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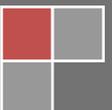
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Editorial

Dear Colleagues and Readers

I am so glad to present Volume 2, Issue 4 of the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS). This eighth issue is of special importance as it is published just few days after the journal was indexed in Thompson Reuters: the first international indexing data base. This opens news publishing horizons and academic avenues for the IJHCS. It, equally, imposes news challenges and objectives. Moreover, from this issue on, the IJHCS has moved to its more advanced and technically rich website through the use of the popular Open Journal System.

The journal keeps faith in multidisciplinary perspective. Articles published in this issue, reflect different theoretical and applied concerns in humanities, cultural studies, management, linguistic studies among other disciplines. As a matter of fact, this new issue includes works of the research scholars from different countries which reflected the international nature and scope of the journal.

As usual, I sincerely thank our respected authors for selecting the IJHCS, our reviewers for reviewing the selected articles for this issue and the Administrative Board for its contribution to helping the IJHCS achieve this success. Next issue will be published in June 2016 and your valuable contributions are welcome till 20 May 2016.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba
Editor-in-Chief

The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)

A Morpho-Syntactic Analysis of Adverbs in Standard Yoruba

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Abstract

The adverb is one of the five commonly accepted lexical classes established in the standard Yorùbá language. Recently, controversies started to emerge on whether the adverb exists as a lexical class in the language and what items its members are. Some items classified as its members are variously classified by different scholars (Awóbùlúyì 1978, Bámgbóyè 1967, 1990, Òdètókun 1998, among others). There is no consensus yet despite the various studies. This is why we want to look deeper into the so-called class of adverbs using the morpho-syntactic approach of the minimalist theory of Radford (1999). The morpho-syntactic approach we are employing here is suggested by Radford (1999:38) as the evidence for postulating that words belong to lexical categories. We look at the morphological process of the two lexical classes over which there are no controversies, noun and verb. We find out that the adverb has no morphological process by which its members can be derived in the language like the classes of noun and verb. Syntactically, the members classified together as a class of adverb have nothing in common for them to be grouped together as a lexical class. The paper concludes that adverb is not one of the lexical classes attested in standard Yorùbá.

Keywords: Morpho-Syntax, Adverb, Lexical, Categories, Analysis.

Introduction

Adverb is one of the lexical categories established by most Yorùbá language scholars, (Bowen 1858, Delano 1958, Bámgbóyé 1967, Ògúnbôwálé 1970, Awóbùlúyì 1978, Ödětókun 1998, Yusuf 1995); all of them establish that adverb is a lexical class like noun and verb. They define the category as one that is used to modify verbs and they identify pre-verbal, post-verbal and sentence final adverbs.

One very important observation is that a number of words classified as adverbs are variously classified into some other classes, and the words so classified do not also share morpho-syntactic features as members of classes like noun and verb share. Apart from the two problems mentioned, scholars are not consistent on the criteria for categorizing the words that should be called adverbs.

The present paper examines the group of words under the lexical category called adverb as established by earlier scholars to determine the validity of their claim that such a category exists in Yorùbá. This re-examination is against the backdrop of the Minimalist Programme (MP) that says that morpho-syntactic considerations are the most relevant in the categorization of lexical items, (Radford 1999:38). This work is designed to test morph-syntactic properties of the words grouped as adverbs so as to see the empirical need or otherwise of identifying a class of adverbs in standard Yorùbá.

Adverbs in the Yorùbá literature

The class of adverbs falls into three groups in the literature: pre-verbal adverb, post-verbal, and sentence final adverbs. Each of these groups is discussed below.

Pre-verbal Adverbs

Preverbal adverbs are those groups of words that occur before a verb as a modifier of such verb. They include the underlined in the following examples:

- 1 (a) Adé máa lö ni ôla.
Adé will go on morrow 'Adé will go tomorrow.'
(b) Ayô mô- òn-mô ýe bëê.
Ayô intentionally do so 'Ayô intentionally did so.'
(c) Mo máa kúkú sùn.
I will rather sleep. 'I will rather sleep.'

Awóbùlúyì (1978, pp. 68-69) has about fifty items in this group as they include the ones underlined in (1) above, and a few shown in (2) below:

- (2). yòò (will) pàpà (still) báà (even if)
òò (will) kǒ (first) gbǒdô (must)
Â (prog marker) kǒkǒ (first) sábà (be in the habit of)
- ní (will/shall not) tètè (quickly) jě (had better)
lè (may/might) sǐ/sìn (still) jàjà (finally)

Whereas Awóbùlúyì (1978) claims that these are adverbs, Bámgbóyé (1967) classifies them among verbal groups (tense marker/ helping verbs) in the language.

Post-verbal Adverbs

Post- verbal adverbs on the other hand are those words that occur after verbs to modify such verbs. They fall into two groups. The first group is identified in Awóbùlúyì (1978, p.75). They include the items in (3) below:

- (3). rí (ever) sáá (in vain)
mõ (any more) rará (at all)
gan-an (really)

as in:

- (a). N ò mçmu rí.
I NEG drink-wine ever 'I have never taken wine'
- (b). Ó wù mí gan-an.
It please me much. 'It pleased me well/really'
- (c). Bàbá náà yé iyë náà sáá.
Man the do work the vain. 'The man did the work in vain.'
- (d). N ò fë mõ.
I not want again. 'I don't want again/ any more.'
- (e). Wõn ò lö rará.
they not go at all. 'They did not go at all.'

The other group of adverbs identified in Bámgbóyé (1967, p. 32) includes the items in (4) below:

- (4). dárádára 'very well' díédíê 'little by little'
péré 'only' nini 'very white'
púpô 'very much' pátápátá 'completely'

as in:

- (a). Ó se iyú náà dáadáa
she cook yam the well
'She cooked the yam very well'
- (b). Ó wù mí púpô
it pleased me well
'It pleased me much'
- (c). Wõn Á yé iyë náà díédíê.
they PROG do work little-little.
'They are doing the work little by little'
- (d). Aýö funfun nini.
cloth white very
'A snow-white cloth'
- (e). Ödún kan péré.
'year one only'.

Awóbùlúyì (1978) puts the items underlined in 4 (a -e) above and many other items classified as adverbs in the class of noun rather than adverb. His arguments include the fact that they can function as object of /ní/ as in the examples in (5) below:

- (5). (a) Olú dé ní kíákíá.
Olú come quickly 'Olú came quickly'
(b). Òjò Â şe (ní) sáá.
Òjò PROG do in vain. 'Òjò is doing it in vain'
(c). Wõn Â ýe iyě náà (ní) díêdíê.
They PROG do work the little-little
'They are doing the work steadily'

It is found out that some of these items can be focused like any other noun in the language as in the examples below:

- (d). Díêdíê ni eku Â jç awö.
Little- little be rat PROG eat leather
'The rat eats the leather gradually'
(e). Dáradára ni mo wà.
Goodly be I exist
'I am very fine'
(f). Púpô ni kí o bù nínú öbê náà.
Much be WH u take of the soup
'You should take much from the soup' etc.ne only
'Only one ye

Some of such items can be modified by noun modifiers, as in the sentences in (6) below:

- (6). (a) Wôdùwôdù yíí kò yé mi.
Uncoordinated this NEG understand me
'I do not understand this unruly behaviour'
(b). Kíákíá tí o se é rán wá lówö.
quickly that you do it help you.
'The fact that you did it on time has helped you.'
(c). Wérewère yín yíí yóó kó bá a yín
unruly your this will put you in trouble
'Your unruly behavior will put you in trouble'

The items highlighted are modifiers to the underlined items in (6) above. Only nouns take such modifiers in the Yorùbá language, yet they are among the items classified as adverbs in the current grammar.

From the discussions in this section it appears that there is no consensus on the class of the words grouped as adverbs. One notes the following:

- The same group of words are classified into two categories, as items like **tètè** (quickly), **kúkú** (rather), **yóó** (will), etc are grouped in the class of adverbs in Awóbùlúyì (1978) but as verbs (helping verbs) in Bámgbóyè (1967)
kiákíá (quickly), **jējē** (gently), **díédíé** (little by little) etc are grouped as adverbs in Bámgbóyè (1990) but as nouns in Awóbùlúyì (1978)
- There is no consistency in the criteria used for their classification by the scholars
- Many of the items grouped as adverbs have nothing in common morphologically and syntactically that could make them belong to one natural lexical class like the items classified as noun and verb in the language.

A Morpho - syntactic Analysis

Morpho – syntactic criteria are those that put into consideration the morphology of words in a class and the syntactic behavior of such words. Radford (1999, p.38) says in respect of morpho - syntactic criteria thus:

...the bulk of evidence in support of postulating that words belong to categories is morpho-syntactic (i.e. morphological and/or syntactic) in nature. The relevant morphological evidence relates to the inflectional and derivational properties of words: inflectional properties relate to different forms of the same word (e.g. plural form of a noun like *cat* is formed by adding the plural inflection +s to form *cats*), while derivational properties relate to the processes by which a word can be used to form a different kind of word by addition of another morpheme (e.g. by adding the suffix +ness to the adjective *sad*, we can form the noun, *sadness*).

Radford is saying here that words of the same lexical class must have the same derivational process or that words derived by the same derivational process must belong to the same lexical class. In other words, a lexical class must be derivable and it must take part in derivation of members of another lexical class. In view of the above, when we examine the items (grammatical and lexical though), classified as adverbs in Yorùbá we would be able to determine what the status of the adverb is in the standard Yorùbá language. Though Yorùbá is not an inflectional language but it has derivational processes and morphemes like any other language. Nouns and verbs in Yorùbá have these and this is the reason why these two classes are productive and have innumerable number of items in the language.

Looking at the morphology of the class of words put together as adverbs, one would observe that unlike the categories of noun and verb, adverb cannot be derived through any morphological process in the Yorùbá language. The language operates mainly the morphological processes of affixation, reduplication and compounding. These are processes by which nouns are derived as in the examples below:

Prefixation. All Yorùbá vowels can be prefixed to verbs in the language to derive new nouns as in the examples in (7) below:

7. (a). dç 'hunt' : ö + dç → ödç 'hunter'
 (b). so to bring fruit: è + so → èso 'fruit'
 (c). ýe do ì + ýe → iyé 'deed'
 (d). tò arrange à + tò → àtò 'arrangement'
 (e). bí to bear ò + bí → òbí 'parent'
 (f). bê to plead ê + bê → êbê 'plea/ petition' etc.

There are other prefixes which are not single vowels such as òÃ + VP, à + tí + VP, o + ní + N as in the examples in (8) below:

8. (a). òÃ + kôwé → òÃkôwé 'author'
 (b). òÃ + tajà → òÃtajà 'a buyer'
 (c). à + ti + jç → àtijç (ability to eat)
 (d). à + ti + sùn → àtisùn (ability to sleep)
 (e). o + ní + igi → onígi 'wood owner/seller'
 (f). o + ní + iyú → oníyú 'yam seller/owner'

Compounding is another morphological process for deriving new nouns and verbs in Yorùbá. This is a process by which two free morphemes are brought together to derive a new word after certain phonological processes have taken place. When two nouns are involved, the output is a new noun as in the examples in (9) below:

9. (a). ewé + öbê → ewébê
 leaf soup 'vegetable'
 (b). aya + öba → ayaba
 wife king → 'queen'
 (c). ömö + odó → ömödó
 child mortal → 'pestle'
 (d). etí + ilé → etilé
 ear house → 'near the house'
 (e). etí + odò → etídò
 ear river → 'river bank' etc

The outputs of the examples in (9) above are nouns. An uncountable number of nouns can be so derived in the Yorùbá language.

Compounding of verb +noun and verb +verb can be done to derive new verbs as in examples in (10) below:

VB+NP

10. (a) bó +ará → bora
peel body 'to bleach'
(b) dá ìmòrán → dàmòrán
say counsel 'to counsel'
(c) gbà + êsan → gbêsan
take vengeance 'to revenge'
(d) dá + àbá → dábàá
make suggestion 'to make suggestion'
(e) fě + òwō → fěwō
blow hand 'to steal'
(f) ké + igbe → kígbe/kégbe
break noise 'to shout'
(g) ká + apá → kápá
fold arm 'to overcome'
(h) kán + ojú → kánjú
? eye 'to hurry'
(i) dá + ɔ̀jò → dájò
rule matter 'to judge a matter'

11 **Verb + Verb**

- (a) bà+ jě → bàjě 'to spoil'
(b) bá + sò → básò 'to talk to'
(c) bù + kù → bùkù 'to underrate'
(d) dá + rò → dárò 'to mourn'
(e) fě + kù → fěkù 'to miss'
(f) dì + mǒ → òmǒ 'to embrace'
(g) gbà + gbǒ → gbàgbǒ 'to believe'
(h) bē + wò → bēwò 'to visit'
(i) bù + kún → bùkún 'to bless' etc.

This makes the class of noun and verb to be productive and so have an uncountable number of members. Thus the classes of noun and verb in Yorùbá have morphological processes and derivational morphemes peculiar to each of the classes. These two can be derived and they partake in the derivation of their members and members of each other.

When we look at the English language, the lexical classes have derivational morphemes and processes. Taking the class of adverb for example, the suffix, **-ly** is added to adjective to derive an adverb as in the examples in 12 below:

12. (a) kind + ly → kindly

- (b) quick + ly → quickly
- (c) accurate + ly → accurately
- (d) conscious + ly → consciously
- (e) entire + ly → entirely
- (f) rapid + ly → rapidly, etc.

This is not the case with the so-called class of adverb in standard Yorùbá. The items put together as a class of adverb (pre-verbal, post verbal / sentence final) have no morphological process or derivational morphemes common to them as in the class of noun, verb and even the English language examples in (12) above. Apart from this fact, many of the so-called pre-verbal adverbs are non-lexical items (basic or derived) but mere grammatical items with their meanings embedded in the sentence. Among such are: **yóó/óò**, **á/má a** (will, shall), **À** (progressive/ habitual action), **ti** (perfective / completed action), etc. Grammatical items are not supposed to be lumped together with lexical items as a lexical class, (Adékèyè 2015). We shall consider the syntactic evidence before we draw our conclusion.

Syntactic analysis of Yorùbá adverbs

On the syntactic evidence for categorizing words into classes, Radford (1999, p.40) says:

The syntactic evidence for assigning words to categories essentially relates to the fact that categories of words have different distributions (i.e. occupy a different range of position within phrases or sentences).

Radford, by this, is saying that lexical items of the same class can be found in the same position in a phrase or sentence and can substitute one another as long as the semantics of the language permits. This means that words of a class cannot appear in the position where words of another class would appear in a phrase or sentence. In other words, the class of noun in a language has its position in a phrase or a sentence which cannot be occupied by a verb or any other class for that matter.

As an SVO language, there are positions designated for every lexical category in Yorùbá. Thematic positions are always occupied by noun items either as a subject or an object, for instance. In the present grammar of Yorùbá, items found in thematic positions are erroneously classified as adverbs in sentence final position but as noun in sentence initial position as found in Ödètókun (1998, p.49) as in the examples in 13 below:

13. (a) i. Mo sùn (ní) fönfön.
I sleep deep 'I slept soundly'
ii. Fönfön ni mo sùn.
Soundly be I sleep 'I slept soundly'
- (b) i. Mojí À yéré (ní) wërèwèrè.
(Personal name) be play solemnly 'Mojí is playing solemnly'
ii. Wërèwèrè ni Mojí À sere.
Solemnly FOCUS Mojí be play. 'In a solemn manner is Mojí playing' etc

It is movement rule that moves the nouns underlined in 11(ai) and (bi) into position of focus (sentence initial position) in 13 (aai) and (bii) as argued by Awóbùlúyì (1978). In the underlying

form, the words are found in object position, from where they can be moved to subject position when focused. This is possible because both subject and object positions are occupied by the class of noun items. Some examples are shown below:

- (14). (a). Olú yé iyè náà (ní) **kiákíá**.
Olú do work haste
'Olú did the work in a hurry'
(b). **Kiákíá** ni olú yé iyè náà.
'Hurriedly, Olú did the work'
- (15). (a) Jökë Â yéré rê (ní) **wërëwërë**.
Jökë PRG do play quietly
'Jökë is playing quietly'
(b). **Wërëwërë** ni Jökë Â yéré rê.
'Quietly, Jökë is playing'
- (16). (a) Eku jç awö (ní) **díédíé**.
Rat eat leather little by little.
'A rat eats up the leather gradually'
(b) **Díédíé** ni eku jç awö.
Little by little, rat eat leather.
'Gradually, a rat eats the leather'
- (17). (a) À á fójú (ní) **pátápátá**.
We become blind completely.
'We stand firm over our decision'
(b). **Pátápátá** ni à á fójú.
Completely be we become blind
'We are to stand firm over our decision'
- (18). (a) Omi náà tutu **nini**.
Water SPEC cold really
'The water is very cold'
(b). **Nini** ni omi náà tutu.
Real BE SPEC cold
'The water is really cold'

The highlighted words are in argument position to the verb ni 'BE' in each of (b) example like any other noun which is a subject position and occur as object of the verb preceding each of them in each of (a) examples. It is only nouns that have these syntactic behaviours. A verb cannot occupy these two positions for instance except it has been nominalized and then it is no longer a verb.

The verb also has its own position in any grammatical sentence which cannot be shared by a non-verbal element or item. This is why we can have such sentence as:

- (19). (a). Adé fö ilê.
Ade wash floor

- (b). 'Adé washed the floor'
Ìyá gbá iyàrá.
Mother sweep room
'mother swept the room'
- (c). Jökë lò öjà.
Jökë go market.
'Jökë went to the market'
- (d). Öba kõ ààfin.
King build palace
'The king built a palace'

The underlined words occupy the same slot in the examples in (19) above because they are all verbs. Noun items cannot be found in this position. The result would have been nonsensical. This is why we are free to classify **fô** 'wash', **gbá** 'sweep', **lò** 'go' and **kõ** 'build' as verbs in the language. In the same vein, we can classify **Adé**, **Jökë** (personal names), **ìyá** 'mother', **öba** 'king', **ilé** 'house', **iyàrá** 'room', **öjà** 'market' and **ààfin** 'palace' as noun items in the language. The set of words we classify as noun cannot occupy the position of the verbs and vice-versa. There is no such syntactic position which can be identified for the so-called class of adverb in standard Yorùbá. This is why grammarians have members of the so-called class in different positions (pre-verbal, post-verbal and sentence-final) which are used to sub-classify it. This is so because the language does not have adverb as a lexical class.

Conclusion

Employing morpho-syntactic analysis, we conclude that the class of adverbs is not attested as a lexical class in standard Yorùbá. The function performed by the class of adverbs in a language like English are performed by grammatical items, bound verbs, phrases and clauses in standard Yorùbá. These are rightly called modifiers by Awóbùlúyì 1978. Modifier is a functional label and not a lexical class.

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Implicitness in Language Use: The Yoruba Example

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Abstract

This study finds a place within existing literature by establishing that aesthetics and connotations are not just features of proverbial expressions in Yoruba. Everyday plain expressions can also be so linguistically rich that only those who are well enculturated will decipher the actual meanings of certain simple expressions. Using Jacob Mey's Pragmatic Acts as the theoretical guide, the study found out that certain simple Yoruba expression can be used to warn, caution, tell, explain, complain and perform other actions without being explicit. The study concludes that, as Yoruba is gradually becoming one of the most learnt languages of the world, teachers of the language should pay attention to not just the structure and vocabulary of the language but also its pragmatic use.

Keywords: Yorube, Implicitness, Pragmatic acts.

1 Introduction

Yoruba is one of the most endowed languages in the world. Speculations are growing around it as one of the potential candidates for the world most prestigious language in years to come. This is due to the attention it has enjoyed among language scholars in recent times across the globe. The language is rich from all linguistic perspectives, ranging from vocabulary to grammar, idioms and proverbs. Fakoya (2007) for instance has observed that, for every thinkable situation, the Yoruba language has at least two proverbs to buttress the discourse. The richness of the Yoruba language is so magical that one of their proverb says that, few words can vividly paint a picture to the wise child (not a direct translation- *àbò ọrọ l'áh sọ fún ọmọlúàbí tí ó bá dé inú è à dī odidin .*)

Linguists, sociolinguists, pragmaticians and discourse analysts have produced uncountable works on the Yoruba language, especially in the area of language use (discourse). Most works coming from the discourse analysts and pragmaticians have focused mainly on the use of proverbs in the language, Adewoye(1987), Ogbulogbo(2002), Dairo(2001), Fakoya(2007), Odebunmi(2008). These works have considered proverbs in both fictional and real life discourses. Odebunmi(2008) for example analyses the pragmatic functions of crisis-motivated proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not to Blame* while Fakoya(2007) creatively discusses sexually grounded proverbs and the attitude of many Yoruba, especially those who live in the urban areas and the very religious ones towards these proverbs. Odebode(2012) is another scholarly perspective to the Yoruba world. The work is a speech acts analysis of names given to pets particularly by women in polygamous homes among the Yoruba.

This work deviates from existing literature by concentrating on 'everyday language'. By everyday language, I simply mean non-proverbial or idiomatic expressions. A careful observation of the Yoruba language has revealed that its richness and aesthetics is not only in the use of proverbs. The use of the language in its plain everyday form also deserves scholarly inquiry as even the everyday language can on many occasions be made sense of by only those who are well enculturated, hence, the need for this study.

2 Language, Culture and Context

Language is a reflection of culture and the peculiarities of its speakers. Whorf (1956) holds that:

We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. We cut nature up, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize- an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language.

This is to establish that language and culture are inseparable as language serves as a career of a people's way of life. It is also the medium through which the cultural heritage of a people is handed over from one generation to another.

Halliday and Hassan (1985) argue that there was the theory of context before the theory of text. In other words, context precedes text. Context here means context of situation and culture. This context is necessary for an adequate understanding of the text. Interpreting a text without giving due attention to the context of use can make the text misfire. For instance, an expression such as *urinate here and win loads of prizes* can generate different interpretations. If inscribed on the wall of a public toilet, this can be taken for some kind of awareness on the availability of a convenience. On the other hand, if this is found on the wall of a bank, then, the loads of prizes will likely be imprisonment.

Language, culture and context are therefore inseparable entities.

3 The Yoruba Socio-cultural Norms

Every society has its socio-cultural norms. These norms reflect in their linguistic dispositions. Yoruba is no exception to this universality. The socio-cultural norms of the Yoruba are conventionally shared by the people and some of them find expressions in the language. Some of these norms which are expressed in language or discourse are:

1. Being quiet when having a talk with elderly person(s).
2. Seeking permission before using proverbs or having to apologise after using them, especially before elderly persons.
3. Avoiding swear or taboo words especially with one family members.
4. Avoiding statements that seem to proclaim misfortunes.

The third and fourth features discussed above inform the kind of expressions that constitute the data for this study. The need to adhere to these linguistically based socio-cultural norms warrant the use of most of the implicit expressions that this study considers.

4 Theoretical Framework

This work is situated within the ambit of Pragmatics. According to Yule (1996:3), pragmatics is 'the study of speaker and contextual meaning, and how more gets communicated than is said, as well as the study of the expression of relative distance.' More succinctly, Adegbija (1999:189) defines pragmatics as the study of language use in particular communicative contexts or situations.

The specific pragmatic theory used for this study is Mey's Pragmatic act. This theory is considered suitable for this study because it does not analyse particular utterances as is the case with the speech acts theory, but rather interpret utterances in the light of 'contextual clues. In the words of Mey (2001: 221), the pragmatic act theory focuses on 'the environment in which both speaker and hearer find their affordances, such that the entire situation is brought to bear on what

can be said in the situation, as well as what is actually being said'. This view is expressed as a pragmeme. A pragmatic act is instantiated through an ipra or a pract, which realizes a pragmeme. 'Every pract is at the same time an allopract, that is to say a concrete instantiation of a particular pragmeme', (Mey 2001: 221). What determines a pract is solely participants' knowledge of interactional situation and the potential effect of a pract in a particular context. Thus, practicing resolves the problem of telling illocutionary force from perlocutionary force (Odebunmi 2006). There are two parts to a pragmeme: activity part, meant for interactants and textual part, referring to the context within which the pragmeme operates. To communicate, the interactants draw on such speech act types as indirect speech acts, conversational ('dialogue') acts, psychological acts, prosodic acts and physical acts. These are engaged in contexts, which include INF representing "inference"; REF, "relevance"; VCE, "voice"; SSK, "shared situation knowledge"; MPH, "metaphor"; and M "metapragmatic joker", Mey (2001), Odebunmi (2006). This study borrows an element of the textual part introduced by Odebunmi (2006) called SCK "shared cultural knowledge". This is because it really aids the interpretation of the data in the context of the Yoruba culture.

5 Data Gathering

The data for this study was collected through observational method. The researcher pays attention to the use of these implicit expressions among Yorubas anytime he finds himself around them and randomly selected the utterances needed for this study. These utterances were gathered within a space of six months. Interestingly, the utterances used as data for this study are not proverbs but still are expressions anyone who is grounded in the language will be familiar with, in relation to their contextual implications.

6.0 Data Analysis

The implicit expressions that make up the data for this study are grouped into three categories namely: oppositeness, implication and reversed praise. Four instances of each of the three categories are given, making a total of 12 excerpts. The elements of the activity and textual parts of the pragmeme are discussed immediately after each excerpt along with the pract.

6.1 Oppositeness

The excerpts in this category are expressions that connote the opposite of what is uttered and they generate different practs.

Excerpt 1

Kúnlé: Oré mi jò ó, sé e morí Egberún kan (1000) lówò rẹ?

Adé: Wò ó kúnlé, èmi páápáá owó pọ́ lówò mi bàyí.

Gloss

Kúnlé: My friend pls, can I get a thousand naira from you?

Adé: See kunle, even I, *I have so much with me now.*

The exchange in excerpt one is an indirect speech act spiced up with prosody and physical acts on the activity part. It is an indirect speech act because Ade in actuality does not have money which is contrary to what he says. However, the prosodic feature with which the utterance is made and the physical acts such as facial expression can help reveal the actual meaning. On the

textual part, the SCK helps to drive home the Yoruba culture where it is assumed that saying one doesn't have money is a proclamation of misfortune. The pract of the expression is therefore one of explanation, as Ade implies that he cannot help his friend.

Excerpt 2

- Màmá:** Àyòkà, kí lò ní ẹ e nìbè yẹn?
Àyòkà: Mò ní seré ni.
Màmá: Ó ní seré? Lái wọ bàtà? *O dè ri pé ibẹ yẹn tutù, jẹ kìn bá ẹ nìbè*
Gloss
Mama: Àyòkà, what are you doing there?
Ayoka: I am playing.

Mama: You are playing? Without having your slippers on? *And you can see that ground is cold, let me meet you there.*

The target expressions are indirect speech acts. The first part in italics can be interpreted with SCK where the Yoruba tend to avoid a word like 'hotness' as they consider it a proclamation of misfortune. Hotness of the ground is therefore expressed as coldness. In the other part, the reversal is what the expression means as the mother actually means not to meet the child there and rather expresses it indirectly and this is achieved with SSK. These two together pract a warning to the child to vacate the playing spot.

