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Voices of Marginalized Masculinities: An Ethnographic Study of Nacho Boys/Men in Sindh **Shafquat Hussain**

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the marginalized masculinities among dancing boys/Nacho Boys and subsequent operating system in society's power relation. Simultaneously this study explored the dynamic of masculinity among dancing boys and consequent obligation, rights, duties, and work. Moreover, it looks into how Nacho boys who always faces discrimination treat each other within their own subculture. Connell's theory's ongoing appeal largely stems from the fact that it offers a critical feminist critique of historically defined masculinities while simultaneously recognizing the diverse roles that different men play in its reproduction. One of the primary bonds exists between Guru and Nacho, and it is also one of the fundamental hierarchal relationships. Guru is head and also assumes the role and responsibilities of leader. Guru acts and decide everything, including decision making power, whereas Nacho boys always remains subordinate to Guru. The power and authority of Guru has no limit. Its moral and social justification from his degree of influence in other situations within and outside the group. It was a general rule for all members to maintain their respect, so they are strictly prohibited from performing sexual activity inside the group. In this research study I used the ethnographic research methods as the tool to investigate the connections of nacho boys and their coping mechanisms with their own subculture and how they are being subordinated by their masters

Keywords: Nacho Boys, Marginalized Masculinity, Guru, Subordinates, Hierarchy

Introduction

This study shows the formative understanding and different form of masculinities of Nacho boys/ men in Sindh Nacho is the Sindh traditional word which is used for dance, and in Sindh culture dance is allowed as the "HO JAMALO" is famous dance used in Sindh culture. As we know that the research on men and masculinities in Pakistan is rare by the researcher and research institutes, so my this research piece of work on understanding and construction of marginalized masculinities of nacho boys/men in Sindh is very important and it highly accepted, as it highlights and investigate the various forms of masculinities of Nacho boys/men, and their each form of masculinity is not accepted in the society, they have different forms of masculinities like marginalized and subordinate masculinity, this study also focuses on various issues and challenges faced by men who are marginalized by their profession "Dance"

Conceptual developments in the study of Masculinity:

According to Raewyn Connell (2000) who make some points in relation to the concept of multiple masculinities that in multicultural societies there are also multiple definitions and dynamics of masculinity, each culture has its own definition of masculinity so such diversity between men exists in both different settings of men and also in same settings of men so it clear that men enact manhood in different ways by applying their gender roles in families,

communities, societies and cultures for instance depending on the whether the context is work, school or home, one common men seen different at these three levels based on their work and engagements, a small boy has different practices and games in the school and the same boy has different practices at home my this work also support with the work of Connell as Nacho boys of Sindh have different trails of masculinity when they are at the stage or at mela to perform dance they have unique trails of masculinity and after the dance performance when they sit together within their respective group or with friends they have different notions of masculinity and when they are at home they have different form of masculinity and being a common boys they have different trails of masculinities it means that Nacho boys/men were experienced form subordinate masculinity, marginalized masculinity but in all different trails they never enjoy the trails of hegemonic masculinity.

Sindh is famous place where important festivals and social gatherings has been arranged like Chatti (Birth of Child), Urs celebration, Marriage, Musical nights, and private parties throughout the history these festivals and programs are arranged and organized by people where huge gathering takes an active part if the Nacho (Sindhi term used for dancing boys) has invited for the dance performance, because these dancing boys are an important parts of every festivals at local level that takes place in the rural villages of Sindh. It is the matter of fact that the nature of such festivals is male oriented, where only men can take part and engage with entertainment, women are not allowed to participate in such festivals. In common understanding such profession is considered as a source of entertainment where every class/community of people came from different villages and cities they seem in the entertainment and dancing of boys when they perform the dance in any party or program these dancer boys faced the many sexist comments like (Chikne, londe, Janu type) and they tie to sex talk, adult bulling and stereotypically behave with these dancing boys. During program they faced many challenges and problems one common problems they faced is sexual favor by feudal, powerful and wadera (Feudal) type men, and if the boys refused by such relationship they were beaten and receiving different threats of death by these powerful men.

