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MASTERS IN COMMUNITY-BASED COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

The Begging Asymmetry: Management of Inequalities in Interactions Between Street Beggars and Motorists

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A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA Masters in Community-Based Counselling Psychology (Psychology) in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 15/03/2017.

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Abstract

This research examines the interaction between beggars and motorists at traffic light intersections in Johannesburg CBD. Drawing on approximately 80hrs of video recorded interactions, the research primarily demonstrates the ways in which beggars and motorists produce embodied actions in the management of their asymmetrical socioeconomic positions, and more so the inequalities consequent of which. The phenomenon in question takes place in everyday settings constituted by mundane practices and embodied actions. As such, an ethnomethodologically oriented means towards gathering data served best suited to this research. A qualitative Conversation Analysis approach serves an apt technique for analysing the kind of fine-grained focus of the interactional phenomena observed (both verbal and non-verbal). The analysis has been rooted in the analytic framework of the greeting, request and offer adjacency pair types The progression of the analysis, as it unfolds, lends an eye to a particular sequence organization that appears to have crystalized, and further been reproduced in all of the beggar-motorist cases that have been examined here. The discussion turns towards unpacking some of the socio-structural implications of the embodied practices highlighted in the interaction of interest; particularly converging some of the ideas presented regarding the way in which the beggar-motorist interactional practices contribute to and maintain what can be seen as an institutionalized form of inequality.

Keywords: Begging, Street beggar, Interaction, Inequality, Conversation Analysis, Adjacency Pairs

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Introduction

This research examines the interaction between beggars and motorists at traffic light intersections in Johannesburg CBD. Drawing on approximately 80hrs of video recorded interactions, the research primarily demonstrates the ways in which beggars and motorists produce embodied actions in the management of their asymmetrical socioeconomic positions, and more so the inequalities consequent of which. The interaction between motorists and beggars is found to be anchored in enactments of greetings, requests and offers. As such, the research is rooted in a Conversation Analytic framework, with particular adherence to its basic structural tenets, of adjacency pairs, i.e.: greeting, request and offer adjacency pairs. The produced and reproduced embodied actions, deployed via physical gesture and bodily behaviour, illustrate the manner in which seemingly micro interactional features, predominantly in the turn-by-turn organization of the interaction, contribute to the production and maintenance of a macro socioeconomic inequality.

Much of the literature regarding begging addresses the phenomenon as a by-product of a much bigger focus, that being poverty and homelessness (Cross, Erasmus, O'Donavan, Seager, Ward, 2010; Cross & Seager, 2010; Cross, Kok, & Roux, 2010; Olufemi, 1998, 2000). Literature on the very act of begging, or rather the begging interaction, has been quite limited; considered largely for the possible psycho-social effects of begging, or alternately, as a moral conundrum with which passers-by and/or motorists are frequently faced with. That is, in reference to the latter, whether motorists should give to beggars or not (Moen, 2014; Bentley, 1997; Radford, 2001; Stones, 2013). The begging phenomenon has been considered more prominent in developing countries (than in developed countries) (Cross *et al*, 2010). South Africa, being one such country, whose cities have shown a marked increase in the presence of beggars, has produced very little research directed specifically towards the act of begging (Muñoz & Potter, 2014; Waters, 2011). Such research, in light of the profound and vast economic inequalities that plague this country; inequalities that could be traced to the stark racial segregations of South Africa's past, proves a necessary field of investigation, addressed in this research (Carter & May, 2001).

Following South African history through the Apartheid era and onwards, it proves important to observe not only how the lines of racial and economic segregation came to be established, but more so, the nature in which such lines have been maintained or adapted

following its transition to democracy. This transition into a now post-apartheid regime bearing a greater participation in a capitalist-styled economy has fostered a significant change in the nature of segregation (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2012; Seekings, 2010; van der Berg, 2011). That is, where apartheid drew its lines strictly across race, post-1994, said lines are now traced across economic class and its accompanying social class (Carter, 2001). Part and parcel of the marked increase in the inequalities of the newly adjusted socio-economic structures, particularly in urban areas, is the phenomenon of wealthy becoming wealthier and the poor becoming poorer (Carter, 2001; van der Berg, 2011). To further elaborate, in the apartheid era the systematically enforced and more importantly, unequal distribution of land ownership, quality education, skills training and thus corresponding income required to succeed in the game of capitalism favoured a single race-group to the disadvantage of another (Carter, 2001; Seekings, 2010). While the latter are no longer enforced by law, there has been left a residual effect of the segregation laws of apartheid, highlighting an alignment across social and economic lines and drawing subtler effects across various features of society (such as the primary culture and language of trade, for instance (Seekings, 2010). Furthermore, considering that black people (largely) form the majority of both the general population as well as the poverty population, bearing a systemically disadvantageous position to white people, who are essentially the minority which fills the upper echelons of socio-economic positions; one can easily see how South Africa has earned her title as "one of the world's most unequal societies" if not *the* most (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2012: 21).

The dramatic inequality herewith, coupled with a fluctuating middle class as the remnants of apartheid, has left many vulnerable to poverty if not to the point of homelessness altogether (Bhorat & van der Westhuizen, 2012; Cross & Seager, 2010). Of course, this is not to say that such a phenomenon could not be observed during apartheid, rather that it has become much more pronounced in this day (Seekings, 2010). An obvious and concrete representation of this inequality can be seen in the clear delineation between affluent and poverty-stricken neighbourhoods, separated (in many an instances) merely by a street (Lemanski, Landman & Durington, 2008). Moreover, it is not difficult to imagine that one (either from the affluent or meagre context) might go well through life without ever engaging in, or necessarily interacting with the context of the other. However, one of the

places that people of different socioeconomic statuses recurrently interact is at traffic lights and road intersections (Waters, 2011). These places have become sites at which a range of informal economic activities take place, including the buying and selling of various products and begging for money or other goods from motorists (Waters, 2011). As a result, they constitute a unique site for the examination of everyday interactions in which extreme class asymmetries are present; assuming that being in a position to drive a motor vehicle serves as a marker of differential class status relative to individuals attempting to eke out a living in these places.

The primary focus of this research finds relevance in the high-volume presence of beggars at many intersections or traffic lights in the city of Johannesburg and limited research having been conducted on these sites (Waters, 2011). The research is centred on the embodied actions employed in the interaction itself (of the beggar and his/her motorist interlocutor); a phenomenon that ought to be investigated on its own merit. That is, as a singular, micro-level, informal economic activity rather than a mere by-product of poverty.

Literature Review

The Problem of Begging

Research regarding begging has largely been targeted towards poverty and one of its largest subsets, homelessness, as an all encapsulating phenomena (namely begging, informal trading, et cetera) (Cross& Seager, 2010). While homelessness has a strong relation to begging, it is important that the two not be conflated as one. Both are subsets of poverty, but of course, one does not necessitate the other; that is, one can be homeless without begging and in the same breath, beg and not be homeless(Muñoz & Potter, 2014; Waters, 2011). Such research, particularly of the street homeless (as opposed to "shack homelessness"; a concept that has incurred debate, seeing as many of such individuals participate in the same livelihood activities that the street homeless do) has been focused on establishing homelessness demographics, causes, maintenance and possible preventions (Cross & Seager, 2010; Cross *et al*, 2010; Kok, Cross, & Roux, 2010; Olufemi, 1998, 2000, 2002). These studies, amongst many, look to the failures of government policy-making in alleviating or preventing homelessness and its related subsets (Cross & Seager, 2010).

The South African government, in an attempt essentially, to close or at the very least reduce the gaping hole that is poverty in the wall of capitalism, has made available subsidised housing, social grants and where relevant, disability grants (Carter, 2001; van der Berg,2011). In spite of the supporting infrastructure made available, the numbers and visibility of the homeless and the begging, while fluctuating with the country's economy, has remained substantially high (Seeking, 2010; van der Berg, 2011). It ought to be noted, however, that said grants and other efforts towards a supportive infrastructure, do indeed reach *some* of those who are in need of them, although it appears not enough for the dissolution of poverty and its subsets (Seekings, 2010; van der Westhuizen, 2012;). Possible reasons cited for this apparent resistance to the given solutions are a lack of availability to and/or access by the target population, or on a much larger scale, a failure in the execution of the policies that have been put in place (Carter, 2001; Cross & Seager, 2010; van der Berg, 2011; van der Westhuizen, 2012;). An empirical instance of this, where policies have not properly tended to the needs of the homeless and begging (although in fairness this may be a matter of impracticality), is where Stones (2013) found that many beggars chose that particular activity over minimum wage jobs and the difficulties surrounding grants, because of the monetary immediacy that begging offered to tend to the demands of day-to-day living, amongst other reasons. This gives an example of the way in which policy-making surrounding poverty, and particularly the homeless, in an attempt to be all encompassing also fall short of meeting the finer details that may be more effective towards alleviating the proposed problem (Seekings, 2010; Stones, 2013).

Cross *et al* (2010), in their review of street homelessness of South Africa as compared with similar developing regions around the world, offers four ubiquitous themes to all the countries mentioned in the study; three of which offer possible, influential reasons for the behaviours that could manifest in interactions between street beggars and the general populace of the street—that is passers-by and motorists. The "vagrancy" theme (Cross *et al*, 2010, p. 11) speaks of the homeless as individuals who actively reject the established social structure and ways of contributing to the economy; as such they are understood as anti-social members of society who are lazy, seeking free hand-outs though rejecting the avenues made available by government. On a micro level this may prompt motorists to ignore or look distastefully at the beggar in their window. The "social exclusion" theme

(Cross *et al*, 2010, p. 11), takes agency out of the hands of the homeless; viewing them as victims of unfortunate circumstance, failed by poor installations of government policy, amongst other social safety nets (i.e.: family, community). This may encourage motorists' pitiful lens through which to view and interact with beggars, thereby acknowledging them and perhaps even giving the beggars a small amount of money. The third theme, *spatial displacement, "*urban peripheralisation and the search for livelihoods*"* (Cross *et al*, 2010, p. 11), describes a tangible macro-micro level conflict; that is, of the homeless' will to survive, manifest by seeking out high-traffic streets in central business districts (or any affluent neighbourhoods) to beg for money and food. In this regard, it is not uncommon to see beggars having strategically placed themselves on sidewalks, at mall or store entrances, or at petrol stations for instance, in the hopes of approaching the vast foot-traffic of passers-by (Laband, 1986). This is described to be at odds with the business owner's desire for such areas to be "poverty-free" thereby resisting the presence of the street homeless either by ignoring or forcefully removing (displacing) them (Cross *et al*, 2010).

In any instance, whether applicant of any of the themes above, the individual who is faced with giving to a beggar, is presented a philosophical dilemma: "To give or not to give" (Muñoz & Potter, 2014, p. 158). The latter question, centres many philosophical papers that engage in the begging phenomenon and the moral implications thereof (Muñoz & Potter, 2014). The argument that unfolds of the moral dilemma that reportedly motorists encounter regarding the consequences of giving to beggars, for instance, encourages the beggar to continue on in this activity or; by not giving, and thus allowing a fellow human to go without (Muñoz & Potter, 2014). Factored into this moral dilemma, is the authenticity of the beggar's display of need, wherein, instead of the donation given going to the cause of helping an individual who is in dire need, one runs the risk of donating to an individual who is merely feigning and is likely to use the money donated for illicit substances (Muñoz & Potter, 2014). The points discussed thus far have only peripherally related to begging interactions of passers-by on side-walks, store entrances and intersections and how they inform concepts of homelessness, the accessibility and impact of government policy and moral-philosophical understanding. Distinct from the literature presented thus far, the research herein provides an analysis of the gestural action produced in the interaction between motorist and beggar, at a traffic light intersection. Further considering the ways in

which these embodied actions lend to the management of an asymmetrical socio-economic structure.

The visibility and ubiquitous presence of beggars in urban areas has often been described as a "nuisance" (Stones, 2013, p. 157); even more so, as mentioned earlier, because many beggars are found in the high-end business districts, where they perceive there to be more money and thus a higher likelihood of receiving donations (Fawole, Ogunkan & Omoruan, 2011). Much research has reported a common perception that "Street people [...] were eroding the city's quality of life" (Duneier & Molotch, 1999, p. 1263); moreover, street beggars (that is, beggars that frequent street intersections, side-walks, etc.) are often described as menacing and according to Leone (2012), this is largely due to the feeling that beggars in some sense invade one's cognitive extension of belonging and thereby safety. That is, Leone (2012) argues that in travelling certain routes on a daily basis, thereby developing a routine of sorts, two things take place. First, one develops a sense of "sedentary belonging" (2012, p. 430); deriving a sense of safety from said routine and extending it to physical spatial areas that constitute it. Second, it is within the practice of street beggars to routinely interject themselves into this cognitive extension of belonging—by approaching cars for instance and attempting to initiate some interactive engagement–and alter the driver's sense of safety, thereby becoming viewed as menacing (Leone, 2012). This, furthermore, speaks to the discomfort and awkwardness reported by motorists, when interacting with street beggars, who are presumably of lower socio-economic status (Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008; Duneier & Molotch, 1999). Alternately, though Leone (2012) makes no mention of this, it is not uncommon to see beggars and motorists who frequent the same intersection, becoming quite familiar with each other; exchanging names and pleasantries, without donations taking place. In this sense, the motorist would not necessarily experience the mentioned awkwardness, or sense of threat. Apart from the psychological lens of the interaction proposed afore, an alternative would be to observe the embodied actions produced by both beggar and motorist in managing not only the socio-economic asymmetries of their interactions, but also the noted awkwardness and discomfort (or familiarity) that stems from it. That is, examining *how* motorists display said discomfort, or awkward behaviours, and conversely, how the beggars manage their interactions with motorists. As the focus of this study, such is evident in the practices that

either party employs; such as looking away or ignoring the beggar, on the part of the motorist, or the gestures of begging and indicating persistence, for instance, on the part of the beggar. Moreover, the investigation examines the particular ways in which the socio-economic standings of both beggar and motorist both inform and are reproduced in the particular repertoire of actions displayed by either party. Here again, illustrating resonance with begging as an economic activity—one driven by many macro-structural influences—but one that nonetheless takes place in situated "micro-interactional" moments. The distinction, furthermore, goes to informing, again, the actions of the beggar (who is pursuing a particular survival-related goal, boiling down to soliciting donations from motorists). On the other side of the coin, it lends itself to the moral dilemma that motorists may be faced with in the interaction, and the actions thereby enacted by them.