Excerpt 3

- Ìyá Táyò:** Èkàsàn o, È kú ọrọ ajé o, sèè èn tà?
Ìyá Múrí: Ìyá táyò, en le mà o. Asá dúpé fún Ọlórún, *ita yì dá kí Ọlóhun sànú wa ni*
Ìyá Táyò: Gbogbo ibi ni o
Gloss
Iya Tayo: Good Afternoon. Well done with your sales. Sure you're making sales?
Iya Muri: Iya Tayo. Well done. We just thank God. *This sales is so good. God should help us*
Iya Tayo: It is everywhere

In excerpt 3, the first woman- Iya Tayo enquires the state of sales from the other woman. The other woman- Iya Muri- responds that sales has been good but with the reverse being the case. The indirect speech act is appropriately decoded by the first woman with SCK which frown at 'bad' pronouncements such as saying sales has been bad. This SCK possibly puts both women in the same situation as the first woman's last statement suggests and VCE reveals a mood which cannot be that of those who have actually been making a good sale and this further aids the meaning. All of these contextual elements pract complaint on the part of the second woman.

Excerpt 4

- Ìyá Yétúndé:** Yéétúundéééé
Yétúndé: maaaa
Ìyá Yétúndé: Šé igi ló n pón yen àbí? *Anu ẹ o ẹ mi*

Gloss

Yetunde's Mum: Yeetuundeeeee (screaming)

Yetunde: Maaa (screaming too)

Yetunde's Mum: Is that a tree you are climbing? *I don't pity you.*

In excerpt 4, Yetunde's mum's expression is an indirect speech acts since she actually pities her daughters as she may fall from the tree she is climbing, contrary to the utterance. The indirect speech act relates well with SCK which forbids bad proclamation and SSK which is clear to both the mother and the child to pract warning to the daughter to come down from the three.

6.2 Implication

In the excerpts that contain implications, the other party in the discourse is expected to infer what is being communicated even when the words do not suggest their implications. All of the excerpts provided in this category fall under the psychological acts given that they make a demand on the psyche.

Excerpt 5

Ìyá Àjàdí: Àjàdí o

Àjàdí: Ma

Ìyá Àjàdí: Mo tí n jàde báyi o, *kò o da gbogbo ilè rí kí n tó dé o, Sogbó?*

Gloss

Ajadi' Mum: Ajadi o

Ajadi: Ma

Ajadi's Mum: I am on my way out now. *Make sure you scatter the whole house before I come. Your heard that?*

In excerpt 5, the utterance is a psychological act which demands the reasoning of the child for an appropriate interpretation. The psychological act relates well with the contextual variables of SSK and INF to pract warming to the child not to put the room in disarray, contrary to the mother's instruction.

Excerpt 6

Fémi: Mami, mo ti lọ ata no dé o. Ibo ni kín gbé si

Ìyá Fémi: *Bóyá kò gbé lémi lóri*

Gloss

Femi: Mum, I have ground the pepper. Where do I put it?

Femi's Mother: *May be you should put it on my head.*

Again with SSK and INF, a demand is made on the psyche of the son. The pract here is that of telling. The child can infer from the mother's utterance that he should take the ground pepper to the kitchen or wherever the cooking is being done.

Excerpt 7

Rótímí: Akin, o dè fún mi ní egbèrún kan náira (₦1000) ní ọwọ ẹ nìbè yẹn

Akin: *Mi gbọ Yorùbá?*

Rótímí: Oh, o ti dí bẹ àbí?

Akin: Bẹ gongon lóda

Gloss

- Rotimi:** Akin, please give me a thousand naira
Akin: *I don't understand yoruba ?*
Rotimi: Oh, it is so?
Akin: It is exactly so.

In this excerpt, of course it is not the case that Akin does not understand Yoruba. The psychological act mixes finely with INF, VCE and SSK to pract mockery from Akin to Rotimi. This act of mocking was immediately decoded by Rotimi as can be predicated from his next comment which suggests understanding and the response from Akin confirmed Rótìmì's accurate interpretation.

Excerpt 8

- Dámì:** Màmí, mo fẹ̀ yà gbé
Ìyá Dámì: *Bó yá ko wá yà símí lẹ̀nu. Ọ̀dẹ̀ ọ̀mọ*
Dámì: Mí ọ̀ rí pòò mí
Ìyá Dámì: l'ọ̀wọ̀ abẹ̀ bédìi

Gloss

- Dámì:** Mummy, I want to defecate
Dami's Mum: *May be you should come defecate in my mouth. Foolish child.*
Dámì: I can't find my potty
Dami's Mum: Go and check under the bed.

In this except, the expression makes a demand on the child's psyche. The psychological act together with the contextual variables of INF and SSK pract an information to this child to go use the toilet. The effect of this practicing is confirmed when the child responds to the mother's connotation by saying she cannot find her potty. This is an indication that the informing pract succeeds.

6.3 Reversed praise

This category refers to expressions, that under the guise of praise, a different meaning is intended.

Except 9

- Àláké:** Ekú lé mà
Ìyá Àláké: *Şé ata ni o lọ̀ lẹ̀ ni àtàrọ̀ ẹ̀wọ̀ ọ̀mọ̀ olóbrìre yí?*
Àláké: Èró pọ̀ ní bẹ̀ ní mà.
Ìyá Àláké: Ó da o

Gloss

- Àláké:** Good afternoon ma
Àláké mum: *Is it pepper you have gone to ground all this while you this blessed child?*
Àláké: There were many persons there.
Àláké mum: Ok o

In this except, the target expression is basically a blessing. But as a psychological act, it blends with SCK which demands that a mother must not use swear words on her child and SSK which is the present situation to pract condemnation. The child gets this pragmatic effect by ignoring the

blessing and rather gives an explanation for staying long. The mother's response also confirms her expectation of an explanation. This shows the success of the discourse.

Excerpt 10

- Ìyá Títí:** Títí
Títí: Ma
Ìyá Títí: Şé iwọ̀ lònú mu coki nílá yí? *Ayé é tida*
Títí: Màmí màá mu àgbo jèdí lálé
Ìyá Títí: Àfí bẹ
Gloss
Títí mum: Títí
Títí: Ma
Títí's mum: Are you the one taking this big coke. *Your life is good*
Títí: Mum I'll take pile herb in the evening
Títí's mum: Except so

Like excerpt 9, this is also a psychological act owing to the task it poses to Títí to decipher the intention of the mother. SSK mainly, and SCK combine to pract caution to Títí and her next utterance shows that she well interprets her mother's reversed praise.

Excerpt 11

- Ọmọ́lará:** Daddy mi ẹ wá fún mi ní ẹran
Bàbá Lará: Má dà mí là mú lẹgbà lẹwọ̀ iyá ẹ
Ọmọ́lará: ẹn ẹn, ẹ fún mi àbí? Daddy mi ẹ burú
Bàbá Lará: Şée ẹ mi ní mo burú? *In kọn ẹ ọtá e o*
Gloss
Ọmọ́lará: Daddy pls give me meat
Lará's dad: Don't disturb me. Go and get from your mother.
Ọmọ́lará: Oh you aint giving me right? Daddy you are wicked.
Lará's dad: Am I the wicked one? *Something is wrong with your enemy.*

Excerpt 11 is another psychological act which combines with SCK, which forbids a parent from using swear words and SSK which is the clue giving by the context of use to pract scolding. The VCE of the father reflects that he frowns at the statement but he rather uses a reversed praise.

Excerpt 12

- Bólú:** Daddy mi, ẹ kábò
Bàbá Bólú: Kí lònú ẹ ní ita? Şé mo ti sọ fún ẹ pe kin má má ba ẹ níta mọ, ẹn?
Ìwọ̀ ọmọ́ lójú bí ojú oyinbo? (Bólú fo si ara bàbá rẹ)
Gloss
Bólú: My dad, welcome
Bólú's Dad: What are you doing outside? Haven't I told you I don't want to meet you outside again? *You little child whose eyes are like those of the white (Bólú jumps on the dad).*

Excerpt 12 again is a psychological act whose meaning in made clear by the contextual variables of SSK and SCK. The utterance practs a light warning as it is both a humour and some

sort of condemnation. The evidence of humour was in Bólú's jumping on the father after the utterance even if he has earlier condemned meeting her outside.

Conclusion

This study has established that richness, aesthetics or complexity in the Yorùbá language is not only associated to proverbs. There is the use of connotations, implicatures and presuppositions in the everyday Yorùbá expressions. Such expressions as the ones that have been studied in this work can only be appropriately deciphered by people who are well enculturated into the Yorùbá socio-cultural norms. It is realized that the linguistically related socio-cultural norms such as the avoidance of taboo or swear words and the avoidance of statements that proclaim misfortune are the major reasons for the implicit everyday expressions. This study has implication for language learning in that, since Yorùbá is now being learnt in many countries, attention should not only be given to structure, vocabulary and proverbs but to other pragmatic aspects of the language such as the one identified in this study.

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From Ireland to America: Emigration and the Great Famine 1845 – 1852

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Abstract

One of the changes that compose history is the migration of peoples. The human development of colossal numbers from one geographical area to another and their first contact with other social and economic backgrounds is a major source of change in the human state. For at least two centuries long before the great brook of the Hungry Forties, Irish immigrants had been making their way to the New World. Yet, the tragedy of the Great Famine is still seen as the greatest turning point of Irish history for the future of Ireland was forever changed. The paper tends to explore the conception of emigration and how it steadily became “a predominant way of life” in Ireland, so pervasive and integral to Irish life that it had affected the broad context of both Irish and American histories simultaneously. From the post-colonial perspective, my study presents emigration as one of the greatest emotional issues in Irish history, as it tends to have a very negative image especially in the post-Famine era. People are generally seen as involuntary “exiles”, compelled to leave Ireland by “British tyranny” and “landlord oppression” - an idealized Ireland where everyone was happy and gay and where roses grew around the door of the little white-washed cottage.

Keywords: Irish history, Irish diaspora, emigration, the Great Famine, America.

Introduction

The present paper explores how the Great Famine and its devastating damage influenced Irish nationhood. “The Great Hunger” is in some ways both the most visually affecting and intellectually debatable theme. As a national catastrophe, the Famine destroyed food source, starved Irish, brought about Irish diaspora and even reduced the marital rate. The persistence of a long-term ingrained potato blight mingled with colonialism resulted in the Great Famine and its devastating consequences. British colonial government took advantage of Irish economically and degraded them into an uncivilized race, which deprived the country of its national dignity. Harsh circumstances had compelled a third of Ireland's 1845 population of about nine million people into almost total dependence on the New World import, the potato, as a food staple, even as grain continued to be grown for export. Poor peasants suffered most immediately and lastingly from starvation and disease that became the twin killers between 1845 and 1851-52 when the famine reached its climax. Not only were unsuccessful measures taken but also an economic system that benefited landlords evolved which led to Irish mass-scale emigration. As Peter Quinn notes, however, the defining historical event that intertwined forever the fates of Ireland and the United States was the Great Famine, or more accurately An Gorta Mor, or “the Great Hunger.” Many tried to reassure their fears and resentments with the warm belief that the United States was a fabled “promised land”—with “gold and silver lying in the ditches, and nothing to do but to gather it up,” as one young immigrant dreamed. (Miller and Wagner 1997) Historians incontrovertibly tend to show that Irish immigration to America reached unprecedented rates shortly after the potato blight *Phytophthora infestans* ruined its first crop in the Irish fields in 1845. “It was an enormous and sudden stream of hungry and frightened Irish, most of them Roman Catholics, many of them farmers, a good proportion of them native speakers of Irish, and their children made America a more inviting place for the Irish to come to, and for others as well, but it was not easy.” (Coffey 1997)

The Irish Great Famine 1845:

Few topics of Irish history have attracted as much popular interest as the Great Famine of 1845-52. Many great tomes have been written on the topic, books as thick as doorsteps. Wherever the Irish diaspora reached, the Famine is never far beneath the surface, which has shaped Irish history fundamentally. However, this is not the place for a detailed investigation about the Great Famine because simply a true understanding of it comes only through recognition of a powerful complexity of its causes but rather it is an attempt to survey its effects.

The precise number of people who died is perhaps the most keenly studied effect of the famine: unfortunately, this is often for political rather than historical reasons. But most importantly, the consequences of the blight that devastated the Irish potato crop in the years 1845 – 1850 extended well beyond the borders of the Emerald Isle generating in a massive emigration. During the Hungry Forties, hundreds of thousands of refugees crossed the Atlantic to escape a situation commonly described and well known by historians. Irish immigration to America reached unprecedented rates shortly after the potato blight *Phytophthora infestans* ruined its first crop in the Irish fields in 1845. (Coffey 1997) In the decade of 1840-1850, nearly 800,000 Irish immigrants entered the United States. (Griffin

1990) Therefore, it is thought that the calamity marked a watershed in Irish history, not only for politics but also for culture, religion, demographics, agriculture and industry by accelerating the restructuring of each domain. (Walsh 2005) However, its occurrence was neither inevitable nor avoidable.

It has, at times, been argued that decreasing opportunities in agriculture were a major reason for emigration. This would be reliable with the surveyed high emigration rates from counties in the rural west and south. Centuries of absentee English and Anglo-Irish Protestants landlords transformed agriculture in Ireland from a backward, small-scale subsistence activity to a modern, large scale, market-oriented one. (Walsh 2005) Due primarily to medical and nutritional advances which contributed to a reduction in the death rate of small children who would live to have children of their own, Ireland faced a tremendous population explosion in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – from a little more than two million Irish people in 1700 to above eight million in 1841. (Coffey 1997) In short, the west of Ireland was a densely populated area of poor farmers who, for generations, had depended on the potato as their main staple food. However, they were so poor that when the potato failed, no other cheap alternative food could be used for trading. (Woodham-Smith 1992)

Although the island was still predominantly agricultural in which the domain was carried on by peasants who competed against each other for the only source of living, farming yielded little in return for very hard work. (Crist 1997) On one hand, the policy of free trade had guided to an agrarian crisis and escape from the land. It brought to the majority of the British urban population, on the other hand, the advantage of cheaper agricultural products. On the contrary, the entire population in Ireland felt the disastrous effects of this policy. (Silagi 1990) Underdevelopment and capital scarcity are undoubtedly closely related phenomena of 19th Century rural Irish. (Mokyr 2006) More than 90 percent of the Irish made their living—directly or indirectly—from agriculture. (Palmer 1978) However, farming work was not rewarding enough.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, Dublin had a reputation for having perhaps the most horrible living conditions of any European city. While cities in the British Isles, such as London, Manchester, and Glasgow, possessed a number of factory districts and slum areas of equal destitution, they relatively represented small portions of the entire city in comparison to the ubiquitous Dublin's poverty. (Miller 1985) Thus, the excessive poverty that distinguished life from that of the other European courtiers for most of the Irish offered the

The motives behind emigration:

“Thousands of undocumented Irish felt as if they had been forced out of Ireland in the first place by circumstances beyond their control.” (Miller 1985) This exodus from Ireland was largely a result of poverty, lower salaries, worse living conditions; in short, and limited opportunities. Kerby Miller further explains that, “The *motives* governing most Famine emigrants were qualitatively different from those which had inspired earlier departures. In the previous Famine decades emigrants sought ‘independence,’ economic improvement, in a land fabled for opportunity and abundance. During the Famine, however, most emigrants aspired merely to survive: ‘all we want is to get out of Ireland,’ testified one group; ‘we must be better anywhere than here.’” (Miller 1985) Though some

landlords helped them out of humanitarian motives, there were undeniably benefits to them, especially those who wanted to secure their land assets or change from the cultivation of land to beef and dairy farming.

As a matter of fact, many things stimulated the Irish to emigrate from their homeland – the promise of a section of land (640 acres in Kansas for free or ridiculously cheap) was a huge attraction for an Irish farmer on ten or twenty acres. In the long run, labour appears to have been pulled out of the Irish agricultural sector by higher wages abroad. (O'Rourke 1991) “The vibrant American economy described in letters home from earlier immigrants had a strong appeal to people who had endured such trials, and they began to dream of an American Eden overflowing with milk and honey.” (Bradley 1986) Stories of tremendous wages abroad tempted young men and women who slaved on the family farm year after year and seldom had the price of a drink or were able to pay their way into a dance. Charmed by such promises, many young Irish families, thus, perceived their futures in America and not Ireland. The changing routes for emigration also reflected profound despair. Previously, passengers had embarked at the major ports in Ireland, or from Liverpool. Now emigrant ships left from small, little-used parts such as Westport, Kinsale and Killalee. This partly had an affect on Ireland as those who were most active and who could immensely contribute to Ireland had just left Ireland.

Nevertheless, the essence of adventure and the simple desire to escape the oppressive effect of the religious and ethical regime in Ireland in the aftermath of the Great Famine were also great incentives to leave all behind. Most young people at that time were disposed of a strong adventurous spirit. A dry comment dismissively suggested that if one had a problem they should ask a young person – while they still knew everything. The temptation of adventure was hard to resist, particularly when the chances of making one's fortune at home in Ireland became ever more so tiny if not entirely non-existent.



Figure 1: The picture illustrates Emigrants leaving Ireland.

In the summer of 1845 an unknown fungus, *Phytophthora infestans*, suddenly struck and destroyed the crop at a terrifying fundamental way of life across the fields of Ireland. (Bradley 1986) “The country ... is greatly alarmed on account of a disease in the Potato Crop,” confessed a farmer's wife, “we are feeling the effect of it but God knows no how it will end.” (Bradley 1986° The desperate situation is brilliantly described in Kerby Miller’s *Emigrants and Exiles*:

“The leaves turned black, crumbling into ashes when touched, and the very ‘air was laden with a sickly odor of decay, as if the hand of death had stricken the potato field, and . . . everything growing in it was rotten. In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless.” (Miller 1985)

Because Irish economy mainly depended on agriculture rather than industry, the region was to endure from the effects of the famine that plunged the country into a serious depression. Unable to keep up with the demands of their British landlords, Evictions became common among Famine victims on outdoor relief and significantly peaked in July at almost 840,000 people. (Ross 2002) Untold thousands perished, and the survivors, destitute of hope, wished only to get away. The situation was so bleak that most Irish were forced to choose between starving at home and attempting to survive abroad. By 1851 census figures showed that the population of Ireland had dropped to 6,575,000 - a fall of 1,600,000 in ten years. (Ross 2002) Although it is described as a famous source, Cormac Ó Gráda and Joel Mokry would contend the 1851 census arguing that the amalgamation of institutional and individuals figures provides “an incomplete and biased count” of the total fatalities during the famine. (Ó Gráda 2006)

“In one Union”, said Sir Robert Peel “at a time of famine within one year, 15,000 persons have been driven from their homes... I do not think the records of any country, civilized or barbarous, ever presented such scenes of horror. All the better land is turned into pasture; and on what remains of the soil, the remnant of the peasants are allowed to huddle together.” (Duffy 1884) In ten years, 252,000 peasant homes were destroyed and a million and a half of the Irish people crossed to America. Indeed, many unscrupulous landlords used the infamous Gregory Clause as an excuse to evict thousands of unwanted cottiers from their estates. Gallagher explains that British absentee landlords owned 70 percent of Ireland, therefore the potato blight served as a perfect excuse to evict the Irish. (Gallagher 1982) Evictions became common among the Irish who couldn't keep up with the demands of their British landlords. The Potato Famine forced the Irish destitute, starving, to be evicted and take their chances on ships headed for America as their only hope for survival. (Byron 1999) In 1849, the police recorded a total of almost 250,000 persons as officially evicted between 1849 and 1854. (Póirtéir 1995) Yet, Donnelly considered this to be an underestimate. According to him, if the figures were to include the number forced into involuntary surrenders during the whole period (1846-54) the figure would certainly exceed half a million persons. (Póirtéir 1995)



Figure 2: A picture showing an Irish family being evicted.



Figure 3: "Ireland's Holocaust" mural on the Ballymurphy Road, Belfast. "An Gorta Mór, Britain's genocide by starvation, Ireland's holocaust 1845-1849."

Death from starvation and disease was extremely unbearable in the 1840s and many saw no choice but to abandon a land that had caused them so much hardship, and resolutely perceived on creating a better life in America. (Bradley 1986) Emigration reached new heights and the infamous coffin-ships crossed the Atlantic in large numbers carrying people fleeing from the famine. (Keneally 1999) Most of all, according to Kerby Miller, “the vast majority of Catholic emigrants left home for essentially mundane reasons similar or identical to those which produced mass migration from other European countries.” (Miller 1985) As a proportion of the population, the pace of emigration from Ireland was more than double that of any other European country, with as many as 13 persons per 1,000 emigrating on average each year. Unusually, in comparison with male-dominated emigration from other European countries, Irish emigration was composed almost equally of males and females. Females accounted for 48 percent of all recorded emigrants over the period as a whole. (Hatton 1993)

For almost one-fourth of all Irish in Ireland to survive the Great Famine, they would have to live long enough to reach a port of embarkation, leave Ireland by whatever means available, and reestablish their Irish identity in new lands. In 1847, approximately forty immigrant-laden ships were arriving at New York City docks each week. (Jenkins & Swacker 2006) “Emigration became an accepted, if painful, necessity.” (O'Donnell 1997) Laxton concludes that, “Death by Famine or departure by emigration, can logically claim a loss to Ireland in real terms, of two and a half million people—more than one in four.” (Laxton 1996) Between 1850 and 1913 more than 4.5 million men and women fled Ireland for a new life overseas to try new things, to expand, to live the more abundant life, spiritually as well as materially. According to Table 1, the overwhelming dominance of the flow was to the United States. Actually, immigration to America was referred to as ‘the

America Wake.’ (Jenkins and Swacker 2006) However, the exact total number of Famine Irish immigrants to the United States will never be known. (Laxton 1996) Figures to be mentioned throughout this essay remain only approximate. Kerby Miller notes, “In all, over 2.1 million Irish—about one-fourth of the island’s pre-Famine population—went overseas; more people left Ireland in just eleven years (1845-1855) than during the preceding two and one-half centuries.” (Miller 1985)

As shown in Figure 7, the Irish population fell sharply from 6.5 to 4.4 million between 1851 and 1911 as an effect of this mass migration. Thus, the great famine ignited an explosion in the magnitude of emigration as the number of Irish who entered the U.S. was undoubtedly estimated to skyrocket in the 1840s; nearly 2 million came in that decade. (Walsh 2005) The flow carried on ever more for over the next 5 years averaging 200,000 per year, as the first immigrants began to make the resources of sending for relatives and friends.

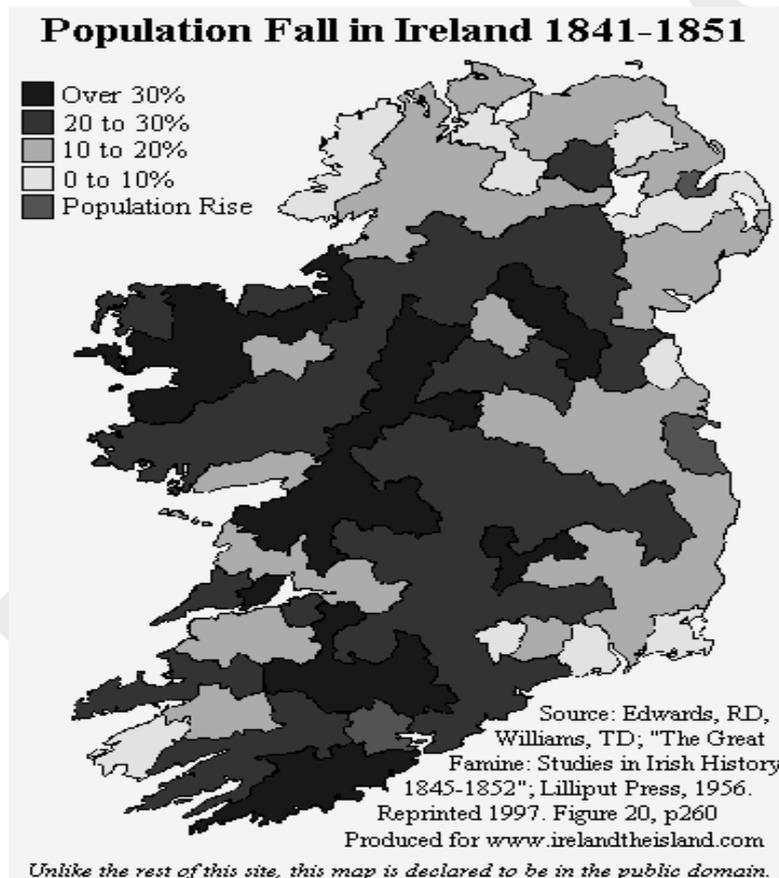


Figure 4: The map shows the sharp fall of population across Ireland.

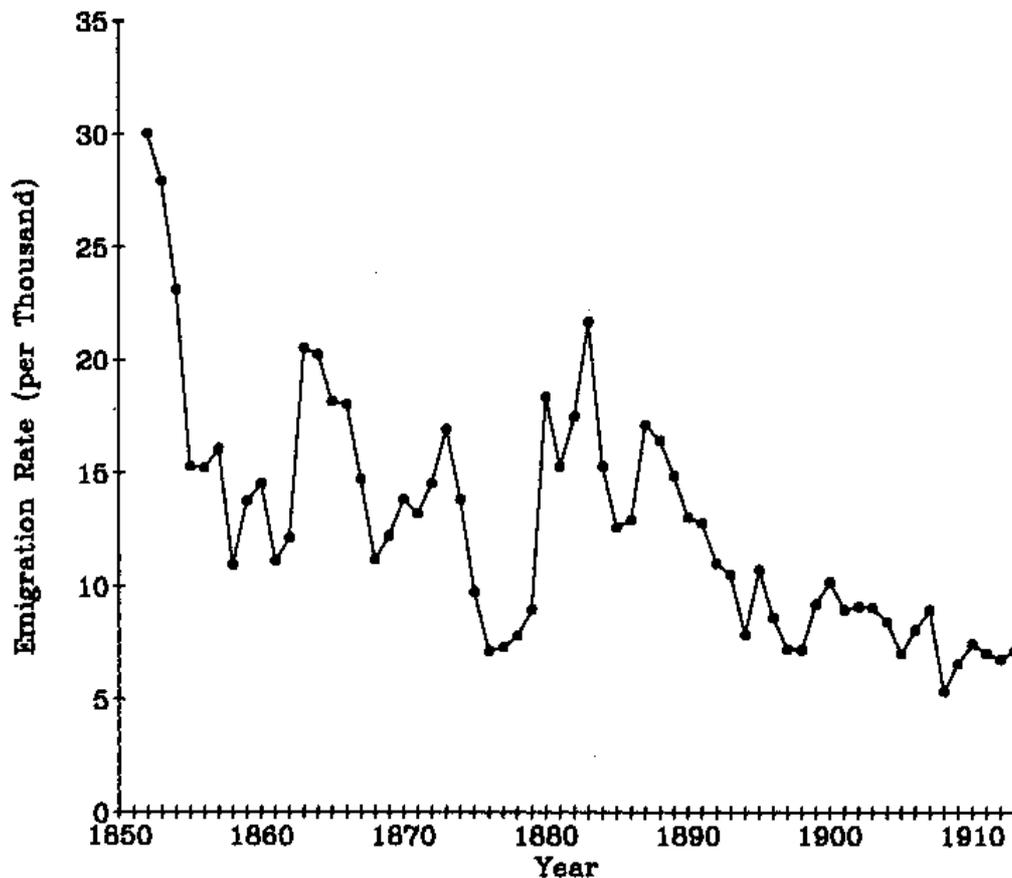


Table 1: Emigration to Ireland to various countries, 1876 - 1913

The journey to America

Though many couldn't speak or read English, advertisements for emigration from passenger brokers were placed throughout Ireland. (Hatton and Williamson 1993) This appeared as a cruel action if one thinks of the act being committed in itself. During their most important depression, the Irish were wretchedly helped to leave their country. People didn't relate to them in one of the simple ways. As they perhaps didn't know that the majority of the Irish population couldn't speak or read English. Yet one would deduce they had knowledge of this but simply chose to disregard it. Often, priests explained the advertisements and then blessed each traveler before departure. The latter was the bitterest and people regretfully wept as they left all behind: their families, their friends, their tiny villages but most of their homeland. The promise of opportunity and the blessing of the priest were their only reassurance. Nevertheless, it was one of those challenging journeys that required strength of mind and of body.