If we look at the history of these dancing boys, we find its roots and close resembles with in Afghan, Pashtun and Tajik societies. Few people link the Nachos with Afghan rulers of Sindh in the past centuries. Presently, in the cities of Sindh like Dadu, Larkana, Shikarpur and Kashmore are filled up with these dancing boys and rumors are that these innocent boys are used for the prostitution, where there is no fear of objection to public dance performance and program.

Literature Review

Understanding and construction of Masculinities in world:

The society given the certain norms associated to the men in a particular context, those norms shows the masculinities of men within and outside the cultures, the studies of masculinity identifies the gender performance and gender identities which are socially constructed in workplace and anywhere, the terms masculinities focused swwhy it is fluid and off course the masculinities of men are produced by all the powers structures for example women subjugation to men as well as it also produced by the generalized sense of masculinity (Connell R. , 2005).

In the support of ILO studies, this study focused on the questions of men in regards stereotypical images faced by Nacho boys from audience where they performed, the study has been focusing the structuring and restructuring the forms of masculinities in Sindh, Pakistan. Nowadays the identities of men are shifting and change over the time, according to the butler masculinity is formed by the performativity of individuals (Butler, 1988). What She calls it "Gender Performativity, she explains that musicality is fluid it exists in each and every community but change over the time? It is important to note that men are always bargain masculinities in their daily life as the Nacho boys always negotiate their masculinity. Sometimes they prove their masculinity by fulfilling the needs of family and sometimes they prove their masculinity by dance performance.

Masculinity in South Asia:

According to the Scholars on Masculinities in South Asia men are considered to the subject of men. That is why the studies of men and masculinity are the center of gendered being for scholars, in the context of understanding of men and masculinity China and Japan of Asia is much focusing on this meanwhile the less research has been done on the man and masculinities in south Asia (Lyons, 2012).

Ramesh Awasthi widely explains how masculinity's practices and power have changed over time in South Asia, he describing men as patriarchy's victims in his work "Engaging Men to End Domestic Violence in South Asian Communities in the United States" he explain the men as why should males change, and how can we persuade them to relinquish their control, benefits, and privileges, as well as biases and unfair behavior (e.g., against women, the LGBTQ community, cross marriage, and so on) under power structures? Is it feasible to persuade men and boys that they, too, are sufferers of patriarchy, that they have been oppressed, and also that they bear such a heavy societal burden that their engagement in feminist movements would lead in their own independence? Would the promise of a revised concept of masculinity and improved methods to be a "genuine" man drive men to collaborate with women to end abuse of women and demolish patriarchal society? (Ramesh Awasthi, Shamita Das Dasgupta, 2015).

Men's Work

In the context of staple economy which strongly make the men's work in rural areas of the world as the Evan (2000) analyze that in the labour market women and men have different choices but the choices for men's work is more critical in rural areas, there are certain work which is considered as "manly" which affects the men choices on their work opportunities. There are many scholars who make the important contribution through their researches and worked on men in public means men's at work they have given different opinions on different settings of men's work (an Individual aspects) like when I looked at the work of Casey, 1995; Du Gay, 1996; Knights and Willmott 199 they recognized that men's paid work is more or less a provider to a family or we can say that work is an opportunity in public sphere where the men exercise their powers, it means that men have strong connotation and relationship with public spaces. The individual work of men provides different locations; the work activities of men take place in different organizations and having unique code of ethics and values which labeled men's work (Casey, 1995).

Marginalized Masculinity:

In the light of woods, my work has also focused on the privileges of Nacho men/boys as they faced challenges of being a marginalized group; they are the source of entertainment in Melas (Festivals) only but still they do not take any advantages of being a man. In the connections to the work of Connell, has been explaining that masculinities can be recognized by multiple ways like gender, class and race, white and black, working class and middle class and more the masculinities can be identified through the culture as we know that different cultures have alternative lifestyle, so by the hardship and easiness of men's work shows their masculinity. It is very important to note that the work on men and masculinity done rare on those men/boys who are experienced and adopt the marginal spaces in different societies and cultures, according to the Ronald and Jackson those groups which lies under the umbrella of marginalized groups having given very less importance, to some extend such marginalized groups will cut off from the highly appropriate groups of society, it means that there are limited social boundaries and lines for marginalized groups (Ronald L. Jackson II, 2013).