Keeping in mind these various debates, it is also important to note that in *this* particular study the intention lies not in taking a stance on either end of the debates, rather, it is in paying close observation to their manifestations and the ways in which the people involved interactionally negotiate them. More so, this amalgam of macro-level structures and ideologies become observable in the embodied actions of the interactants; illustrating how it is that said actions unfold in an inherently unequal interaction in the South African context. Further, it may be said that the study adopts an approach that dissolves the macro-micro distinction by showing how elements that are conventionally considered *macro* come to be observable and enacted at the level of the *micro*—thus the macro and micro are simultaneously present and are thereby reproduced in interactions. *Macro* referring to the kinds of large-scale economic inequalities rooted in the apartheid history, as mentioned afore, and *micro* bespeaking the ubiquitous, everyday encounters between beggars and motorists.

In the Act

Begging is largely understood as the act wherein (an) individual(s) engage in public requests for small amounts of food, money or other such donations from passers-by, while offering little to nothing of monetary value in return (Leone, 2012; Muñoz & Potter, 2014). This makes it a "unilateral gift" as Lynch calls it (2005, p. 518). Of the research that has sought to investigate begging as a particular focus; the phenomenon has been distinguished into both the kinds of beggars found and the very act of begging itself. Research has gone on to

categorise the begging phenomenon into further subsets. That is, the conventional kind which closely follows the definition offered above, wherein a begging individual requests a monetary or food donation, offering nothing in return. The second, Waters (2011, p. 14), has termed "quasi-begging" which constitutes features similar to the conventional type, however, the beggar offers something of small monetary value in return. The latter could be in the form of a service such as windscreen washing, offering some form of entertainment, brief lessons in another language, getting rid of the motorists' refuse, or a good of small monetary value. The latter form of begging shows itself to be a practice that attempts to move away from Lynch's "unilateral gift" (Lynch, 2005, p. 518), essentially manipulating the begging act and by extension, the interaction, into an apparent exchange as a manner of managing the inherent asymmetries of the interaction and its intended outcome. It is these very actions and practices in the management of the asymmetrical footing of both beggar and motorist that is investigated in this particular study. Where the current body of literature has sought to organize the broader features of begging and the general practices these may involve—that is, passive acts such as remaining stationary by standing, kneeling or crouching versus active, indicated by pacing in between stationary vehicles or approaching passers-by (Muñoz & Potter, 2014; Waters, 2011)—*this* study offers a more detailed, fine-grained investigation of *how* these acts are produced *in situ*. More so, while these practices could serve as a basis for the types of categorisations afore mentioned, closer to the focus of this study is a much more in depth look at *how* beggars, when interacting with motorists, produce the kinds of acts that would permit such categorisation.

Where the eventual goal is to receive a donation the beggar utilises either one of, or a combination of strategies—gestural, verbalized or written—to produce his/her request (Waters, 2011. In addition, the strategy employed may be designed to convince motorists that begging is the individual's only option for survival short of partaking in some criminal activity and that he/she is in dire and authentic need, as opposed to feigning the severity of need (suggesting that alternative routes of survival are in fact a possibility) (Muñoz & Potter, 2014). Muñoz and Potter (2014) argue that this is the source of the "catch-22" that potential donors are faced with, with regards to giving to beggars. That is, how does one distinguish between, essentially, a "real" beggar and a "fake" beggar? (Moen, 2014; Muñoz &Potter, 2014). Herein, the study will examine the embodied actions of the beggars and how they are

designed to display authenticity and convince their motorist interlocutors that they are indeed not feigning.

Launching from Hardin's model of beneficence, Muñoz and Potter's (2014, p. 159) paper closely follows the unfolding of the decision-making process that motorists are likely to engage in when interacting with beggars. That is, where the beggar would utilize gestures, placards, appearance and the like to increase their apparent state of neediness towards eliciting a donation, Muñoz and Potter (2014) describe the thought process of the potential donor, in turn, as assessing the authenticity of the beggar's neediness. Factored into this is the effectiveness of social welfare policies, the cost of giving to himself/herself versus the benefit to the beggar (Cross & Seager, 2010; Muñoz & Potter, 2014). Departing from this type of attention to internal decision-making processes, offered here is an interactional perspective, wherein the focus is the observable actions that motorists produce when giving—how the donation is handed over or at what point in the interaction this takes place—and not giving—for instance by shrugging, looking away or apologising. In a study that explores the particular source of conflict between middle-class white female passers-by and black male street beggar's interactions; more so the exact factor that problematizes the interaction, Duneier and Molotch (1999) mark the action sequences, and ultimately, mis-matching of adjacent actions (of both passer-by and beggar) that result in said conflict. Additionally considered is the series of actions that follow when a donation is not produced; that is when the beggar's request or offer is denied (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2014). Exemplary elements to note are, for instance, at which point in the interaction the beggar enacts a request, or which point in the delivery of the request the motorist initiates a granting or denial of it; right at the off-set of the interaction, mid-way through the beggar's proposal of the request or whether the motorist allows for the traffic-light to 'decide' the outcome. Pertinent to this, would be the way in which the beggar puts forward his/her request to the motorist, by way of his/her placard and gesture combination; wherein if the beggar has to ensure that he/she can elicit the greatest donation possible from his/her motorist interlocutor, without overwhelming said motorist with the mode, or presentation of proposition (Muñoz & Potter, 2014).

An Interactional Framework

In situ the beggar-motorist interaction is both of social and interactional nature. The latter lends this phenomenon to the lens of an interactional framework, under the conversation analytic mechanisms of requests and offers. Quite briefly, Conversation Analysis holds that the basic structural tenet of interaction is the adjacency pair; in its simplest form, a two-turn structure, with each turn produced by two different speakers (Schegloff, 2007). The turns are typically adjacent in that one turn follows after the other, the first turn identified as the *first pair part* and the second, the *second pair part* (Schegloff, 2007). Adjacency pairs follow particular pair types, for instance greeting-greeting, question-answer, and request-acceptance/denial. That is, if the first pair part of the adjacency pair is initiated, such as a greeting, it is normatively expected that the recipient will respond with a second pair part in the form of a return greeting. In the same vein then, a question (first pair part) will be expected to be followed by an answer (second pair part); and in the case of a request or offer, an acceptance or declination will be expected to follow (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007). In this way, it is understood of such adjacency pair types as having multiple possible responses (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In their study, Duneier and Molotch (1999) illustrate the mechanisms of adjacency pairs, in identifying the point of failure in the initiations of interactions between male beggars and female passers-by; where the beggars attempt such initiation with the use of questions and compliments. The initiation fails in that once the question or compliment is posed by the male beggar, the female passers-by do not respond either with an answer or an act of gratitude (Duneier & Molotch, 1999).

Considering the nature of adjacency pairs then, it may be said that the beggars, in enacting questions and or compliments, attempt to exploit the normative organization of adjacency pairs to engage the women passing by. That is, by using the normative expectations that their questions or compliments should be responded to with answers or appreciation, as a way of working to initiate mutually ratified interactions with these women (which could potentially lead to donations). The women do not engage in the expected response type of the adjacency pairs, as this would possibly lead to the extension of an undesired interaction (Duneier & Molotch, 1999). Heritage (1984) speaks of what follows as a transgression of what has come to be an institutionalised norm; in this particular instance this would be

constituted by the general ordinary and expected repertoire of actions to be produced in the beggar-motorist interaction. Following a deviation from the norm then; a turn takes place, wherein the relevant actor accounts for this deviation (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2006). A signal for a required account may present with an enactment that stands as dismissive of the normative expectation, and enactment communicating anger for instance or overall disaffiliative responses that may emerge.

Of significant relevance to the concept of adjacency pairs, and by extension this research, is the concept of "preference organization"; referring to actions denoting either affiliation or disaffiliation with the previously adjacent turn (Schegloff, 2007; Whitehead, 2015). It is understood of Heritage (1984) that social interaction tends towards the reproduction of affiliative actions, to the end of promoting social solidarity. A preferred sequence organization then, is one that bears the structural features that align with and positively contribute to a particular trajectory of interaction, for instance, via agreement/acceptance (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007; Whitehead, 2015). This takes normative preference over dispreferred response types, which undermine social solidarity, for instance, via disagreement/denial. The latter sequence types, requests and offers are the main focus of this study, being central to the activities involved in the beggar-motorist interaction (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007; Whitehead, 2015).

Schegloff (2007, p.65) articulates that a preferred response is often "short and to the point". Findings from Rauniomaa & Keisaren's (2012) empirical study regarding favourable response to the requests go on to elaborate that should a preferred response be enacted, it will culminate in either the immediate fulfilment of the request (should the required action allow for immediate fulfilment), or a two-step response composite of a distinct acceptance and then fulfilment. Alternately, a dispreferred response, a declination of the request/offer, is enacted by its recipient in a mitigated or attenuated fashion (Schegloff, 2007). Further, while a preferred response requires no justification, the dispreferred response projects the expectation of an account; a reason for declining the request/offer made (Schegloff, 2007). The beggar-motorist interaction serves as a useful interactional framework, in this regard, to observe the manner in which either participants observably negotiates his or her role as the agent (beggar) of the request or offer (in the case of a quasi-beggar) and its acceptance or declination as its recipient (motorist).

Bãlan (2011) conducted a study on the symbolic relations of public transport travellers, finding that in such public areas individuals enact a display of territoriality. That is, where there is limited space, in trains or other relevant modes of transportation, strangers display actions that speak to a cordoning off of 'personal space' (Bãlan, 2011). Having shown the relevant enactments of territoriality—ignoring, avoiding eye-contact, adorning sunglasses or headphones etc.— it can be inferred then that a transgression of those acts, by way of, for instance standing too close to said person or persistently inviting him/her into some form of interaction, would constitute a disaffiliative, or disjunctured form of response (Heritage, 1984; Bãlan, 2011). Following this then, this study investigates the repertoire of actions produced by both beggar and motorist, such that they serve as normative. Moreover, it is observed the ways in which either party may deviate from the norm, by producing a dispreferred response to a first part adjacent, the range of embodied acts produced subsequent to such an instance and furthermore, how a deviation from the norm is accounted for.

Schegloff (2007) notes that offers and requests may at face value of presentation appear to be the same, though of course take up different mechanisms. Alternately, it is argued by Rauniomaa & Keisaren (2012, p. 4) that offers and requests are not in fact distinct, and rather that they hold a "symbiotic" relation to one another, as they both serve the function of acquiring the assistance and or resources of their recipient. Where the two draw distinction, is that the request acts predominantly to serve the requester, placing the cost of the projected action solely on its recipient; whereas the offer, is presented as an act where both parties will benefit (and incur cost) (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Rauniomaa & Keisaren, 2012). For instance, the fulfilment of a request may require of its recipient time, physical effort and or financial expense (*costs*) borne only by the individual on the receiving end of the request, while the initiator of the request receives the benefits without the procuring cost (Rauniomaa & Keisaren, 2012). An offer may illustrate the initiator incurring the cost of physical effort and time to gain some financial benefit for instance, while the recipient of the offer may incur financial cost to gain the benefit of the requester's time and physical effort. In this manner, both Rauniomaa & Keisaren (2012) go on to identify the mechanisms of an offer as a request that anticipates the needs of the recipient and consequently proposing an interaction that will lead to the fulfilment of the needs of both agent and

recipient. As such, the requester makes a request in a way that is sensitive to the needs of the recipient, as opposed to presenting the request solely to fulfil what the requester wants to receive or achieve (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Rauniomaa & Keisaren, 2012).

In either instance, each interactional context of offer or request is often preceded by a "pre-sequence"; a series of interlocking actions, initiated by the agent of the request/offer that aim to assess the likelihood of the (preferred) acceptance (or dispreferred rejection) of the offer or request to be proposed (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). A pre-sequence to an offer (a pre-offer) or request (a pre-request) considers the immediacy with which either should be enacted, the type of action required (i.e.: the producing of a tangible object or a service), and the cost versus benefit potentially incurred by the parties involved (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). It is understood that when an offer or request is made, the preferred response is that of its acceptance and as such, the participant making the request or the offer constructs his/her offer or request (with the former mentioned considerations in mind) in a favourable light, such that it will be accepted by its recipient (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007).

Much of the initial research knowledge on the construction of request and offers made has centred on the use of language- due to the available data of the time, i.e., phone call recordings (Rossi, 2014). An interest in the multimodal enactment of these social interactions, as well as the betterment of video technology, has produced studies that observe the role of bodily conduct in the presentation of offers and requests. Rossi's (2014) is such a study, concerned particularly with the ways in which bodily behaviours—gesture, gaze, etc.—may be used to enact a request. This, of course, holds relevance to our study as it looks to observe the gestures produced by both beggar and motorist in the production and acceptance/declination of a request (or an offer, in the particular case of a quasi-beggar). Rossi (2014, p. 304) articulates that requests made in a solely non-verbal medium, that is composite of bodily conduct, draws distinction from verbally enacted requests in that they "neither tell nor ask the recipient to do something, but leaves it largely to the recipient to infer what is requested of them". A pivotal aspect, and key ingredient of requests made in non-verbal form, requires its recipients' visual attention. This lends to the notion of observability, as articulated by Kidwell & Zimmerman (2007). Therein observability refers to the strategic manner in which embodied action is utilized to make objects publicly visible to

one's recipient, such that a particular sequence of desired actions may follow (centring around the object (or person) brought to both parties visual attention). An elicited and sustained joint visual attention, allows for the progressive unfolding of a non-verbal interaction (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). To this end, this study observes the manner in which beggars would gain observability to elicit an interaction with an identified motorist, and should an interaction ensue, how the beggar maintains the motorist's visual attention. Similarly, the manner in which the motorist engages with or avoids the beggar's attempts to draw his/her visual attention is observed.

Having conducted a study on the ways in which children display intention through observable gesture, Jones and Zimmerman (2003) were able to illustrate the ways in which, intention, largely understood as an internal psychological state, is in fact observable in one's displayed actions. Speaking to this, Dromi (2012) noted that some passers-by negotiate the interaction by displaying gestures indicative of the intention to give, and yet the interaction as a whole still does not culminate in a donation. In the instance that a donation is not produced, the study then looks to establish the kinds of gestures motorists produce to indicate said intentionality (i.e., the intention to give or not to give) to his or her beggar-interlocutor. More so, the study observes the adjacent act produced by the beggar that would prompt his or her motorist-interlocutor towards an enacted display of the intention to produce a donation, with no observable presentation of such, it is understood that motorists can display both the intention to give, or not to give, or not give yet display the intention of giving. In any instance the beggar holds the continuous task of assessing the motorists' intentions and or actual actions by observing their embodied displays.