Most of those who emigrated relied on their own resources; some landlords helped through direct subsidies or by relieving those who left of their unpaid rent bills. The

landless poor simply could afford to leave. Most people paid their own fares to make the trip, although perhaps 3% had their fares paid by their landlords. (O Grada, 1995) The cheapest fares were to Canada, around 55 shillings while a fare to the USA cost between 70 shillings and £5 (100 shillings). (Edwards and Williams 1999)

As shown in the following picture, the scene in the Waterloo dock, at Liverpool, where all the American sailing packets used to be stationed, was at all times a very busy one. "There was even a shortage of ships to carry away the desperate refugees who had could scrape together money for their passage." (Bradley 1986) And on the morning of the departure of a large ship, with a full complement of emigrants, it was unusually exciting and interesting. The passengers would have undergone inspection, and many of them would have taken up their quarters on board for twenty-four hours previously, as they were entitled to do by terms of the act of Parliament. Without enough food or clothing for the journey, many fled in a panic crowding aboard the notorious 'coffin ships' for a dangerous midwinter voyage.

There were more often than not a large number of spectators at the dock-gates to witness the final departure of the noble ship, with its large freight of human beings. It was an appealing and impressive sight; and the most heartless and indifferent can barely fail, at such a moment, to form convivial wishes for the pleasant voyage and secure entrance of the emigrants, and for their future affluence in their new home. It was the uppermost feeling in the mind of many thousands of the poorer class of English emigrants at the moment when the cheers of the spectators and of their friends on shore proclaim the instant of departure from the land of their birth. They left from Sligo, Cork, Dublin, Londonderry [Derry], and Liverpool. They left sadly, often to unhappy songs like the *Lament of the Irish Emigrant*:

"I'm bidding you a long farewell,
My Mary kind and true,
But I'll not forget you, darling,
In the lad I'm going to:
They say there's bread and work for all,
And the sun shines always there;
But I'll not forget old Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair." (Bayor and Meagher 1996)



Figure 5: Irish emigrants depart Liverpool for North America

There were two ways one could travel, either in a standard class or in steerage. Standard passengers had berths and could walk in the deck. Steerage passengers were crowded together below decks and often could not use the deck. For many emigrants, steerage was the most they could afford. But the departure was just the first of many challenges facing the Irish emigrants during the Famine era as most of them “had left the Irish port towns in the barely seaworthy ships with nothing but the clothes on their backs, a few cooking items, bedding, and a small amount of cash.” (Jenkins and Swacker 2006) For the Irish who were fortunate enough to avoid starvation and contagious diseases, the next obstacle was surviving the journey across the Atlantic to reach America. No fewer than 59 emigrant ships were lost en route to America between 1845 and 1853. In their attempt to cross the Atlantic, thousands of Irish men, women, and children seeking the “Golden Land of the West” perished. (Griffin 1990)

Although travel conditions had improved greatly in the 1840s and since the eighteenth century, the voyage from Ireland to America was still a hard one. Moreover, the fearful state of disease and debility in which the Irish emigrants have crossed the Atlantic must undoubtedly be attributed in a great degree to the destitution and consequent sickness prevailing in Ireland. Conditions on emigrant ships have been further aggravated by the neglect of cleanliness, ventilation and a generally good state of social economy during the passage, and has afterwards been increased and disseminated throughout the country in the mal-arrangements of the government system of emigrant relief. (Bradley 1986) Because of the unsanitary conditions on board what became known as the “coffin ships”, people endured hardship as vessels were more than eighty years old, built in the 18th Century, and carried more than 300 passengers, more than the legal limit. For all these people there

barely existed berths. "In many ships the filth beds, teeming with all abominations, are never required to be brought on deck and aired; the narrow space between the sleeping berths and the piles of boxes is never washed or scrapped, but breathes up a damp and fetid stench, until the day before the arrival of quarantine, when all hands are required to 'scrub up,' and put on a fair face for the doctor and Government inspector. No moral restraint is attempted, the voice prayer is never heard; drunkenness, with its consequent train of ruffianly debasement, is not discouraged, because it is profitable to the captain, who traffics in the grog." (Griffin 1990)



Figure 6: The picture below shows the conditions in the steerage area of a "coffin ship".

The passage generally took anywhere from one to three months, depending on the weather. (Jenkins and Swacker 2006) Although the voyage cost was about \$15 a head in steerage, 'tween decks,' the food and space were meager, the sanitary conditions were poor. (Bayor and Meagher 1996) For many it was a miserable, if not fatal experience. Passengers had to rely on whatever they had managed to bring aboard and a maximum of only two pints of water per person a day was available. "The food is generally ill-selected and seldom sufficiently cooked; in consequence of the supply of water, hardly enough for cooking and drinking, does not allow washing." (Griffin 1990) When Irish emigrants arrived off New York City after a long and painful journey of forty-one days, all the water was unfit to drink. For those attempting to use the Liverpool route, as well as overcrowding, starvation, disease and other dangers included unscrupulous middlemen and landlords, thieves, conmen, and the extortionate tactics of ships' agents and owners.

In *Fleeing the Famine*, the misery of being a passenger that traveled in steerage in 1847 is well described in the letter of Stephen deVere: "Hundreds of people, men, women and children, of all ages from the driveling idiot of 90 to the babe just born; huddled together, without light, without air, wallowing in filth, and breathing a fetid atmosphere, sick in body, dispirited in heart; the fevered patients lying between the sound, in sleeping

places so narrow as to almost deny them the power of indulging, by a change of position. The natural restlessness of the disease; . . . living without food or medicine except as administered by the hand of casual charity; dying without the voice of spiritual consolation, and buried in the deep without the rites of the church.” (Mulrooney 2003)

Emigration soared from 75,000 in 1845 to 250,000 in 1851. “This chaotic, panic-stricken and unregulated exodus was the largest single population movement of the nineteenth century.” (Campbell 2000) On most of the ‘coffin ships’, the struggle for survival sometimes ended in murder. (Griffin 2000) It is estimated that as many as 40% of steerage passengers died either en-route or right away after arrival. “Thousands more died at disembarkation centers.” (Ranelagh 2005) In *Paddy’s Lament*, Gallagher writes that, “out of roughly 100,000 emigrants carried aboard British ships to Canada in 1847, 25,000, or one in every four, died en route or within six months after arrival.” (Gallagher 1982) Only the slave ships of the previous Century would have had such awful conditions, though they were privately owned, and some captains hideously overcrowded them in order to get more fares. Mulrooney adds that there were more passenger deaths aboard ships and in quarantine after arrival in 1847 than in any other year in the nineteenth century. However, as miserable as conditions were on board these ‘coffin ships,’ most deaths were caused by diseases brought on board the vessels. Typhus was the greatest killer, and it wasn’t until the twentieth century that it became known that it was spread by lice. (Mulrooney 2003) The Irish were tested during their six to eight week voyage, and only the strongest survived. Unfortunately, many of the Irish emigrants who reluctantly left their homeland in hopes of surviving abroad only found a watery grave. Laxton found that of the more than 5,000 ships that sailed during the six years of the Potato Famine, about 50 foundered, ending the hopes of these starving emigrants before ever seeing American shores. (Laxton 1996)

In some respects, considering the conditions of the ship, those who survived were estimated lucky. They survived the weeks at sea and successfully passed through the quarantine station ultimately headed for the United States—by the back door, if necessary. Most of them, as a result, ended their trip in New York, not so much because it was their intended destination but because the shipping concerns deposited them there. (Bayor and Meagher 1996) “The immigrants were lemmings rushing to America, and nothing was going to stop them,” says Joseph Robins, a retired social historian in Dublin. However, the Famine emigrants who survived the journey did not know that they would arrive in America at a very opportune time, and that they would develop a symbiotic relationship with the young country as it matured. Once settled in America, Irish emigrants were first inclined to view themselves as exiles rather than voluntary emigrants. They were simply the victims of a forced and bitter exodus committed not only by the potato blight but mostly by their English imperial masters. (Kenny 2000)

In addition to the fortuitous timing of the arrival of Famine emigrants, their sheer numbers would help them endure their displacement as a massive group as they began the long and painful process of assimilating into American communities. Once the Famine emigrants arrived, William Shannon notes, “Neither the cities nor the Irish were ever the same again.” (Shannon 1966) The Irish and the cities they settled in would grow together. The determination of the Irish to succeed in America would eventually eclipse their desire to survive.

Industrialization was about to transform the American continent, and the Irish would be there in time to contribute to its industrial and political machines. Dennis Clark describes the opportunities that faced Famine emigrants, "Paradoxically, what almost wiped out this group also sent them to America as an emergent people ready to take up new ways and ideas. Patterns of chain migration, prepaid passages, family, and occupational connections would emerge that would greatly stimulate American life and change the history even of the nation's most powerful city." (Clark 1986)

At first, Americans did not readily welcome what they saw as hordes of impoverished and diseased immigrants unfit for almost any kind of work. Still, the new arrivals flocked to the large cities, where they lived in slum areas and picked up work as unskilled labor. Only 10 percent headed to the familiar rural areas in search of a life with which they had been familiar in Ireland. America was not at all like the promises of fame and easy fortune made by the shipping lines. (Albion 1939) The land had betrayed them once; the fear was that it just might happen again.

Most people who came in touch with Irish emigrants declared that they seemed innocent, disorderly, and uncivilized. It was argued that the economic circumstances engendered by the Great Famine made the Irish undesirable additions to the republic, hereditary characteristics defined the Irish as beings of inferior order. (Knobel 1988) They didn't have time to worry about whether Canada was in British possession or if their shoes were nicely polished and their hair brushed to perfection. It's obvious that they would seem to have a savagery about them after working their land, seeing crops fail numerous times, and being absolutely starved for years. They were frowned upon simply because they were unaccustomed to other cultures and because they'd been, in some ways, out of touch with much of life's ordinary dealings. They were often offered advice from organizations such as the Christian society, which told them to have energy, patience, benevolence, and good sense. These constructs are anything but helpful and much too general to be of any use to emigrants whose focus is to eat, sleep, and simply survive their experience on a coffin ship. It was torment enough for the Irish to leave their beloved country, let alone be forced to adhere to rules and culture shock.

Conclusion

The paper attempted to explore the disastrous impacts of the Great Famine including emigrant diaspora, religion, and cultural awareness. Within this framework virtually every aspect of the life of the Irish in America is examined. Even though the famine itself probably resulted in about one million deaths, the resultant emigration caused the population to drop by a further three million. The declining working opportunities as well as economic deprivation deteriorated life conditions in Ireland and pushed thousands of Irish to look for new chances overseas. Although most earlier emigrants had been sensitive to reports of hard time in America and difficulties in the journey in particular, the exodus continued to grow even in the face of the most disappointing reports from abroad and the savage hardships of a mid-winter Atlantic crossing. Like the lovers in the ballad "Farewell to Enniskillen," they wished only to leave the hunger, oppression, and even the small world of the village. Once settled in a world free of contrasts, "they think no more of Ireland, nor Enniskillen town." (Coffey 1997) Still, even the most enthusiastic immigrant found what was literally a new world, one for which most were unprepared.

Starting with the Famine of the 1840s, such a great migration revolutionized the small Irish community previously there and facilitated the metropolis's colossal development. Spectacular physical and economic growth, in turn, spurred on even more transatlantic migration. (Diner 1996) In these years, the destinies of the United States and the Irish became undividable. Three decades later America could legitimately claim the earlier mature distinction that New York was America's "most Irish city." It not only lodged America's largest Irish community but also subsisted at the center of Irish American political, cultural, and social activism.

The road from colonist to citizen had been a long and difficult one. It was one easy for immigrants arriving from farm to town during the colonial and antebellum period to adjust to foreign surrounding, new customs, conditions, and language.

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Marxist Ideology and Revolution in Adéníyì Àkàngbè's *Ayégún*

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Abstract

Bad leadership with its attendant consequence of bad governance has been the major impediment to the development of Nigeria. This problem has, therefore, been a serious concern to most literary scholars in recent time. This study is an examination of Marxist ideology and revolution in Àkàngbè's play text, Ayégún published in (2007). It concerns itself with the thematic preoccupation of the text by looking into the roles of political leaders in the act of governance in Nigeria. The study adopts Marxism's aspect of economic determinism in which capitalists own the power and the proletariats have only their labour. This results in alienation of the proletariat from their products and societal affairs. The study discovers that some of the leaders (i.e., political, traditional and religious leaders) are insensitive to the plight of the masses. The political leaders, security agents, electoral officers, bank chiefs and some religious leaders collaborate to rig elections and loot treasuries, thereby leaving the masses in perpetual suffering. The study concludes that unless the masses rise up to the challenge posed by the ruling class, oppression and impunity will continue.

Keywords: Ideology, Revolution, Marxism, Literature, Drama.

Introduction

Leadership is employed in all facets of human endeavour, such as the home, school, church, community or government. Apenda (2007:2) notes that a selfless and acceptable leadership implies efficient and effective public administration, good public policies and optimal management of natural resources for equitable distribution, improved per capital income and overall development. It incorporates the features of accountability of public office holders, transparency in government procedures and process, and adherence to the rule of law. This view has become imperative, taking into cognizance the misdirected vision of most Nigerian leaders in their service to humanity. The absence of true and incorruptible services of Nigerian leaders has distorted the real conception and purpose of 'leadership' through democratic manipulations aimed at personal, primitive accumulation and benefits.

The type of leadership witnessed in Nigeria in recent time is at most disappointing. As a result of poor leadership style, many who aspire to leadership positions no longer do so for the purpose of selfless service and sacrifice, but for the benefits which such positions offer. Power offers them the opportunity of a life time to rise above the general level of poverty and squalor, which pervade the society. It offers them rare opportunities to acquire wealth and prestige, to be able to distribute benefits in form of jobs, contracts, scholarships and gifts of money to relatives and political allies (Dike, 1988:41). Anyam and Adegá (2007:33) also maintain that because of these benefits accruable to leadership positions in Nigeria, prospective leaders utilise different means such as thugs and hooligans, arson, culpable homicide, illicit electoral process and several others to get to the top. The result of this is seen in the economic, social and structural problems in the development of the country. This study, therefore, examines the Marxist ideology and revolution in Adéníyí Àkàngbè's (2007) *Ayégun*.

The next section of this paper will look into the literature and ideology as it affects the roles of a writer in addressing the ugly events in his political environment.

Literature and Ideology

Jacobson (1962) in Eagleton's famous work, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1988:2) defines literature as a kind of writing which represents an 'organised violence committed on ordinary speech'. Eagleton (1988:2) notes that 'literature transforms and intensifies ordinary language, and it deviates systematically from everyday speech'. He explains further that 'the texture, rhythm and resonance of literary words are in excess of their abstractable meaning – or, as the linguists might more technically put it, there is a disproportion between the signifiers and the signified' (Eagleton, 1988:2).

Finnegan (1977:270) also describes literature as 'what people do: the way they act within a literary context, the social conventions connected with literary activity which they observe and manipulate, the different uses to which they can put literary formulations – literature, according to Finnegan (1977:270) is in fact, 'conceived as social action by people rather than as a static

entity in its own right'. Eagleton (1988:16) reasons along this line when he says that 'literature is vitally engaged with the living situations of men and women: it is concrete rather than abstract, displays life in all its richvariousness, and rejects barren conceptual enquiry for the feel and taste of what it is to be alive'. While distinguishing literary language from other forms of discourse, Eagleton (1988:4) notes that it 'deforms' ordinary language in various ways. 'Under the pressure of literary devices, ordinary language is intensified, condensed, twisted, telescoped, drawn out, turned on its head'. According to Mayhead (1981:3), 'literature has been found over the centuries to have certain important kinds of value for human beings. One of these kinds of value has to do with the medium which literature employs: the medium of language. All literature uses language, but by no means everything that is written can be called literature'. Mayhead (1981:10) states further that 'the reading of good literature can bring a man, more closely into contact with the 'real world' than he could ever have been brought without a degree of personal experience for which the span of most lives is insufficient'. Because of this, literature, as noted by Mayhead (1981:3), 'far from making a man anti-social, can equip him to lead his life among his fellows with the kind of adequacy, satisfaction, and understanding he would not otherwise have known'.

To this end, in literature, how words say what they say is just as important as what they signify. This is why Ngara (1990:4) is of the view that:

the critic is a judge of effective communication and seeks to explore the soundness of the artist's assumptions about the world. In order to perform his or her task satisfactorily, the critic must be in a position not only to tell us what the writer says but also to comment on the value of the writer's message and how effectively it is communicated.

From the foregoing, literature could be described as the mirror of the society which 'grapple with language in a more strenuous, self-conscious way than usual. The world which that language contains, is vividly renewed' (Ngara, 1990:4). On the other hand, Balogun (2007:197) observes that 'the history of literature is the history of literary criticism. The latter as an ally of the former makes creative writing more complementary and helps to conceptualise the pedagogical import of texts of literature into ideological standpoints'.

Ideology, as observed by Hawkes (1996:60), 'originates as a 'meta-science', a science of science. It claims to be able to explain where the other sciences come from, and to give a scientific genealogy of thought'. Ideology traces ideas, through sensation, to their material surroundings. The term 'ideology' according to Adéyemí (2003:12), is a borrowed word from Greek – 'ideos' and 'logos'. The Greek root of the word indicates that it has to do with the 'science of ideas'. 'Ideos' originally connotes light, that which illuminates, while 'logos' connotes unfolding, bringing together and grasping. So, whichever way one looks at it, in the words of Wilmot (1980:15) cited in Adéyemí (2003:12-13), 'ideology should lead to an unfolding of reality and understanding of reality'. The message of Wilmot is that ideology seeks to remove

the veils of superstition, ignorance, obscurantism and mystification. It seeks to allow the truth of reality to come forth. Hawkes (1996:56) posits that, 'ideology achieves a momentous philosophical breakthrough, by transcending the ancient oppositions between matter and spirit, things and concepts'. He says 'the new discipline of 'ideology', then, claimed to be nothing less than the science to explain all sciences'. It had ambitions to establish 'a grammar and language modelled after mathematics...in which each idea was assigned its corresponding linguistic sign'. According to Joseph (2007:186), 'ideology is an act of reasoning by an individual, a group or a class in the society. Literature is a product of a series of ideological phenomena in its attempt to rid the society of its several ills across time'.

The concept of ideology is succinctly defined by Ngara (1990:11) as 'that aspect of the human condition under which people operate as conscious actors. Ideology is the medium through which human consciousness works'. He says:

Our conception of religion, politics, morality, art and science is deeply influenced by our ideology. In other words, what we see and believe largely depends on our ideology, ideology being the medium through which we comprehend and interpret reality. Reality itself exists objectively outside our consciousness and independently of any particular individual but how one sees and interprets it depends in part on one's level of ideological development.

From Ngara's point of view, ideology serves as the medium through which human consciousness operates. Human beings perceive issues differently as related to their experiences and how well they understand and interpret these experiences into reality. Thus, a writer freely expresses his ideology through his writings.

In this sense, Ngara (1990:11) singles out three categories of ideology which, he says, are crucial in the criticism of African literature: the dominant ideology or ideologies, authorial ideology and aesthetic ideology. By the dominant ideology of an epoch, he means, 'the beliefs, assumptions and set of values that inform the thoughts and actions of a people in a particular era'. For example, the ideology of a ruling class is projected through ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) such as the religious ISA, the educational ISA, the political ISA and the cultural ISA, which includes literature and the arts. Ngara emphasizes that in colonial Africa the dominant colonial ideology, which was bourgeois, was projected through the various ISAs, principally the educational, the religious and the cultural ISAs.

Ngara clarifies that in class society the dominant ideologies such as those of colonial rulers will inevitably be threatened by oppositional or competing ideologies such as nationalism. In a situation where conflicting ideologies are symptomatic of a class struggle, a writer will project an ideological stance which may or may not be homologous with one or the other opposing ideology. As part of the African petty bourgeoisie and of an oppressed race, most writers write from nationalist standpoints, but, as is the case in any such situation, the ideological stance of each writer will in part depend on his or her level of political consciousness. A writer may adopt a moderate or radical nationalist standpoint or even display symptoms of what has

been called 'the colonial mentality'. Whatever stance the writer takes constitutes his or her authorial ideology. (Ngara, 1990:11-12).

The second category of Ngara's ideologies is authorial ideology. Authorial ideology is what determines the writer's perception of reality. Whether a writer presents an accurate analysis of social reality or not, whether a writer presents a view of society characterized by false consciousness or not, depends largely on authorial ideology. The third category, which is called aesthetic ideology, refers to the literary convention and stylistic stances adopted by the writer.

From the foregoing, it could be understood that literature and ideology are intertwined. This is explained in Eagleton's (1988:22) view that 'to speak of 'literature and ideology' as two separate phenomena which can be interrelated is... in one sense, quite unnecessary. Literature, in the meaning of the word we have inherited is an ideology. It has the most intimate relations to questions of social power'. Like religion, literature, as noted by Eagleton, 'works primarily by emotion and experience and so was admirably well-fitted to carry through the ideological task which religion left off. Indirectly, literature has been communicating ideological dogmas disguised as *timeless* truths, thus distracting the masses from their immediate commitments, nurturing in them a spirit of tolerance and generosity, and so ensuring the survival of private property' (Eagleton, 1988:2). Literature is 'vitaly engaged with the living situations of men and women: it is concrete rather than abstract, displays life in all its variety and rejects barren conceptual enquiry for the feel and taste of what it is to be alive' (Eagleton, 1988:16). In the next section, the theoretical approach used in unraveling the writer's ideological stance on the political issues in Nigeria will be discussed.

Theoretical Framework

Marxism is an ideological theory that was introduced by Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels. They met each other in September, 1814 and discovered they had similar philosophical ideas on capitalism and agreed to work together (Joseph, 2007:191). Marx's thesis is dualistic in nature. First and foremost, he highlighted the prominence of economic factors in the functional structure of society and its development. Marx postulated the economic substructure of economy as so strong that it affects virtually all the spheres of life on the one hand, and this economic substructure ensures dangerous orientation and precedence on the other hand. To him, this economic stronghold is the edifice on which the society is hinged. The second postulate relates to change in society through triadic stages: thesis (affirmation), antithesis (negation) and synthesis (reconciliation). This affirms a continuous dialectical process which follows the synthesis (Oтите and Ogionwo, 1979:30). Here, it must be emphasized that Marx parted way with Hegel on the different interpretation of the dialectical synthesis: while Hegel was a bit spiritual and abstract in his interpretation, Marx interpreted his synthesis on the social structure of the society (Alamu, 2010:61). Marx's class theory, according to Oтите and Ogionwo (1979:30), hinges on the first postulate with the premise that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles'. Ever since human society emerged from the dawn of consciousness, 'it has remained fundamentally divided into classes which clash in the pursuit of class interest'. The pivot of the

capitalist system is the persistence and dichotomy between the exploiters and the exploited; between the bourgeoisie and proletariat; between buyers and sellers of labour power other than functional collaboration. Coser (1971) opines that 'class interests and the confrontations of power show that they brought in their wake what Marx referred to as 'determinant of social and historical process'. Thus, this social and historical process in the hitherto existing human society is inherently 'conflictual' because 'it breeds class consciousness and militant class conflicts which, with time, will destroy the existing social system and lead to a new social order' (Coser, 1971:48).

Karl Marx argued that the mode of production is the economic foundation of any society. It is this mode of production that forms the economic structure on which the super-structure rests (Otitte and Ogionwo, 1979:31). Alamu (2010:61) submits that 'the mode of production gives rise to bourgeoisie and the proletariat who are the poor, weak and property-less class. The wealthier and more powerful class exploits the relationship between the classes and gets the profits off the labour of the poor'. To this end, the bourgeoisie employed all types of ideologies; economic, religious and political as strategies to retain their position as they continue to exploit the masses. The bourgeoisie also use their economic power to acquire political power.

Karl Marx was primarily challenged with the problem of alienation of man in capitalist society. Coser (1971:51) asserts that 'alienation in the domain of work has a fourfold aspect: man is alienated from the object he produces, from the process of production, from himself, and from the community his fellows'. According to Alamu (2010:62), 'for Marx, man is denied the reward of his creative power, hence resignation to fate becomes the order of the day. The exploiters enjoy their incumbents while the exploited resign to fate. Thus, the proletarians would hide under the guise of religion to seek for solace in fantasy'. To Marx, the role of religion is to sedate or pacify the masses. He emphasized that religion could be a channel of protest, resignation or acceptance of the suffering and miseries of the capitalist exploitation.

Alamu (2010:62) remarks that Marx is embittered by the social inequality and unfairness in a capitalist society and negates the role religion plays against the interest of proletarians. Marx sees religion as an illusion which eases the pain produced by politico-economic exploitation and oppression. Dzurgba (2000:45) notes that Marx perceives religion as the distortion of reality which provides reasons for the deceptions that form the basis of the exploiters, political or economic ideology and a false class consciousness. Therefore, Marx and Engels (1932) in Scharf (1970:82) opine that 'religion is the moan of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, the sense of senseless conditions. It is the opium of the people'.

Religion does not solve the problem of human suffering, but it is simply a misguided attempt to make life more bearable. For Marx, most religious movements originated from the oppressed classes whose social conditions of poverty provide the most fertile ground for the growth of new religions (Haralambos, et al., 1980:460). Thus, religion makes poverty more tolerable by offering a reward for suffering and promising a justified redress for injustice in the

kingdom of God. Religion discourages the masses from making efforts to change their social situations.

Marxist prominent features are therefore, class propaganda, revolutionary didacticism and ideological specifications of the total state. Although formalists believe that literature is a special art that should be separated or distinguished from the socio-political world, Marxists have contrary belief as they specify in what the society wants and what it does not want and that literature cannot be understood without its historical context.

Hence, in the words of Àlàbá (1985:19), the point of view of Marxist literary theory, that the socio-economic conditions prevalent in a society prominently shape the consciousness of the people as often expressed in their art forms (including literature), philosophy and religion, becomes relevant in the interpretation of Àkàngbé's *Ayégún*.

Marxist Ideology and Revolution in Àkàngbé's *Ayégún*

The play text, *Ayégún*, is a representation of Nigerian political milieu. The setting of the play is a town named *Ayégún*. The story centres on the socio-political activities of the town where governor Kòrólárí, is directing its affairs. The play opens with the celebration of Kòrólárí, who has just won a gubernatorial election into *Ayégún* state. The first assignment on assuming office is the deliberation on the sharing formula between the Governor and the members of his cabinet (Àkàngbé, 2007:10).

This depicts what Nigerian political class stands for. They go into politics or leadership positions simply to enrich their private purse and thereby widen the horizon of their fortune. It is a reflection of the political scenario in Nigeria, both at local, state and national levels, where politicians are only interested in money sharing and neglect people they are representing. In as much as one is not disputing the fact that the politicians should be paid salaries, the jumbo pay assigned to themselves is what one is concerned about. A leader's perception and preoccupation in governance should be the benefit of the people. Governor Kòrólárí and his commissioners go further to discuss how government infrastructure such as refinery, university, mining industry etc. would be located and built in their respective localities. Apart from the governor and his commissioners, the party stalwarts and friends of the governor, including the king, the chairman of the electoral commission, an army general, a bank manager and a cleric, also visit the governor in his house to get their own share of contract in the state. These people are involved in rigging the election that brought in Kòrólárí as governor of *Ayégún*. Their discussion on the just concluded election goes thus (Àkàngbé, 2007:18-19):

Kábíyèsí: *Şé mo şo fún o pé oşo àgbà
bí kò şe lówùúro, ó n bọ wá şe loşo alẹ.
Bọmọdẹ bá ti n gégi nígbó làgbà ti í mọbi
tígi oşún yòò wó sí.
'Did I not tell you that if a word spoken*

by an elder does not come to pass in the morning, it will definitely come to pass later in the day. If a young one is cutting a tree in the forest, it is the elder around that knows the direction the tree will fall’.