Masculinity in Pakistan and Sindh:

In the analysis of Rana R Gondal who had worked on the topic "Masculinities of Shi'ite Men in Karachi, Pakistan" As a result, his study goal is to engage in critical debate about gender and religion in a cultural context. His study concerns look into how Shi'ite men see and perform masculinity, as well as how the political backdrop of a city like Karachi and a region like South Asia influences Shi'ite people's lives. Over all the study of Rana R Gondal concluded that initial observation concerned a milder form of mourning - the part of tears. The fact that Shia males openly cry at marsiya-goi times is an interesting contrast to the hyper masculine image of the guy in a julus tolerating tremendous amounts of pain on his body. This range of high and low expression is what he is attempting to map in order to give a philosophically coherent understanding of masculinity within the Shi'ite faith. This study contributes to the subject of gender and masculinity studies and adds value to the genre by emphasizing a more intersectional approach to analysis.

Gender is typically seen in a stereotyped, binary fashion in Pakistan's patriarchal culture. In this system, men are primarily responsible for the public domain, while women are responsible for the private realm of home and family. Men are typically viewed as women's protectors, and women are viewed as "vulnerable prey" that require male protection. As a result of this conservative gender paradigm, men in Pakistani culture have power that most women do not. While Pakistani womanhood cannot be reduced to a homogeneous unity of oppression and suffering, established socio-cultural norms do monitor and police their behavior and mobility in relation to that of men. Men are compelled to act in accordance with traditional gender ideals of masculinity due to societal influences. For example, men are meant in Pakistan to be rational, courageous, assertive, and heartless individuals.

Theoretical Frame work**Theories on Men and Masculinities****Defining Masculinity**

According to the R.W Connell the concept of "masculinity" is not present in all countries; all have cultural descriptions of gender. In its current meaning, the phrase implies that a person's behavior is a reflection of their personality. In other words, if a person who lacks masculinity might act differently, such as being peaceful rather than angry, conciliatory rather than

domineering, hardly able to kick a football, uninterested in sexual conquest, etc. It is important to keep in the mind that essentialist define the masculinity by analysis of men's lives, and it is important to note that men live typically based on an essentialist definition of masculinity that chooses one characteristic as the essence of the masculine. When he contrasted feminine passivity with feminine activity, Freud toyed with an essentialist notion.

- Normative definitions of masculinity acknowledge these variations and provide a benchmark: masculinity is what men should be. Normative definitions permit various men to hold to the criteria to varying degrees.

Hegemony

With references to the Connell, he defines the Hegemony as the cultural dynamic through which a group of the superior men asserts and maintains a dominant position in society as well as in their social and professional life in such group of men always has superior positions within and outside the home. Hegemony is derived from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations. The definition of hegemonic masculinity is the pattern of gender practice that incorporates the currently accepted solution to the legitimacy of patriarchal dilemma, which ensures (or is assumed to ensure) the dominant position of males and the subordination of women, generally the gender practices never justify masculinities of men but it depends on the particular practices and work of men which correlates with their masculinities

Subordination

As it is highlighted by the various researchers that Hegemony has to do with supremacy and dominance of one group of men in a particular culture inside a society. And it is also emphasis that between groups of men, they have unique gender identities and gender relations of dominance and subordination within that larger framework. The most significant example is the domination of heterosexual men and the subjection of homosexual men in modern European and American society. As the homosexual men is not accepted in each and every society and homosexual men are deprived from their social, legal and political rights

Complicity

Actually, the complicity is such form of masculinity that is originate from hegemonic masculinity, as it is previously mentioned that issue with normative conceptions of masculinity is that, only few men truly live up to them and all other men who did not meet up with the versions of hegemonic masculinity have some complexity with their own masculinity. This idea is relevant to hegemonic masculinity; it is possible that there are not many men that hold on to the hegemonic pattern in its entirety. However, the patriarchal dividend the advantage men generally enjoy as a result of the subjection of women means that most men benefit from its rule. This can be achieved by recognizing another association amongst male groups the association of complicity with the hegemonic project. Masculinities designed to enjoy the patriarchal dividend without the conflicts or dangers associated with serving as the front-line soldiers of patriarchy are, in this sense, complicit in the patriarchal system.