Beneficence and cost seem to be the key factors around which the beggar-motorist interaction pivots; that is, in a primarily asymmetrical interface, the beggar must consider presenting his or her request in such a manner that it does not translate as bearing too great a cost to his/her potential (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011; Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Muñoz &Potter, 2014). Locating this phenomenon in the practice of interaction Clayman and Heritage (2014) illustrate that the asymmetry found in this interaction, is in fact an intrinsic element. That is, considering this interaction, one can understand it's unfolding as a series of successive interlocking actions that serve to accept, verify, alter or reject their previously adjunct action (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Heritage, 1984). Building

contextual understanding is thus achieved on a moment-by-moment basis (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Heritage, 1984). The initiation of a request nominates the requester as the beneficiary and the recipient of the request, as the benefactor, whereas the initiation of an offer presents such that its agent seemingly holds the position of benefactor and its recipient the beneficiary (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). In the beggar-motorist interaction then, the series of actions therein enacted shows the beggar as the beneficiary and the motorist as the benefactor. That is, the combination of actions produced by the beggar, in constructing their request or offer (in the case of the "quasi-beggar") towards eliciting an act of donation, in response from their interlocutors (motorists), are actions expressing an asymmetrical allotment of benefits and costs, respectively (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). In any instance then, whether a beggar enacts a request, or enacts an offer, it is illustrated an unequal distribution of potential benefits to the beggar, and potential costs to the motorist. This is referred to as the "benefactive stance" (Clayman & Heritage, 2014, p. 5). In putting forward a request, or offer (the particular case of a "quasi-beggar"), the beggar essentially tasked with enacting a series of actions that serve to minimize the apparent costs presented to the motorists, or more so in the instance of an offer, maximize the apparent benefits of the preferred goal action; a donation (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). The research presented herein in examines how embodied and gestural actions produced by the beggar and motorist, inform such an asymmetry; that is how the actions produced by the beggar, for instance, communicate a presentation that minimizes the apparent potential cost to the motorist, entering into an interaction of a request or offer oriented nature.

Duneier and Molotch (1999) provide a series of examples in which, the beggar attempts to initiate a conversation with a passer-by of the opposite sex, with an uttering of the first part of an adjacency pair; each time without the expected second part response from his interlocutor. In this particular study then, the focus would be towards establishing the kinds of verbal and/or non-verbal actions or gestures beggars could produce in the first part of the request exchange, as well as the motorist's response with gestures that comprise the second part of the adjacency pair. Moreover, in light of the understanding of motorists as benefactors and beggars as beneficiaries (Clayman & Heritage, 2014), what would be the kinds of actions displayed that may present as indicative of too great a cost, leading to the production of what would essentially be a disaffiliative response (Duneier, 1999; Duneier &

Molotch, 1999; Llewellyn & Burrow, 2008). Considering this then, the study also investigates the ways in which the embodied acts of conventional beggars are distinguished from those of quasi-beggars. Moreover, how the actions produced by both conventional and quasi-beggars serve to negotiate the inequality of the interaction established with the motorist-benefactor and thereby are more or less successful in reducing the apparent cost of producing a donation, and by further extension, designed to increase the likelihood of producing, for the beggar, an affiliative response (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Duneier, 1999; Duneier & Molotch, 1999).

Methods

Research Aims

The aim of this study is to explore the nature of micro-level, day-to-day interactions between individuals whose relationships with one another are characterised by socio-structural and economic inequalities. In particular, the study looks to investigate the practices employed in interactions between street-corner beggars and motor vehicle drivers, in light of their contrasting socioeconomic standings; exploring the kinds of practices and actions both parties employ to manage such interactions.

Research Questions

1. What practices do beggars employ in their interactions with motorists at traffic light-crossings and road-intersections?
2. What practices do motor vehicle inhabitants employ in their interactions with beggars at traffic-lights and road-intersections?

Research Design

A qualitative design that allows for the close and thorough exploration of actions in situ is best suited to the research. As the study analyses interactional details on the micro level captured via video recordings and participant observations, the design of this study can be considered that of video-micro ethnography (Spinney, 2011). This design was employed in order to produce rich, layered data to be subject to a combination of apt qualitative analyses.

Sample and Sampling

The sample constituted a collection of 80hrs of recorded interactions between motorists and beggars at traffic light intersections, supplemented with participant observations of these settings. The numerous interactions and potential interactions were captured in the period between June 2015 and December 2016. Furthermore, since the presence of beggars at intersections is most predominant in the city (Waters, 2011), correspondingly the sites of the interactions were confined to the central Johannesburg area. It is at various locations in the city, of high traffic and thus, an increased number of interactions that observations and recordings have been conducted.

There were no particular restrictions to the kinds of beggars or quasi-beggars observed in the sample of interactions. This is because regardless of the age, race or gender of the beggar, by them engaging in the practices of begging, it is more likely than not that the begging individual holds a socio-economic standing that is unequal to his/her potential motorist interactant; a feature around which the study pivots. Moreover, as the focus herein rests in the practices employed by both motorists and beggars, these practices can be assumed to be at least potentially independent of race, gender, age, or other demographic characteristics. Thus, though people of specific categories may be more or less likely to produce certain kinds of practices, the focus herein in is on the nature of the practices and not the demographic characteristics of the people employing them

For the purposes of this study, twelve frequented sites of observation over various areas in Johannesburg city were observed and deemed sufficient for the kind of rich data needed to answer the research question. In addition, due to the sites of interaction and its inhabitants being in a public space (traffic lights and road intersections), access to them had proved to be unproblematic.

Procedure of Gathering Data

The phenomenon in question takes place in everyday settings constituted by mundane practices and embodied actions. As such, an ethnomethodologically oriented means towards gathering data served best suited to this study. That is, a method utilized in examining the everyday, mundane practices that people use for accomplishing social actions in particular kinds of settings (Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 2003).

Accordingly, data was gathered largely via video recordings produced by a dash-mounted camera, aided by participant observations of the interactions (recorded in field notes) . Observation herein is one of the key forms of gathering data under an ethnomethodological framework. That is, a method wherein the researcher assumes a degree of distance from the everyday activities, interactions or events of the people being studied (Dewalt, B. & Dewalt, K., 2002; Zahle, 2012). This is in order to learn, not only their production of embodied action but also, to construct an understanding of their implicit knowledge when engaged, competently, in day-to-day dealings (Dewalt, B., & Dewalt, K., 2002; Zahle, 2012). In light of this, observations of the beggars and motorists' interactions were conducted mostly from within a vehicle, in the everyday, driving past and stopping at various traffic lights and road intersections, thereby providing a view of the settings and the practices and actions produced by beggars similar to that typically experienced by other motorists passing through the settings.

Volunteers were enlisted (not chosen by any particular criteria, save that they frequented Johannesburg CBD intersections) in the collection of data, driving around their various routes within Johannesburg capturing the phenomenon *in situ* using a *Transcend Dashboard Camera*[1]). The camera was hung at different angles in the vehicle, namely the rear-view mirror, the rear window of the vehicle such that it recorded, outward, the width and breadth of the window and all that can be seen through it. In this way the camera captured the beggars and motorists (of other vehicles, in front of or diagonal to the vehicle in possession of the camera) in interaction. The recordings thus served to ground the observations in materials that could be viewed repeatedly at a fine-grained level of detail, in accordance with the micro-ethnographic research design and conversation analytic method of analysis (as described below).

Data Analysis

A qualitative Conversation Analysis approach serves an apt technique for analysing the kind of fine-grained focus of the interactional phenomena observed (both verbal and non-verbal) (Frost, 2011). With particular regard of the focus of sequences of action (requests and offers) that have been established for the above framework. The asymmetrical nature of the interaction comprised of requests and offers and the acceptance/rejection and the negotiation thereof, requires a method of analysis apt in distinguishing patterns of the

interlocking sequences of embodied actions as well as unearthing the distribution of power between the interactants (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Heritage, 1984; Maynard & Clayman, 2003). Conversation analysis being a key subset of ethnomethodology, aids in constructing an understanding of how the interactants of observation come to interpret the context of their interaction (Heritage, 1984).

Moreover, having done so, how they come to manage that interaction; gesturing a request or offer, exhibiting in action the acceptance, hesitation, rejection or negotiation thereof in bridging their unequal socio-economic positions. The Conversation analysis approach has been used in numerous studies bearing a similar kind of focus, and by extension bearing similar analytic features described herein (Heritage, 1984; Duneier & Molotch, 1999; Goodwin, 2000, Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003, Clayman & Heritage, 2014)

In the analysis, screen shots have been utilized as substitutes for the actual video recordings. It was considered that this may in some cases involve a loss of detail (e.g., of how events temporally unfold as opposed to being shown as still frame), however this was a necessary pragmatic compromise resulting from the medium (paper based) in which the findings had to be presented. The findings chapter reflects a use of the screenshots in which the actions captured in each image is described and analysed. The images provided were chosen for their information-rich potential (with regards to the range and visible clarity of the bodily behaviours produced); as well as their suitability for demonstrating the systematic contingencies and practices at play in these exchanges.

1 (http://www.transcend-info.com/Products/No-498

Ethical Considerations

The data used herein has been obtained from a public space, available for any member of the public to freely observe. Moreover, with the technological advancements that have brought us to this day, it is of common occurrence to find individuals video recording day-to-day events in public spaces and sharing them over the internet or keeping for some or other personal use. Where the matter of acquiring consent is concerned, it did not prove feasible to do so in research of this nature; this is for two reasons. The first, in acquiring consent before the interaction took place the very essence of the phenomenon being observed would have been lost; that is, the natural unfolding of the embodied actions that either party employed, would no longer stand as such, as the people would be conscious of being observed. The second is that the phenomenon of interest is one that occurs in passing and so it would not have been feasible to attempt to stop every motorist pre or post every interaction to obtain consent to use the footage. It is to be noted however, that in recording the interactions, two things may reveal the identities of the persons being observed namely; the participants faces and of the motorists, their licence plates and as such, ethical clearance was be required. It was considered that while recording of individuals in public spaces is not illegal, there still stand few potential risks. The images produced of the observed participants along with the provided analysis, may be considered by the participants (should they come across the research) as painting them in an unflattering light—thereby impacting on the individual's sense of integrity, for instance. For any number of possible reasons, the observed participants may not want images capturing them to be produced in any kind of publicized or print form. As such precautions were taken to attempt to protect the identities of the observed participants in light of the considered possible risks. In light of protecting the identities of the persons observed, both the faces of the individuals produced in the screenshots along with the license plates of the vehicles captured of the interactions have been blurred out. In a further effort towards protecting the persons observed, video recordings have been stored on a password protected computer, such that no unauthorised persons may be able to access footage containing the information regarding people's identities.

In light of the above discussion, the possible risks of this research endeavour were considered minimal and were out-weighed by the possible benefits, and appropriate

precautions were taken to protect the identities of those observed to ensure that no harm came to them as a result of this research process.

Analysis

Of the beggar-motorist interaction

The beggar-motorist interaction, as publicly "observable and reportable" (Heritage, 1984, p.116), is not often characterised by verbal utterances. While both parties may indeed enter a brief talk-exchange, it has more often been observed as a participant observer in the vehicle, as well as observations of other such interactions at traffic light intersections that the interactional exchange between beggar and motorist is carried out largely via a series of interlocking (non-verbal) actions (personal communication, October 14, 2016). In recognizing and observing said actions—gestures, gaze and gross body movements—produced by both parties, even without access to any verbal exchange; an observing audience would be able to follow and understand the interaction as it unfolds (Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003). Lerner & Zimmerman (2003) affirm body behaviour as observable action, in their study wherein they observe the interactions of very young children, predominantly executed via non-verbal body behaviours. Noting further, that the bodily actions produced in interaction are recognizable and understood by both parties as "communicative actions" (Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003, p.441). **Figures 1** to **3** (below) give colour to the latter understanding.

The analysis of the produced interlocking actions between beggar and motorist is located in a conversation analytic framework; particularly in the structural concept of adjacency pairs. Adjacency pairs, to recall briefly from the literature, are comprised of a two-part sequence, with each turn produced by a different participant, following one another (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). The first turn (by the initial participant) is the first pair part, and accordingly, the turn that follows, or rather the turn that completes the adjacency pair, is the second pair part (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). The initial case to be examined here will serve as an initial illustration of the central actions, issues and possible adjacency pairs that are at stake in these interactions. The subsequent sections will further advance this analysis, demonstrating additional complexities, with particular reference to the problem (specifically for the beggar) of initiating an interaction in these encounters. The adjacency pair types that will emerge and be considered herein are the greeting, request and offer pair types, as they will show to be the primary building blocks of the interaction of interest. The

greeting pair type indicates a greeting in the first pair part position to be satisfied by a returned greeting in the second pair part; forming a complete adjacency pair (Schegloff, 2007). In a typical beggar-motorist interaction, the greeting first pair part would be enacted by the beggar, producing a gesture of greeting, for instance by a waving of the hand, positioning the motorist to respond either by returning the greeting, perhaps by waving back—thereby enacting the second pair part; or more saliently, ignoring the beggar, thereby not producing the second pair part. The request and offer pair types are satisfied by second pair part actions indicating granting/acceptance (preferred responses) or rejection/declination (dispreferred responses) (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). Again, herein the request or offer would be enacted by the beggar producing a gesture of pleading, positioning the motorist to respond with either a gesture of granting/acceptance via a nodding of the head, or rejection/declination via a shaking of the head for instance. A first pair part is then ratified by the enactment of its second pair part, and by Heritage's (1984, p. 130) articulation, serves as an "intersubjective fact"—surety that both participants are not only ratified participants in the interaction, but also perceiving the same interactive reality. It is to be noted that the second pair part that satisfies any adjacent pair type, may not follow immediately after the completion of the first pair part turn.

Note, the two turns may be subject to expansion talk—more particularly for the purpose of this research, pursuits of responses that are not immediately produced (Schegloff, 2007)—particularly, in the instance that the motorist ignores the beggar. The adjacent pair may also be preceded by a pre-sequence interlocking action sequence. The latter are identified according to the projected adjacent pair type to follow, for instance a pre-offer or a pre-request. The pre-sequence, serves to assess whether the intended request or offer to possibly be enacted, will be received favourably; that is, whether the request or offer will be accepted by its recipient (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). Thus, it may be said that in the exchanges analysed herein, the greeting serves to initiate a pre-sequence; that is, if a motorist returns the greeting it can signal to the beggar that the request/offer he could produce may be met with a preferred response. Alternately, if the motorist does not respond to the greeting, this serves to "block" the production of the request/offer sequence.



Figure 1.