Gómìnà: È ò parọ baba.

‘It is the truth, old one.’

Kábíyèsí: Àwọ̀n ti gbà pé báwọ̀n bá ti lára ilú tó pọ̀ lẹ̀yin, àwọ̀n yóò gbégbá orókè gege bí òfin ẹ̀ sọ.

‘They were so confident of having more supporters, therefore, victory would be theirs as the constitution says.’

Jẹ̀nẹ̀rà: Ìgbàgbé ló ẹ̀ wọ̀n.

‘They were so ignorant.’

Kábíyèsí: ...ìgbàgbé nàá ló ẹ̀gbẹ̀ Oníyọ̀ tí kò fi mọ̀ pé báwọ̀n kan ti n bẹ̀ lábẹ̀ òfin làwọ̀n mìíràn wà lókè òfin.

‘...it was ignorance that did not make the opposition party realise that as some are under the law so are some above the law.’

The playwright vividly describes the ugly turn the Nigerian political system has taken in recent time. Free and fair elections that are devoid of rigging, hooliganism, hired thuggery, killings etc. are rarely conducted. People’s votes do not count as is evident in Kábíyèsí’s and Jẹ̀nẹ̀rà’s statements above. These people represent the upper class in the society who use their positions to continually oppress the masses. The pivot of the capitalist system is the persistence and dichotomy between the rulers and the ruled; between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Some traditional leaders that are supposed to defend the interest of their subjects, are involved in rigging elections in their domains. They collaborate with the politicians, electoral officers and security agents to steal people’s votes. Hence, the result has always been thieves and rogues occupying exalted positions in Nigeria.

In the text, while the governor is appreciating roles played during the election by some influential and prominent people in the state, he says (Àkàngbẹ̀, 2007:22):

Ta ni kò mọ̀ nínú Ẹgbẹ̀ Onírú pe àtiwọ̀lé wa kò

şeyin Kábíyèsí Ọba Amáyégún, Jẹnẹrà ọgá ológun,
Abárọtan Koşofẹ tí şe ọga ọlọpáá àti Arije Alápapín,
ọgá àgbà igbimọ olùşètò idibò.

‘Who does not know in our party that our victory
would not have been possible if not for the involvement
of His Majesty, King Amáyégún, the Army General,
Abárọtan Koşofẹ, who is a commissioner of police and
Arije Alápapín, the Electoral Commission chairman?’

The writer identifies the accomplices in election rigging as powerful people in the society who see themselves as being above the law of the country. Those identified are traditional rulers, security agents (army and the police) and electoral commission officers. The names given to these characters suggest their roles as dubious government officials. ‘Abárọtan Kòşofẹ’, name of the police boss signifies lies and bribery. ‘Arije Alápapín’ also connotes bribery and sharing. According to the playwright, election rigging would not have been possible if it were not for the support of these people. At the end of elections, these people are compensated with juicy contracts and appointments. Most times, the contracts are either done half way or not at all. For instance, in awarding contracts to his associates, governor Kòrólárí declares (Àkàngbé, 2007:22-23):

Kábíyèsí Amáyégún ni yòò fọwọ mú gbogbo kọngilá
to jẹmọ ilé kíkọ pátá jákẹjádò ilẹ wa, tí ó fi mọ ilé-ìwé
Yunifásítí méjì tí a fẹ kọ, ilé-işẹ lóríşiríşì, ilé-ìtura, àti
bẹẹ bẹẹ lọ (pp. 22-23).

‘His majesty, Amáyégún will handle all building contracts
including two proposed universities, companies, hotels, etc.’

Similar contracts are awarded to other collaborators like the army chief, the police boss and the electoral commission chairman. In order to avert military incursion in their democratic arrangement, an extra assignment is given to General Àlàbí Alápamọpamọ to caution and monitor his boys very well. The governor promises to be ‘settling’ them every month and promises to increase their salaries. This is the representation of the Nigerian political system where some traditional rulers have become contractors. Government appointments are given to their children and families, forgetting the downtrodden people in their domains. One wonders how such traditional rulers will be bold to tell the politicians that the people they are governing are suffering. In a capitalist economy like Nigeria, people in the lower class are under the exploitation and oppression of the people in the upper class. The writer equally brings to the fore the strategies employed by the Nigerian political leaders in the present political dispensation to checkmate the military in taking power from them as was being done in the past. Part of such strategies is by increasing their salaries and allowances, upgrading the infrastructures in the barracks, giving out car loans at affordable rates and so on.

Having succeeded in sharing the state's resources and wealth among the ruling class and their cohorts, the proletariats such as the artisans, peasant farmers, teachers, students, etc. are left in abject poverty and suffering. In the text, governor Kòrólári connives with the bank manager to divert a sum of 2.5 billion naira meant for the procurement of fertilizer for the farmers to his personal account. This money is used to celebrate his grandfather's death, who had died thirty-two years before. Governor Kòrólári, while discussing the burial arrangements with his wife, Fóláwẹ̀wọ̀, says (Àkàngbẹ̀, 2007:28-29):

Góminà: ...ináwó tí a bá fì bílìyọ̀nù naira ẹ̀, aráyé yóò pòkíkí ẹ̀.

'...a ceremony that two billion is expended on will be the talk of the town.'

Fóláwẹ̀wọ̀: Ó di dandan. Bí kò bá tilẹ̀ wá kájú ẹ̀ tán pátápátá, owo oṣù àwọ̀n tíṣà ni yóò faragbá iyókù...

'Very sure. Even if it is not enough, teachers' salaries will take care of the rest...'

It is generally believed that the crops of Nigerian leaders are insensitive to the plight of the people. Nigeria's resources are lavished on frivolities like partying, clothing, buying houses, acquiring private jets and the likes, which ordinarily can not be done with their hard earned money, thereby neglecting the masses. Money that is expected to boost agriculture is diverted to individual purses. That is why in Nigeria today, technological advancement in the agricultural sector has remained a mirage. Of late, it was widely reported in most Nigerian Newspapers that about five hundred billion naira (N500b) realised from SURE-P (Subsidy Re-investment and Empowerment Programme) had suddenly disappeared (*THE NATION*, 2013a). This is a programme Nigerians were coerced to accept despite their resistance that culminated in protests and strikes in January, 2012. It was also reported that Excess Crude Funds of five billion dollars (\$5b) was missing from the nation's Excess Crude Account (*THE NATION*, Monday 18, November, 2013). These scenarios are just a few out of many atrocities being committed by Nigerian leaders. In most States of the Country, delay in the payment of teachers' salary has been a recurring phenomenon. Teachers are treated as outcasts or non-entities, even when other civil servants are paid, teachers' salary could be delayed to whenever it is convenient for the leaders.

Moreover, the writer does not seem to exempt religious leaders from the conspiracy against the suffering masses. At the remembrance ceremony of governor's grandfather, prominent people in the society are in attendance including Reverend Ọ̀bádáyà Mobọ̀lọ̀rundúró Owóníkókó, King Adékúnlé Báyéwùmí Afowóşefújà, General Àlábí Alápapọ̀pamọ̀, Dr. Babalejẹ Àjojẹ (bank manager), commissioners, etc. Their names portray them as oppressors and those at the upper class in a capitalist society like Nigeria. Earlier, governor Kòrólári had instructed his aides to arrange school girls for his important guests. Each of the guests is assigned a girl in the governor's guest house. In their conversation, the Reverend narrates his experience with the girl assigned to him saying (Àkàngbẹ̀, 2007:104-105):

Àlúfáà: Nìgbà tí àwá sù wà ní ọ̀dọ̀ ní nnkan bí ọ̀gbọ̀n
ọ̀dún sẹ̀yìn, ominú yòò máa kọ wa ni láti súnmọ
ọ̀mọ̀bìnrin ọ̀dún méjìdínlógún, torí a ó máa s̄iyéméjì
bóyá ó ti bàlágà tàbí kò tìi bàlágà. Ayé ìgbà yẹn niyẹn.
Àmọ lode òní, Ọba oníṣe iyanu ti gbé titun dé, àwọ̀n
ọ̀mọ ọ̀dún méjìlá sókè díẹ̀ tí a fojú sí pé wọ̀n kéré ni
ìsekúṣe wọ̀n pojù.

Reverend: 'When we were younger some thirty years back, we
used to be scared of having sexual intercourse with
a girl of about eighteen years, because the thought
was whether she was matured or not. That was then.
But today, a wonderful God has brought a new thing.
Girls of twelve years and a little bit above are more
promiscuous.'

In Nigeria today, there are cases of so-called men of God that are accused of adultery, raping, duping people, using human beings for money rituals and so on. One wonders if this type of cleric (pastor or imam) could be called a man of God. Reverend Owónikókó exemplifies some clerics who wine and dine with corrupt politicians. This makes it difficult for them to preach the truth in their sermons on issues relating to politics or other social vices in the country. Most of them are 'settled' by these corrupt politicians by awarding contracts or giving out cash. As a result, their preaching is not focused on the excesses of the political class, rather it is always admonishing the congregation that is comprised of the poor to continue to persevere, endure and be tolerant.

As the play progresses, two young students, Sọlá and Lọlá (p. 68) are depressed and confused about the situation of things in their state, Ayégún, thus resigning to fate (Àkàngbé, 2007:68):

Sọlá: Ìgbàgbọ mi ni pé ọjọ ọla n bọ wá dára.
Bí òní tilẹ korò, adùn n bọ lona pelú orin iṣegun.

'My belief is that tomorrow will be better.
Even if there is bitterness today, sweetness is on
the way with a victory song.'

Lọlá: O kò parọ. Ìgbàgbó tẹmi náà ni pé kí á dúró de
Olúwa, kí á s̄i tújúká, yòò s̄i mú wa ní àyà le, mo
ní dúró de Olúwa.

'You are correct. My own belief too is for us to
wait on the Lord, and be of good courage, He shall
strengthen our hearts, I say, wait on the Lord.'

Karl Marx and his followers do not subscribe to resigning to fate when confronted with oppression; rather steps to address oppression are imperative. In our opinion, such resignation to fate is counterproductive. Youths are believed to be the future of any nation, thus if mismanagement of any nation's resources by the present leaders is not challenged today by the youth, then the future of such nation is not guaranteed.

However, the writer is not telling the youth to be docile on issues that affect their future; rather he is charging them not to keep mute on matters that concern them. The choice of the biblical allusion (Psalm 27:14) in the excerpt is deliberate. It is pointing to the havoc religion might cause if excesses of corrupt leaders are not checked. For Marx, the masses should not see religion or science as a means of freedom from exploitation rather; they should rise to fight for their freedom. Abrahamson (1990:58) cited in Adéṣun (2007:504) notes that:

So long as the means of production are owned by one group, there is oppression and estrangement. Recognise its true source. Don't blame it on the stars, and don't look to religion or to science for answers. And when you recognise the true source of your estrangement, act.

This assertion is justified when the play ends with the aggrieved people, comprising of students, women, artisans, farmers and various groups, appearing at the venue of the governor's grandfather's remembrance ceremony and singing revolutionary songs. With them are guns, machetes, charms, and other dangerous weapons. The oppressors are over-powered and killed.

Remarks and Conclusion

This study has examined Marxist ideology and revolution in Adéníyí Àkàngbé's play text, *Ayégún*. It investigated roles of political leaders in the act of governance in Nigeria as depicted in the text, using Karl Marx's theory as a framework. The study delved into the persistent dichotomy between the rulers and the ruled; between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. It established that the ulterior motive of these leaders is to enrich themselves with the common wealth of the people, thereby leaving the people they are governing in perpetual agony and suffering. The reason corruption has become pervasive and endemic in Nigeria is because no serious actions are taken against it. No country can attain greatness or perhaps, even survive, if corruption and criminality have become the order of the day in state polity. Also, it should be the responsibility of the people to checkmate the excesses of the insensitive leaders rather than resulting to silence on the issues that affect their well-being. It has been established in the text that both the political, traditional and religious leaders are enemies of the masses. They collaborate in sharing the wealth that belongs to the generality of the people, thereby leaving the poor in perpetual suffering. Going by the Marxist ideology, these oppressors will never think of better life for the oppressed. Karl Marx realised that there is a tendency for oppression from the ruling class that possesses both economic and political powers over the masses; hence, he suggested that the only appropriate strategy for development is revolution. It is the responsibility of the people to liberate themselves from the oppressors. They should not look up to religion for a

solution. In this study, therefore, the playwright concluded the story on the note that the masses in the State of Ayégún take their destiny in their hands by confronting and killing their tormentors.

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Spider-Web Lattice vs. Iceberg Theory: Which One Holds Sway over in Cultural Translation?

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Abstract

Translation of culture and cultural translation have been proportionately given some agitations among translators to deal with. This is owing to the reason that culture is an indispensable part in translation. Having treated cultural translation, the translator must take the mediatory position between source and target language in order to decipher the points of similarities and differences across cultures (Akbari & Shahnazari, 2014). Of many theories and models proposed, the translator's challenge is to opt for the right theories and cultural models to be applied in cultural translation so as to produce a faithful translation. The aim of the present study is to juxtapose two models and theories in culture namely Iceberg Theory and Spider-Web Lattice of HomoKult to see which one would be more salutary to be operated in cultural translation and to behold which of them would satiate the needs of the target audience.

Keywords: Translation of Culture, Cultural Translation, Iceberg Theory, Spider-Web Lattice of HomoKult.

1. Introduction

1.1. Culture and Translation (The Two Must-do Constituents)

Culture is an indispensable section of people's lives. Everyone is born with peculiar and archetypical culture. Therefore, there exist infinite subcultures constituting an exhaustive or mother culture in one society. In this vein, connecting cultures with one another requires devising one robust instrument to get them familiarized thoroughly. Of many instruments, translation and interpretation have gained their reputation compared with other studies in order to the fact that they work directly upon people's lives and standard of living. Generally, translation is regarded as the multidisciplinary (Munday 2012, p.25) field in which concentration is placed on the ranges of subject areas and is not exclusively pertained to one special field.

Alfred Louis Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) define culture as:

Patterns, explicit and implicit of and for behavior required and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached value. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as a product of action, on the other hand, as conditioning elements of future action (p.181).

As implied, the word 'transmit' requires much heed attention in this quotation since it rightly works upon the transfer of stage-a dynamic process of reconfiguration in the target language of set of source language semantic and structural components (Hatim & Munday, 200, p.46)-proposed by Nida (1969, p.33). How would be possible to do so? Moreover, how is it possible to transfer symbols, patterns either explicitly or implicitly, and behaviors into the target and receptive culture so that people can be familiarized with one another and wholly build up the stable and durable frameworks of cultures in their minds? Of many queries posed, these two questions often preoccupy the mind of audience. However, in this connection, one agent or in better sense, one player acts out as the powerful reconciliator in this circumstance.

Let us face it, a translator or an interpreter, as the mediator (Akbari & Shahnazari, 2014, p.6) is responsible for linking cultures, concepts, symbols, patterns, and values of one society to the receptive and target culture in order to constitutionalize and institutionalize the real and exact translation of source culture. Taft (1981, p.53) argues on cultural mediator as:

The person who facilitates communication, understandings, and actions between persons or groups who differ with respect to a language and culture. The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions, and expectations of each cultural group to the other that is by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures. Thus, a mediator must be to a certain extent bi-cultural.

Needless to say, cultures are equipped with some peculiar and special items which cannot be found in other cultures. It signifies that they are exclusively pertained to special regions in this regard. How can the translator or interpreter render such items into the target culture in order to make them more palpable for the target audience? In addition, how can the interpreter prepare the pliable situation of such cultural items in his/her interpretation? Do

some new and innovative ways exist to reconcile cultures and then amalgamate them with one another? Does one new model of translation exist in culture to prepare the ground for this action? To what extent can the translator or interpreter approximate and connect a Source Culture (SC) to a Target Culture (TC)? To verify these questions, Pym (2014, p.139) argues that the prime cause of cultural translation and translation of culture might be due to movement of 'people' as 'subjects' rather than movement of the 'texts' as 'objects'.

To learn more about cultural studies and cultural translation, this article seeks to inspect one of the theories of cultures named 'Iceberg Theory' proposed by Edward. T. Hall in 1990. In addition, this article is pining for checking off the intended theory in cultural translation to see whether Iceberg Theory saturates the real and exact needs of the translator/interpreter or whether the translator should resort to the other theories or models in order to render a piece of text indelibly so as to meet the real criteria of the target audience in this direction. On the flipside, the present study is going to propose one peculiar scheme in cultural translation or translation of culture known as Spider-Web Lattice (SWL) through the lens of the latest model of cultural translation as HomoKult (Capital K) in order to substantiate the homogeneity and interconnectivity of cultures via the intended scheme in cultural translation. This study opens up the new window upon the futurity of cultural studies and cultural translation via Spider-Web Lattice of HomoKult model to approximate source audience to the target audience owing to the fact that people can easily understand and perceive other cultures through the act of proper and practical cultural translation in this regard.

2. Literature Reviewed

2.1. General Definition of Culture

Generally, people ascertain the real and exact meaning of culture and also they know to which culture they belong. It denotes the fact that culture covers the vast range of topics. Before going on to the main and primary definition of 'culture', it is better to inspect the etymology of this term. Culture emanates from the Latin term as 'Cultus', 'Cultivation', and 'Colore' (Katan 1999, p.17). Biologically speaking, the intended term alludes to absorption of elements in the environment. This is also true for anthropology. People in one society, so to speak, can absorb various elements yet unaware from their surrounding environments. In this direction, the term 'absorption' would be regarded as a sine non qua as it shows the sense of assimilation yet inevitably of something by someone.

Gail Robinson (1988, pp.7-13) categorizes diverse definitions of 'culture' into two rudimental levels namely: (1) External Level and (2) Internal Level. External Level besieges behaviors such as language, gestures, customs, habits and products as literature, folklore, art, music, and artifacts. On the other side of the coin, there exists Internal Level referring to ideas such as beliefs, values, and institutions.

Some of the authors attributes culture to computer programming since it can expounds habitual patterns of thought (Katan, 1999, p.20). To do so, Geert Hofstede (1991, p.5) argues,

“Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the member of one group or category of people from another..... Using the analogy of the way computers are programmed....we will call such patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting mental programs, or..... software of the mind.”

Ned Seeley (1984, p.13) delineates culture as “*I know of no way to better ensure having nothing productive happen than for a language department to begin its approach to culture by theoretical concerns for defining the term*”. Tellingly, culture must be clarified both theoretically and practically since theoretical facets of culture cause practical facets to be created. However, there does not exist a stable and fix indenture amongst anthropologist to define and depict 'culture' absolutely (Asher, 1994, p.2001). Therefore, preparing the ground for absolute definition of culture would be of high significance.

2.2. Models of Culture

2.2.1. Trompenaars' Layer

Fons Trompenaars (1993, pp.22-23) interprets culture in three layers namely: (1) the outer layer (e.g. artifacts and products), (2) the middle layer (e.g. norms and values), and (3) the core (e.g. basic assumptions). The outer layer of this model of culture is the visible one called explicit. The second layer (middle one) differentiates among norms, values, behaviors, and idiosyncrasies in the society. And eventually, the last and the inner layer (core) acts as the primary and vital layer in this direction. This layer is called implicit one since it is completely invisible in society covering assumption toward something. Trompenaars calls this layer as the 'heart of culture' which in essence is completely unattainable.

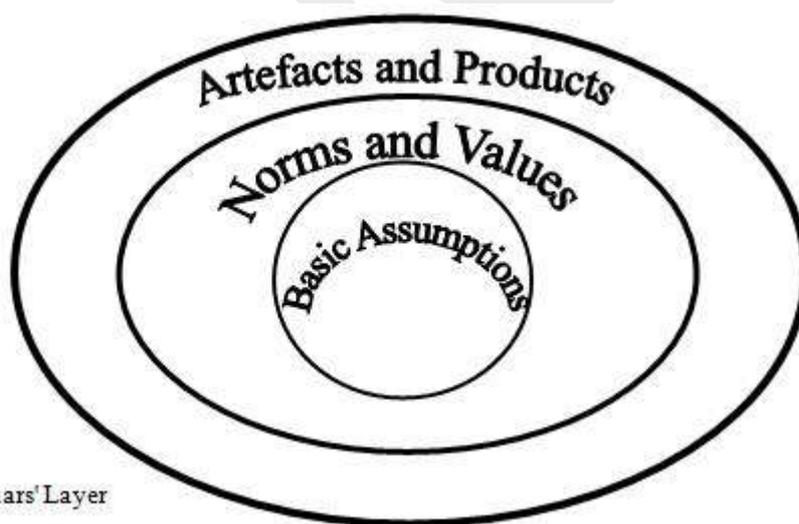


Fig.1: Trompenaars' Layer

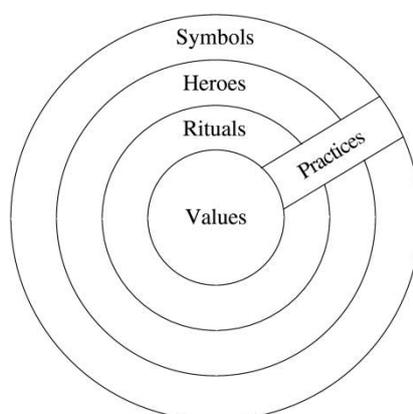
2.2.2. Hofstede's Onion

Tromenaars (1993, p.xi) quotes about Hofstede in which:

Thanks also to Geert Hofstede who introduced me to the subject of intercultural management. We do not always agree, but he has made a major contribution to the field, and was responsible for opening management's eyes to the importance of the subjects.

De novo, Hofstede delineates culture as 'skin of the onion' (1991, p.7) as onion is made of some layers viz. surface and deep layers. These two layers are contributed to 'practice' and 'value' of culture of which the former covers norms, values, and products compared with Trompenaars' explicit layer and the latter alludes to originality of culture compared with Trompenaars' implicit or core layer.

Fig.2: Hofstede's Onion



2.2.3. Cognitive Culture

Emergence of new and different perceptions of culture prepares the situation to peruse culture as a set of cognitive system. In this respect, culture would be considered not as the 'pattern of life' but as the 'pattern of mind'. Ward Goodenough (1963, p.167) expresses,

“A society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believes in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its member. Culture is not the material phenomenon; it does not consist of thing, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.”

Keesing (1974) upholds that cultures and languages epistemologically correspond to the same sphere in that both of them are visible products of abstract ideational codes within a community. Henceforth, the linguistic analysis might open a crevice to those concealed ideational codes governing the individuals' behavior in a society. For instance, Componential Analysis (CA) can divulge underlying thoughts behind the words. So, once the translator succeeds in reaching the rationale behind the words; the conglomeration of source language to the target one would be reachable.

2.2.4. Iceberg Theory

The Iceberg Theory has long been operated to describe cultures. The intended theory came to be seen through the work of Hall in 1950s. This theory expounds that the most important parts of culture are invisible and concealed and what can be seen is as the catch phrase 'just the tip of the iceberg' such as music, art, food and drink, greetings, dress, and rituals (Katan, 1999, p.29). Hall is regarded as the most influential vanguard in anthropology and a highly prosperous business consultant, and skillful writer. Perhaps, he is the first person finding the way to link the meaning in language to the meaning in culture. In 1995, the most

novel amelioration of Iceberg theory was put forwarded by Brake et al. (1995, pp.34-39) in that

“Laws, customs, rituals, gestures, ways of dressing, food and drink and method of greeting, and saying goodbye . . . These are all part of culture, but they are just the tip of the cultural iceberg. The most powerful elements of culture are those that lie beneath the surface of everyday interaction. We call these values orientation. Value orientations are preferences for certain outcomes over there.”

The terms 'value orientation' in Iceberg Theory covers three facts of culture as action, communication, and environment. In discussion section, this paper seeks to inspect all the ins and outs whether the intended theory would be apropos in translation of culture and cultural translation and to see to what extent it would be prosperous upon conveying the cultural terms from source language (SL) to the target language (TL).

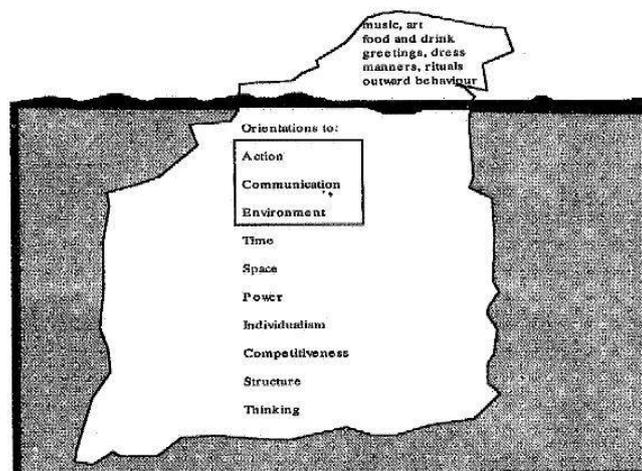


Fig.3: Iceberg Theory

2.3. Theories of Culture in Translation Studies (TS)

2.3.1. Non-Substantive Translation of Culture

The notion of 'cultural translation' first came to be seen by the work of the Indian cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha. Cultural translation, in general, would be considered as the process without regarding source and target languages. Mostly, the main concentration is upon the process of translation rather than the product. However, some questions should be posed to clarify the very essence of cultural translation: (1) should the cultural translation keep and maintain the form of the source text altogether or should it be operated on the side of target language? (2) Should be cultural translation and translation of culture situated between source text and target text? And (3) what is the role of the translator in such situations? Bhabha (2004) adduces that cultural translation beleaguers 'a sense of new as an insurgent act of cultural translation', 'the borderline condition of cultural translation', 'the process of cultural translation, showing up the hybridity of any genealogical or systematic filiations', and 'cultural translation, hybrid side of meaning'. Bhabha takes the notion of

untranslatability found in Walter Benjamin's 'The Task of the Translator' (1923/1977, p.61) dusting off that 'translations themselves are untranslatable'. However, Bhabha takes this notion due to corroborating 'translation resistance', 'a negation of complete integration', and 'a will to survive' (Pym, 2014, p.140). In this connection, Bhabha (1994/2004) maintains that translation theorization has been vested 'a will to survive' in newly and fresh context in that

“If hybridity is heresy, then to blaspheme is to dream. To dream not of the past or present, nor the continuous present; it not the nostalgic dream of tradition, nor the Utopian dream of modern progress; it is the dream of translation as survival as Derrida translates the 'time' of Benjamin's concept of the after-life of translation, as *sur-vivre*, the act of living on borderline. Rushdie translates this into the migrant's dream of survival, an *initiatory* [sic]; an empowering condition of hybridity; an emergence that turns 'return' into reinscription or re-description; an iteration that is not belated, but ironic and insurgent (p.324).”

In Bhabha's reading, generally, there does not exist any special Source Text (ST), Target Text (TT), no resistance accomplishment (Pym, 2014). Tellingly, through the act of negating and repudiating of such reading, the aim and the goal of cultural translation would be considered as 'non-substantive' translation.