Marginalization

According to R.W Connell (2005) the terms hegemony, subordination, and complicity refer to relationships within the gender order. Men and masculinities are further connected by the way that gender interacts with other systems like class and race or particular group of people. Connell analysis on the term "marginalization" to describe the interactions between the masculinities in dominant and subordinate classes or ethnic groups is not the great, I cannot

think of anything better. The legitimacy of the dominant group's hegemonic masculinity is always a factor in marginalization.

Research Design

Introduction to Masculinities in Field

In this research I will use the ethnography as the research tool to investigate the marginalized masculinity, work type and various problems of Nacho boys and their interaction with each other when you are going to conduct the ethnography it means you have to by spending some time with your respondents to easily understand their way of life, culture and work. For this study I lived two weeks with them.

Feminist Research Methodology

The qualitative methods have become important and popular tools in larger spheres of academic research and specially preferred by Feminist Research Methodologies because it provides valuable insights into the local perspectives of study population.

Research aims and expected out comes

This study aims to gain understanding the Marginalized Masculinities, Challenges and hardships associated with particularly of Nacho Boys performing within and outside the family and perception and practice and challenges being faced by them. in the society.

Overall, Purpose and Aims

The purpose of this study is to understand the existing perceptions of Dancing boys on their own masculinities, behaviors of audiences (Entertainers) with Dancing Boys and social status, and social roles of Nacho Boys within the family as well as in society and explore the problems and barriers faced by Nacho Boys in the family and understand the societal attitude towards Nacho Boys

Specific objectives

1. To analyze the form of Masculinities of Nacho Boys/Men During Dance Performance
2. To highlight the access, the impacts of Masculinities on men- associated pressure of being a man (for example bread-earner, decision making, and head of the family etc.)
3. Explore the challenges and issues faced by Nacho Boys through fulfilling their roles (Providers and protectors)
4. Explore the relationship of nacho boys within the group and with audiences

Hypotheses

- Traditions, cultures and customs have the ultimate relationship with the issues of Nacho boys in family and in society.
- Lack of education has correlation with status of men.
- Lack of implementation of the existing laws is central in the prevalence of social roles of men.

Sampling technique

Data for this research is related to the specific population therefore purposive sampling will be used to look for the participants. Neuman, (2007) defined that purposive sampling is a type of non-probability sampling in which the researcher selects the respondents who meet with certain characteristics. Thus, the researcher will select the boys/men who are profession is dance.

Sample size

Since the focus of this study is to locate the Nacho Boys/men who will be in dance profession since two to three years thus, the research will contact 20 respondents including ten of them will be Nacho boys, five of them will be the gurus or leader and five of them will be from audiences and extract the relevant data from them through a well-structured questionnaire.

Inclusion criteria:

In this study on Marginalized Masculinity, I will determine the following including criteria for sample: the boys who were in this profession since two to three years and the Guru (Master) who were in this profession belong to District Larkana and the audience where they perform dance.

Exclusion criteria:

Those boys/men who were in profession less than two years will be excluded from the sample. Making such exclusions will enable the researcher to include relevant information on Marginalized Masculinities and present reliable results

Tools for data collection

A well-structured questionnaire will be developed carrying closed ended questions. The questions will focus on the socio-economic profiling of the respondents, the circumstances faced by men for achieving and satisfying their Masculinities in family as well as in society. This type of data will be collected through personal interaction with the respondents.

Pre-testing

Pre-testing or pilot study is said to be the prerequisite of social research because it enables a researcher to check flaws in the questionnaire. Just before beginning the formal field work, the researcher will carry out pilot study to know the workability and reliability of the questionnaire. He will look for 05 respondents who were in dancing profession well ahead and conduct interviews with them.

In-depth Interviews

During the fieldwork, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews from Nacho Boys which helped him to scrutinize the issue profoundly and also got to know about their life histories and various challenges they are facing ranging from economic, social, and Cultural

Field Notes

It is of utmost importance to document and collect the field notes. It includes jotting down the observations, interview data, and survey forms. During the fieldwork, the researcher jotted down every piece of information collected from the field, such as writing down the daily experiences while living with the Nacho Boys, observational notes, interview points, and other unusual occurrences.

Audio Recording

The researcher used this technique when he made meaningful conversations with his key informants, respondents, and other community members. During interviews, the researcher mostly records the data by using a voice recorder. With the use of this technique, the researcher collected without difficulty the sufficient amount of required data.

