Bulelwa feels that being asked on a date may pose danger to her as well, as Xhosa-speakers in the Western Cape ask women out on dates, with sex as their motive. Aware of what happened to her friend when she consented to a date with a man, Bulelwa declines going on dates outside of her sphere of safety.

It is very rough here in Western Cape and there are skollies.When one goes to the townships one cannot talk on the [cell]phone during the day outside in the streets. People cannot wear Levi's or expensive clothes. This life was never dreamed of. People rob with a knife. People put steel pipes on their faces probably because something happened to them. I usually go to Guguletu to braai there with her friends (Bulelwa, Coline Williams Residence).

Bulelwa's tactic for safety is to be extra careful when asked out on dates. What happened to her friend refined her ability to distinguish between safety and unsafety.

Men around here (Western Cape), when they take a woman out, especially the Xhosas, they expect sex. They wanted to do this with her but she refused. If men take women out they want to chow them. One friend went to Century City with a man and she did not want to go home with him so he left her there. He then came to fetch her the next day, slapped her and broke her phone. The guys back home will take women out and take them home without chowing them. But a lot of women want to be chowed. If a man wants to get a woman for the night he must take her to the pub and then chow her. This is how men see girls now (Bulelwa, Coline Williams Residence).

Conclusion
This essay addressed various issues around living in a violent environment. Its

main argument was that being aware of dangerous spaces and people who may pose threats aid in maintaining safety. At the same time, being aware of potentially dangerous spaces and 'shady' characters, may also cause fear among students. In light of this, students use tactics to restore a symbolic order, so that despite the fact that they may be fearful whenever treading in those potentially dangerous spaces, they can use tactics to keep themselves safe. I investigated the idea that there is safety in numbers especially since evidence suggests that group dynamics often influence whether or not bystanders of violence will intervene to help the victim. I found that it is the imaginary safety when in a crowd that creates feelings of safety among students and not being in a group *per se*. Awareness of dangerous places such as trains that pose danger to commuters often forces students to survive through drastic measures, but prior information helps to reduce chances of fatality. Students would, for example, stay away from broken windows in trains and spread stories which help other students identify potential danger. Of course gender roles and stereotypes influence how people respond to violence since they cause people to behave in certain ways in relation to them. I argue that the environments women grow up in and the absence of messages that counter the perceived 'weakness' of women, perpetuate and may exacerbate violence toward them since they challenge and curb potential perpetrators of violence. Women tend to favour the value of male characteristics above their own, which certainly has implications when dealing with violence especially when women are raised to believe they are vulnerable and weak in relation to violence and should rather stay indoors because they are at risk as women. Men on the other hand are taught to believe that they are more powerful in relation to violence and that they will be able to defend themselves. This proves that the social construction of violence is a highly gendered process. Furthermore, stories people hear about violence also increase the awareness of danger and inform the tactics people use to stay safe. Finally, recognising 'shady' characters alerts students to oncoming danger and allows them to use tactics for escape or retreat to a safe space. The markers of potentially dangerous characters include strange behaviours, when for example someone continuously turns back and looks at you, or does not greet in return. Recognising such clues helps students escape from potential dangers, but these clues are not static since students may also misrecognise such clues. While this chapter focused primarily on the tactics students use to stay safe in the vicinity of the university, the following chapter addresses the university's contribution to a safe environment for its students.

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