2.3.2. *Call for Transfer Theory in Cultural Translation*

Even-Zohar proposes 'transfer theory' to limn the heterogeneity and dynamicity of all systems and movements of 'textual models' from Source Language to the Target language. However, amongst various movements, translation is mere sort of such movements. Even-Zohar (1990) anatomizes all kinds of transfer in such a way as,

“Some people would take this as a proposal to liquidate translation studies. I think the implication is quite the opposite: through a larger context, it will become even clearer that 'translation' is not a marginal procedure of cultural systems. Secondly, the larger context will help us identify the really particular in translation. Thirdly, it will change our conception of the translated text in such a way that we may perhaps be liberated from certain postulated criteria. And fourthly, it may help us isolate what translational procedures consist of (p.74).”

As inferred, the term 'transfer' would not be treated in isolation rather it will be integrated into the relation of the host-receptive-system in order to yield modification. It is worth mentioning that, amongst the intended movements scrutinized within system, only some of the movements occur as translations so as to behold transfer and transformation as a sine qua non for cultural survival.

2.3.3. *HomoKult: A Gateway in Cultural Translation and Translation of Culture*

HomoKult was first proposed by Akbari and Shahnazari (2014) due to the fact that culture reconciliation and culture homogenization play a major role in Translation Studies to approximate Source Culture (SC) to the Target Culture (TC). HomaKult shows the homogeneity and reconciliation of culture especially in the field of translation studies and is regarded as the multidisciplinary field. HomaKult is made of two terms: (1) '*Homo*' is the prefix signifies 'one and the same' utilized fraudtly in Latin Language and (2) '*-Kult*' is the clipping form of the word as 'Die Kultur' in the German language. The reason behind opting such terms would be reconciliating and amalgamating the cultural patterns of two diverse

languages and then depicting culture homogenization in translation. The main and sole objective of HomoKult is to show and corroborate points of similarities in cultural translation and then to build up the stable and durable framework of culture paradigm which never existed in Translation Studies. Notable to say, HomoKult model of cultural translation pays much heed to the deep layer of culture in particular and language in general to peruse the points of similarities among cultures. In the circle of HomoKult, one agent or one player, so as to speak, plays as an indispensable part. Translator as a mediator (Akbari & Shahnazari, 2014, p.6) or in better sense as 'Sprachmittler' seeks earnestly to connect and reconcile both deep layer of language and surface one thoroughly in order to produce an eternal/indelible cultural translation. The ins and outs of the newly intended cultural model of translation will be explained in discussion section.

3. Discussion

3.1. HomoKult Opens up the Horizon in Cultural Translation

Before going on to the main study, HomoKult model should be clarified in details to see the main and major functions of the intended cultural model in Translation Studies. As expatiated before, HomoKult is made of two various terms to inspect and peruse the homogeneity of cultures in translation. Does culture homogenization really exist in translation? How would it be possible to transfer and identify the deep structure of translational items between Source Text and Target Text in order to produce the eternal translation? How can the translator act as the mediator or 'Sprachmittler' to convey translational and translatorial elements in the texts? HomoKult as the cultural model of translation pays much heed to both deep and surface structure of language. Tellingly, firstly; this model scrutinizes deep structure of language in accord with translational rules and then hankers after perusing the surface structure of the language. In general, this model states that differences are emerged from similarities since similarities and differences are somehow the same; however, one element of differences differs from the whole elements in this regard.

HomoKult as a translation model in general and as a cultural homogenization model in particular consists of four main subcategories namely: (1) Purposive Culture (PC), (2) Ameliorated Culture (AC), (3) Circulated Culture (CC), and (4) Diglossic Culture (DC) (Akbari & Shahnazari 2014, 1-13).

Purposive culture is the foundation of this model since it inspects 'norms, values, behaviors, creeds, perception, conception, and conventions' in one's society. The intended items constitute the basement of one's society. Akbari and Shahnazari (2014) define Purposive Culture as "any kind of rudimental culture scrutinized deeply in order to convey go togetherness and then amalgamates deep layer of culture to those of the others." For instance, the manners and ways of apologizing in different language proportionately shape the body of one's society since it works well with people's behaviors and creeds toward excusing. 'Excuse me' in English, 'EnchuldigenSie' in German, 'Scusi' in Italian, and 'Excusez-moi' in French all cover and besiege the same foundation-deep structure-of language. Therefore, transcreating the same deep structure along with various format of an item would be mandatory and is regarded as the sole and mere objective of Purposive Culture. In Spider-web lattice or

scheme, Purposive Culture is situated in the vertex of it due to the fact that PC shapes the deep structure of cultural translation.

Akbari and Shahnazari (2014) clarify Ameliorated Culture as “any sort of culture which works on the superficial layer of culture”. Ameliorated Culture as its identity demystified, substantiates the rate of cultural transferability in surface layer of language. It somehow acts as the role of decorator among other subcategories of HomoKult model of translation. AC investigates such terms as types of dancing, food, music, art, architecture, beverages, and so forth. For instance, ‘*Taglitelleai porcini*’ as an Italian dish is rendered in Persian, English, and German as ‘*Supe Qarch*’, ‘*Mushroom Stew*’, and ‘*Die Pilzuppe*’ respectively. The mentioned translations show that the decoration or the surface layer of language would be different yet the deep structure of the intended translation is the same. The ingredients of such dishes are the same; however, the manner of cooking or adding some more condiments are different. Generally, firstly, the translator as the mediator identifies and reconstructs the deep structure of a source item, and then he/she can decorate the surface structure of language through adding, omitting, or compensating the translational items. Worth mentioning, Ameliorated Culture is progressive in nature since it constitutes the superficial layer of translation and culture and this layer is prone to be changed through the time.

Peripherality and fleetingness of cultural elements in one's society would be regarded as Circulated culture in that it pays fully attention to the rate of progression of one element in the community to depict and delineate the temporal and spatial alternations in various fields such as technology, cutting edge devises, and products across cultures. How can a translator deal with these situations? How can she/he transfer the main essence of such cultural translational items in the target language? To clarify the main vantage point, so as to speak, notice to the term as ‘*iPad*’ and ‘*iPod*’. The best and appropriate equivalence of the intended terms in the Persian language is ‘*Rajanake Malesi*’. The appropriate Persian equivalent accords with firstly considering the deep structure of ‘*iPad*’ as Purposive Culture and secondly observing the technological environment in both languages (Source and Target). The other point in the Persian equivalent is the rate of delivery of the intended English term since it pays fully-fledged heed to the progression of this term in the receptive language; therefore, ‘*Rajanake Malesi*’ would be the best and relevant equivalent in this regard.

On the flipside, Diglossic Culture observes cultural translational items in both sides. One side refers to the High Culture in that it hankers after regarding the particular and special cohort of people such as professors, literati, elitist and statements. This group of people equips with particular and resplendent expressions and that is due to the fact that the run of the mill people would not understand them directly. On the other hand, Low Culture alludes to illiterates, countrymen, and young generation of people. It is important to accept such a truism that translation for these two cultures (either High or Low) differ greatly. Noticingly, translator as ‘*Sprachmittler*’ must consider and observe the role of decoding ability in his/her renderings. Decoding ability involves four main principles:

First: the capacity of children whose vocabulary and cultural experience are limited. Second: the double standard of capacity of new literates, who can decode oral message with facility but whose ability to decode written message is limited. Third: the capacity of average literate adult, who can handle both oral and written message with relative ease, and Fourth: the unusually

high capacity of specialists (doctors, theologians, philosophers, scientists, etc.) when they are decoding message within their own areas of specialization (Nida, 1964, pp.156-171).

Therefore, prior to the act of translating, the translator as the mediator should consider the addresser and the addressee of the target text. Naturally, the range of renderings differ greatly in accord with the type of the text and the genre of the target text such as medical, political, and economic texts.

To put high Culture into practice, the excerpts of Gerard Nolst Trenité is opted for to see the particularity of audience:

Sword and sward, retain and Britain
(Mind the latter how it's written).
Made has not the sound of bade,
Say-said, pay-paid, laid but plaid.

Now I surely will not plague you
With such words as vague and ague,
But be careful how you speak,
Say: gush, bush, steak, streak, break, bleak,

Previous, precious, fuchsia, via
Recipe, pipe, studding-sail, choir;
Woven, oven, how and low,
Script, receipt, shoe, poem, toe.

Say, expecting fraud and trickery:
Daughter, laughter and Terpsichore,
Branch, ranch, measles, topsails, aisles,
Missiles, similes, reviles.
Wholly, holly, signal, signing,
Same, examining, but mining,
Scholar, vicar, and cigar,
Solar, mica, war and far.

As implied, Trenité draws upon diverse maze of phonetic disorders in order to put out the virtuoso feat of composition, a mammoth catalog of the sleaziest irregularities in English version. Utilizing such alliterations and phonetic disorders are due to absorbing special and particular audience. Therefore, rendering these items in any language requires considering the taste and skill of people of any language altogether and using directional equivalents to transfer the main taste and message of the source language is of high significance. Directional equivalence or one-to-two correspondence besieges various possible equivalents in the target language yet directionally. In this respect, the translator cannot reverse the intended equivalent into the source language due to uni-directionality of equivalents. Therefore, A in the Source language has the corresponding equivalents as B, C, and D into the Target language.

To corroborate the achievability and viability of Low Culture in translation studies, Giacomo Leopardi's opus (*L'infinito*) is chosen to behold the sense of Natural equivalence or one-to-one correspondence in English translation:

Sempre caro mi fu quest'ermocolle,
E questasiepe, che da tanta parte
Dell'ultimoorizzonte il guardoesclude.
Ma sedendo e mirando, interminati
Spazi di là da quella, e sovrumani
Silenzi, e profondissimaquiete
Io nelpensier mi fingo; ove per poco
Il cor non sispaura. E come il vento
Odostormirtraquestepiante, io quello
Infinitosilenzio a questa voce
Vo comparando: e mi sovvien'eterno,
E le mortestagioni, e la presente
E viva, e il suon di lei. Cositraquesta
Immensitas'annega il pensiermio:
E il naufragar m'è dolce in questo mare.

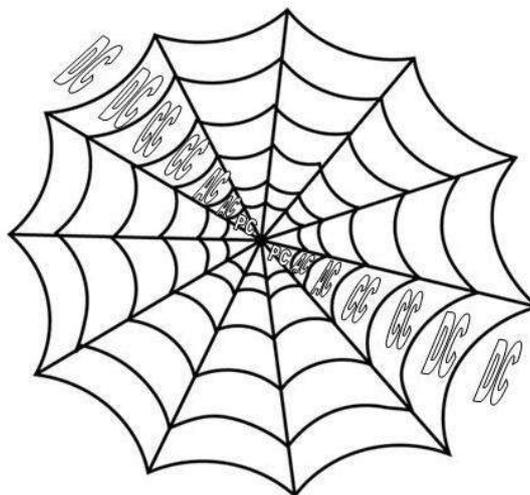
The subsequent English translation made by Mark Towler (1998) of the intended poem would be as follow:

Always dear to me was this lonely hill,
And this hedge, which from me so great a part
Of the farthest horizon excludes the gaze.
But as I sit and watch, I invent in my mind
endless spaces beyond, and superhuman
silences, and profoundest quiet;
wherefore my heart
almost loses itself in fear. And as I hear the wind
rustle through these plants, I compare
that infinite silence to this voice:
and I recall to mind eternity,
And the dead seasons, and the one present
And alive, and the sound of it. So in this
Immensity my thinking drowns:
And to shipwreck is sweet for me in this sea.

Noticingly, Mark Towler, the translator, particularly considers the addressee of this Italian and likewise English translation and utilizes Natural equivalence throughout the Italian poem. One-to-one correspondence refers to bi-directionality of the equivalents in both Source language and Target Language. Understanding and perceiving natural equivalence in translation is the easiest way to convey the main essence of the source text. However, the mentioned equivalence would not be considered as the sole and mere aim of translation in all situations. Whether the audience is willing to grasp the main gist of the source language, the translator as Sprachmittler adheres to natural equivalence to convey the superficial yet unusual sense of the source text.

3.2. Spider-Web-Lattice (SWL) of HomoKult Model of Translation

As expressed, the sole purpose of HomoKult model of cultural translation is to put entire concentration on homogenization of source culture to that of the target one. It purports that through deep structure of both Source and Target language, the translator as the robust mediator is able to reconstruct the surface structure of language. Deep structure is somehow the clearance to surface language. To be true, translation as the intermediacy between deep/surface or Source/target aims at simulating source culture into the target one so as to convince the audience upon the workability and speakability of cultural homogenization in practical translation. To put this notion into practice, HomoKult model of cultural translation sees culture as the spider web lattice. The reason behind opting such scheme is that all cultures from the very beginning are feeding from the mother culture or an exhaustive culture in this vein. As noticed, web of spider connects all the webs to one resource which is the center of web. Significantly, should one of web of spider cut out from the others for whatever purpose, this causes to threat the identity of other webs or to destroy others. Culture in accord with HomoKult model of cultural translation acts like this since cultural translation is the sole agent of one nation to show and depict the potentials of one's culture. For any purpose, if cultural items in the source language be falsified in the target language, so to speak, it makes target translation the mere superficial and no one can legitimately accept the originality and eternity of that translation. So far so good, the rate of absorbing audience either in source or target language would be lessened to a high degree. Therefore, for the first step, the translator should consider the center-hub-of web of spider completely in order to the fact that he/she must simulate the similar situation in the target language due to satiating the real need of the audience.



Notes:

PC: Purposive Culture

AC: Ameliorated Culture

CC: Circulated Culture

DC: Diglossic Culture

Fig.4: Spider-Web Lattice of HomoKult Model

As seen, the hub of the web would be the foundation of the web constituting Purposive Culture since it pays fully-grown attention to the deep structure of cultural items in translation. It is like the powerful and enriched resource feeding other webs to construct the surface of the culture in both Source and Target Language. As advanced, Purposive Culture turns out feeding Ameliorated Culture in that it inspects the surface of culture in translation. The nexus between Ameliorated Culture to that of Purposive one is mutually exclusive and well-connected. Progressivity of Ameliorated Culture causes translation to be inferred as beautiful and original translation since the translator first constitutes and institutionalizes Purposive Culture completely and then prepares the ground for Ameliorated Culture to be considered as the decoration of cultural translation in this regard. Should the translator observe such cultural items more fully-fledged in practical translation, then it makes the intended rendering more stable and durable through the time without any falsifications. Circulated Culture is the enhancement and development of Ameliorated Culture since the former is a little bit more exhaustive in nature. It covers the vast range of field such as technology, products, values, and cultural traits from one place to another. Noticingly, Circulated culture is the exhaustive and fully-grown one observing Purposive and Ameliorated culture simultaneously. In this situation, the task of the translator is somehow drudgery due to lacking some pieces of information in technical fields. However, he/she can simulate the approximate situation in the target language to satisfy the exact needs of the audience. Examples to clarify this sort of culture would be expounded in next section. And eventually, Diglossic Culture (HC and LC) constitutes the last web of this spider lattice to show diverse techniques of translation either naturally or directionally to corroborate either deeply or superficially. HC is well-equipped to directional equivalence since first the translator should depict and simulate the similar situation in the target language, then, she/he must assess the rate of progressivity of cultural translational items into the target language, and on the flipside, he/she should regard the role of decoding ability in translation in order to the fact that the mere target and aim of DC is to meet the needs of the audience upon the feasibility and practicality of the intended translation. Importantly, the translator at this stage can claim his/her true mediation between Source and Target Culture since to achieve this level in practical cultural translation requires rehabilitating PC, AC, and CC out and out so as to produce and generate eternal, original, and silver-tongue rendering.

3.3. Spider-web Lattice vs. Iceberg Theory in Cultural Translation: Which one Yields the Persuasive Rendering?

In translation studies, translator requires considering every facet of practical translation. It means that the translator should regard not only the hidden-concealed-structure but surface level of language to express and delineate every aspect of language through the lens of translation either in Source language or Target one. However, prior to the act of translating, he/she must take some models and theories into account. The translator has to rely upon some theories and models which put him/her forward to satiate the real and sheer needs of the audience or reader, since the reader is the sole criteria in judging translation goodness. Among various theories and models, the present study hankers after juxtaposing two of them viz. Spider-web Lattice (SWL) and Iceberg Theory to see which of them is more beneficial and appropriate for a translator to rely upon in cultural translation. As indicated earlier, every translation is made of deep and surface structure to show the real sense of the intended original text. Let's face it, which of these schemes actually is more fully-grown utilizable in

cultural translation? Which one can depict deep and surface structure of the original text in practical cultural translation? And which of these can be honored by the audience in general and reader in particular? Both Spider-web Lattice and Iceberg Theory orient culture and language to a fuzzy area. However which one is fuzzier? These are some queries left answered but this study seeks to answer them altogether and seeks to opt for the best and appropriate scheme in cultural translation.

As mentioned, every good and pure translation is profoundly institutionalized in the deep layer of language since it contains some vital and important information correspondingly transferred into the target language. However, the translator should consider both source language and target one altogether and see translation through the prism of bi-polarism. To evince the real identity of cultural translation, Spider-Web Lattice and Iceberg Theory are juxtaposed to see which of them is more appropriate to be operated in cultural translation.

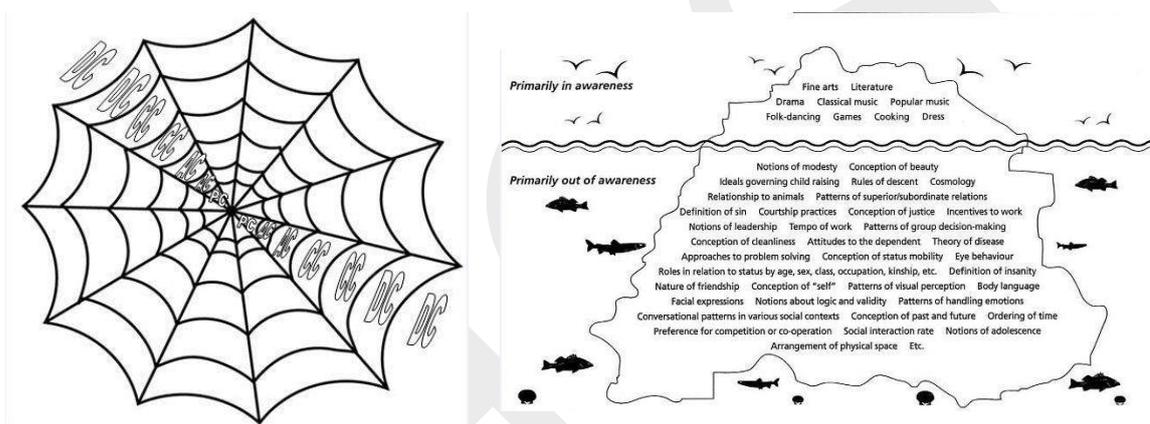


Fig.5: SWL and Iceberg Theory

As observed, Iceberg Theory is made of two parts namely: (1) 'awareness part' that is directly observable and (2) 'out of awareness part' which directly invisible. Likewise, Spider-web Lattice consists of PC, AC, CC, and DC to show deep and surface structure of culture in various fields. Perhaps, the big difference is upon the way of treating deep structure by these two schemes. Iceberg Theory of culture mostly pays attention to the awareness or visible part of culture such as dress, literature, popular music, cooking, dancing, and games. To what extend can the translator convey the real and concealed essence of the intended items in cultural translation? To what extent can the renderer approximate to the deep layer of language in Iceberg Theory? Does any deep structure exist in Iceberg Theory? To answer these queries, notice to the word of 'Kimono', as an example, in Japan. Should the translator be willing to render such item into the target language, he/she should adhere to natural translation or one-to-one correspondent translation which is somehow unacceptable in cultural translation and modern translation. This is due to the fact that natural translation causes cultural translation to be regarded as superficial one and consequently makes the audience not be fully-fledged inferred by the real content of the source texts. The audience or the reader is willing to read the smooth yet faithful translation so as to understand the main and hidden gist of the source text. Nevertheless, relying upon Iceberg Theory in cultural translation would not be a good choice for the translator procuring an eternal rendering in this regard. On the other hand, the exact translation of the intended term (Kimono) in accord with Spider Web Lattice

(SWL) is completely different since SWL considers first the exact deep structure of the intended item. Should the translator seek to simulate such item into the Persian language, he/she exploits the similar and deep term as '*Rasuxi*' worn by the people in the north of Iran. In this situation, the renderer depicts the profundity-depth-of this term into the target language and correspondingly the target reader easily can delineate the real essence of this term in his/her language. Importantly, the translator utilizes both natural and directional translation into the TL. More often than not, cultural translation requires paying much heed to the potential of equivalents adopted by the translator. The renderer puts the audience and reader either in clear and shine outcome or into the passive and murky area. As another example, the name of food would be another case in cultural translation. De novo, convergent similarity (Chesterman 2006) would be an appropriate case in Iceberg Theory since it takes notice to the faithful yet superficial translation into the target language. Clearly, one cannot expect on translation's persuasiveness and dulcetness made in accord with Iceberg Theory. However, besides adopting purposive culture, SWL conjectures Diglossic Culture in this circumstance as it inspects the role of decoding ability in final and definitive translation. As beheld, the final and sheer aim of cultural translation or translation in general is to quench readers' needs and criteria. Source-Target Amalgamation and Deep-Surface Reconciliation in language play an active and main axis in SWL. As another point, how would it be possible for the translator to render 'out of awareness part' in Iceberg Theory? This invisible part cannot directly convince the reader and audience upon its feasibility and workability into the target language. Noticingly, the audience is willing to peruse and inspect such cultural translation transferring denotatively and connotatively at the same time. It signifies the fact that both deep and surface structures of language in translation have to be conveyed directly and simultaneously into the target language. For instance, '*martes y 13*' in the Spanish language traces the unlucky day in some varieties. If the translator as the mediator seeks to find the relevant equivalent of the intended term in accord with Iceberg Theory, he/she must adhere to the one-to-one correspondence or faithful translation into the target language and renders such terms as '*Tuesday 13th*'. In this vein, the translator cannot expect the reader to understand the real and exact sense of the intended translation in another language since he/she just transfers the superficial content of that phrase. As previously noted, the sheer target of translation is to meet the needs of the audience and consider the role of decoding ability as a whole. However, should the renderer translate such phrase in accord with SWL, he/she first regards the deep layer of that phrase and its relatedness to the norm and value of one's society. Number thirteen in most of the countries such as Iran, and Spain is considered as the ominous or unlucky number causing bad and deplorable outcomes. How can the translator render such term in the target language containing both denotation and connotation meaning? Purposive Culture suggests that the intended term contains unlucky and ominous connotation in the source language. Notice that the addressee of this phrase would be English-speaking countries. In this respect, the translator renders '*martes y 13*' as '*Friday the 13th*'. This is due to the fact that '*Friday*' in English-speaking countries contain negative connotation. This translation is also true in Persian-speaking countries as the term '*Jome'e Nahs*' conveying negative connotation. The task of the translator in this condition is to find and decipher the points of similarities between two unrelated languages (Spanish and English) and then amalgamates the deep layer of language to the surface one in order to produce the homogenized cultural translation in accord with Purposive, Ameliorated, Circulated, and Diglossic Cultures.

Last but not least, durability and stability of cultural translation are other important facets in translation studies. Prominently, all renderers are seeking to achieve the eternal and imperishable translation. Translation or translation of culture is the mirror of culture itself. Tellingly, producing and procuring the genuine/original translation is the utmost goal in this field. Conjecture, translation made by the Iceberg Theory and consequently by SWL into the target language, which one is more durable in nature? This might be considered as a joke, but, what will happen if the 'awareness part' of Iceberg Theory is melted through the time? If the 'awareness part' is attributing to cultural translation and translation of culture, the final outcome-rendering will be shattered and no one can legitimately rely on translation's feasibility and speakability in cultural translation diachronically. Therefore, prior to the act of rendering, the translator as a powerful mediator should regard the speed of translation's delivery across cultures and secondly consider the type of the audience being addressed-decoding ability-in this direction. For instance, '*Canocchie*'-Italian dish-would be rendered first through the lens of Purposive Culture as 'Shrimp', then it would be substituted by the Ameliorated Culture as '*Mantis Shrimp*' to trace the whole picture of the intended dish in English version. To be true, in the Persian language, first the renderer adopted the mediatory position and significantly adheres to the term as '*Meygu*' through PC and appropriately selects the directional equivalent as '*Meyguye Mantis*' in the target language. Henceforth, the audience in such circumstance can perceive the very nature of the intended translation as opposed to '*Canocchie*'-borrowed-itself adopted in the TL. Should the renderer be willing to translate in accord with Iceberg Theory, he/she should utilize the original term along with natural or one-to-one equivalence into the TL which is completely unacceptable in Translation Studies.

4. Conclusion

Cultural translation and translation of culture have been always regarded as the drudgery task of the translator taking the position of mediation between Source Language and Target Language. Points of similarities and differences constitute the deep and surface layers of culture. Henceforth, observing such items in translation or practical translation requires scrutinizing every facet of culture. In the circle of practical translation, no one can legitimately repudiate the presence of translator. Generally, translator as the mediator seeks to conglomerate and reconcile both deep/surface and Source Language to Target Language to figure out the points of similarities and differences across cultures.

To put cultural translation and translation of culture in practical sideway, of many proposed theories and models, this study hankers after considering and perusing the two intended model and theory in culture and then inspects their relatedness and beneficiary to cultural translation namely: Iceberg Theory of Culture and Spider-web Lattice (SWL) of HomoKult model. The former is divided by two parts: 'awareness part' or visible part and 'out of awareness' part. Translator in the circle of Iceberg Theory often adheres and resorts to natural equivalence or one-to-one correspondence since he/she cannot directly reach up to the 'out of awareness' part simultaneously. The translator as the powerful mediator is unable to link deep layer of culture to the surface one so as to produce the indelible yet smooth cultural translation. However, the intended model is fully usable in word-for-word or literal translation. The latter-SWL-is appropriately suitable to be utilized in cultural translation as it divides culture into four parts namely: Purposive Culture, Ameliorated Culture, Circulated

Culture, and Diglossic Culture. SWL operates the intended four cultures at the same time to find out first the deep layer of culture in cultural translation to institutionalize the foundation of translation into the target language and then decorates and trims the translation to satisfy the taste of the audience. The main task of SWL of HomoKult model is to conglomerate the Source language similarities (deep layer of language) to the Target one. Should the translator yearn for producing literal, natural, and one-to-one translation, Iceberg Theory would be an option; However, with the advent of cutting-edge devises and progressions in every field, natural equivalence-superficial facets only-would be doomed to shunned away and the translators resort to directional or one-to-two equivalence to figure out both deep layer and surface layer of language in either cultural or practical translation. Therefore, applying SWL of HomoKult in practical cultural translation would be the good option to see and to reach the similarities, deep layer of languages, and cultural homogenization across cultures in cultural translation.

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Gender Differences in Using Language in the EFL Classes: From Teachers' Views

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Abstract

The use of foreign language in the EFL classrooms can be shaped by many factors, among which gender has a leading role. Gender, which is a prominent element of language learning, has become a subject of research for years. Previous studies have shown that male and female students learn, study, and use language differently. The present study attempts to understand the role of gender in using language differently inside the classroom. Further, this research examines the factors that determine gender differences inside the EFL classrooms. Several hypotheses were predicted about gender differences in using language. Therefore, a questionnaire was designed to collect data. The data were collected from 14 teachers in English department at Koya University/Kurdistan Region-Iraq.