Secondary Sources

It is challenging for a researcher to collect all the data from primary sources. In Gender Studies, most of the information is collected through participant observation, interviewing; but the information is also collected through secondary sources that include local NGOs, Internet, Newspapers, Magazines, and the various studies conducted by other researchers.

The current research also starts by collecting data from secondary sources to get a thorough understanding of the issue under consideration.

Data analysis

A descriptive approach will be used for data analysis and relevant percentages and frequencies will be developed to present the data. The themes has been developed to analyzed the data according to set objectives

Limitations of study

The researcher's intervention in the community for this study will be affected by several factors: he may face socio-cultural barriers to contact the respondents or the respondents may also give him misleading information. To keep the biases and barriers on minimal level, the researcher will limit this study to District Larkana only and will look for the respondents within the delimitation.

Feminist Research Ethics

The code of ethics very important aspect in Feminist research methodology at each and every step of any research that would conduct at community level, when a researcher will be going to conduct a survey or conducting an interview from selected respondent so being a researcher it is your responsibility that you will be administrated with 'informed consent' to your respondent as it is a formal permission. In order to get accurate and value-free data respondent will be assured for the confidentiality and privacy of information. As ethics in feminist research will boost up your data analysis and the result will be accurate

Limitations of study

This research is about Nacho boys/men in District Larkana. Hence it might not be the representative of the other parts of Pakistan, Sindh, Baluchistan and KPK. This study is primarily focused on the Marginalized Masculinities, work, and cultural acceptance of Nacho Boys and coping mechanisms of Nacho Boys/men in Sindh, District Larkana. Hence this research, therefore, does not represent or inculcate other dimensions of the Nacho Boys.

Discussion and Analysis:

Construction of marginalized the Masculinities of Nacho boys within their groups (with guru, with audience and with community)

According to the field data, the researcher observed personally during the field work that these dancing boys at the little age (09-14 years of age) do not know the men's role in society so the idea of construction of their masculinities is away from their voices and even they do not know that in Sindhi society's masculinities have many trails but during the interview some of boys told me that men is known by their actions and by their physical appearance, so the actions of men and the masculinities are of same thing according to the perceptions of these nacho boys. I observed very common stereotype within the group members of nacho boys that men actual work is earn money and take care of group, dancing is our profession and we earn money to spend it on group because we are the boys/men. During the field work we I closely observed and asked very simple questions on masculinities I had found that these dancing boys do not fit themselves in the box of manhood and masculinity, they do not enjoy the privileges of manhood as they have close association with dance profession they are being marginalized by the entertainers/audience, guru/head and every common man. They do not enjoy the status of manhood it means they are not hegemonic but marginalized, during the interview one of the Nacho told me that we bring the smiles on the faces of audiences but no

one can see my heart is broken during the dance performance each and every time I feel that everyone is hitting my masculinity.

So we the Nacho boys are being marginalized due to the poverty, cultural masculinities are deeply rooted here in Sindh, the socio-economic context where masculinities are created that is why men in Pakistan have very high expectations but less opportunities that is why unemployment of Nacho boys/men or even common has a negative impact on masculine practices.

Nature of Nacho Group:

During the field work that the Nacho boys/men in the group of five to ten boys in each group and, every complete group has their own singer and a band of musicians, some dancers and one or two very little boys whose duty is to collect the money during the dance performance. The primary purpose of boys/men to come in this profession is to earn money and help their families as these young boys belong to poor families and professional dancing families because, they travel to the cities and villages of Sindh, even in small villages they perform their dance in festivals and marriage ceremonies for the money. Nowadays the boys are very short in this profession because they have to face many challenges on their masculinities and identities, they have less privileges and respect in this profession as this profession is unrecognized in the society.

How Nacho enters in this Profession

During the field work and the interview with the guru's, the Master Guru told me that there is no any single reason but these are multiple ways of entering these boys in the field of dancing like, we have found some boys by their own will and some small boys came into this profession by not their own wish but fact remains that they are sold out by their own parents in their childhood. The heads or the managers give them 30,000 to 50,000 rupees in advance to their parents and round about 4,000 to 6000 per month fixed money for each young boy and rest of the money they earned is used by their manager it means that all the nacho boys have no control over their earning, the manager exploited them. Before came in to the field of dance, these young and tiny boys were not professionally trained for the dance and no any professional skills given to them by manager, and they do not got the dance classes and trainings from their dance teachers and gurus hence, slowly and gradually they learn the dance skills in the group performance very first they seen the dance of their group fellows and learnt about the steps of dance, so they continually seen the dance performance and learnt each and every thing and after learnt the dance step they will learn about how to attract the audience by their group fellow hence after learn all the things they will ready to perform and attract a good number of visitors at each festival. As the mentioned above that these dancing boys have a very short performing life so they actively participate in festivals.