The beggar captured in **Figure 1** is illustrated in a physical configuration composite of the beggar's head tilted 30 degrees to the right (the reader's left); neck bent slightly forward; his arms tightly pressed to the sides of his torso, bending at the elbow at an acute angle; hands raised to the front of his chest. Here, his hands are pressed together at the palms; the lower ends of his body (hips, legs) are faced in the direction he is walking, straight ahead. A closer inspection of **Figure 1** reveals the beggar's body oriented slightly to the right (personal communication, January 9, 2016). The physical deployment of his body parts in the observed manner serves to enact, or rather projects various possible courses of action; a starting position to indicate a readiness to initiate or engage in potential interactions. The physical form observed in **Figure 1** is identified as a *home-position*; as, by Schegloff's (1998, p.543) articulation, it is one he repeatedly returns to when engaged in the activity of begging. That is, following various interactions with choice motorists in the car lanes, this particular postural configuration is one that he returns to when he is not engaged with any one particular driver (personal communication, January 9, 2016). Additionally, the identified home-position further enacts a gesture of request—indicated by the combination of the tilted head and the hands pressed together at the palms. That is, to use the language of adjacency pairs from above, it initiates a request sequence with the motorists; possibly alternating between periods of initiating this request sequence with all the motorists, at once and/or with one particular motorist at a time. The distinction between the two would be guided by a gestural enactment; for instance, the orientations of his eye gaze at a

particular moment in time. This initiation request marks the motorists as the recipients who are then expected to grant or decline the request (Clayman & Heritage, 2014. It may further be said of the beggar's home-position that it performs a default and on-going action of request. This particular configuration may be referred to as *doing begging*. In **Figure 2** (below) the beggar is observed having made a few more paces down the car aisle. Here his physical configuration has transitioned to one where, with his arms still pressed to the sides of torso, the right forearm has been brought to front of his abdomen, bent at the elbow at a 90 degree angle; right palm open and facing upwards (personal communication, January 09, 2016). His left forearm alternately, has been drawn upward to an acute angle, placing his hand on display, in a waving motion. The latter is understood to enact a gesture of greeting, and perhaps to draw the gaze attention of the proposed motorist (personal communication, January 09, 2016). Here then the beggar is initiating a greeting sequence with the motorists, having positioned them as potential recipients or responders. Schegloff (1998) and later corroborated in a separate investigation by Kidwell & Zimmerman (2007), identifies that various divergent features of one's physical configuration—positioning of limbs, gaze or bodily orientation, etc.— may show pursuit of simultaneous yet divergent courses of action. In this line of logic, it may then be understood the different positionings of the beggars forearms, are deploying distinct courses of action, enacted simultaneously. The waving of the left hand is interpreted as a gesture of both greeting and draw the visual attention of the motorists, the right hand enacting a gesture of request (personal communication, January 9, 2016; Schegloff, 1998). As the left hand is enacting (amongst others) a gesture of greeting and the right hand a gesture of request the greeting and request adjacency pair types are implicated.

Greeting, may serve as a way of initiating and/or pursuing an interactional engagement (with a response in the form of a return greeting serving to ratify or enter into the proposed interaction, and not returning the greeting serving as a way of blocking it) (Heritage, 1984; Duneier & Molotch, 1999). Normatively, requesting is the action that the greeting in these exchanges is ultimately directed toward (with granting or denial of the request as the potential responses, and with a non-response amounting to a denial), and may thus be seen to *follow* the greeting action. In this case then, a greeting amounts to a pre-sequence—enacting both the action of greeting and assessment of the possibility of an acceptance (or

denial) of the enacted request. What is observed in **Figure 2,** is a concurrent performance of both of these actions using different parts of the body, rather than first doing the greeting and then waiting for a return greeting (which may never come) before launching the request. The variation of this normative sequence of enactments has herein been adapted for this particular context by the beggar where—with the likelihood of being ignored by many motorists— he has a limited time to proposition as many motorists as possible, to increase the likelihood of achieving his goal (receiving a donation) before the traffic light changes. The reflected and reproduced adaptation of a normative sequence of action, to the variation observed in **Figure 2** already begins to indicate the type of inequality inherent in these exchanges.



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

It is observed in **Figure 3** that the beggar has returned to his home-position. Slightly different from **Figure 1** the beggar is seen deploying an eye gaze in the direction of a particular motorist. This suggests that the beggar is implementing a search for a willing recipient for the action of requesting being performed with the home-position configuration (palms pressed together). In this way, he is seen as attempting to initiate interaction, particularly with his eye gaze (personal communication, January 9, 2016), to solicit *recognition* from the motorist to his left and right fields of vision. Liberman (2013) conducted an ethnographic study on *Crossing Kincaid*. He articulates looking and recognition (Liberman 2013, p.23) as one of the ethnographic tools, amongst others, used to successfully cross this "chaotic" four-way stop. Liberman (2013) explains that pedestrians attempting to cross may employ a look/gaze directed to an oncoming driver to draw a look in return indicating recognition for his/her intention to cross. Understanding gesture and body movement as publicly observable, it may be understood by the beggar's slight tilt of the head and eye-movement from left to right, is an enactment of *doing looking*. Similarly, Kidwell & Zimmerman (2007) conduct an investigation of very young children showing objects to each other, to the end of illustrating how social interactions in their simplest form, rely on the ability of the interlocutors to synchronize their attention with one another. One such identified ability is that of gaze, utilized to draw and sustain another's visual attention—a *joint attention*— to themselves in interaction or to an object around which the interaction is centred (Goodwin, 2000, 2007; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). The beggar then

appears to be looking for a recipient for his gaze, and particularly, as he may have perceived with the motorist in question, one who is showing any inclination to return the gaze, thereby ratifying the beggar's action of initiation and engagement in interaction. It may further be said, in this particular case, the gaze enacts a variation of a pre-sequence, with a return gaze or look from the motorist potentially signalling consent for the beggar to produce a request. In **Figure 1** the beggar is shown having already attempted (to no avail) to solicit recognition of four motorists; two on either side. This is achieved by what Liberman (2013, p. 29) describes as "doing oblivious", describing how people may perceive a potential interlocutor's gaze and decline it a state of recognition by avoiding eye-contact, and by extension resist entering into an interaction. That is, if the motorist were to return the look, it may be perceived by the beggar as an indication of ratification of mutual engagement (Goodwin, 2007; Heritage, 1984;; Kidwell merman, 2007; Liberman, 2013), which may be further interpreted as an indication of potential willingness to grant the request that accompanies and/or follows the gaze. It can thus be observed that the beggar's failed attempts to initiate an interaction rest in the driver's enactment of "doing oblivious" and not returning the beggar's look. In doing so, the motorist, essentially positions himself or herself as unavailable as a recipient for the beggar's gaze, and thus unavailable for his projected or simultaneously performed request. Participant observations (personal communication, July 14, 2016) of motorists (not visible in the images captured) revealed their enactment of doing oblivious by rigidly gazing ahead or busying themselves with something in the vehicle, for instance.



Figure 4.

Figures 3 and **4** illustrate the beggar's first ratified interaction with a motorist. **Figure 4** shows a change in physical deployment, with the beggar having moved only his right forearm forward, towards the driver and tentatively waved his hand. It is possible at this point that the beggar's look was returned by the motorist, thereby opening up an interactive field between him and his now motorist interlocutor. Alternately, it may be considered, in the instance that the beggar has not received a ratifying look, and instead that this enactment serves to pursue recipiency from the motorist. It is noteworthy that the motorist's window is open; having been searching for a look of recognition, the beggar may have perceived this as a sign of greater access for pursuing ratification (in comparison to motorists with closed windows)—prompting the extension of his forearm (personal communication, January 9, 2016). Had the beggar indeed received a look from the motorist ratifying his gaze, the identified gesture of the extended forearm and waving hand serve to further solidify the acknowledgment of the acceptance of his proposed interaction as it has progressed from a stage of recognition. The waving of the hand then simultaneously serves as a greeting and an enactment of affirmation of the recognition presumed on the part of the motorist. Indicative of this newly established interactive field as "tentative", and thereby requiring solidification, is the beggar's predominant maintenance of the home-position torque. Along with the forearm breaking from home-position, this variation in postural configuration projects a predominant course of action of a commitment to the

activity *open to potential interaction* while still enacting *doing begging* (Shegloff, 1998). The forearm lends to a lesser course of action of interacting (and briefly solidifying) a temporary engagement. In this particular consideration of this turn of events, the action series would serve as an instance of a pre-sequence; wherein the beggar produces actions that serve to assess whether an interaction will ensue, and by extension the possibility of his projected and distinct request being accepted (Shegloff, 2007).

This case has illustrated some of the "typical" gestures and bodily movements observable of a beggar, in the activity of begging. More so, it has highlighted a central problem to the beggar-motorist interaction; in particular, the problem of initiating an interaction (**Figure 1** and **Figure 2**) indicated by the several attempts with various motorists that the beggar encounters. This is a difficulty that beggars have been systematically observed to encounter; further supported by participant observations of beggars at intersections (personal communication, January 10- December 5, 2016). This phenomenon, that is of the problem of initiating an interaction, will be the focus of the discussion to follow; drawing particular attention to the embodied practices and objects—placards, small goods and services performed—that beggars employ, and the ways in which they are employed to the end of drawing a motorist into interaction. More specifically, the analysis will examine the manner in which beggars create opportunities for making requests, and particularly, requests that have some chance of being granted.

The problem of initiating an interaction

Embodied practices

In the previous section some light was shed on the kinds of gestures and bodily behaviours that may be observed of a beggar. This section looks first at the manner in which a beggar produces actions of request using only his body as a resource—to the end of showing the simplest form of the practice, without the added complexity of the effect of physical props. As noted in the initial case of analysis, the section to follow hereon will then be one to consider the use of props in the begging activity to the end of initiating an interaction. The discussion of these added props will be organized according to ease of accessibility (from most freely accessible to more economically taxing). While **Figure 5** shows a beggar visibly displaying a black plastic bag, the discussion here will focus on what he does with his body, thereby illustrating that the begging activity is first rooted in the embodied action produced—and so may be achieved even without the use of props. Consideration of the role of the plastic bag in the begging activity then will be held for analysis and discussion in the section to follow.



Figure 5.

Depicted in **Figure 5**, the beggar is illustrated as an almost immediately distinguishable figure in the frame. While not centralised between the two car lanes, he is seen as portraying stark form, as a single being amidst a context that is prominently associated with vehicles. This is further supported by the observation that the beggar is not positioned in an area of the road designated for pedestrians, e.g., a pedestrian crossing or sidewalk; thereby

displaying that he is not merely a crossing pedestrian (personal communication, June 6, 2015). The latter exemplifies a possible account for noting an individual on the road—again more frequently associated with vehicles save for exceptional reasons. Here the concept of "observability" serves as a tool to make initial sense of the way in which an individual may mark himself/herself as involved in distinct activity requiring attention (Goodwin, 2000; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007, p. 593; Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003). Furthermore, the concept lends itself as a tool for setting up an interactive space (Goodwin, 2002; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Goodwin (2000) as well as Lerner and Zimmerman (2003) examine the way in which the body may be used to communicate *action for interaction*. This, they articulate is so achieved via making conduct publicly visible and available for another, as a resource for action (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Here 'available for another' denotes co-ordinated use of the body *oriented* towards a particular recipient (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). The beggar as in **Figure 5**, may be thought of as illustrative of availing himself –and further appealing to others to avail themselves—through making himself observable via contrast to the other objects on the road. This action will become commonplace in the analysis of the phenomena of interest.

Having obtained observability, as such, the beggar is then observed, again in **Figure 5**, to have co-ordinated his interlocutor's (the motorist's) attention to a particular configuration of his physical body—request action. The beggar is depicted having brought his upper body down to gain *and give* his interlocutor ('s) a more central visual of himself—aligned with the motorist's window (personal communication, June 6, 2015). Bent from the waist at an obtuse angle, the beggar is further viewed with his head and gaze orientation directed to the motorist's window; thereby producing an action of proposing himself as a participant for interaction (personal communication, June 6, 2015; Goodwin 2002; Tomasello, 1995). Following Schegloff's (1998) investigation of *Body Torque*, various features of one's physical configuration—the co-ordination and placement of ones hands, arms, legs, tension of the abdomen, etc.—communicate various courses of action (or alternately may be emphatic of one course of action). The actions are organisable by predominance, as greater or lesser, dependent on orientation to a particular course of interaction or activity (Schegloff, 1998). On this logic, it may be understood of the beggar's positioning of his arms as performing a concurrent and congruent (or incongruent) action, to the end of initiating an interaction

with the motorist. The beggar's arms are pressed to the sides of his torso; bent at the elbow at an acute angle. The latter is a familiar formation, observed of the initial beggar of analysis. His forearms (**Figure 5**) are seemingly being raised to bring his hands to a "show position" (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007, p. 598). The latter term, Kidwell and Zimmerman (2007) describe as a placement or positioning of an object in space to allow maximal view of the object for another. Here then, the beggar makes his hands available for maximal viewing, to show a waving of his right hand co-ordinated with a left hand with the palm facing upwards. This formation was identified in the previous section (**Figure 2**) as a concurrent enactment of greeting (simultaneously drawing visual attention) and requesting. The context of observation is such that the beggar is compelled to enact, what would normatively unfold with the natural turn-by-turn progression of an interaction, in one co-ordinated formulation, such as to affect an interactional event before (or at least concurrently) with the motorist's enactment of doing oblivious or enacting a gesture of denial to the proposed interaction (Schegloff, 2007; Zimmerman & West, 1996). As noted above, this (re)produces the inherent inequality of interaction between the two parties, as the motorist, while enacting a gesture(s) of denial, is given the comfort of his/her full turn to perform such, the beggar alternately is afforded little or no such room.

A fuller view of the beggar's body in entirety, allows for further analysis of the action communicated in his physical configuration. Before continuing, note the enactment of greeting/request has been made particularly available for the motorist in question (personal communication, June 6, 2015). From the waist area downwards, it is presumed that the motorist does not have full, clear view—save for making a concerted effort to do so. This serves for further motivation for the beggar to display his primary intended action (requesting) in a "show" position for the motorist (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). Continuing on, the beggar's legs are observed to have been brought together tightly, oriented forward; with his left foot oriented forward and his right foot, breaking from the midline and oriented slightly to the left—toward the vehicle (personal communication, June 6, 2015). Two courses of action are observable in this configuration; first, the right foot, communicates alignment with the greater current course of action—requesting—while his left foot, communicates *an action to come*—an intended action (Lerner & Zimmerman, 2003).



Figure 6.



Figure 7.

Figure 6 illustrates that beggar having proceeded from the vehicle, with no donation produced by the motorist, heading towards the vehicle that follows (personal communication, June 6, 2015). Note the beggar has already directed his attention to the motorist that he is headed to, indicated by a full body alignment oriented forward. Additionally, the beggar travels between the vehicles while producing a continual gesture of requesting, thereby doing begging, supported by the observation of the home-position

(hands brought together at the palms, suggestive of pleading, begging) (personal communication, June 6, 2015). **Figure 7** then illustrates the beggar in a formulation where his right hand has broken for the gesture of pleading, with his fingers brought together in a gesture deictic of eating. Note, his left hand still holds the position of requesting; thereby articulating a request for food. This formulation of a modified request, one that articulates a possible medium of donation that will be accepted from the motorist, will show to be a commonplace enactment observed of the beggars.