The results of the study confirmed almost all the hypotheses. As it was hypothesized, there were gender differences in using language. The results indicated that there are some factors that cause gender differences. The most significant factors related to the students' psychological conditions, the students' cultural and social backgrounds, the students' connection to the native speakers, the students' physical characteristics, and materials that are taught by the teachers. Besides, this paper recommends several pedagogical implications which are beneficial for the process of language teaching. This study affirms that the pedagogical implications deserve teachers' considerations.

Keywords: Gender, Gender Differences, Gender and Sex, Language Use, Language and Gender, Gender and Social Factors, Gender and Cultural Factors.

1. Introduction

Since earliest times humankind has used language to communicate. The history improves that the use of spoken language precedes the use of written language. In other words, people have learned to speak first, then started writing. Furthermore, people speak different languages in different areas of the world. Every nation has its own national language. Within the same language there may be different dialects, accents and vernaculars. Nowadays, people, apart from their native language, tend to learn other languages for many different reasons.

English language is one of the most common languages among people over the world. That is to say, English language, except by its native speakers, is spoken by many others. English became dominant because of many reasons such as a) it is the language of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and many countries over the world were British colony in the past; b) it is the language of people of the United States of America (USA), and USA has become one of the most powerful countries over the world due to their political, economical, and Hollywood power; and c) today, English has become the language of business, science, medicine and technology. Thus, English has become an international language. Many people think of English as an essential language that everyone must know; perhaps this is one of the strongest reasons why it is studied in most countries' schools, institutes, colleges and universities.

Because there are various aspects of language, users of each language are expected to use that language differently. Gender is one of the factors that seem to have a profound effect on using language differently. When the word gender is seen, people think of the fact of being male or female. Sometimes, it is heard and seen that male and female use different language to express themselves. In other words, the language they use for the same thing or the same situation differs in many aspects.

Many researchers tried to investigate the differences in male and female style of using language. They have contributed various findings to the literature. However, the differences inside the EFL classrooms are not yet crystal clear. Thus, the present study chiefly focuses on that issue in order to find out to what extent male and female students do use the same language differently. In addition, this research aims to discover whether factors; like classroom environment, biological function, cultural background or social norms, play any role in those differences.

The current study also posits three hypotheses:

1. Male and female students use language differently; female students are hypothesized to use a more polite, and formal language in both spoken and written discourse.
2. Classroom environment and physical characteristics play a role in causing gender difference in the students' language use.

3. The culture and social environment play a big part in the gender differences in using language.

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Gender and Sex

Both the words “*Gender*” and “*Sex*” are unintentionally considered as synonymous by some people. Even some dictionaries define them as synonymous. Nonetheless, this may not be the case in the field of sociolinguistics. Researchers believe that *gender* and *sex* are different despite their close relationship. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 10) inform that “*sex* is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas *gender* is the social elaboration of biological sex.” Further, Merriam – Webster dictionary explains *gender* this way “*gender* is the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associates with one sex”. Moreover, Leap (1995: 402) states that “*genders* are cultural constructions, and not determined entirely or primarily by bodily form or biological function” (cited in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 704).

It may help to start with an explanation of what is meant by the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’. ‘Sex’ refers to biological category, which is usually fixed before birth. ‘Gender’ refers to social category, which is associated with certain behavior. Bicycle design neatly illustrates the difference between the two: bike saddles designed for women are usually wider than saddles designed for men, because women have a wider pelvic girdle (a sex difference). Bikes without a crossbar, so riders can wear skirts, are designed in response to a gender difference, since there is no biological reason why, in some cultures, women wear skirts and men don’t.

Thomas et al (2004: 76)

Thus, it seems reasonable to infer that *sex* covers biological structure that distinguishes male and female, whereas *gender* covers social and cultural behaviors.

2.2 Gender Differences and Language

Reviewing the literature shows that there are many studies concentrating on gender differences. Besides, various studies attempted to portray the link between gender and language. Aslan (2009:101) states that there is a relationship between gender and achievement in second language learning. His findings show that females outperform males in second language learning. Likewise, Lin (2003:442) suggests that females are faster in learning second language than males.

In addition, in terms of gender differences, scholars have provided much essential information. Chambers (1995:53) believes that women have greater verbal abilities due to their sex-based or biological function rather than culturally derived or gender-based constructions (cited in Holmes and Meyerhoff, 2003: 103,104). Moreover, Xia (2013: 1485) mentions several differences between men and women in general such as a) physically, women have more fat and less muscles, b) males are usually stronger than females, though c) females mature more rapidly than males, and d) women live longer than men. She says women have a longer life span because of the different jobs they have to do in society. Men usually have to shoulder more pressure than women in life. Llach and Gallego (2012:67) support Xia when she says girls mature earlier than boys. Further, (Clements et al 2006; Kansaku & Kitazawa, 2001; Mack et al, 1996) proclaim that after a long time of “psychometric testing, observation and imaging techniques”, it has been revealed that, “in general, female brains process language activities more easily, earlier and faster than males, while males more readily excel at spatial - mechanical and gross motor skill tasks” (cited in Magon, 2009: 11)

Mei-Rong and Hsieh (2007: 92, 93) conducted a study to compare gender-related differences in the use of language for emotion terms. They came to a conclusion that both men and women used different languages to express their feelings and emotions. They said that the men participants mostly used nouns while most of the words mentioned by the women participants were adjectives and verbs. Furthermore, Gascoigne (2002: 83) suggests that “males tend to use linguistic devices such as interruptions, directives, and sentence-initial conjunctions. Females, in contrast, tend to rely more heavily upon questions, justifiers, intensive adverbs, personal pronouns and word-initial adverbs” (cited in Shakouri and Saligeh, 2012: 4).

In the last few decades, many studies have been conducted to identify the differences between men’s and women’s speech style (Ogunsiji et al, 2012:203). Sometimes, the differences between the language that males use and the language used by females can be observed very easily. Often, the intonation, tone, voice and some expressions that are used by females are quite different from the ones used by males. It would be inappropriate if a male person speak and behave the same way as females and vice versa. Amir et al (2012:106) proclaim that both genders understand each others’ language but they avoid using it; especially men, because they may be the laughing stock of others. People usually humiliate any effeminate person who uses a womanish voice or behavior.

2.3 Gender and Social Influence

There is a connection between language and society. Xia (2013:1489) states that language and society have a great relationship together; any change in the society results in change in the language. Moreover, Connell (2002:9) identifies gender as a social structure. In the past, there was a big difference between men and women in the society; even now in some societies, men and women are not treated equally. In some societies which men are dominant all the time, the role and the power of women are under-appreciated and under-rated. In the government, in the parliament, and in the administrative positions, the majorities are men; even inside the family, it is the patriarch who decides. Further, when a girl/woman gets married to a boy/man she will be addressed by her husband's surname/family name. Unlike most of the societies over the world, Kurdish society in the Iraqi Kurdistan do not use surnames; so women are called by their names instead of husband's family name. Moreover, in some societies, women are prohibited to communicate in public, interact with strangers, and participate in activities with men. Thus, in those societies people usually prefer baby boys more. These social discriminations certainly affect the performance of females in language use.

Indeed, the circumstances are different in some other societies in which women's and men's right are better. As previously mentioned, in general, females often outperform males; however, "this is not always the case" (Eliss, 1994:204). Eliss exemplifies with Asian men and women in Britain. He states that men can have a better chance to contact with English speakers due to their jobs; thus they attain a higher level of proficiency in ESL. Nonetheless, women do not have such an opportunity since they are often enclosed in the home. Similarly, Xia (2013:1488) in her probe into previous studies identifies levels of education as a great social influence on gender differences in speech style. She informs that "the greater the differences between educational opportunities for boys and girls, the greater the differences between male and female speech". Additionally, Samar & Alibakhshi (2007:59, 60) carried out a study on language and gender interaction to provide a report on face-to-face communication in Persian language. They found out that education plays an influential role in gender difference.

When the society treats males and females differently, their role in the society, their speech style, and their behavior will be different too. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:17) State that when they are infant, males and females are interpreted and interacted with differently. People behave towards babies gently to be grown as female, and playfully to be grown as male. Thomas et al (2004:91) suggest that the way we think of gender creates differences in language use. If two newborn babies (one male and one female) are dressed identically, it is not easy to decide which one is boy and which one is girl. In many cultures, boys are dressed in blue while girls are dressed in pink. It would be disturbing for many people if you dress a baby boy in pink.

Sometimes, it is the society not the individuals that decides what is appropriate for each gender. Crespi (2003:2) states that people usually learn what is proper and improper for both genders through socialization. In some societies, females are not welcomed to use some

expressions and participate in some activities whereas for boys it is not a big deal. Samar & Alibakhshi (2007:62) assert that both genders are born into the same world but the society presses them to live in different worlds. Moreover, Idema & Phalet (2007:77) proclaim that it is socialization that aims at teaching boys and girls to accept their gender roles. Thus, it can be concluded that society has a relevant influence on gender differences.

2.3 Gender and Cultural Influence

If you search for definitions of culture, you will come up with lots of definitions by scholars. The meaning of culture may differ from a person to person, from a nation to nation, from a country to country, from East to West, from a generation to another, from a society to another, and from a gender to another. Mesthrie (2001:37) claims that though there have been many attempts to define culture sufficiently, the anthropologists do not agree on its nature.

The term was first used in this way by the pioneer English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor in his book, *Primitive Culture*, published in 1871. Tylor said that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

Choudhury (2014:2)

"Culture has many different dimensions. It includes ideas, customs, skills, arts and tools that characterize a group of people in a given period of time; it is also the beliefs, values, and material objects that create our way of life" (Kuo & Lai, 2006: 2). Furthermore, Yilmaz (2006:19) maintains that "Culture includes every anthropological aspect related to 'the way of living' of a particular group of people whose ethnic roots descend back to the same ancestors." In addition, it may be so reasonable if culture is defined as a part of language and vice versa. Chahak & Basirizadeh (2012:522) confirms that Language and culture are intertwined.

Ogunsiji et al (2012: 205) imply that culture and society are two concepts that cannot be separated. That is to say, culture is inextricably interrelated to the society. Thus, as it intricately connected to socialization, culture correspondingly has a strong relationship with gender differences in using language. Cultural background sometimes affects the way men and women think, behave and speak. Bernat & Lloyd (2012: 88) conducted a study to explore the effects of gender on EFL learners' beliefs about language learning. They concluded that one of the factors that cause different responses by different genders is cultural impacts. Xia (2013: 1489) cites the Yana language of California as an example of cultural influence on gender differences. She informs that the aforementioned language "contains special forms for use in speech either by men or to men". The present research will certainly take cultural and social influence on gender differences in language use into consideration.

3. Method

This research is a qualitative study that probes to understand the gender differences in using English language. For that reason, teachers of an English department have chosen as samples of the study. They are surveyed to test the hypotheses. Their responses will be analyzed and compared to the hypotheses in order to understand whether their responses are paralleled to the hypothesis or not.

3.1 Settings and Participants

This study is conducted in the English department/ School of languages/ Faculty of humanities and social sciences at Koya University. The reason behind choosing an English department is because the only language that is allowed in the classrooms for most of the subjects (except some subjects as Kurdology, French and Computer that other languages may be used as well) is English language. Moreover, the students of that department are males and females. Thus, the gender differences may appear very obviously.

The participants of this study are the teachers of the aforementioned department. It is thought that they have a better understanding of their students' language use, and they are expected to be knowledgeable about any gender differences.

Questionnaires were administered to all the teachers in the department. Fourteen teachers handed the questionnaires back to the researcher. The following table will better explain the basic information on the participants:

Table 1 – Some basic information on the participants

Teachers	Gender	Years of experience	Degree
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T1	Male	2-10	MA
T2	Male	2-10	PhD
T3	Female	2-10	PhD
T4	Male	2 years or fewer	MA
T5	Female	More than 10 years	MA
T6	Male	2-10	PhD
T7	Male	2-10	MA
T8	Male	2-10	PhD
T9	Female	2-10	MA
T10	Female	More than 10 years	PhD
T11	Male	More than 10 years	PhD
T12	Male	2-10	MA
T13	Male	2-10	MA
T14	Male	2-10	MA

Table (1) illustrates the answers of the first part of the questionnaire which was devoted to provide background information about the participant teachers. It can be seen that four females and ten males were participated in the questionnaire. Moreover, table (1) shows that 10 teachers had (2-10) years of experience, and three of them had more than 10 years while one of them had 2 years of experience or fewer.

3.2 The Instrument

The current study has used only one instrument which is an open – ended questionnaire (see appendix 1). The questionnaire was designed to show whether the hypotheses are confirmed or

rejected. The questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part asks the participants three questions to provide the reader with some basic knowledge about the participants. This part also attempts to diagnose any differences in answering the question items (in the second part) by the participants regarding their gender, degree and years of experience. This will be discussed in section five based on the results of data collection.

In addition, the second part of the questionnaire presents several open-ended questions with the aim of finding out appropriate answers for the hypothesized items. Questions (1, 2, 3 and 4) are designed on the basis of hypothesis (1); question (5) is created on hypothesis (2) and question (6) is based on hypothesis (3).

4. Results

This section sheds light on the results of the present study. As mentioned previously, an open-ended questionnaire was administered to the participant teachers. Their responses are shown in this section and will be discussed in the next section. In the questionnaire, the participants were asked six questions.

The first question asked the participants whether male and female students are different in using language aspects (pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary, grammar and so on); if they are; how? The teachers' responses vary. All the teachers agreed that there are differences between male and female students in using language. The majority reported that often male students are more active in using second language in general. Nevertheless, some teachers said that female students are better. Moreover, there were other teachers who stated that females are more active in some aspects while males are more active in some other aspects. Teacher one (T1), and T2 showed their dissatisfaction with females' intonations and appreciated males' intonations. T3 supported them this way: "in general, male students have a better ability to be native-like in pronunciation and intonation". Further, T5 stated that "the female students use rising intonation, perhaps because of lack of confidence". But, T4 disagreed with them and thought "female students use a more accurate intonation".

In addition, in terms of vocabulary use, T4 believed that "female students use more vocabulary in their speech than boys". Whereas, T3, T7, T9, and T12 thought that males are superior to females. T3 suggested that "they (male students) develop a richer storage of vocabulary items". T7 and T9 in a similar quote indicated that "males use a more advanced vocabulary than females". Moreover, T12 stated that males care more about vocabulary than females. Besides, T5 and T11 had a different view on students' vocabulary use. T5 revealed that "females choose vocabularies that indicate beauty and emotion; and they (female students) avoid dirty and rude words". T11 claims that "Males tend to be harsher while females are gentler".

Finally, some of the teachers remarked gender differences in grammar use. T10 believed that “male students are usually better in grammar and pronunciation”. In contrast, T3, T9, T12 and T13 disagreed. They insisted that it is the female students who follow the grammatical rules. Further, T3 asserted that “male students usually imitate the variety they hear from the films; sometimes, they use slangs”.

The second question of the questionnaire attempted to explore which gender uses a more polite language. All of the teachers revealed that female students usually use a more polite language. T1, T2, T6, T7, T13 and T14 acknowledged that using a more polite language by females is either due to social or cultural influence, or both. T1: “females use a more polite language because they are restricted to social norms and cultural virtues”. T2 thought that “females are more polite in their speech because of cultural instructions”. T7: “female students use a more polite language because they pay utmost attention to social aspects”. Furthermore, some other teachers (T5, T10, T11 and T12) stated some psychological reasons behind using a more polite language by female students such as they are shy, gentler, and more sensitive.

The third question aimed to diagnose whether male students use a more formal/informal language or females. Like the previous question, the responses of the teachers were in harmony. They all agreed that the female students tend to use a more formal language. The teachers stated different reasons in their responses. T3, T6, T12 believed that the female students use a more formal language because they are more connected to their text books and what they learn in their lessons. Whereas, some other teachers (T2, T10, T13 and T14) asserted that male students use a more informal language because they have foreign friends, they may work in foreign companies, they are affected by movies, and they are more attached to social media.

The fourth question tried to investigate gender differences in spoken and written languages. The participants replied to this question in different ways. The majority of the teachers thought that the differences are observed in both spoken and written languages (for example: T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T8, T11, T12 and T14). T5 indicated that “gender differences can be seen in spoken and written languages. Males seem to be better in the spoken language while females seem to pay more attention to their writings than males”. Moreover, some other teachers believed that gender differences are mainly seen in spoken language (T3, T7, T10, and T13) while one of them felt that gender differences occur in written language more (T9). To illustrate, T13 reported that “gender differences are often noticed in spoken language not in written language because both genders try to use a more structured, polite and formal language in their writings”. Unlike those teachers who supported the occurrence of gender differences in spoken language, T9 stated that “gender differences are noticed in written language more. Female students often use a better grammar in their writings while male students are better in vocabulary use”.

The aim of the fifth question was to understand whether the classroom environment or the physical characteristics cause gender differences in using language. The responses differ from a

participant to another. Some of the participants (Such as T2, T4, T5, T7, T8, and T13) acknowledged that both the classroom environment and physical characteristics have their own impacts on gender differences. T5 in the response of the current question wrote "I think both. For example, the classroom environment may affect the female students to feel less free and shy in front of their male colleagues. Thus, their way of speaking, their choice of words and their voice are affected. Moreover, physical characteristics also have its role in gender difference since females and males are different biologically".

Furthermore, some other participants (T1, T6, T9, T11, and T14) maintained that the environment of the classrooms play a greater role in gender differences in using language. T1 "the classroom environment has a wider influence on both genders, especially on females. If the numbers of females are less than males, their language style will be affected". Similarly, T6 affirmed that "the classroom environment is responsible for creating some gender differences. The female students, therefore, are more silent inside the classroom". Moreover, T11 stated that "females might feel freer when they are with only female colleagues, and the same for males is true".

In addition to the viewpoints mentioned before, a few of them (T3, T10, and T12) believed that physical characteristics affects gender differences more. T3: "some of the differences (gender differences) that are noticed are due to their physical characteristics". Moreover, T12 suggested that "since they are physically different, both genders use different styles of language".

The final question aimed at discovering the influence of culture and society on gender differences. All of the participants agreed that culture and society, in a way, cause gender differences. They proclaimed that since students are the production of culture and society, they (culture and society) play a great role in shaping their (students') orientation. T1 said "in some cultures, women are more inclined to feel shy, and they are not as open as men". T3 supported this idea "female students are mostly not that confident and feel shy due to some cultural norms". Moreover, T10 and T12 have a similar view. T10: "cultural and social obligations force females to feel shy and isolated". Likewise, T12 believed that "culture and society have produced shy females in the classroom, but male students are better".

Furthermore, some other participants asserted that they have observed men's supremacy due to cultural and social impacts. For instance, T5 stated that "in many cultures, men are always the more powerful gender". Similarly, T6 mentioned male dominance due to social and cultural influence. Moreover, T8 suggested that "it is quite obvious that because of cultural and social influence, males show stronger self-confidence than their counterparts". Finally, T14 revealed that "due to culture which is an inseparable part of society, males usually have stronger personalities. This may be one of the reasons why male students are more active in some language aspects".

5. Discussions

The main purpose of the present study was to find out any gender differences in using language inside the EFL classes observed by teachers. Further, this research also aimed to investigate the reasons behind gender difference from teachers' points of view. Moreover, three hypotheses were predicted. Therefore, a questionnaire was prepared to provide answers for the predicted hypotheses. The results of the questionnaire revealed some interesting data from the teachers' observations.

The first hypothesis: *Male and female students use language differently; female students are hypothesized to use a more polite, and formal language in both spoken and written discourse.*

The first hypothesis consists of several parts. As mentioned in the previous sections, for each part different questions were prepared in the questionnaire.

Part One: The results confirmed the first part of this hypothesis. As predicted in the hypothesis, there were gender differences in using language. The consensus of the participants was that male students and female students use different languages in the classroom. The results showed that in some language aspects female students outperform males, and in some other aspects, males show a better performance. The teachers revealed that there are reasons behind gender differences. The females' compassionate, shyness, lack of self-confidence, and attachment to books and lectures, and males' interests in imitation were some valid causes of gender differences mentioned by the teachers.

Part Two: In the second part of the first hypothesis, it was predicted that females use a more polite and formal language than males. The results supported this part as well. The teachers acknowledged that according to what they observed in the classroom, female students are more inclined to use a polite and formal language than male students. The teachers thought that this polite and formal use of language by females interrelated with some psychological, cultural and social effect.

Part Three: In this part, it was hypothesized that there are gender differences in both spoken and written languages. This part was confirmed by almost all the teachers. They affirmed that they have noticed gender differences in the students' speech and writings. Some of the teachers reported the differences in both spoken and written language, and others shed light on gender differences in either spoken or written discourses. However, the answer of one of the participants partially contradicted this part of the first hypothesis. That participant informed that there are gender differences in the students' spoken language but they use a similar language in their writings in terms of structure, formality and politeness.

The second hypothesis: *Classroom environment and physical characteristics play a role in causing gender difference in the students' language use.*

The results of the questionnaire certified the truth of this hypothesis. The teachers admitted that either classroom environment or physical characteristics, or both lead to gender differences. The classroom environment affects the female students to be less active. Besides, the male students sometimes dominate the class participations and activities. Furthermore, as the teachers affirmed, since males and females biologically are different, their differences in language use are reasonable.

The third hypothesis: *The culture and social environment play a big part in the gender differences in using language.*

The findings of this research also confirmed this hypothesis. The teachers assured that culture and society have influence over gender differences in using language. Culture and society are interconnected. As enlightened by the participants, students are a part of their culture and society. Thus, cultural values and social norms affect gender differences. For instance, according to what teachers observed, it seems that culture and society sometimes produce dominant males and shy females.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, gender differences in using language are available in the EFL classrooms. In some language aspects, male students outperform female students, and in some other language aspects females outperform males. There are various factors behind gender differences in using language in the EFL classes; such as: classroom environment, physical characteristics, cultural, and social impacts. Gender differences are noticed in both spoken and written discourses. Further, It seems that female students use a more polite and formal language than males.

7. Pedagogical Implications

The results of this research showed that the teachers had different views about gender differences in using language, though they all agreed that there are such differences. The teachers identified some factors that cause gender differences. This study; therefore, recommends the following salient pedagogical implications based on what emerged from the participants' responses.

1. The impacts of native speakers: some students are affected by the language they hear from natives. Sometimes, they use slangs because of movies, social media and native speakers from foreign companies.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: The teachers have to direct the students to take benefit from native speakers academically: in a way that can be beneficial for both genders. The

teachers may teach them about slangs, and warn them of rude and offensive words. They can be shown movies in the class, or exposed to native speakers.

2. The impacts of classroom environment: some students are affected by the classroom environment. Thus, they use different languages.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: The teachers should create a classroom environment that every student (male or female) feel safe and comfortable. The teachers mentioned the dominance of boys and shyness of girls. So the teachers should stop any dominance and use some motivation strategies to encourage shy (silent) students participate more in the class activities.

3. The impacts of physical characteristics: Some students are affected by their physical characteristics. Their biological differences cause them to think, behave, and speak differently.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: The teachers have to be aware that some students are biologically difference. Therefore, they have to prepare their lessons accordingly. Further, the teachers might pay rather attention to those students whose intonations are not good enough. The teachers may provide more time to help them improve their intonations, or motivate them.

4. The impacts of Textbooks and Lectures: some students are completely affected by what they learn from the textbooks and lectures.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: Because some students only learn what they study, the teachers should think about using authentic and up-to-date materials that are similar to the daily life, customs, traditions, literature, art, and life style of the target language speakers.

5. Psychological impacts: Some students may psychologically differ from others because they do not feel comfortable.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: The teachers have to take the students' psychological situations into consideration. If a student is psychologically not fine, the teacher can explore the problem and offer some advice.

6. Cultural and social impacts: some students are over affected by their cultural and social norms. They think, behave, and speak the way their culture and society want.

Suggestion for pedagogical implications: The teachers must know about the students' cultures and social mores. Sometimes, the students are coming from different areas of the country, so they may have different cultural and social backgrounds. Furthermore, the target language is a foreign language for the students; therefore, the students' culture must be different from the culture of the people of the target language. Thus, the teachers must take care of this issue

because cultural and social values are often very important for people. Moreover, the teacher should help those students whose culture and society prevent them from showing their real performance.

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Appendix 1: Open – ended questionnaire

Dear Participants

The purpose of preparing this questionnaire is to diagnose gender differences in using language in the EFL classrooms from teachers' views. Your answers will be kept completely confidential.

Part I: Background Information:

- 1) Gender: Male Female
- 2) Years of experience:
2 years or fewer 2-10 years more than 10 years
- 3) Degree:
MA PhD

Part II: Teachers' viewpoints on gender differences in using language

- ❖ Are male and female students different in using language aspects (pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary, grammar and so on)? How?
- ❖ Do you think male or female students use a more polite language? Why?
- ❖ Which gender does use a more formal/informal language? Why?
- ❖ Are there gender differences in spoken languages and/or written languages?
- ❖ Do you think the classroom environment or the physical characteristics cause the gender differences in using language?

Review of the Impact of Second Home Tourism on the Quality of Lives of Rural people in Iran: Case Study of Kelardasht Region

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Abstract

Purpose: the purpose of this article is to review and evaluate second home tourism and its impacts on the quality level of the lives of rural people and its analysis in the perspective of rural residents in the city Kelardasht in Iran.

Project/methodology/method: the method used in this article is applicable and descriptive – analectic. In order to do this, 9 rural spots with 1121 families were used and ultimately, 100 questionnaires were distributed between the rural residents, who formed the population, as the sample volume through Cochran formula.

Findings: the intensity of the impact of the prevalence of second home tourism on the quality of the lives of local residents has been estimated to be about 45.3% which is indicative of the large impact on the quality of the life of local residents at the level of the region. Coefficient of the index of creating new jobs related to tourism is equal to 24.4% and new mechanisms have had a 18% coefficient. The index of residency of nonlocal individuals hasn't had an impact in promotion of the quality of rural people.

Research limitations/concepts: shortage or lack of available and usable scientific sources leads to undesirable variables which might be the cause of specific methods and projects and ultimately, the results of this research have only be limited to other countries.

Practical solutions: this study and studies similar to it lead to review of the approach of second home tourism and therefore its impacts on the quality of the lives of rural people in Iran and other third world countries.

Originality/value: in this article, with a literature including economic, social, physical and environmental variables, second home tourism and quality of life have been referred to; therefore, this article reviews a new subject and in its practical aspects, it attempts to find a general solution for quality of life in the development of rural residencies in Iran.

Keywords: Second Home, Tourism, Quality of Life, Rural Residencies, Kelardasht City, Iran.

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the issue

Today, rural tourism, as a dynamic approach with unique features, has had allocated an important section of the activities of developing and developed countries (UNWTO, 2007, 11) and it is considered as a social phenomenon for providing features of places, cultures and prospects (Hultman & Hall, 2001, 232). This type of tourism is done in the form of visiting places outside of the city, using holiday, work travels, visitation of family, friends and relatives, etc. (Dadvar-khani, 2012, 259). Development of tourism in rural places has many positive impacts on various fields and social and economic dimensions; in such way that it leads to an increase in the potentialities of local societies for developing economic activities and diversity of the productive activities of rural places and so on (Byrd, *et al.* 2009, 645). Also it can be said that this approach has some features which separate it from other economic activities (Stabler, *et al.* 2010, 3); in such way that it, both as an activity and also as an industry, is always searching for new approaches and tools for achieving new knowledge and modern views and it has a specific order and regulation (Song, *et al.* 2012, 1656); but despite these advantages, it can have various consequences (Kim, 2002, 25).