These dancing boys are aged between eight to fifteen years old, nonetheless most of these boys are not happy with this profession as this profession has very short life but as a researcher. They are only accepted as dancers by their admirers and managers until they reach an adult age. A number of Nachos learn to sing or use musical instruments, but majority of them are left with no option but to eventually work as male prostitutes.

Leader of a Group (Guru)

Guru is a person who is on leading position, he is a man who manages each and every thing sometimes he behaving politely and sometimes he misbehave with nacho boys if he found

any mistake of nacho, and meets with everyone without any shame, he uses to acts as a helping hand, takes care of all Nacho boys/men in every need. He is always in front he is responsible to arrange dance program and without his permission no any nacho boy visit or take any dance program, Due to his rendered services, this is by all group members respect him a lot with devotion and dedication. Submission before the authority of *Guru* is being rewarded and considered due to his goodness and philanthropic works. When the services of a *Guru* are accepted and appreciated, then rest of the group members start to obey and follow his pieces of advice and orders.

Generally, the leading person (*Guru*) is sagacious and tolerable, as mentioned earlier. He maintains Nacho with the help and contribution of all on these members of the group, wise each member (*Nacho*) shares to run the dance program smoothly. The sharing amount depends on the totality of earning; they freely adopt the source of earning as an occupation. In this connection of selecting occupation, every Nacho boy seeks advice from the leader (*Guru*), but it is not mandatory. *Guru* is merely protecting and promoting surveillance of nacho in dancing program.

Guru reserves a right to hold the concept of influence and power. In such ways, he can keep the authority to settle disputes among members of the group. He also has authority in terms of observing social obligations, ceremonies, and festivals.

Behavior with a new boy

A newcomer joins to become a member of Nacho group as a junior disciple. At the time of entering, most of the group members guide and counsel him to avoid joining the nacho group because it is full of miseries and sorrows and the life became worth and you will have to live with no reason. They ask him to live with his own parents due to many reasons. Mainly people live with parents are living a happy life but here your life will be destroyed, but still when newcomer persists in joining nacho group, then they all warmly welcomed him in group. Finally, he is welcomed by nacho with excitement, and whole group celebrates for new comer's entrance in their group. He needs to abide by the rules and regulations of the group. All group members observe his participation. He is free to choose the occupation and not being forced to do any act.

Performing Dance in Ceremonies

It is nowadays is not common that Nacho boys perform in each ceremony but few of them perform dances on occasions of happiness like marriage, birth, and on these cultural occasions. They are good at performing dances on different tones, wishes all of Nacho boys have a keen interest in dancing. Those who are beautiful, young, and good dancers have a preference in the sociality, and it is one of the lucrative services among Nacho boys

Economic Affairs of Nacho Boys

Like an ordinary group set up in any community it is the duty of family head to manage the expenses of the family, same like that the Nacho boys/men group manages their household affairs. They believe that earning is very much important aspect to build and sustain their livelihood and fulfill the economic requirements of their family. It is prime responsibility through which they manage the operations of *Dance*, which ranges from food security, health expenditure to buying domestic items for household chores. During the field one Nacho explain that my father had died four years ago and I am only the male member in family so to fulfill the household expenses I chose this profession, I know that this profession is highly

unaccepted but I don't have any other opportunity to avail that and help my mother to run the house smoothly, one day the guru came to my house and meet with my mother and explain the advantages of dance profession and my mother agree and sent me with guru, now I am here in this group since three years and bears my role to help my family.

Expenses of nacho boys

All group members are liable to contribute their share for household expenditure. The leader maintains it to ensure the smooth running of household operations. He collects the share from group members according to their earnings. Those who earn from sexual services are also liable to contribute their share. The paid money is used for running transport, accommodation, food and music items the rest is spent on personal needs like makeup, dressing, etc.