The image series produced by **Figure 1** through to **Figure 4** shows the beggar having also employed bodily movement as a predominant tool, aided towards initiating an interaction. The identified beggar utilizes his physical configuration of bodily regions to emulate and emphasise an action communicating his state of "need". Quite similarly of the beggar observed in **Figure 1** to **4**, the beggar is observed emulating a tight posture, holding his arms tightly pressed to the sides of his torso, his forearms brought before his chest to bring his hands together in a "prayer position". The beggar observed in **Figure 5**, further extends this compressed posture in the lower half of his body with his legs brought tightly together as well. The compressed stature observed of these beggars produce the action of appearing to take up less physical space; of being small (personal communication, June 6, 2015; personal communication, January 9, 2016). The subsequent enactment of the "prayer position" stands as a gesture of pleading; of literally begging. The repetition of this physical formulation, over the presentation of any other tool, suggests bodily movements— emphasizing the beggar's state of need, and arguably helplessness— as his primary strategy towards initiating an interaction.

A special case

Arriving at this point, commonplace gestures, bodily physical configurations—enacted by beggars to draw motorists into interaction— have been subject to discussion; furthermore, few examples of the strategies that may be employed by the beggar when attempting to engage a driver have been noted. The practices mentioned, eliciting recognition via gaze and head orientation, the waving of hand, the use of abdomen and limbs to enact gestures or body torque, presentation of some object to communicate particular actions (need, inferiority, reverence, hunger, offer, and request), are frequently observed of various beggars, dispersed at various intersections. Supported by field notes and systemic

participant observations, beggars are often noted to enact various combinations of action sequences composite of the mentioned resources available to them.



Figure 8.



Figure 9.

Figure 8 through **Figure 11** showcases a slightly different, arguably more creative tackle on the problem of initiating an interaction with a motorist, in the form of the performance of a routine designed to entertain passing motorists. Laband (1986) notes that the red traffic light, bringing motorists to a halt, allows the beggar a briefly captive audience, until at least the green light allows them to continue on; the beggars observed in the identified image series make use of just this knowledge. That is, they have deployed their bodies in the service of entertainment; as a chosen strategy, wholly reliant on rhythmic and co-ordinated bodily behaviour, to the end of drawing a motorist of their audience into an interaction. The

discussion thus far has highlighted the crucial nature of drawing the motorists' gaze, as a first step in the activity of begging, and particularly so, to the end of presenting his/her request (either distinct from a greeting action, or enacted concurrently). The beggars observed here have seemingly taken heed of this crucial first step by providing entertainment as a way of drawing the motorists' gaze, and once successful, it introduces an obligation to pay for the entertainment that the motorists have essentially received. The performance given provides both a way of initiating a type of engagement and providing an expectation that payment will follow.

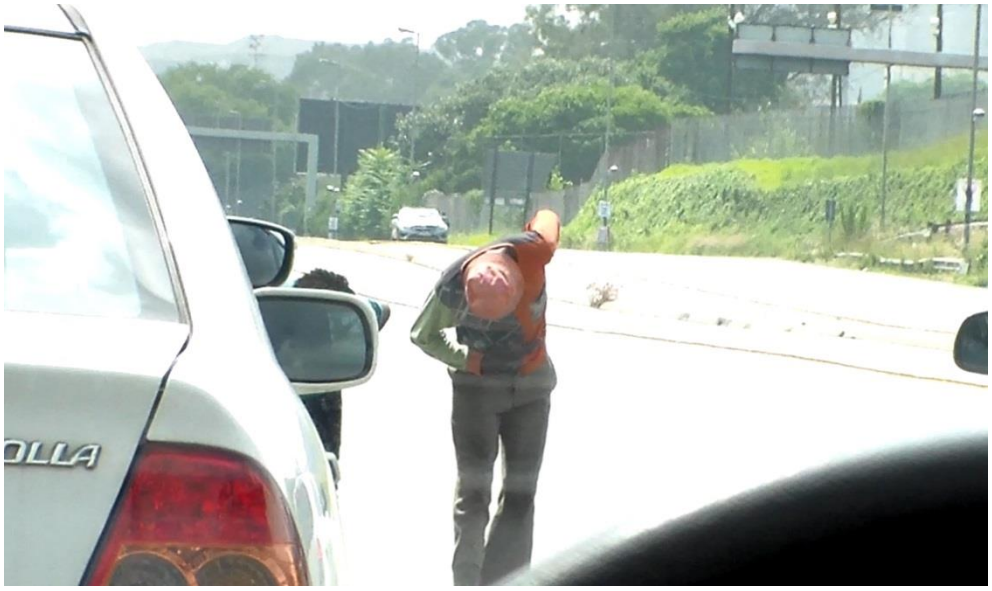

Figure 10.

This begging duo offers the skill and entertainment value of dance, as a manner of not only drawing the motorist's gaze, but also *converting* the proposed interaction to follow, as one of exchange—"show-for-donation". The beginning of this episode shows a duo beginning a choreographed dance, the commencement of which is marked by the presence of the red traffic light and halting of vehicles (personal communication, November 18, 2016). **Figure 8** and **Figure 9** illustrate fractions of a performance spanning approximately 16 seconds, composite of rhythmic movement performed largely in unison. The performance lasts 16 seconds out of an approximate 29 seconds marking the appearance of the red traffic light, leaving the duo about 13 seconds for the further (individuated) request and collection of donations. This residual time left to walk down the car aisles demonstrates the dance duo's orientation to the performance as having been given with the expectation of something in

return, thus supporting the above analysis of it as such. This highlights that the performance is carefully choreographed not just in terms of the duo's co-ordination of their movements, but also with regards to the timing of the performance with that of the appearance of the red traffic light. The performance is brought to a finale, with a co-ordinated bowing action, observed in **Figure 10** (above).

Transitioning from the captured bow; the begging duo lifts their upper bodies from the waist upward, to face their motorist audience. **Figure 11** (below) shows both beggars enacting a physical configuration composite of their left hands placed of the small of their backs, while their right arms and hands are raised above their heads—the arms bent at an obtuse angle—waving. It is noteworthy that the transition from the action enacted in **Figure 9** to that of **Figure 10**, do the work of signalling the end of the show, thanking the audience for their attention thus far, and preparing them for a series of actions to follow that would require their further attention (personal communication, November 18, 2016). At this point, it is notable to highlight a series of familiar gestures and bodily formulations that have previously been encountered; a concurrent enactment of greeting and requesting, which are here again observed, although in modified form here, by virtue of the beggar's performance**.** In **Figures 15** and **10** the beggars observed produce an action of waving characterised by similar features, wherein the palm of the right hand is oriented inward, the pinky and ring finger only partially extended briefly, the hand motioned side-to-side (to draw the motorists' visual attention and concurrently enact a greeting). Similarly, **Figure 13** shows the beggar enacting a hand gesture fitting the latter description, however using both his hands. **Figures 5** and **12** illustrate the beggars enacting a similar limb formation, with the left arm hanging at a 90 degree angles, held across the abdomen (enacting begging/requesting), while the right forearm is raised at an acute angle, pedestalling a waving hand (a concurrent action of greeting and drawing visual attention).

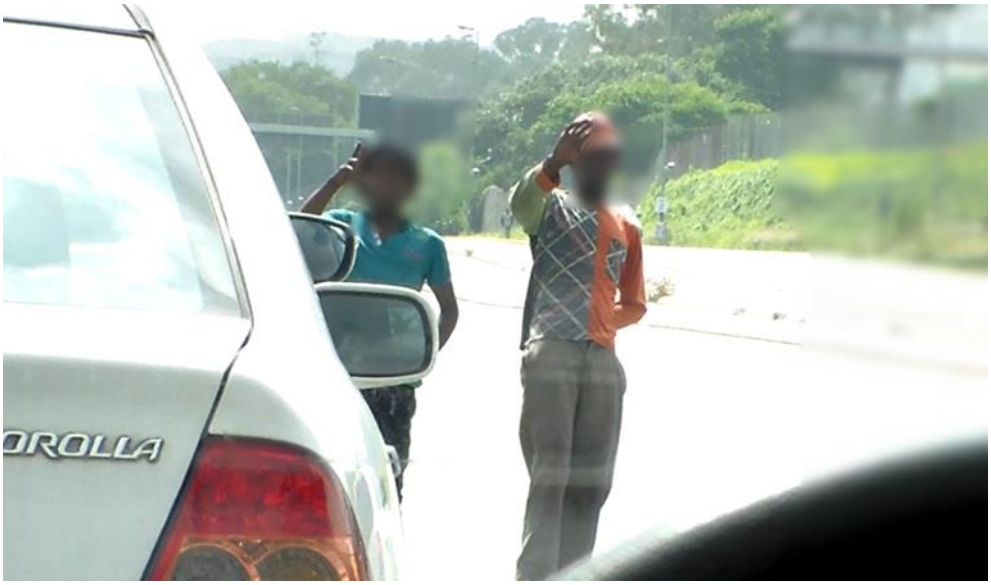

Figure 12.



Figure 13.



Figure 14.

Figure 3, Figure 7 and **Figure 13** highlight another frequently observed action, comprised of bringing both forearms across the diaphragm region, to bring both hands together, meeting at the palms (resembling an action of pleading/begging). The latter is frequently observed to be paired with a slight tilting of the head. The rest of the episode follows an enactment of physical configurations, which may now be boldly referred to as systematically observable practices of the task of begging; though again, enacting a modified form of requesting payment for the entertainment, as opposed to making a distinct request at the outset. That is, the gestural actions and physique tensions observed of the beggars thus far have shown them to utilize a varied strategic enactment, or rather varied combinations of embodied actions that are likely to be observed of a beggar at a traffic light intersection, in any given instance, when attempting to initiate an interaction with a desired interlocutor. The latter refers to enactments of need, inferiority, hunger, reverence and pleading; denoted, for instance, by a compacting and/or concurrent enactment of gestures, deictic hand gesture for food, or a drawing together of palms deictic of a “prayer pose”. Furthermore, it is noted that preceding any varied combinations of these bodily behaviours and, essentially, communicative actions, is a waving of the hand—enacting both greeting and a signal to draw the gaze attention of the proposed motorist. Moreover the enactment of the referenced bodily behaviours is more typically observed of beggars who have been identified to rely predominantly on their body as a predominant resource vehicled to initiate an interaction with a motorist of choice.



Figure 15.

The image series provided in **Figures 8** through **14** provides further evidence that the ways in which the body can be used to "do begging" are systemic across a range of cases, including those in which work is being done to convert the begging into something a bit more "egalitarian". This, in turn, demonstrates the present relational inequalities in these exchanges, even in the face of efforts to "flatten them out" to a degree.

Of the use of props

Plastic bag and paper cup



Figure 16.

The beggar captured in **Figure 16** much like the previously discussed beggars, shows to have some similar attributes—by means of the objects he holds—as well as some elements of distinction. It would serve us then, towards gaining a textured insight, to unpack the features of the beggar in **Figure 16** while making some highlight of points of similarity and distinction to the beggars observed in the previous sections. **Figure 16** depicts a beggar at a different traffic light intersection, having walked a few paces down the aisle of two car lanes (personal communication, August 8, 2015). Here again the beggar has made several attempts to engage individual motorists in his audience. While his upper and lower body are aligned and oriented forward, his head and gaze direction are slightly oriented to the vehicle on his right (personal communication, August 8, 2015). Note the formation of his arms resemble a form similar to the beggar observed in **Figure 2**. That is, the beggar's arms (in **Figure 16**) hang loosely to the sides of his torso; his left arm bent at the elbow at a 90 degree angle with his hand holding a paper cup; his right arm bent upwards at the elbow at an acute angle, his hand moving in brief periodic waving motion. To recall, the positioning of the right hand as such, serves the simultaneous function of drawing the visual attention of the motorist and a greeting, in pursuit of a ratifying look. The left arm remains aligned in the home-position of doing begging, with the cup performing the action of request (similar to

the open palm of the beggar in **Figure 2**) and a place where the donations can be deposited. **Figure 17**, below, highlights the beggar's right hand and forearm as his most active tool towards garnering an interaction with a potential motorist interlocutor (personal communication, August 8, 2015).

Following a waving of the hand in **Figure 16**, both to draw the visual attention of the motorist to gain acknowledgment for his look, as well as serve as a manner of greeting; in **Figure 17** he draws his forearm closer to his chest and pulls his fingers together forming a gesture deictic to that of eating. While this may have served as a responsive action to the returned gaze of the driver, it ought to be noted that the gesture may have been enacted even without responsive input from the motorist in question. Here again is observed an enactment similar to that produced by the previous beggar of observation (**Figure 7**) implementing a specific form of request relating to hunger and the need for food. The gesture observed in **Figure 17**, while the rest of the beggar's bodily behaviour holds form, does the work of enacting a request for a food donation, though not necessarily so. That is, the combination of the gesture requesting food as well as the paper cup, function as claim that if any money were to be donated, it would be used to buy food—perhaps implicitly resisting the idea that his engagement in the activity of begging is to gain funds to fuel substance abuse, for instance, and rather that he engages in the activity out of hunger. Although not quite visible in **Figure 17**, the beggar couples the latter gesture, with a bending of the knee movement that resembling a genuflection (personal communication, August 8, 2015). The genuflecting gesture is understood to enact great reverence for a being that one perceives as superior; an enactment of notable significance, and to be returned to later in the discussion.



Figure 17.

Earlier, a claim was made that the predominantly active tool utilized by the beggar, towards eliciting an interaction, is his right limb. Note, that in both **Figure 16** and **Figure 17** the beggar makes no bodily movement towards drawing attention to the plastic bag draped over the front of his body, or the cup in his left hand (personal communication, August 8, 2015). This is not to say that the objects made observable do not serve a function, rather the observability of the props are (also) indicative of a continuous act of requesting, concurrent with the various acts of greeting and pursuit of a response. Additionally, the observability of the plastic bag serves the particular function of leveraging the nature of the proposed of interaction into one of exchange, rather than solely request. It is then understood that the nature of reference, is of "service-for-donation". That is, the plastic bag displays that the beggar is collecting rubbish, this denoting the basis of the service.

A quick recap of the literature calls to mind the concept of the distribution of cost/benefit between the agent and the recipient of the action as articulated by Clayman & Heritage (2014). That is, when considering the benefactive stance or status of an interlocking series of actions that enact a request, offer or proposal, there stands a possible benefit to be gained by the agent of the request/offer (here, the beggar), that is weighed against the possible cost that the recipient of the request/offer (here, the motorist) may incur (Clayman & Heritage, 2014). Schegloff (2007, p. xiv) may be used to further colour this with the understanding that both the agent of the action and the recipient of the action may use "…the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction fashioned" to asses and respond, when proposing or being proposed, when offering or being offered.