Rural tourism is prominent as one of the inseparable elements of the strategy of rural development and as a strong strategy, it has clear and relative advantages which can lead economic currents including entrepreneurship, employment, investment, and population towards villages and natural places (Rokn-adin Eftekhari, *et al.* 2011 – a, 123) and with its own different impacts, it can create some changes at the quality level of rural population in terms of economy, culture, society, infrastructure and environment. Among these, residency in second home is the most common form of rural tourism (Rezvani, 2003, 5). And residents of urban areas try to spend a part of their time in these homes to escape all types of environmental pollutions which threaten them (Anabestani, 2010, 103). Entrance of wealthy citizens to these regions for building a second home can lead to renovation and modernization of rural areas (Marjavaara, 2008, 21). Therefore, development of second home and presence of nonlocal owners will naturally have wonderful impacts on rural societies such as remaking old houses or turning new homes which, in addition to making the place scenic, can provide the conditions for local residents to be hired part time or all time by owners of second homes and achieve an earning in this way (Mahdavi Hajilouyi, *et al.* 2008, 20).

In Iran, there are some villages and rural places in some mountainous areas which appeal to tired residents who are exhausted with the mechanical life of the cities due to having new prospects, beautiful sights, having excellent conditions for tourism. Ultimately second home (Bungalow) are built with the purpose of their spending time in rural areas and in the mountainous areas of Mazandaran, the beautiful area of Kelardasht has been considered since a few years ago. Given the fact that it has also been introduced as the "lost heaven" nationally over the past two decades and has attracted the attention of the people who are interested to mountainous areas, it has attracted nature lovers and even business men to the extent that activities associated with tourism have rapidly replaced the traditional economic activities of the area (same, 21). Today, the quality of life has penetrated in several scientific majors including

tourism as a multidimensional and important concept in the lives of the society. The relationship between tourism and life quality of local society is a topic which has been considered in many some related researches and it usually classified in the frame of three economic, social – cultural and environmental aspects in this regards. It shall be noted that tourists' traffic in the Kelardasht region and the exchanges which have been done between them and local people has led to a change at the level of quality of life of local people. In the recent years, tourism phenomenon has been effective in economic and social-cultural dimensions and undoubtedly, local people have modeled some cultural-social issues from citizens. Given the significance of the subject, the present research is attempting to find the answer to this question: to what extent has the prevalence of second home tourism led to some changes in the quality of life of local residents (rural people) in the studied area?

2. Research background

Reviewing and studying the research background indicate that in most researches including foreign and domestic ones, mostly the impacts of second home tourism and its role in rural development have been reviewed. In these studies, although the impacts of second home on quality of life hasn't been specifically emphasized, but in reviewing the impacts of second home, some of the indexes of quality of life have been studied in the frame of economic and social-cultural dimensions. In association with quality of life, most researches have evaluated and measured the quality of life in rural areas (table 1).

Table 1 – studies done on second home tourism and the living quality of rural residents

Creator	Year	Research title	Summary of research results
Rezvani, <i>et al</i>	011	Second home tourism and its impacts on the improvement of the living quality of rural residents (case study of the Roudbar Ghasran section, Shemiranat city)	From the 9 studied realms, in 7 realms, the quality of environment, activity and employment, housing, health and welfare, earning and wealth, individual well-being participation and correlation and safety have led to the improvement of living quality of local residents but in two realms of education-culture, entertainment and leisure time, no improvement has been achieved. Also in terms of the impacts of second home tourism on the realms of living quality, it is indicative of the fact that except for the realm of housing in other realms, there is no significant difference between the studied villages.
Rokn-adin Eftekhari, <i>et al</i>	011 – b	Evaluation of spatial distribution of living quality in rural areas (case study of the	In the studied villages, the quality of education, housing environment, physical environment, health and safety and also the quality of and earning employment have been evaluated to be lower than average and quality and quality of interaction and social correlation have been evaluated to be average. Also the spatial

		central section of the city Delfan)	situation and then distance have been introduced as effective factors in the living quality of the sample villages.
Kim	002	Impacts of tourism on the living quality of residents in the society	There is the most and strongest relationship between economic impacts of tourism and satisfaction of material welfare and also the relationship between social impacts of tourism and satisfaction of social welfare of the area between the residents of areas which are at the stage of maturation of tourism development is the same.
Muller et al	004	Impact of tourism on second home, programming and management	Different views of second homes depend on local situation. In some cases, these impacts are useful, for instance old houses might be remade in the villages or turn into new houses and they provide the field for making villages beautiful. Some cases are also harmful.
Hassan	006	Best places for development of second home in America	Demand for second home has been multiplied three times compared to a few years ago; whereas permanent residents are determined to keep the values of their own small cities. At the time of pressuring the programmers for assigning totally separate areas, they are for the residents of seasonal homes.
Mottiar	006	Second home a way towards sustainability of tourism	There are several economic sources for an area which is attractive for vacation or entertainment houses. This type of tourists pay lots of costs to other tourist and the costs of this type of tourists are mainly concentrated in local areas.
Hui & Yu	008	Second home in the original land of China	Research findings in the age of globalization in association with the tendency of middle-aged residents of Hong Kong for building second homes in the original land indicates that this tendency is in the respect of the request of people with average income for having a great entertainment and housing environment for escaping the daily life of citizenship.
Grgić et al	010	Living quality in rural areas of Croatia: staying or leaving the village	The lives of rural people in economic fields, job opportunities, proper job and profession and income is at a low level and these factors have led to immigration and leaving the village.
Vepsäläinen & Pitkanen	010	Second homes of the suburbs, representations of a village in the	In Finland, in the field of the causes of building the second homes available in the village and as a representative of villages with tourism capabilities, they came to this conclusion that Finland is the view of second home. Second home is an imitation of rural

		popular Finnish discourse	traditional life and usage of environment based on entertainment traditional activities.
Rye	011	Involvement and competition: rural views in the phenomenon of second home	In this research, the views of local residents have been reviewed in the field of formation and development of second home and social and cultural impacts of this phenomenon.
Anabestani	014	Impact of second home tourism on the development of rural residencies	The research results in the studied villages have specified that there is a positive and direct relationship between development of second home tourism and formation of changes in social, economic, physical and environmental dimensions in rural societies.

Source: research findings, 2005

3. Theoretical framework

The concept of second home has been composed of two words second and home and home literally means a place in which we live and second literally means secondary meaning, a short period of time, the second one. The term "second home" is a combination of these two words (Anabestani, *et al.*, 2012, 103). Second home is among phenomena which are significantly effective in social, economic evolutions and rural evolutions in terms of welfare. Second home owners are tourists and that is why the impacts of second home tourism are like the other impacts of the forms and models of tourism. Of course, the specifications of second home tourism such as long residency in the target place indicate that some impacts are more clear (Park and Stokowski, 2009, 905). Second home tourism is considered as a type of tourism and a social – entertaining activity; in such way that this approach, as an index of economic, social and cultural situation of the countries, has a great capability in promoting countries' economy and make it dynamic, reduction of unemployment, creation of national earning and promoting the level of people's welfare and so on (Hultman & Hall, 2012, 548; Liu, 2006, 259; & Lee, 2008, 180).

Second home tourism, in various international, national, regional and local scales, is an active phenomenon which has been created of a combination of tourist and features of immigration (Koch-Schulte, 2008, 2); and it includes immigration of wealthy people which are similar to immigration due to retirement and for leisure, etc. in most cases (Cottyn, 2011, 8). In tourism literature, second home tourism can be defined as the intersection between tourism and migration (Casado and Diaz, 1998, 225). The main core of the definitions of second homes is that the preliminary residency of the second home owners shall be in another place; where they spent most of their time (Davakhani, *et al.* 2012, 92). Second home is the inseparable and dynamic component of tourism which are bought sometimes for the period of retirement and sometimes for investments and is the outcome of increasing wealth and leisure time (Hoogendooren, *et al.* 2005, 112-115) which has continued in the recent years as well with a more acceleration (Firooznia, *et al.* 2011, 150).

Second home phenomenon shall be considered of another material and quality in the current conditions, although building second home in rural areas has a direct relationship with

the conditions and features of villages. In other words, villages are not only significant because of having (entertaining) services and facilities or cheapness of lands for building and providing second home, because in several cases relatively many services and facilities are at hand and the land is also relatively cheap, but second home are practically built in places with facilities or where the price of land is expensive or very expensive. In fact, other specifications are also considered in providing second home which are:

- Having a peaceful environment with a good weather;
- Good spatial reputation and a spatial record in terms of being bungalow;
- Adjacency with natural phenomena such as valley and mountain, sea, lake, spring, river and forest;
- Easy accessibility and being close to urban and metropolitan centers;
- Culture tissue which accepts nonlocal individuals (Saeedi and Soltani Moghadas, 2013, 9).

The concept of quality of life is mainly recognized as the satisfaction of life, happiness, welfare and peace. Quality of life is reflective of the level of realization of human needs (Zielinska, *et al.* 2010, 1). Given the fact that this situation can be reflected with a few factors and features, usually the quality of life is similar to welfare, facilities, satisfaction of life, blossom, fulfillment of needs, power of life, development of capabilities, poverty, human poverty, standards of life and development (McGillivray, 2007, 36). An issue which is prominent in the discussion of quality of life is recognition of realms of quality of life. Up until now, various and different realms of quality of life have been mentioned by experts and researchers. The basic assumption in all of these opinions is that the quality of life of the target residents are improved in the early stages of development of tourism but the capacity of environment tolerance reaches a stage and more development of tourism leads to negative changes in the target environment. Orally considers tolerance capacity as the capacity of tourist attraction in the tourism destination before the negative impacts become tangible by the host population (Orally, 1986, 255).

Second home tourism and its beneficiaries, with their relations, have a crucial role in the occurrence of various impact and consequences in tourism purposes. Such impacts also include some consequences in terms of quality of life. Second home tourism can lead to growth and development as a source and an activity along with a change. Second home tourism, as an activity, is the cause of the complex relationship between beneficiaries in various places that are involved in different other activities. Therefore, activities of this model of tourism have desirable and undesirable or different impacts on the host societies (Rezvani, *et al.* 2011, 24).

The most important impacts of second home tourism on the quality of life of rural people in Iran can be reviewed in the following dimensions:

- a- Economic dimension: in this dimension, indexes of reduction of living costs, increase of house prices, reduction of the feeling of poverty, satisfaction of the existence of facilities of welfare, having access to credit and financial services in the village, increase of

economic self-reliance in the village, hope for a better professional future are reviewed (Rahnamayi, *et al.* 2008 and Rezvani, *et al.* 2011).

b- Social and cultural dimension: in this dimension, indexes such as mental peace, increase of motivation for staying in the village, social justice and moderation of the gap between city and village, reinforcement of social identity in the village, reinforcement of social support, people's knowledge of social rights, satisfaction of social conditions, a change in lifestyle in social domain and spatial belonging in the village are reviewed (Mahdavi, *et al.* 2008 and Firooznia, *et al.* 2011).

c- Physical dimension: in this dimension, indexes such as improvement of the quality of mechanism, satisfaction of the type of materials used in the building, improvement of the physical quality of the house, satisfaction of the space of residential unit, coordination with needs and performances of rural families, etc. are reviewed (Ziaee and Salehi Nassab, 2008 and Anabastani, 2009).

d- Environmental dimension: in this dimension, indexes such as proper discharge of house sewage, avoiding building houses in sloped lands, avoiding staying in residential units in the privacy of ravines, reduction loss of rural water resources, careful energy consumption, etc. have been reviewed (Nozari, 2007 and Seydayi, *et al.* 2010).

According to the findings obtained from the previous researches, the conceptual model of the research (figure 1) has been designed. In this model, in order to review the rate of the impacts of second house tourism on various dimensions of life of rural people, the stepwise regression and Pearson correlation tests have been used.

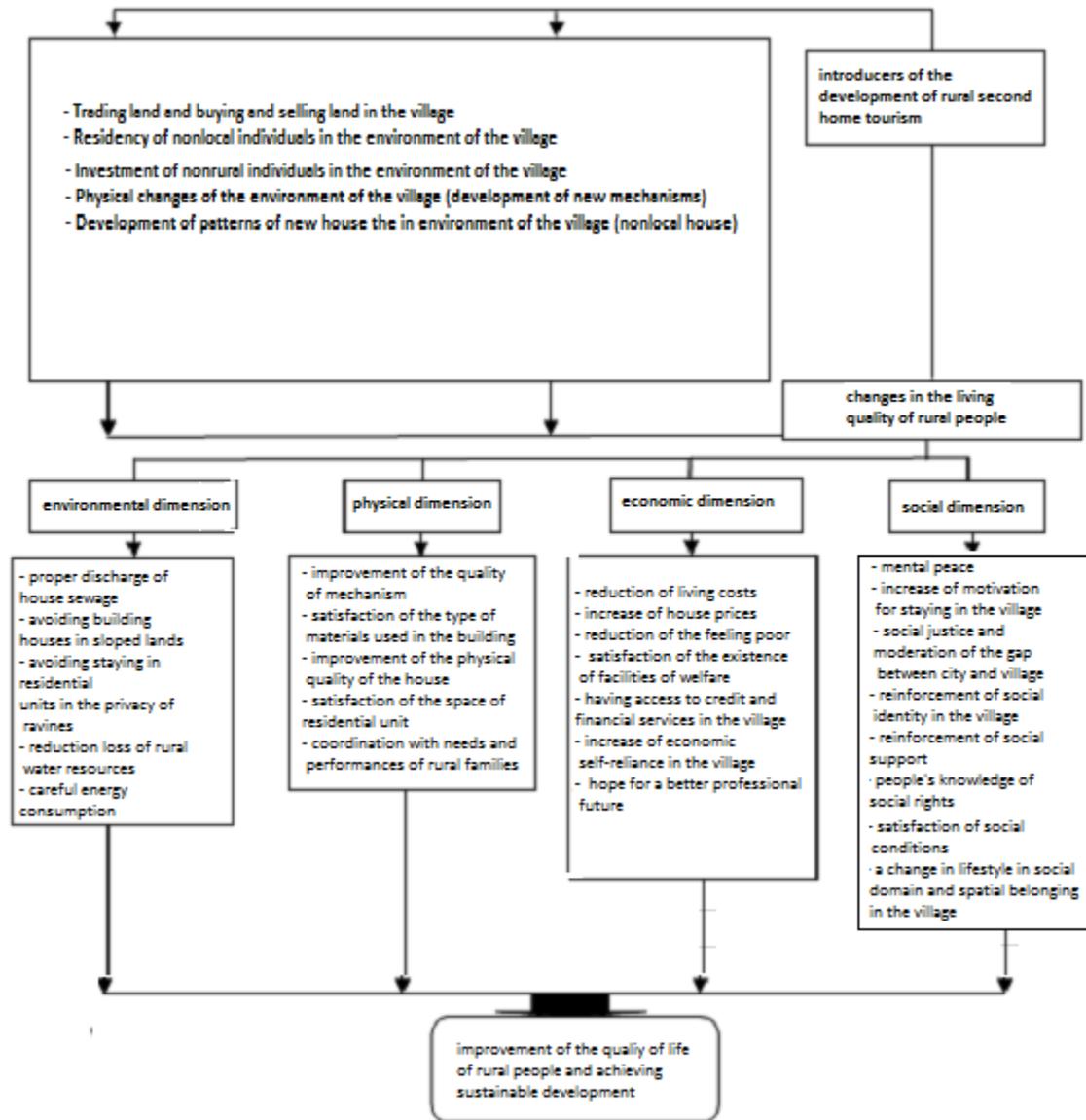


Figure 1: conceptual model of the research

Source: research findings, 2015

4. Materials and methods

4.1. Introduction of the studied region

The city Kelardasht, with an area of 1509km² with the city Hassan Kief as its center is a suburb of Mazandaran province, which is located in 170km from northwest of Tehran between

36°29' of geographical latitude and 51°06'. This city is limited by Takht-e Soleyman peak and near Kandovan pass from the south and Caspian Sea and the city Abas Abad from the north, Chaloos, Noshahr and Kajor from the east and Qazvin and Alamoot of Iran from the west (figure 2).

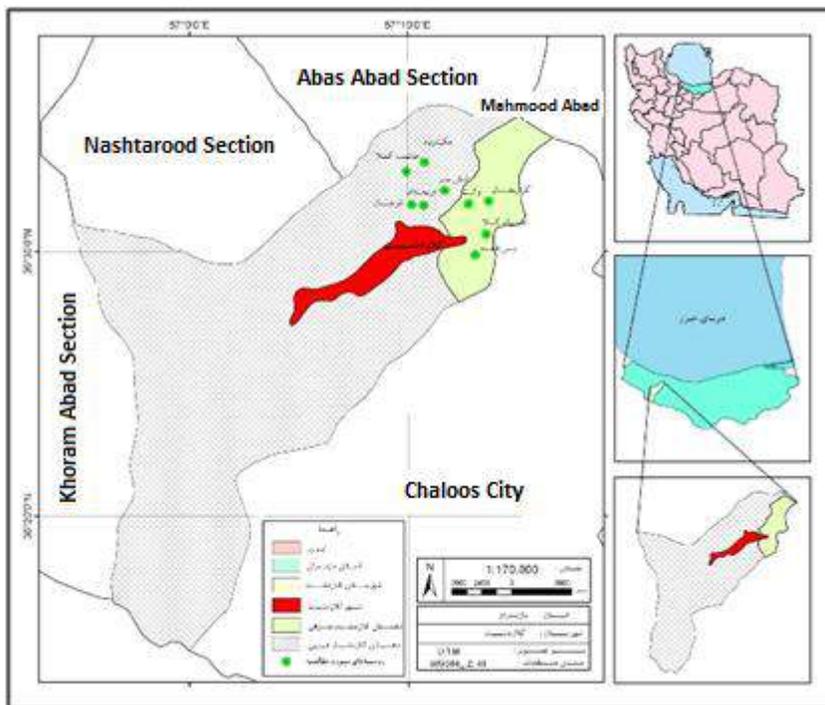


Figure 2: situation of the studied region

Source: Mazandaran's province governor, 2015

Given the fact that Kelardasht region has a diverse series of natural and human attractions, it has always attracted attention as a very important tourism opportunity. A main part of these attractions has appealed in different ways such as forest, mountain, lake, spring, valley, etc. and their combination with each other has created beautiful views and wonderful effects. Certainly, the importance of the weather factor in attracting tourists is completely obvious; in such way that in some cases, this factor is considered as the most important and even the only factor in attracting passengers. By considering that this village attracts tourists and has potential and the reviews which have been done, the studied villages are considered as one of the villages which attract tourists.

4.2. Research method

The research method is applicable in terms of purpose and it is descriptive – analectic in terms of method. A section of research data has been gathered through field studies and questionnaire tools and another section of the required data such as theoretical – conceptual framework of the research, documents and censuses has been obtained through the library method. The city Kelardasht has 19 villages and it has a 9122-person population and among this

number of villages, 9 of them with a population of 3493 persons have been section as the sample villages to be studied in the frame of 1121 families that have second homes. In order to estimate the sample volume, the Cochran sampling has been used with a 95% confidence level with a 6.5% error probability. Of a number of 200 persons filled out the questionnaire and of this number, 100 were village residents and 100 were second home tourists. The method of sample selection in this research is a simple random sampling. After gathering information and processing them, the data was analyzed and expressed at the level of the studied region.

In order to review the effects of second home tourism variable on the quality of life of the residents in rural societies, an independent variable named prevalence of rural second home tourism with three indexes, new buildings, residency of nonlocal individuals and creation of new jobs, was introduced in association with tourism through 26 items. And the dependent variable – changes in the lives of rural people – was evaluated with four indexes of economic dimension, social dimension, physical dimension and environmental dimension through 40 introducers (items). All items were adjusted based on Likert spectrum (very few, few, average, many, so many) from 1 to 5 and their reliability was confirmed based on Cronbach alpha with a validity between 0.835 and 0.962 (table 2).

Table 2 – review of second home tourism variables and their impacts on the quality of lives of rural people and indexes of their measurement

Variable	Index	Number of items	Reliability coefficient (Cronbach alpha)
Prevalence of second home tourism	New buildings	7	0.752
	Residency of nonlocal individuals	8	0.505
	Creation of new jobs	11	0.726
	Total	26	0.835
Changes in the lives of rural people	Social dimension	19	0.91
	Economic dimension	6	0.849
	Physical dimension	9	0.877
	Environmental dimension	6	0.794
	Total	40	0.962

Source: research findings, 2015

5. Research findings

5.1. Review of the conditions of prevalence of second home tourism at the level of the studied region

Reviewing the conditions of rural second home tourism has significant impacts on rural residencies. In order to measure the prevalence of rural second home tourism in the studied region, indexes such as new buildings, residency of nonlocal individuals and creation of new jobs were used in association with tourism in villages with 26 items. According to chi-square test of Pearson type, the significant coefficient for the items related to the second home tourism prevalence variable has been evaluated at a 99%-level.

According to research findings, the conditions of the indexes of new buildings and change of land use in the studied villages have been evaluated with an average of 2.706 which is slightly higher than the average of the statistical population (2.5) and among the items, investment in the field of housing with an average of 3.07 has the maximum value and investment in the field of productive-physical activities with an average of 2.11 has the minimum volume. In the index of residency of nonlocal individuals in the studied region, the test results showed that an average of 2.907 of various opportunities for attracting retired, newcomer and farmer immigrants from other places to the studied villages. The statistical mean (2.5) in association with the index of creation of new jobs related to tourism in the studied region, showed that rural people have evaluated the impact of second home tourism on creation of employment to be average and in this increase, jobs which depend on constructing buildings have had the maximum mean with a mean of 3.31% and increase of the number of small and large industrial workshops has had the minimum mean of 2.11%.

Given the poll which was given to the rural people, it is observed that 2.5% of the respondents consider the development of housing texture to be seen in uncontrolled construction, building villas and houses, 35% in rainfed agricultural lands, 12.5% in irrigated agricultural lands and 40% in gardens.

Findings of table 3 showed that averagely, the mean of responses to the items associated with the prevalence of rural second home tourism in total has been average. Also, by reviewing the total mean, it can be seen that the maximum is the impact related to residency of nonlocal individuals and the minimum is the impact associated with creation of new jobs related to tourism. By reviewing the tourism prevalence variable, it is observed that the Makarood and Osman Kala have the maximum effect and Pey Ghal'eh has the minimum one.

Table 3 – prevalence of second home tourism and its indexes to separation of villages

Village	Prevalence of tourism	New constructions	Residency of nonlocal individuals	Creation of new jobs in association with tourism
Ovijedan	2.67	2.711	2.529	2.763
Pey Ghal'eh	2.50	2.449	2.352	2.697
Toloochal	2.53	2.562	2.310	2.713
Tayeb Kala	2.66	2.886	2.488	2.608
Osman Kala	2.79	2.814	2.685	2.875
Kordichal	2.72	2.711	2.470	2.988
Lash Sar	2.78	2.576	2.659	3.104
Makarood	2.79	2.764	2.641	2.978
Vault	2.77	2.696	2.645	2.969
total	2.712	2.706	2.907	2.523
Standard deviation	0.553	0.740	0.593	0.655
Minimum	1.5	1.0	1.6	1.1
Maximum	4.3	4.6	5.0	4.2

Source: research findings, 2015

5.2. Review of the changes of quality of life in rural regions

In order to measure the changes of quality of life of rural people in the studied region, indexes such as social safety, motivation for staying in the village, social justice, social identity, social support, laws and rights, social position, lifestyle in a social domain, feeling of belonging, capital, services and facilities, work, construction, space, privacy and energy were used in the frame of four dimensions: social, economic, physical and environmental in the villages with 40 items. According to the chi-square test of the Pearson type, the significance coefficient for the items related to the second home tourism prevalence variable has been evaluated at a 99% -level.

According to research findings, the conditions of the indexes of new buildings and change of land use in the studied villages have been evaluated with an average of 2.706 which is slightly higher than the average of the statistical population (2.5) and among the items, making a change in the lifestyle of rural people has the maximum value with a mean of 3.104 and reducing and moderating a gap between city and village has the minimum value with a mean of 2.32. In the index of economic changes in the quality of life of rural people in the studied region, the test results showed that the mean of 2.95 has been indicative of creation of motivation in the rural

people in order to improve business at the level of the studied villages. A statistical mean of 2.98 related to the index of physical changes in the quality of life of rural people in the studied region showed that rural people have evaluated the impact of second home tourism to be effective on the physical changes of the quality of life of rural people. In the index of environmental changes in the lives of rural people, careful energy consumption, with an average of 2.92%, has had the highest changes and reduction of loss of water sources has had the least changes with a mean of 2.602%.

According to the findings of table 4, the mean of the responses to the items related to the changes of the living quality of rural people has been average in total. Also, by reviewing the total mean, it was observed that the highest changes have occurred in the physical dimension and the least changes have occurred in the environmental dimension of the living quality of rural people. By reviewing the variable of changes of the living quality of rural people, it is seen that the highest change is for Lashsar and Toloochal villages and Pey Ghal'eh has the least changes.

Table 4 – living quality of local residents and its indexes to separation of villages

Village	Living quality	Social	Economic	Physical	Environmental
Ovijedan	2.85	2.775	3.068	2.967	2.586
Pey Ghal'eh	2.22	2.190	2.133	0.190	2.371
Toloochal	2.95	2.700	3.229	3.110	2.771
Tayeb Kala	2.51	2.500	2.490	2.386	2.678
Osman Kala	2.75	2.533	3.029	2.950	2.475
Kordichal	2.92	2.784	3.100	2.954	2.852
Lash Sar	2.97	2.833	3.200	3.000	2.844
Makarood	2.79	2.700	3.061	2.718	2.679
Vault	2.85	2.617	3.072	2.753	2.943
Total	2.804	2.732	2.815	2.986	2.682
Standard deviation	0.595	0.601	0.868	0.746	0.813
Minimum	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Maximum	4.5	4.6	5.0	4.3	4.3

Source: research findings, 2015

5.3. Spatial analysis of the relationship between the dimensions of the prevalence of rural second home tourism and changes in the living quality of local residents

After Kolmogorov-Smirnov significance test for normality of data, in order to review the relationship between tourism prevalence and the living quality of local residents, the Pearson correlation test was used. According to this, a correlation coefficient of 0.437 at the level of

significance less than 0.001 has been indicative of a significant relationship between two variables (table 5).

Table 5 – reviewing the correlation between second home tourism prevalence and dimensions of the living quality of local residents

Reviewed variable	Correlation coefficient	Significant level	Test result
Social	0/437	0/000	There is a significant relationship with tourism prevalence
Economic	0/301	0/002	There is a significant relationship with tourism prevalence
Physical	0/319	0/001	There is a significant relationship with tourism prevalence
Environmental	0/343	0/000	There is a significant relationship with tourism prevalence
Living quality of rural people	0/437	0/000	There is a significant relationship with tourism prevalence

Source: research findings, 2015

The test results showed that the social index has a significant relationship with tourism prevalence in Pey Ghal'eh, Tayeb Kala, Kordichal and Makarood villages for 0.78, 0.85, 0.62 and 0.6 and this relationship is diverse in Pey Ghal'eh, Tayeb Kala villages and in the other two villages, this relationship is direct.