Participation in Shrine (peer) Festivals

Festivals are the major source of earning During the field work visit when I meet with an old man who is guru, he said that one of the biggest sources of income is peer festivals and he describe the details of famous Mela or Urs of all the peers in Sindh,

Sexual Services

Sexual services are another source of income as the number of homosexual people increase in Sindh especially in Larkana, Dadu, Khairpur and Shakarpur, such people came into the dance program of nacho boys and demand for sexual favor, during the dance performance the nacho and the entertainer negotiated with each other on sufficient amount. The people who came to visit the dance programs of Nacho boys belongs to lower class, race and poor family background and some of them belongs to the fudels, landlords. Nacho boys used and exploited more from the cowards, illiterate and uneducated people, they have strong connotations with Nacho boys, and they always demand for sexual favor and always used sexist language with Nacho boys.

Dance in marriage ceremonies:

Few years earlier dance program in marriage ceremonies were common and the Nacho boys was invited for dance and they earn sufficient amount from one program, during the interview with guru he discussed the various issues of nacho in marriage ceremonies, he said that violence and sexual exploitations is high in such ceremonies, the people drunk a lot and misbehave with nacho, the people use unwanted words and exploited the nacho boys he further said that one nacho boy was shoot dead in marriage ceremony by their own relative as he cannot bears the words which was using by the people. Nowadays we refused to take programs of marriage ceremonies as these programs are very dangerous for Nacho boys, the people bring the weapons with them and mostly they celebrate with firing and it is the question of death and fear.

Another guru told me that we invited for many marriage programs but we will visit on few where the organizer makes sure for no any issue during dance program but nowadays here in our district there are many problems with nacho boys so we are afraid to visits marriage ceremonies

Power Dynamic among Nacho boys/men

The power and authority of *Guru(head)* are not limited to the operations of *group*. It also drives its moral and social justification from his degree of influence in social situations outside the *group*. Nacho boys/men are not allowed to take part in the external affairs of *Guru*, as

they keep aside from them. Due to this rule, none of the boy is allowed to get into a dialogue with an outsider who comes to meet their *Guru*. During the fieldwork, the researcher once noted that one of his group members get into a dialogue with an outside who came to meet *Guru*. After his departure, the *Guru* got angry on the that boy and taunted him, on which the boy started crying and asked him to forgive his mistake, which finally settled after much deliberation.

Freedom of Nacho boys/men for Participating in Party

Traditionally *Guru* is invited to participate in social celebrations and gatherings. Once an invitation is received, all the group members get the invitation. It is on his discretion that he wants to join it or not. If the *Guru* wants to join that program, then the rest of the members too can participate; otherwise, nobody is allowed to participate. Similarly, if someone does not invite the *Guru* and while inviting any other in group members, then it becomes a moral obligation on a disciple part to not attend the party, as it is considered as an insult of their *Guru*/ head.

Challenges and hardships faced by nacho Boys/men

The main arguments of this research work are to find out the hardships and challenges faced by the nacho boys/men as the society does not accept them as a member so they are being aside from moral values of men.

It is true and very common to understanding that stepping into the world of any work is full of obstacles each person has to face many challenges to complete their work, earn some money to fulfill their basic needs. Besides the unknown variables which will mostly if not definitely, hinder the smooth functioning of the work, there are certain known financial, social and economic barriers along with lack of motivation, inadequate relevant knowledge that adds to the misery of the pursuer. During the field work when I meet with gurus/ leaders of Nacho group when I asked one question from them everyone tries to give same answer but one replies as A man in Pakistan is very upset about everything, including his job, his financial costs, his poverty, and his home surroundings. When life is unaffordable due to poverty, the men suffer a lot as the society labeled men as a bread winner as it is the permanent gender role of men, for this act the men has to choose the best work to perform his roles and we (The Nacho) has chosen this profession as the source of income but we do not earn sufficient amount of fulfill our needs.