On this logic, it may be said of this beggar and those discussed previously that the observability of the plastic bag, shows a use of resources on the part of the beggar to leverage the request interaction into a service encounter; where both he and the motorist may possibly benefit. This is distinct from a mere request interaction, where only the beggar is projected to benefit and the motorist incurs all the cost (Schegloff, 2007; Clayman & Heritage, 2014).

The exchange referred to, again driven by the beggars elective action of gesture, gaze orientation or hand/arm movement to draw visual attention to the plastic bag, renders the proposed series of actions to follow, should the motorist indeed enter into the interaction, to be described as "service-for-donation". The presentation of the plastic bag would then stand as an action that communicates that the interaction to follow, should his interlocutor agree favourably, is one in which the beggar will accept the motorist's rubbish (unwanted objects in the vehicle) for a small donation (monetary or otherwise). Similarly, if the action of presenting the plastic bag were to be understood as an offer, suggesting seemingly equal benefit (and/or cost) (Clayman & Heritage, 2014) to beggar and motorist and under the description "favour-for-favour"; the motorist's chances of entering into interaction with the beggar are, arguably increased. To entertain this line of argument further, the plastic bag could imply a request disguised as an offer of service. Therein, the beggar constructs his proposal of an interaction as a service offered (without necessarily expecting something in return). That is, while it may be clear to both parties of the interaction that taking up the masked request would come with the expectation of the motorist giving something in return, the beggar still goes the route of presenting his request in visual optics of an offer—to be of primary value to the recipient of the offer—with the "incidental" subsequent benefit going to the beggar. The proposed series of interaction to follow, in this instance, may be one in which both parties help each other; thereby both benefit and both incur cost. Comparatively, similar statements may be made of the beggar observed in the episode of **Figure 4** and **Figure 5**. For instance, it may be hypothesised that the simultaneous presentation of the cup and the plastic bag would have enacted a stronger statement of a proposed interaction of exchange; of the motorist's unwanted items for a monetary donation.

Placards

Adriaenssens & Hendrickx (2011) identify begging as an activity forming part of a street economy; noting the location chosen by beggars –traffic light intersection—as a competitive strategy. Laband (1998), as noted, provides further insight into the phenomenon by articulating that a red stoplight serves the beggar, who has strategically chosen said location, for a captive audience, even if for a brief moment. And once his or her audience is brought to a stop, the beggar may then engage, or rather attempt to engage his or her audience according to the resources available to him/her (Laband, 1998). Thus far, the discussion has produced examples of beggars with very few material resources—making use of items that can easily be acquired with no money, such as a plastic bag, paper cup, etc.—and thus relying prominently on articulating their bodily behaviour as manner of initiating an interaction with an identified motorist. Recapping, while said beggars may display items that denote a proposed interaction of an exchange/service nature, their primary resource is determined on its predominance of use when the beggar is observed to make an attempt at initiating an interaction with a potential motorist interlocutor. This point in the discussion would bring us to a point of transition, one in which an individual may be observed using objects of small value, or proposing a given service, as a strategy of initiating interaction.

Here offered, follows a discussion of two beggars located at two different intersections, and the observed use of the placards they display over the front of their persons. The beggars identified, as will emerge, make use of their identified placards in distinct ways and as such it is determined that an analysis of these two uses follow a compare and contrast nature, thus allowing a more nuanced insight. The mentioned transition then points to instances in the begging activity in which the body, as a resource, holds an intermediary role for its ability to highlight and emphasise objects in the immediate environment; rather than a tool for its own inherent value as a communicative resource.



Figure 18.

Figure 18 depicts the beggar standing before his motorist audience at a red traffic light. Little to no exerted tension is visible in his stance; rather his upper and lower body are aligned and oriented in the same direction—forward. His head is slightly tilted to the left—and perhaps unclear in the image—wearing an visibly expressionless look on his face (personal communication, September 12, 2015). For the duration of the visibility of a red traffic light, the beggar is observed to make very little movement, and in fact has his feet firmly planted, keeping him firmly in the observed location. While he makes no geographical movement, he is observed, in **Figure 19**, captured seconds before the image produced in **Figure 18** to shift his head and gaze orientation to the vehicle on his left field, drawing to a stop (personal communication, September 12, 2015). Further, the beggar at infrequent points in the episode was noted to draw his forearm upward over his chest, pulling his right hand to his lips in the gesture deictic of eating/food (personal communication, September 12, 2015).

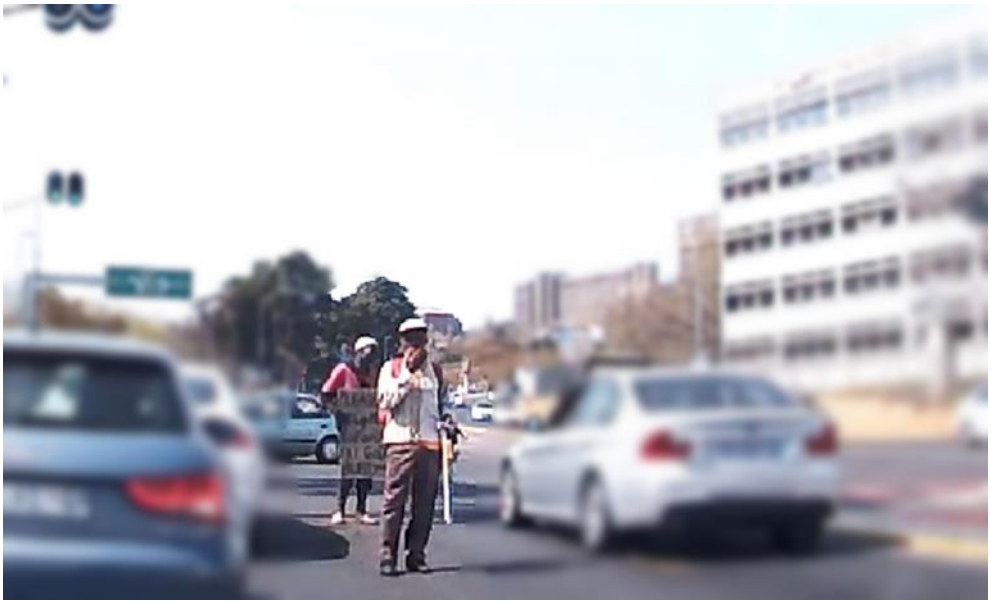

Figure 19.

While the placard hangs from a string that goes around the beggar's neck, **Figure 18** illustrates the beggar using his right hand to hold the placard in place, or arguably, to subtly gesture to it in a form of display. The placard reads "Please help me. No food to eat. God Bless You" (personal communication, September 12, 2015). The written utterance employs a linguistic action as an added resource to the beggar's strategy of initiating an interaction with a motorist. Furthermore, and distinct from the previous cases of discussion thus far, here the beggar displays solely the request immediately; whereas in previous instances an observable greeting (or other such attempt to initiate an interaction) was enacted either prior or concurrently with the request. In this way, the beggar in **Figure 19** via display of the placard, arguably by-passes the pre-sequential dance seen of the previous beggars, and as noted presents his request without preceding or concurrent actions to ingratiate himself to the motorists. It is further proposed that the strategy that is being observed here, is one in which the beggar is rather attempting to draw in the motorist, to initiate an interaction with him (the beggar) (personal communication, September 12, 2015). There are two things to be considered at this point, if the latter strategy is to be entertained a little further. The first thing that may be considered, is that beggar has here demonstrated in his appearance, and more significantly in his lack of action; an embodied enactment of poverty—a poverty of movement (personal communication, September, 2015). It may be interpreted, to further support this line of thought, that the expressionless face he wears, as noted earlier, may enact a poverty of emotion (Perakyla & Ruusuvuori, 2012). Against this (blank) backdrop,

additionally and essentially capitalizing on the concept of observability; the action articulated on the placard is consequently, magnified (Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). The placard communicates a request of aid that is particularly related to a lack of sufficient food; while the termination of the requested action is with an enactment of gratitude—***God Bless You***. Additionally, in what may for all intents and purposes account as active bodily behaviours, the beggar is observed to periodically turn his gaze attention to the vehicles closest to him and raising the right hand identified to be displaying the placard, to his lips in a deictic gesture of eating. Having considered this line of analysis, if a responsive action that would then mark the opening of an interaction were to be enacted; the beggar's sophisticated strategy has, arguably, drawn the motorist into initiating an interaction with him. This particular way of garnering a donation for his request, comes with the cost of less actively pursuing a kind of mutual engagement that may foster a greater likelihood of receiving a grant for his request. However, it also comes with the benefit, of skipping a set of pre-sequential actions that might stop short of granting the request, for instance: wherein the motorist returns the greeting but does not, in the end, give any donation, or perhaps more commonly, the motorist does not return the greeting and therefore blocks the request before it can be produced. The muscle of the beggar's supposed strategy observably lies in the action enacted by the placard.

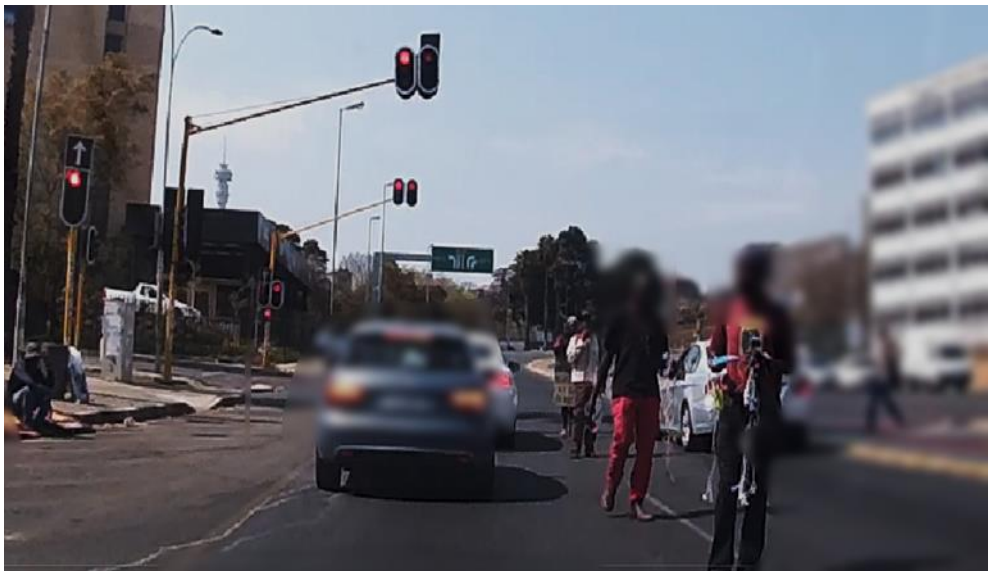

Figure 20.

The second point to be considered is observed in **Figure 19** and further highlighted in **Figure 20**. The mentioned figures offer an alternate interpretation of the enacted strategy, while the resources remain. **Figure 20** shows our identified beggar sharing his location, and by extension his audience, with three other individuals, partaking in presumably a different activity. The individuals herein are noted to hold in their hands various small objects of monetary value—in particular car cell phone chargers, aux cable chords and earphones. The individuals are observed as actively partaking in the practice of approaching motorists and proposing them with an interaction of exchange—offering the objects identified for trade (personal communication, September 12, 2015). It is immediately clear at surface observation that these individuals—here forth described as traders— are involved in an alternate activity with a distinct set of resources. Note the beggar with the placard is here positioned behind three traders, of whom have been identified as positively (as a poverty of action does not necessitate inaction) more active (personal communication, September 12, 2015). This is supported by the observation of the traders walking, perhaps competitively, down the aisle between the two car lanes, to approach motorists first.

The buzzing activity may have constructed an interactional space that prohibits excessive movement from our placard bearer. That is, the geographic space available to him as well the overpopulation of the location—as beggars have often been observed to occupy a location alone, or with only one other beggar or trader—reduced his ability to fill the potential interactive space with gross movement and larger shows of embodied action. Further in this this line of analysis, the minimalistic actions produced by the placard holding beggar, allows him a position of distinction, from the traders observed, whom some motorists will likely encounter before arriving to a halt before him (personal communication, September 12, 2015).

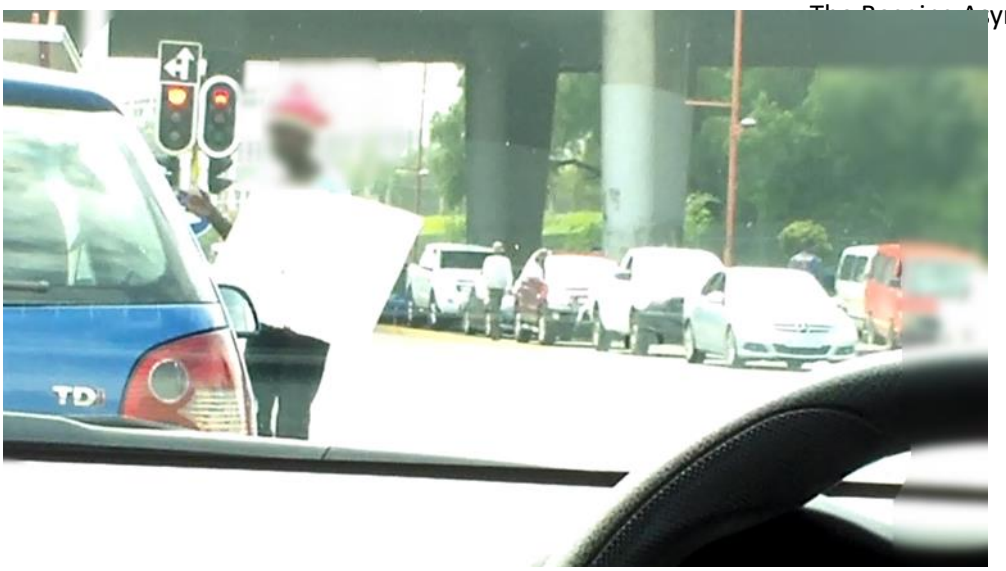

Figure 21.



Figure 22.

Figure 21 and **Figure 22** grant a different lens into the possible styles of use of the placard, and thereby accompanying action that may be observed of a beggar in attempting to secure, more immediately, a donation from a motorist of choice. That is, in by-passing the pre-sequence of greeting, the initial action presented here is initiating and interaction and "cutting to the chase" of requesting a donation. **Figure 21** captures moments after the appearance of the red traffic light; the beggar herein observed immediately enacting a more active participation in the task of presenting his request, as compared to our previous placard compatriot (personal communication, May 5, 2016). This applies to both his embodied action and as will be noted a little later, in the content of his placard-conveyed action. In **Figure 21** the beggar is depicted having taken direct steps towards the motorist's

window, his lower and upper body aligned and oriented towards the car window. The beggar is observed to hold a gaze orientation aimed directly at the motorist's window; his placard held across his abdomen on full display. Note that this particular placement of the placard allows the motorist full observability; as the beggar further employs the waving of his right hand—a familiar gesture—to draw the motorist's visual attention and enact a gestural greeting (personal communication, May 5, 2016; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007). **Figure 22** shows a follow-on enactment, wherein the beggar emphatically highlights the placard, with a bending of the head to face downward along with gaze orientation, seemingly focused on the words of the placard.



Figure 23.

The placard reads "I KEEP THIS INTERSECTION CLEAN. CRIME FREE SPOT. GOD BLESS U" as depicted in **Figure 23**. The action communicated in the placard, draws further distinction between the two placard beggars in question. Where the placard of the beggar observed in **Figure 18** enacted and further, proposed an interaction of request; **Figure 23** produces an action indexical of *an already provided service* to the benefit of any motorist who uses the intersection in question. The written display employs an action that relates to Laband's (1986) notion of a "forced consumption". Laband (1986) writes on this notion with reference to windscreen-washing beggars, who, he articulates may often be observed to

begin washing motorist's windscreen without his or her permission. This then speaks to having, at the root of it, forced the motorist to consume the given service—the cleaning of the windscreen (Laband, 1986). Applicative to our beggar in **Figure 23**, it is understood of the placard that the beggar has, prior to the arrival of the motorist, ensured their pleasant experience of the intersection—enacted in his assertion that the cleanliness of the intersection is owed to him. Following on, he assures that their safety at this intersection is again owed to him. The former lends to a contextual feature relevant to South Africa where "smash and grabs" (hijackings) at intersections are commonplace (Sewsunker, 2013)—as such concerns about crime that may be held by many motorists (like many people in South Africa) becomes a resource for the beggar to use in working to secure donations. The words "God bless you" (for both of the placard bearers in question) enact both an action of gratitude—for the motorist's attention, and arguably, for the donation that is implied by his previous written enactments. The latter phrase enacts a subtle expectation of future reward; as it may also communicate a pre-emptive gratitude for a donation that has not yet been received, but is expected due to the already provided service. As the norm follows in a capitalist structured environment one provides service-for-value (monetary or otherwise—as the beggar has not here communicated the desired form of donation). To drive the point home then, the beggar utilizes gaze and gesture to draw visual attention to his placard; the written action on the placard then positions its reader (the motorist) as indebted to him, for his already provided service. This holds particular significance in that the request for a donation, in this instance, remains implicit, albeit it is clear to all the participants in play what is being requested. As such, the service provided is foregrounded and a pre-emptive thanks for a donation is offered, however, the explicit request for the donation never actually has to be produced. Illustrated here, is an additional variation on an attempt to mitigate the inherent asymmetry of the interaction; essentially positioning the claim of having provided a service to partially mask the request.

Drawing back to Laband's (1986) concept, the claim to have provided a service may be understood as a subtler enactment of a forced consumption; while the service provided is not present in the observed interaction—suggestively performed in a different time period; similarly to the windscreen-washers Laband (1986) discusses, it has been performed without the request or permission of the motorist. It is perhaps important to note here that in some

instances, windscreen washers may indeed perform the service with the motorists' permission and so it is not in every cases an act enforced on the motorist. Where the beggar in **Figure 18** is comparable to the beggar in **Figure 22** is in the projected end of their hypothesised strategies—to leverage the initiation of a desired interaction with a motorist, in such a manner that the motorist plays an equally active role, in entering into interaction with the beggar. This, for instance, may be seen in the motorist motioning the beggar towards his own vehicle, to present him or her with a donation upon arrival, as opposed to passively waiting for the beggar to eventually reach their vehicle (personal communication, May 5, 2016. It has also been observed of motorists in the interactive space of interest, to begin an interaction of brief talk exchange with the beggar, though not produce any donation. This demonstrates that the pursuits of engagement thus far observed, in this and other cases, are still only an initial step towards obtaining a donation—though with no guarantee that it will ultimately produce the desired goal.

A few things may therefore be said of the placard bearing beggar when regarding their observed actions in their attempts to initiate an interaction with a motorist. It has been noted, first the manner in which they make use of their bodily behaviour, is to the service of drawing visual attention to the placard. This may be so achieved through positive embodied action—where action is conveyed through observable physical movement—as well as negative embodied action. Here, the latter refers to instances in which action is communicated through little to no bodily movement. The latter rests on the understanding that the enactment of inaction—silence, non-movement, etc.—does not equate an absence of action (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff 1998, 2007). It has further been observed of beggars that make use of a placard that the very weight of the begging activity—at the very least, in the instance of attempting to initiate an interaction—rests in the written action displayed on the placard. That is, the placard does the work of explicitly identifying the beggar as in a state of need, further positioning him as in some sense dependent on the reader of his placard for aid. The placard, as noted, may go on to state the nature of his or her need as one relating to food, for instance. Pivotal to our phenomenon of interest, the placard does the work of articulating the nature of the proposed interaction. As highlighted, the placard may propose an interaction of mere request, or exchange for a service previously provided or *to be* provided throughout the unfolding of the interaction, should the motorist choose to

participate. Field notes have noted observations of placards that may denote an invitation—for language lessons or comedic entertainment.

Services

A quick recap will show a type of beggar that has utilized a blend of embodied actions and props—plastic bag, paper cup, placard—as resource for engaging the problem of initiating an interaction with a motorist. The former illustrating a prominence of use of either embodied action *or* prop. Additionally, a stylized use of this blend of communicative actions which adopt the interlocking action series of a request (and in some instances, an exchange) is observed (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Duneier & Molotch, 1999). This is with regards to the observed greater cost borne by the motorist in accepting the proposed interaction, in comparison to the benefit projected by the beggar proposing the interaction (of request). The former notion is to be thought of as distinct from the cost (according to his observed resources) that the beggar incurs in attempting to initiate an interaction, against the projected cost the motorist would potentially incur by enacting an acceptance of the proposal (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Schegloff, 2007). That is the length (or rather work) of the action series employed in accepting or declining participation in an interaction, versus the work borne in attempting to construct a proposal of interaction (or request) such that it is more likely to be accepted by one's desired interlocutor. A key point of consideration that will be addressed in the next section is the amount of work employed in the motorist's enactment in declining the beggar's proposed interaction (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Heritage, 1984).

Figure 24 and **Figure 25** illustrate a variation on already noted forms of service provision; a look at attempting to initiate a service-for-value interaction via the observation of windscreen-washers. **Figure 24** shows an example of such an individual, approaching the first vehicle to pull to a halt following the appearance of the red traffic light. His upper and lower body aligned, the beggar angles himself towards the vehicle to his left field of potential interaction, with both his arms to his sides, forearms held at low, slightly obtuse angle (personal communication, November 24, 2016). In his left hand, the individual is observed to be handling a hand-held window squeegee, while his right hand holds a two litre cold drink bottle, filled with a liquid soap and water solution (personal communication, November 24, 2016). As the episode unfolds, the beggar is observed to enact a set of

actions that are communicative of the intention to wash the motorist's windscreen. This is understood of the beggar's enactment of extending his right arm to splash some of the contained solution onto the windscreen, followed swiftly by the extension of the left hand towards the same area, **Figure 24**. Note at this point, in the unfolding of events, the beggar has not enacted any set of actions observable and reportable as a greeting, nor has he shown to engage the motorist inhabitant (personal communication, November 24, 2016). While it is unclear in the image below it may be presumed that the beggar made contact via gaze orientation, in which case the depicted actions that unfolded thereafter paint an interactional exchange in which the beggar enacts a look, the norm of which is followed by a second-pair part adjacent of a returned look. The two actions perform the *joint* action of acknowledgement, by both parties (Schegloff, 2007; Zimmerman, 2002). If this is the case, it ought to be considered, as noted earlier in the analysis that a returned gaze by the motorist may imply and be perceived as giving consent to the service. This in turn lays grounds for the expectation of payment for the service given. In the instance that the presumed look is not afforded recipiency, the enactment of the window-washing action sequence observably goes on without an instantiation of acknowledgement. In line with this consideration then, should the window washing go on with (even implicit) consent given, it allows the beggar the grounds to *demand* payment for a service that the motorist consented to (or at the very least did not objected to). If consent was not given, even implicitly, motorists could more accountably refuse to pay on the grounds of not having given permission, while the windscreen washer could perhaps likewise claim that the fact that the motorist did not explicitly refuse permission, thereby amounting to tacitly giving permission and as such payment is due. The potential cost to be incurred by the beggar, in continuing without the motorist's consent, is that he may fail to secure payment for the (forced) service, the beggar has essentially wasted his resources (soap solution and labour). However, failing to wash a windscreen when the turn of events could have led to a payment (even by an initially unwilling motorist) entails the possibility of losing out on potential income—perhaps an even greater risk.



Figure 24.



Figure 25.

The phenomenon being observed here is that of Laband's (1986) *forced consumption*, here explicated via the interlocking action series composite of an instantiation of the phenomenon. **Figure 25** shows the beggar's forceful proposal declined and illustrates him having turned to the vehicle in his right field of potential interaction and enacting a similar strategy towards initiating an interaction with the observed motorist (personal communication, November 24, 2016.

Until this point, only cursory mention has been made of the embodied actions of the motorist when accepting or declining participation in the proposed interaction. It has been briefly noted, that motorists are often observed to enact a state of "doing oblivious" when

approached by any variant of the beggars that have been discussed thus far (Liberman, 2013). Motorists enact this by displaying a rigid gaze orientation ahead, as opposed to shifting their gaze (or head orientation) towards the beggar when prompted to. Alternately the motorist, under the notion of doing oblivious may be seen to begin occupying him or herself with frivolous activities, or meaningful activities timed to discourage or avoid a proposed interaction, when the beggar is perceived as approaching (personal communication, November 24, 2016). It has further been gleaned from participant observation, that the action series comprising of an acceptance or initiation of interaction, leaves little to be said. Alternately, it may be said that the action enacted by the motorist, in accepting or initiating an interaction, is typically not available to the observing eye external to the vehicle, and so little may be said about it. However, a few participant observations (personal communication, June 6, August 8, December 5, 2015; personal communication, February 3, April 12, & July 18, 2016) of these phenomena are still mentionable. Firstly, a motorist may be seen to signal an interaction, by extending his or her forearm out of his/her window, prior to the beggar's approach to the inhabitant's vehicle (personal communication, April 12, 2016). This signal appears enough to draw the attention of the beggar. Additionally, the motorist may be observed to gesture a waving of the hand; again to draw the gaze attention of the beggar (personal communication, February 3, 2016). Similarly, when accepting the proposed interaction, the motorist is observed to enact an acknowledgement either through returning the gaze of the beggar and/or producing a gesture of agreement via the nodding of the head (personal communication, January 9, 2016). An action that may be observed in the same light may be of the motorist raising his hand to a visible field, creating a fist with an extended thumb—also indexical of agreement.

The mentioned gestures of acknowledgement or agreement are observably followed by an action series, enacted by the motorist, comprised of rolling down the window and extending his or her forearm, perhaps with a small donation in hand (personal communication, January 9, 2016). Should the motorist recognize the beggar, both may engage in a brief talk exchange possibly culminating in a donation (though not necessarily so). Of mention, motorists have often been noted to produce their actions (of affiliation or disaffiliation) concurrently with the beggars' initiating action. That is, as the beggar produces a greeting/request action the motorist, almost simultaneously, produces action that indicates

consent or non-consent. To the end of doing oblivious, participant observation marks a pre-emptive enactment of this, upon perception of the beggar approaching (personal communication, August 8, 2015).

The interactional nature imposed by a "forced consumption", as observed in **Figure 24** and **Figure 25** prompts a more active role of the motorist, particularly in the instance of declining the proposed, or rather forced interaction. Herein, the enactment of doing oblivious to reject the proposed interaction, as herein observed and further supported by Laband's (1986) observations, does nothing to very little to deter the windscreen washing individual. As he has enacted a series of actions that take very little heed of subtle enactments to reject, or cease his action sequence; an enactment of inaction by the motorist essentially communicates some consent to the current unfolding of events (Laband, 1986). An *active role* would then refer to the enactment of positive, observable gestures and embodied actions that are communicative of a declination—or a request for the beggar—of the actions produced by the beggar. Additionally, as the beggar does not enact actions indexical of a greeting sequence, or any such preliminary sequence preceding the very crux of the interaction, the motorist is left little to no time to (favourably) deter the production of the windscreen washing service, *before* it is enacted (Heritage, 1984; Laband, 1986). The added response-time pressure, for the motorist wishing to enact a rejection of the unfolding sequence of the windscreen washer, now carries the onus of work that follows the enactment of non-favourable response (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). Field notes support the observation that such an enactment is marked via the motorist's enactment of a frantic waving of the hands, coupled with a side-to-side motion of the head; indicative of a disaffiliation with the turn of events (personal communication, November 24, 2016). Should the former not deter the windscreen washer, an escalated display of disaffiliation by the motorist may be observed, produced as hooting at the beggar and/or rolling down the window to enact a verbal disaffiliation to the actions displayed by the beggar (personal communication, November 24, 2016). To draw a quick summation, the action sequence that may be said to comprise the "forced consumption" interaction, allows a greater insight into actions of the motorist. This is particularly so when faced with an interaction that calls on the motorist to enact a sequence of accounting actions for the work of declining an unwanted, yet enforced, service.

Discussion and Conclusions

The analysis thus far has sought to identify the embodied practices employed by beggars when attempting to engage motorists, and similarly of motorists when responding (or not) to these actions by beggars. To this end, a reflexive process has been undertaken in deciphering of both parties' bodily behaviour, against their interactive circumstances, and vice versa. The progression of the analysis, as it unfolds, lends an eye to a particular sequence organization that appears to have crystalized, and further been reproduced in all of the cases that have been examined here. This sequence organization has been rooted in the analytic framework of the greeting, request and offer adjacency pair types. Drawing to some final remarks then, the discussion now turns towards unpacking some of the socio-structural implications of the embodied practices highlighted in the interaction of interest; particularly converging some of the ideas presented regarding the way in which the beggar-motorist interactional practices contribute to and maintain what can be seen as an institutionalized form of inequality. An asymmetry held in place via an all-encompassing account that reads that the ordinary rule of greeting does not apply in the interaction of motorists and beggars. It is furthermore considered, progressing through some conclusions of the observations made in the given analysis, *how* the ubiquitous account works to structurate a socioeconomic interactional inequality.