One of my research respondents told me when we were sitting at hotel and enjoy the tea with whole group of Nacho boys including the Leader of the group, when I asked for difficulties faced during the dance performance one of the respondents told me that Nacho Boys/Male beauty is publicly discussed at these dance events, where the dance is performed, in such dance program sexually charged at a higher level we blame with fake names like londy, chikny, Gull (flower). Where Beautiful young and tinny Nacho boys are given gifts of money, mobile and offers many more, sometimes old men or young men demands us for sexual favor and one who dance with attractive youngsters Nacho boys may occasionally receive jeers from the audience for trying to dance with their "wives." So, we face such comments during the dance performance. And that is I think the subordinate discourse seen in Nacho boys

Caste System

Mostly in sindhi society the caste system is so strong and important to highlight their specific identity as it was a system of stratification in the community; therefore, the people used a

caste system among them to know the status of the individual in society, some caste have high status and some caste have low status in the society and community.

In this ethnographic research, the researcher wanted to specify how the Nacho boys are treated into their own cast, so throughout the data collection Nacho never showed their actual caste, they hold and limited their own caste and never shows their own caste in programs and even with their friends because they have been feared about their life because if the fudels came to attend the dance program and they found the dancing boy belongs to their own caste they shoot them at sight during the interview with guru he told the researcher that two years back one of the wadera came to attend the dance program at Mela, and he met with one handsome boy and wanted friendship with him, when he tried to communicate with him and asked his name and caste and the city where he belong to, the Boy told him everything true, but the fact was that both Nacho and wadera belong to same caste and then wadera become hyper on him and started beating him as their caste has high status in the society. The guru told that after this incident I always aware the all the nacho boys to hide their caste and actual identity as it is the question of life and death

Conclusion

In this Ethnographic Research work I tried to bring the intricate relationship between local beliefs and experiences of performance, masculinity, and feeling of Nacho Boys/men in Sindh Pakistan. I concluded that Nacho boys/men must navigate between several expressions of manhood while participating in dance (Nach) and programs (mehfils), including those that put the emphasis on "hot" (garam) freshness, physical prowess, and the accomplishment of their acts and those acts and performances make their own masculinity. My aim of this research is to have outlined some of the conceptual issues with marginalized masculinity as the studies on men and masculinities are highly ignore because most of the feminists questions about the women and making the gender visible in all scholarships and public forums are also advanced the women but the other dynamic of gender that make the masculinity evident had been seen rarely at public forums and feminists scholarships

However, it's observed that they have their masculinity is challenged by three levels of manhood, at dance performance, public places and at home. However, this study argued that the construction and notion of masculinity in our society is very dangerous, people of this society perceive the masculinity in a wrong sense and ironically due to strong roots of the patriarchy in our society men has associated the masculinity with their culture, roles, body, and sexuality. This study also concludes that it's not necessary that every man and individual in the Sindh as well as in this society perceived or adopt the masculinity. There are certain charters or individuals (Nacho boys) who are living without the dominated masculinity or we said the notion and concept of masculinity of are identified in this society by the patriarchal people Nacho boys are going against that masculinity.

This study also suggested that a man without the masculinity can do everything, he can spend their life, according their wish and most important, the masculinity is that un

This study also finds out that Nacho boys are living in a miserable condition because in childhood they are sold by their family and parents on the few rupees and secondly when they had entered in the dancing profession they were discriminated, marginalized not only by the people even their own guru had started the exploited their rights, and life. without the permission of guru, they did not take the any decision of their life, and sadly from childhood

to adult they did not know the meaning of their own life in the society as they had crossed their teen ages and entered in the old aged people did not want their dance and programs (Mehfils) because it's a trend in Sindh people want to see the dance of teen boys not the old dancers and due to lack of dancing programs and musical nights many old age Nacho men started the begging, prostitution and many of them committed the suicide in the Sindh.

Recommendations

The cases of Nacho boys would be added in laws, policies and legislation of Pakistan because they belong with the marginalized community and they have no any space in public sphere. Mainstreaming or dominant community must reintegrate these boys into their previous community as they left their own community for the short time. There would be space for nacho boys in art related instructions govern by the government like ART COUNCIL, theaters, drama societies. In his community (dance community) in which they perform their services, ignore them after their retirement, they also should do something for them. Media should highlight their issues. Education is the only factor that play a pivotal role to change the positive trails of masculinity It needs some more research on marginalized masculinity as it is proper need in Pakistan to understand the relationship of men, masculinity and marginalization locally in Pakistan. Marginalized masculinity has many positive signs of masculinity like it helps to improve the tolerance and patience in society.

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