A brief recap of the analysis and in particular the identified sequence organization that anchors the beggar-motorist interaction will serve to launch the discussion of focus. The typical sequence organization is as follows: the motorist pulls to a halt at the intersection, sharing potential interactive space with the beggar. The beggar then produces an initiating action; a first pair part of a greeting or request/offer (or a modified, concurrent enactment of both). The embodied actions that occupy the initiated first pair part, showcase attempts to elicit a mutual gaze from the motorist, concurrent enactment of a waving hand (to draw the motorists' visual attention and serve as greeting) coupled with an enactment of request, such as an open palm, or visibility of a paper cup. A plastic bag made visible by the beggar has been interpreted as an attempt to leverage the inherent inequality of the interaction via presenting the request action produced as possible offer action. Following this initiating action, at a point at which a responding action by the motorist has been made relevant, the motorist typically *does not* produce a ratifying second pair part for the relevant adjacency

pair type (e.g.: an enactment of a greeting); rather it is observed that the motorist (almost always) responds via a display of inaction—ignoring the beggar. Such an enactment is occupied with gestures of maintaining a rigid gaze, performing preoccupation with some activity (thereby making him/herself unavailable as a recipient). In cases where motorists do respond to the request/offer the beggar has produced, they typically do so with dispreferred actions—ignoring, shaking of the head, showing of empty palms, returning the greeting though not granting the request.

Note, both motorist and beggar approach this particular unfolding of events in mundane fashion (Heritage, 1984). That is, in each such encounter that follows the articulated sequence organization (or some variation thereof); the participants treat it as a matter of fact; thereby producing their relevant embodied actions in repeated and mundane fashion. Furthermore, both parties of the interaction apparently participate in it with the assumption that his/her interlocutor perceives and recognizes a similar contextual space—adhering to and reflexive of an interpretative framework *recognizable* to both groups of its inhabitants (Heritage, 1984; Kidwell & Zimmerman, 2007; Schegloff, 2007). As the interaction has observed the predominant enactment of greeting and request/offer embodied actions as pivoting the interaction, the analysis has understood the interactional phenomenon as operating under the normative constraints of the identified adjacency pair types, as the governing interpretative framework. In other words, the normative order of the analysed exchanges differ from what would be expected in most other types of everyday interactions, and the asymmetry in these interactions is what accounts for this turned normative organization. This would suggest that although the exchanges analysed here are normatively organized in the sense that has been described throughout the paper, the norms that have come to be *institutionalized* in these cases, are those that maintain the asymmetry between interactants involved.

An additional feature to consider herein adheres to *how* the reproduced sequence organization (and its typically reproduced gestures and bodily behaviours) continue to hold, even in the instance of produced actions that serve to undermine it, via deviance from the norm (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 1987). The greeting norm is considered first. The broad understanding applied to greetings, is simply that they ought to be reciprocated. That is, if one is to initiate a greeting, there holds an expectation that the greeting should be returned

by its recipient (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 1968). Once the greeting is enacted, two things take course, namely that an interactive exchange is (proposed and) instantiated, and secondly, the recipient of the greeting action is afforded a choice (Heritage, 1984). Regarding the latter, the recipient of the greeting stands at a cross-point between reciprocating the greeting, thereby affirming the proposal for interaction; or not returning the greeting and incurring the possible consequences that may follow (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In accordance with the greeting norm constraints then, a returned greeting is the preferred response type. What has been typically observed of the beggar-motorist interaction, however, is a produced and reproduced dispreferred response type; an enacted greeting, met by a missing action. As has been countlessly observed, the motorist interlocutor (continually and repeatedly) does not return the greeting, thereby deviating from the greeting norm expectations. As a matter of significance, the systemic inequality at hand serves an acceptable account for each time the greeting goes unreturned. That is, Heritage (1984) and Schegloff(2007) state that deviations from the norm call for accounts as to *why* the deviation from the norm has been enacted.

Accounts that satisfy the *why* of the enacted deviation often implicate a kind of fault or blameworthiness on the part of the non-greeter (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). Possible reasons that satisfy accountability for the missing greeting, Heritage (1984) sites as possibly attributed to the recipients rudeness, genuine preoccupation wherein the recipient does not perceive the proposed action, perhaps the recipient notes the greeter to be a stranger, or of lower social standing to him/her. Recall, of the cases that have been discussed (**Figure 2, Figure 5, Figure 11, Figure 21** and **Figure 24**), the "blameworthy" party (the motorist who does not return the greeting), systematically is *not* called to account for not returning the greeting. The beggar is in fact afforded little to no opportunity, or rather sufficient turn, to demand an account for his/her unreciprocated greeting or snubbed proposal. This is a mechanism through which the lower social standing of the beggar is produced and reproduced, by virtue of being available as an account for the unreturned greeting. In light of this however, the greeting norm still stands, even in the face of the *continual* deviation from its prescriptive constraints as observed in this interactional space. This being, because the observable inequality provides an account such that the unreturned greetings are seen as unremarkable, rather than inferences being made that returning greetings is no longer a

norm in other interactional settings. In this regard, two things come to light: First, it stands to reason that the interactional phenomenon operates under the parameters of a different norm —which is recurrently produced by deviations from the greeting norm. While this different norm showcases a recurrently produced and reproduce first pair part enactment of a greeting gesture, it may be said that the beggar-motorist interaction operates under a sub-genre of the greeting norm. That latter speaks to a setting-based account for the deviation from a norm that has itself become so normalized it effectively serves as a normative exception. The added contribution of the request (or offer disguised as a request), suggests that the unreturned greeting, is affirmed in the dispreferred status, as the declination of a request also amounts to an interactional dispreference (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). As such, it may be said that there holds a socially dispreferred quality to the identified normative exception. In this regard, the second point to consider then is the sequence organizational (e.g.: accounting practices, size of turn) and physical (e.g.: physical and environmental) features that serve as the normalised constraints of the established normative interaction. In other words, what follows investigates the possible answer to the question *what holds this normative institution of inequality in place*?

Sequence organizational features. First, it has been noted that the beggar-motorist interaction operates on a systemically available account (of inequality), wherein the non-return of greeting is, in this setting, a normative response. The inequality ingrained in this interaction—where the only account required (and arguably the omnipresent available account here) is that the relations between the actors are so unequal that the ordinary rule of greetings being returned does not apply. The discussion of the window washer's case (**Figure 20** and **Figure 25**) illustrates that the setting in question is organized such that an enactment of persistence on the part of the beggar—via the recurrent enactment of an initiating action— is depicted as a dispreferred enactment. The latter finds evidence in the observed consequences that may possibly ensue for the beggar, should he/she deviate from the typified routine of events. In the instance that the beggar produces enactments of persistence via the repetitive production of the greeting and attention drawing gestures, *in spite of* the motorist producing gestures the equate to denial, two things may be observed. The first, the motorist may produce actions that communicate anger—exaggerated gestures of denial via frantic waving of the hands or shaking of the head (personal communication,

November 24, 2016). Such gestures may be escalated to hooting and/or shouting at the beggar. Consider the sequence organization of the beggar-motorist interaction as institutionalized, and thereby governed by an exceptional norm—prescribing *how one should and is expected to act such that his/her interlocutor is able to recognize their produced action* (Heritage, 1984). If either party of the interaction fails to produce actions that maintain not only a congruent experience between both interlocutors, but one that abides by the "rules" of the governing norm, then that would amount to a transgression of the norm (Heritage, 1984). In simpler terms, the beggars' gestures of persistence amount to a transgression of the established normative exception and thus warrant the motorist's anger response as the beggar has essentially failed to produce actions lending to a congruent experience. A similar turn of events is observed in the instance that the beggar (in particular, the window washer) forcibly attempts to continue in the trajectory of the interaction (washing the window) without the buy-in of the motorist; or rather in spite of the outward declination of such an enactment. Here again, the motorist is observed to produce gestures communicating anger. Furthermore, participant observations have noted the introduction of law enforcement, for the forcible removal of window washers, or beggars that have been deemed a nuisance (via an enactment of persistence, amongst other reasons) (personal communication, September 5, 2016). The involvement of law enforcement serves to uphold the integrity of the normative framework, in the face of deviant behaviours.

An explication of the gestures and bodily behaviours that occupy each adjacent turn of the beggar-motorist interaction has been given in earlier discussion (of the analysis above). It has been repeatedly observed of the beggar first pair part to contain concurrent enactment of gestures denoting a simultaneous deployment of varying actions. These actions have been identified as greeting, requesting/begging and offering. Recall, in locating the analysis in an analytic framework of adjacency pairs, it was noted that turns are ideally to be enacted *one-following-the-other*; thereby ensuring that each interlocutor is afforded a sufficient and full turn to produce their required action (Schegloff, 2007). Furthermore, such a structure ensures that each participant in the interaction communicates one at a time (Schegloff, 2007). In light of this, Sacks *et al* (1974) articulate a turn as a given *right* and more so, obligation to be occupied and fairly distributed between each participant in the interaction.

Recurrently observed of the beggar-motorist interaction, is the motorist producing gestures of doing oblivious in pre-emptive fashion—wherein the motorist perceives the beggar prior to arriving to a halt, or prior to the beggar's arrival to his/her vehicle. Furthermore, motorists have been observed to produce gestures of denial such that they lapse with, or interrupt the greeting and/or request first pair part action of the beggar. The motorists herein are thus responding with denials of the request and are responding to the request, without also first responding to the greeting, or concurrently responding to the greeting.

Features of the physical environment. The latter features here refer to the physical environmental features that house the established sub-norm. Further, as it is has been illustrated how inequality is maintained via the accountability practices and emergent consequences of transgressing the normative sequence organization; the physical housing of the sub-norm is considered auxiliary to its maintenance. That is, the contribution of the physical features for instance that of the traffic light, at the interaction site merely aid in ensuring the integrity of normative parameters, however are not pivotal to its maintenance. Two such features will be here considered to exemplify this, namely the traffic light and the motor vehicle itself.

As has been noted throughout the case-by-case analysis (and highlighted in the **special case**), the traffic light imposes a time pressure on the interactive environment. As such, it may be said that both parties of the interaction act in awareness of this feature (Heritage, 1984). In many-a-instance the motorist who filed further away from the traffic light—as in, is not one of the first few to arrive to a halt following the appearance of the light—is, arguably allowed a "free pass" when approached by the beggar. That is, with the understanding that the traffic light may appear green at any moment coupled with the given notion the beggar stands to gain a greater count of donations by approaching a greater number of vehicles; the motorist may use the green light to avoid or snub the beggar (Laband, 1986). Furthermore, the beggar is discouraged by the noted conditions to spend too much time on pursuing the missing second pair part from one particular motorist. Rather the beggar may better utilize the time—a limited resource—to approach and request from other motorists, as opposed to pursuing an account or response—for what has essentially been identified as a normative practice in the beggar-motorist setting. Additionally, Leone (2012) notes, that there is greater difficulty and outfall in attempting to

bring a vehicle to a halt, as this would cause a backlog to the intended free-flow implicated by the presence of a green traffic light. Here again, the very design of the intersection, does not allow for untimely halts owing to persistent pursuit and insistence on the motorists' accountability.

The vehicle, it is noted, serves as a semi-accessible barrier between motorist and beggar; such that it allows for different media of interaction—wherein verbal utterances may be achieved (if the motorist is to roll down his/her window), or primarily non-verbal (as both parties are able to see each other through the windows) interaction, as herein observed. Additionally, and significantly to the detriment of beggars' ability to comprehensively pursue the course of action they primarily work to produce, the semi-accessibility afforded to the motorist, allows him/her control over the medium of interaction and further accommodate a state of continued non-engagement. The latter is accommodated by the perception that the motorist occupies a different physical space to the beggar—the motorist *inside* (relative to the beggar) and the beggar *outside* (relative to the motorist). Note that the presence of the vehicle is only *accommodative* of perpetuating a state of non-engagement, and here argued, is not a definitive account for the non-responsiveness of the motorist. Recall in **Figure 3** and further supported by participant observations (personal communication, January 9, 2016), wherein the motorist may have the window rolled down, and still keep him/herself as unavailable for interaction with the beggar, thereby perpetuating a state of non-engagement. Furthermore, it holds that even in the instance that a beggar and a pedestrian individual occupy the same space as both *outside*, pedestrians have been observed to maintain non-engagement via ignoring the beggar or physically veering away from the beggar, again essentially making oneself unavailable for interaction (Andriotis, 2016; Duneier & Molotch, 1999; Nasar & Yurdakul, 1990; Waters, 2011). It is further proposed that if, for instance, a pedestrian were to approach the motorist for a quick enquiry (e.g., asking for directions), initiating the interaction with a greeting gesture and deemed as non-threatening by the motorist; a different unfolding of interaction would likely be observed. At the very least, the motorist may be seen to abide by the greeting norm, and produce a greeting action in return, and would be expected to at least produce a response to a request (in this case for directions) rather than simply "doing

oblivious", even if lacking the ability to adequately provide directions to the destination in question.

Contemplation of the institutionalized inequality borne of the very turn-by-turn practices of the beggar-motorist interaction allows for an extension of thought to the notion that in this setting, beggars have been produced as individuals less than fully human. Moreover, having affirmed the sequence organization of the interaction as institutionalized, such that this manifestation of beggars is applicable across contexts —when interacting with members of presumably higher socio-economic standing (relative to their beggar counterparts)— and thereby not localised to the traffic light intersection. To evidence this claim, consider the deductions that have been made of the beggar-motorist interaction: It was first identified that while the interaction produces and reproduces first pair parts of the greeting adjacency pair the completing second pair part (a returned greeting) is recurrently not produced. While the unreturned greeting is conventionally an accountable act in different social interactions, the beggar-motorist interaction is organized such that the only account necessary and omnipresent to the interaction rests in the inequality of the interaction. As such, the context of observation operates under a sub-genre of the greeting norm; what has herein been referred to as a normative exception—or rather the normative organization of this particular context. The identified normative organization is apparently characterized by a nature of dispreference; as the request action that recurrently and concurrently accompanies the enactment of the greeting action is essentially declined along with the non-return of the greeting. Regarding the logic of the request/offer adjacency pair type, the declination of a request action is normatively treated as dispreferred (Heritage, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In light of this, the normative exception identified is textured with a dispreferred nature. A fine grained deliberation of the turn-by-turn practices as characterized by the motorists enactments of interruptions (or lapse of turn, which arguably surmounts to interruption)—illustrate an exercise of control over the interaction (Zimmerman & West, 1996). With sufficient enough confidence then (given the evidence provided throughout), it may be inferred that beggars, as primary recipients of the identified actions and predominant occupants of this normative exception, are produced as seemingly less than human individuals, occupying a dispreferred social position in an interaction of inherently unequal socioeconomic interactions.

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