Table 6 – the results of correlation between second home tourism prevalence and dimensions of the living quality of local residents in the villages

Village	Social		Economic		Physical		Environmental		Living quality	
	R	Sig	R	Sig	R	sig	R	sig	R	Sig
Ovijedan	0/63	0/09	-	0/96	-	0/35	-0/19	0/65	-	0/86
Pey Ghal'eh	-0/78	0/04	-	0/06	-	0/05	-0/38	0/40	-	0/06
Toloochal	-0/13	0/84	-	0/78	0/27	0/66	-0/11	0/86	-	0/96
Tayeb Kala	-0/85	0/01	-	0/17	0/34	0/46	0/41	0/36	0/04	0/93
Osman Kala	0/36	0/55	0/73	0/16	0/72	0/17	0/51	0/38	0/67	0/21
Kordichal	0/62	0/00	0/58	0/00	0/46	0/00	0/55	0/00	0/73	0/00
Lash Sar	0/40	0/50	0/49	0/40	0/73	0/16	0/94	0/02	0/71	0/18
Makarood	0/60	0/01	0/40	0/08	0/35	0/13	0/43	0/06	0/52	0/02
Vault	-0/71	0/18	-	0/84	-	0/23	-0/71	0/18	-	0/26

Source: research findings, 2015

The economic index has a direct significant relationship with tourism prevalence in Kordichal village with an intensity of 0.58. The physical index has a direct significant relationship with tourism prevalence in Kordichal village with an intensity of 0.46. The relationship between tourism prevalence and environmental index in Kordichal and Lashsar villages is significant and direct respectively with intensities of 0.55 and 0.94. The relationship between tourism prevalence and variable of the living quality of rural people in Kordichal and Makarood villages is significant and direct respectively with intensities of 0.52 and 0.73. Totally, only in Kordichal village, a significant relationship has been reported between second house tourism prevalence and changes of the living quality of rural people in all dimensions.

5.4. Review of the impact of the dimensions of second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of local residents in the studied region

After reviewing the regression infrastructural hypotheses and their validity, no data was identified as irrelevant, and the regression associated with the impact of dimensions of second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of local residents was fitted. By considering the obtained result, it is seen that the significance level of the model in the first and second step is less than 0.05 and therefore the model is significant. Based on the determination coefficient, it can be said that independent variables express 20.5% of the changes of the dependent variable in the model. In the regression model, between second home tourism prevalence and dimensions of the living quality of rural people, the maximum impact is seen on social dimensions of their living quality with approximately 25% and the minimum impact is seen on physical dimensions of living quality with 10.3%.

Table 7 - impact of the second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of rural people

Dimension	Step	R	Determination coefficient	Durbin - Watson statistic	F-Value	Significance level	Result
Living quality	1	0/41	0/172		20/406	0/000	Model is
	2	0/45	0/205	1/967	12/538	0/000	Model is
Social	1	0/49	0/249	1/915	32/479	0/000	Model is
Economic	1	0/33	0/112	1/929	12/273	0/001	Model is
Physical	1	0/32	0/103	2/050	11/242	0/001	Model is
Environment	1	0/32	0/107	2/092	11/793	0/001	Model is

Source: research findings, 2015

Based on the findings of table 8, impact of the second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of rural people has been reviewed according to stepwise regression in two steps and the

most effective variable – creation of new jobs in association with tourism and then new constructions, has entered the model and then the process has been stopped. The other index – residency of nonlocal individuals – is not significant in the model and hasn't entered it in such way that the eliminated index has had a significance level more than 0.05 in the first step which indicates that this variable is insignificant in the model which is why it hasn't entered the model in the next step. But the variable which has had a significance level less than 0.05 has entered the model.

In reviewing the impact of the second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of rural people, the significance level of the model has been less than 0.05 in the first step, thus the model is significant. Given the obtained data, in the social index, based on the determination coefficient, it can be said that independent variables express 24.9% of the changes of the dependent variables in the mode. In the economic index, the dependent variables 15% and in physical index, the dependent variables 10.3% and in the environmental index, the dependent variables 10.7% of the changes of the dependent variable are expressed. Based on the model, the stepwise regression has been done in one step for each four dimensions of living quality and the eliminated index has had a significance level more than 0.05 in the first step which indicates that this variable is insignificant in the model which is why it hasn't entered the model in the next step.

table 9 - impact of the indexes of the second home tourism prevalence on the living quality of rural people based on the stepwise regression

Dimension	Model variables	Variable coefficient	Beta coefficient	t-statistic	Significance level	Result
Living quality (2)	Intercept	1/693		7/376	0/000	It is significant in the model
	Creation of new jobs related to	0/244	0/264	2/237	0/028	It is significant in the model
	New constructions	0/180	0/237	2/009	0/047	It is significant in the model
	Residency of nonlocal individuals	0/013	-	0/112	0/911	It is significant in the model
Social	Intercept	1/546		7/204	0/000	It is significant in the model
	Creation of new jobs related to	0/466	0/499	5/699	0/000	It is significant in the model
	New constructions	0/062	-	0/542	0/589	It is significant in the model
	Residency of nonlocal individuals	-0/042	-	-0/378	0/706	It is significant in the model
Economic	Intercept	1/799		6/104	0/000	It is significant in the model
	Creation of new jobs related to	0/364	0/335	3/503	0/001	It is significant in the model
	New constructions	0/094	-	0/812	0/419	It is significant in the model
	Residency of nonlocal individuals	0/181	-	1/475	0/143	It is significant in the model
Physical	Intercept	2/154		8/343	0/000	It is significant in the model
	Creation of new jobs related to	0/306	0/321	3/353	0/001	It is significant in the model
	New constructions	0/039	-	0/337	0/737	It is significant in the model
	Residency of nonlocal individuals	0/136	-	1/096	0/276	It is significant in the model

environmental	Intercept	1/755		6/250	0/000	It is significant in the model
	Creation of new jobs related	0/342	0/328	3/434	0/001	It is significant in the model
	New constructions	0/093	-	0/806	0/422	It is significant in the model
	Residency of nonlocal	0/158	-	1/272	0/206	It is significant in the model

Source: research findings, 2014

Given the results of table 10, it is seen that only for the variable of residency of nonlocal individuals in the villages the rate of P-Value is more than 0.05. By considering the regression model, new constructions in villages with the statistic of 0.244 has the highest impact and creation of new jobs in association with tourism is the one after it with 0.180. In the social dimension of the quality of lives of rural people, the most effective variable – creation of new jobs in association with tourism – with the impact coefficient of 0.466 has entered the model and then the process has stopped, which means that the other variables (residency of nonlocal individuals, new construction) has not been significant in the model and it does not enter it; but in the economic, physical and environmental dimensions, the most effective variable – new constructions – with respectively 0.364, 0.306 and 0.342 impact coefficient have entered the model and then the process has stopped, which means that the other variables (residency of nonlocal individuals, creation of new jobs in association with tourism) has not been significant in the model and it does not enter it.

Table 10 – impact coefficients of variables of prevalence of second home tourism on the quality of life and its dimensions in the region

Dependent variable	Intercept	Residency of nonlocal individuals	creation of new jobs in association with tourism	New constructions
Quality of life of local residents	1.693	-	0.244	0.180
Social dimension of quality of life	1.546	-	-	0.466
Economic dimension of quality of life	1.799	-	-	0.364
Physical dimension of quality of life	2.154	-	-	0.306
Environmental dimension of quality of life	1.755	-	-	0.342

Source: research findings, 2015

6. Discussion and conclusion

The results of the present research in association with the prevalence of second home in the studied region show that second home owners have chosen rural residencies as a shelter to

escape environmental contaminations in the urban areas and in this section, they are in compliance with the foreign researchers (Saadia Hassan, 2006, Mottiar, 2006, Vepsalainen & Pitkanen, 2010 and Rye, 2011) and also with the results of researches by Man Hu and Hung Yu, 2008 in the field of the tendency of people with average income to escape the life in the cities but the phenomenon which is seen in the studied region, people who have been referred to as local owners and tend to have a building in their ancestral land have been called second home owners in this research . It is also compatible with the studies of Muller (et al, 2004) which indicates that prevalence of second home tourism leads to the development of construction and improvement of rural houses. The results of foreign and domestic researches in the field of the impact of prevalence of second home tourism on the living quality of local residence (Rezvani, *et al.* 2011; Rokn-adin Eftekhari, *et al.* 2011; Kim, 2002; Mottiar, 2006; Anabestani, 2014, etc.) are indicative of the fact that development of second home in rural areas will have several consequences on social, economic, physical and environmental dimensions.

An overall overview of the stages of the research shows that in order to answer this question that has second home tourism prevalence in the studied region been effective in the formation of types of changes in the quality of lives of rural people? By considering the application of the designed model in the sample villages, it was specified that there is a positive and direct relationship between development of second home tourism and formation of changes in social, economic, physical and environmental dimensions in rural societies. The result which was obtained from these relationships is indicative of a one-sided and direct relationship between the two mentioned variables; in such way that in case of increasing or decreasing the level of each of the variables, we will observe a descending and ascending change in the other variable; therefore it can be said that the more the rate of the prevalence of second home tourism is higher in a society, in proportion with it, we will see an increase of the changes in various dimensions of quality of lives of rural societies. Among indexes of the prevalence of second home tourism, creation of new jobs in association with tourism plays the maximum role in expressing and forming the changes in the lives of rural people; in such way that it has the most important role by expressing more than 26.4% of the changes, but residency of nonlocal individuals has not played a significant role in changing the quality of lives of rural people.

On the other hand, the results obtained from studying the relationships between the prevalence of second home tourism and changes in the lives of rural people at the level of the studied villages are indicative of this issue that there is a linear and direct relationship between these two variables in a part of them, but in case of the dependent variable of social changes, no significant relationship has been observed in 5 villages of the 9 studied villages. Finally, in order to review the research hypothesis, the Pearson correlation coefficient test has been used. Given the results obtained from this test, it is observed that the 0.437 correlation coefficient is equal to 0.000 which is less than 0.05. The H_0 is rejected based on lack of a significant relationship between the variable of development of second home tourism and social – economic and physical – environmental changes.

Given the mentioned conditions, it shall be considered that the positive impacts of the prevalence of second home tourism on the quality of lives of local societies will not occur naturally; but in order to realize it, second home tourism shall be effectively managed. In order to

manage the development of second home tourism in the studied villages, the following attempts can be a solution to some extent:

- If the management of second home tourism is combined with considering the factor of sustainability of the resources of tourism in the village, it can be considered as a factor for revising the physical life of the villages of the area. Given the impacts of second homes on the villages of the Kelardasht area, it is necessary for the growth and development of this phenomenon to be done in the framework of an accurate management and programming so that in addition to providing entertainment space for citizens and increasing the level of the quality of lives of rural people, it can minimize the negative impacts of this phenomenon as the host society.
- One of the positive aspects of the second home tourism in this region is that this activity is considered the one of the most applicable activities; thus, it has this ability to play a crucial role in employment creation and economic development in the rural areas of the region, therefore it has a crucial impact on the quality of lives of rural people. Therefore a substrate shall be provided so that the potentials of the region would be exploited in the respect of improving the conditions of the residents.
- Second home tourism and its beneficiaries in the villages of the region, with their relationships, have a crucial role in the occurrence of different impacts and consequences in the tourism objectives. Such impacts include some consequences in terms of quality of life. Second home tourism can lead to growth and development in Kelardasht as a source and an activity along with some changes.
- In order to increase the environmental and physical quality in the studied villages, in the traditional architectural section of the region and maintaining it, by modeling typical villages such as Abyaneh and Masouleh, it is recommended to use materials available in the ecosystem in the section of the appearance of the building or if possible similar materials which are like them in terms of appearance in addition to using resistant materials in the foundation and skeleton of the building, so that the quality of life would also increase in addition attracting tourists and increasing the economic level.

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Issues Related to Arab Folklore with reference to Laila Halaby's *Once in a Promised Land*, a post 9/11 novel

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*...by these old customs the descent of nations
can only be proved where other monuments of writings are not remaining*

Edmund Spenser. 1595

Abstract

*This paper focuses on cultural and political perspectives that have impacted Arabic folklore and influenced transmission of folk elements. This study reviews a series of studies carried out by eminent scholars of folk literature concerning the impact of political events on national identity construction to measure how national collective memory reacts to external factors in order to maintain and recall folk elements. This strategy of maintaining national folklore and using it as a resistance strategy to the hostile post 9/11 America is employed in Laila Halaby's novel *Once in a Promised Land* in which Halaby, an Arab immigrant, intertwines tales from Arabic folklore with narratives and use them both as cultural therapy for Arab immigrants who become exposed to racial discrimination and physical assault in America and as component of building Arab identity. This was made possible in the novel by incorporating very short folktales relevant to issues faced by Arab immigrants.*

Keywords: Arab, Folklore, Folktale, Immigrants, Colonization, racism, 9/11 America.

Introduction

Spanning a huge spectrum of splendid disciplines and forms, oral literature is a part of the corpus of ancient nations' cultural magnum opus that led to the transmission of knowledge from generation to another. Folk literature contributed to the enlightenment of communities characterized by their interests in the study of their past "as a subject reflected of national events, resulting in a catalogue of local occurrence" (Hobbs. 4). This includes a significant number of contributions to literary heritage deviated from this huge folk category such as rituals, myths, legends, fairy tales, anecdotes, tales, wisdoms, legends, oral poetry...etc. According to the definition of Benjamin A. Botkin (1938), folklore "is a body of traditional beliefs, customs, and expressions, handed down largely by words of mouth and circulating chiefly outside of commercial and academic means of communication and instruction" (1). Folklore is generally differentiated from other varieties and genres of literature in being "unofficial, non-institutional" component of culture and the carrier of oral "knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings, and beliefs" (Brunvand. 20). However, telling stories of cultures is the common activity of all genres of literature including folk forms with varying degrees of complexity. Oral story telling continues to be a vital entity in the literary body and an important national contribution in building national culture and identity. It serves as a spring of nationalism and a cultural circulation machine for preservation of traditions from external threats such as political and cultural hegemony, colonialism, and cultural influences.

Folk literature in its broader sense is a universal activity that has common cultural features shared by societies. Cultural studies and comparative studies have shown similarities of contents and functions of these genres. Lester Julius who studied the relationships between cultures notes that "each person who tells a story moulds the story to his tongue and to his mouth, and each listener moulds the story to his ear" (viii). Folk elements tend to play a similar role in different societies to "give people a way of communicating with each other about each other-their fears, their hopes, their dreams, their fantasies, giving their explanations of why the world is the way it is" (vii). In *Folklore and Anthropology* published in 1953 by William Bascom, who was eminent scholar of cultural studies and a specialist in African cultures, especially the Yoruba culture, discussed the role played by folklore literature. According to him folk elements do not only serve to sanction and validate religious, social, political, and economic institutions but also play an important role as an educative device in their transmission from one generation to another (284). In his later and famous research titled *Four Functions of Folklore* (1954), Bascom summarizes four functions of folklore, that are, amusement, validating culture, education and maintaining conformity to the accepted patterns of behaviour (339). Shaped through centuries of accumulation of human experience and interactions, folk heritage is purified and refined through the transmitting process of the needed elements in which new generations find what suit their lives.

In August 1846, William John Thoms, a British antiquarian and one of the earliest scholars to investigate this area as a part of literature, gave the name Folklore to this antiquarian area of study which had been challenging and subject for definition and redefinition for long time. When world scholars were busy investigating this area of literature,

though not under this name, and trying to categorize it, several names were given to it such as "popular antiquities", "popular literature". "oral sayings", "oral traditions"...etc. yet none of the efforts resulted in a fixed and solidified term for folklore. However, it was William Thomas who gave the term folklore to this genre that acquired popularity and became an independent genre. Though Thoms was mainly a government clerk in Chelsea hospital and later a Deputy Librarian at the House of lords he started investigating old tales, prose romances, customs and superstitions at his free time from what he called "onerous official duties". He gained distinguished fame in an area that was new to him when he scribbled 'Folklore' on his photograph that he gave to his friend G. L. Gomme the following lines in 1846:

If you would fain know more
Of him whose Photo here is-
He coined the word Folk-Lore
And started Notes & Queries (Dundes. 10)

Theorizing Early Modern Arab Folk Heritage

Arab speaking countries are a rich basket of folk elements and a hot spot of diverse heritage and cultures where several tribes and clans lived with distinguished dialects and beliefs and left huge fortune of folk heritage. Arabic folk heritage represents, with all its myriad manifestations, a cultural capital that can be mobilized as a means of enhancing prosperity and an important contribution to the on-going social developments in the region (Serageldin. i). Arabia, like major world nations of India, China, Greece etc... has its own vastness of national folklore that people maintained, transmitted and kept alive. Arabia has been a place of birth of world major religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam and therefore, many of traditions and beliefs were the focus of these religions. This paper attempts to demonstrate the cultural approach to folklore by an Arab immigrant writer, Laila Halaby, who uses folkloric elements as a cultural therapy and a means of resistance to racism in the biased white American society after 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington:

Migrant stories are worth telling and worth hearing. Their narratives create a sense of history, a sense of the past, and construct a framework within which future generations can orient themselves. An understanding of the past helps individuals to locate themselves within history and culture, whence they can construct a self-identity narrative that connects the past to the present (Yekenkurul. 54).

The cultural and political context of the Arab countries under colonization is deemed to be essential for any serious discussion of any aspect of Arab heritage. In this study I consider the Western colonization of the Arab world a turning point in the history of Arab folk heritage and a concrete wall that isolated the folklore from people and appropriated it in a mainstream that helps dominance and hegemony over the region. Therefore, colonization caused numerous downfalls to Arab folk heritage whose authentic oral forms were subject to negligence and the influence of the European cultures. Several folkloric elements disappeared,

magic ended and several elements of supernatural have declined from discussions and became redundant among tribal talks. These political realities imposed on Arabia weakened the ties between common man and his folkloric heritage:

The colonizers lumped together the inhabitants of the region in the Ottoman basket and negated them from history creating the phantasm of a civilization that links pre-Islamic civilizations like Persia, ancient Egypt and "Mesopotamia" with Greece and Rome, which they regarded as their immediate ancestors. (Hassan & Mohsen. 5).

Another likely reason for the decline of folk elements among modern generation has been the tendency among Arab writers to concentrate almost exclusively on modern issues forgetting or failing to adopt folkloric ingredients. Sayyid Hurreiz notices that common man as well as scholars in Arab region "have been so shocked by international events" and "have not found themselves able to speak about Arabic heroism with ease-even if of bygone times" (362). However, the Arab world elites began to identify themselves with whatever is European and regarded sticking to indigenous heritage and participating in it as backward. The notion of the role of heritage in the making of Arab identity has been deformed by the political context that introduced the Western culture in a superior manner as universal cultural phenomenon that leads to developing and enlightening nations. However, this political and military hegemony led to cultural dominance that resonated among Arab elites and swayed common man away from the backbone of his region.

Folklore in post 9/11 Arab American Narrative

Arabic folk heritage, however, has prospered in the communities of the immigrants and become manifest in the new social setting and adaptable writings on racism and marginalization: "[I]mmigrants combat identity-related confusion, starting with the perplexing problem of labelling and being labelled and continuing with the process of transformation from an immigrant to an ethnic to a member of an ethnic group" (McCarus. 19). Insertion of elements such as deities, spirits, ghosts, witches and other agents of the supernatural in narrative texts is more actively present in the daily talks and writings of Arab immigrants than at their home countries: "immigrant groups may keep alive mythologies and histories tied to landscapes in the old country, evoking them through architecture, music, dance, ritual, and craft" (Bronner. 241). Though Arab immigrants, as a cultural group, are far away from their native countries, they keep alive cultural heritage provided by memories of their homeland or transmitted through grandmothers to descendants. For example, this heritage is invested in post 9/11 Arab American writings when Arab immigrants become exposed to hatred, discrimination, physical assaults and rampant racist acts after 9/11 terrorist attacks. This style of wring keeps folk elements tied to common issues shared by all Arab immigrants:

At the turn of the century the concept of the melting pot became current, whereby it was believed that Anglo-Saxon conformity was the ideal goal, and that all minorities would be assimilated into it so producing a homogeneous new race. But in fact, the newcomers were rejected by mainstream society. ...the minority culture takes on select aspects of the majority culture but retains its own identity (McCarus. 2).

Arabic folklore is part and parcel of Laila Halaby's narrative work *Once in a Promised Land* where she weaves folktales in order to give her narrative a true touch of beauty and glamour, something Arabian and very close to the hearts of the immigrants. The term "Arab Americans" refers to Arabs and their descendants who have migrated from the Middle East to the United States from the 1880s till the present time. Though these writers have migrated to the United States from different societies of the Middle East particularly Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, carrying with them different religious and spiritual heritages, yet they "staked out an individual space from which they explore their own relations to identity, culture, religion, and the building or inhabiting of a life in the United States" and tried "to bridge Eastern and Western philosophy, thought, and religion" (Layton. 7-13). With the start of the twenty-first Century, the subject matter in Arab American literature takes a change to meet anti-Arab racism in the U.S. that increased significantly by the 9/11 attacks on the U.S and fuelled by U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. Therefore, themes of self-assertion, devotion to Arab culture, Arab community unity, displacement, discrimination and racism against Arabs and Muslims dominate the majority of texts written during the period from 2001 to 2009.

Laila Halaby's *Once in a Promised Land* (2007) is the story of an Arab couple, Jassim and Salwa, who leaves the deserts of their native Jordan for those of Arizona in the turbulent days following 9/11 to fulfil their quintessential dreams. Yet their life becomes the focus of the FBI investigation and they begin to experience a longing for their homeland. Although the two live far from Ground Zero, they cannot escape the racial discrimination of the citizens and the FBI agents. This cultural antipathy towards the Arabs and Islam is manifest in many white American writings that reinforce evil representations and encourage discrimination. *Once in a Promised Land* offers an instructive insight into the struggles facing Arab Americans in post 9/11 America.

Halaby opens her novel by referring to very common opening lines from Arabic folklore "*Kan ya ma kan fi kadeem az-zaman,*" which she literally translates as "*They say there was or there wasn't in olden times.*" This folk opening is the spark of proliferating the nationalist themes that are immensely highlighted in the novel through inserting tales from Arabic folk tradition. Early in the novel, Halaby narrates a traditional story about a *ghula* (an evil female figure from Arabic folklore, a similar character to hag in Western folk tales) who entices children to play with her and eats them up when they become in her grip. In this episode, only a very clever poor boy named Nus Nsays manages to defeat the *ghula* by his patience and tricks. He escaped her clutches and determined to catch her: "The villagers were pleased by his cunning and bravery. He said to them, "What would you think if I brought you the *ghula*?"..."I will bring her. I will catch her for you." (Halaby. 97). Though *ghula* tried to tempt the boy using all kinds of offers: "I'll give you all my gold and silver and money," he denied and asserted: "I don't want gold or silver or money. I want peace for my village," (97). The boy's determination to defeat the *ghula* in *Once in a Promised Land* bridges the boundaries between the immigrants' history and memory. This gap is an obsessing feature of Halay's novel, where the boundaries between history and memories of immigrants' life in Arabia haunt the protagonists. This determination represents the interaction of the past and the present of the immigrants whose memories, fictional or real, of the Palestinian suffering

determine the future of these immigrants who struggle to overcome the rampant racism and discrimination against them in America after 9/11.

Once in A Promised Land is replete with legends common among Palestinian, Jordanian and Lebanese people. One function of the folk tradition in Halaby's novel is to establish a solid background for her story "that shapes and constructs the narrative (Riessman. 140). The vestiges of social practices, marital rituals, unspoken beliefs, values and etc. in these legends have been part of the social life in their societies and a constituent of identity. Immigrant identity which is targeted by recalling folktales in this text is built on historical experiences and watershed events shared by the immigrant community. Senem Yekenkurul notes that "[i]dentity is constructed through narrative memory. Remembering the past connects us to history, and that remembering forms a tradition" (55). And, this added element to identity helps immigrants "recall a life story is to remember the dialogical and inter-subjective other; the people, the places, the time of day, the weather, the smells; it is to encapsulate the embodied experience" (55). Nus Nsays' tale introduces the reader to the boy's incomparable strength that "[e]ven though he was so tiny, his shadow was tall, tall, taller than all of their shadows. He got on his goat and rode back to his mother." (98). He defeated a wild creature and gained the respect of the village: "When the villagers saw that Nus Nsays had captured the *ghula*, they looked at him with surprise. He was standing across from them, and the sun shone on him with his shadow behind him" (98). His internal identity component is more important here than his physical shape because it functions both to reflect the past and to create an identity.

Instead of using multiple narrative techniques, Halaby uses one narrative technique with purpose for introducing all episodes and viewing the roles performed by characters. She employed an Arabic narrative technique to stress on certain principles and values. For instance, Halaby introduces the reader to the legend of *Pregnancy Apples* that resulted in the birth story of Nus Nsays using the same narrative technique that starts with the same Arab folkloric opening lines:

Kan ya ma kan fee qadeem az-zamaan... there was or there wasn't in olden times...a woman who could not get pregnant. Years passed, and her yearning for a baby grew and grew. One day as she was working in her house, she heard a merchant's cry through her window; "Pregnant apples from the mountain! Pregnancy apples from the mountain!" She said to herself, could there really be an apple for getting pregnant? (93).

These short openings or "semi-prologues" usually differentiate oral literature from formal literature. Gail de Vos, a specialist in contemporary story-telling technique, contends that "[t]he opening, often consisting of a brief anecdote that makes the story relevant to the audience or an explanation of something within the tale that the listener needs to know in order to appreciate or understand it better, creates the transition from the world of the listener into the world of the story" (4-5). Raphael Patai notes that the function of the introductions and openings in folktales is to introduce the reader to the major characters, the setting and the problem of the story in a way "associated with the traditions that the immigrants brought with them" (177). Focusing on the folktales used by immigrants, transmission of folk practices and

the survival of folk heritage in their communities, Will Eisner, a prominent American writer, writes in the prologue to his story *Street Magic* that:

[i]mmigrant families on our block believed they were in hostile territory. Survival skills were brought from the old country. They were kept as magic spells the family used when dealing with the predictable outrages of neighbourhood life. They were not formally taught. They were learned by emulating older and more experienced family members. (19)

The "ethnic tale" of *Pregnancy Apple* is first heard by Salwa from her grandmother in Jordan and becomes a memorable tale for her inside the United States. It is a story of the woman who does not get pregnant and has to eat a certain kind of apple called pregnancy apple to get pregnant. This tale is retold by Salwa when her life "gets worse" and "had very difficult periods" (Halaby. 92). The story is sandwiched between different chapters of the novel, where Nus Nsays was born, lived and defeated the *ghula*. The poor lady was determined to have a baby and "bought a large red apple and took it home" and however instead of eating it "her husband came in from the fields and, seeing the apple on the counter, bit into it once, twice, then three times, giant bites that consumed half the apple" (93). Therefore, the mother gave birth to a boy who remains very tiny:

...because she had eaten only half, the boy she gave birth to was very tiny, so tiny that people called him Nus Nsays (which in Arabic means half of a halving)." "In spite of his size, his mother was overjoyed. Nus Nsays grew (children in tales always grow quickly), but he remained the size of a very young boy. His hands were tiny, his legs were short, but his voice was loud and strong like the voices of all the other children." (93)

The simple tale of Nus Nsays sets the paradigm of major issues related to the lives of Arab immigrants who "rely on the folklore genres and the set of concepts and symbols derived from their original homes to cope with their new environment" (Patai. 177). The birth of this little boy and his struggle in the novel explain the fact about what is like to be an Arab Muslim in post 9/11 America. Further, the struggle of "tiny boy" through the whole scenes has been the paradigmatic of the massive strength and endurance characterizing Arab immigrants. Contrary to Nus Nsays, the *ghula* who continues to be present till the end of the novel represents unfulfilled promises, stunted potential, immigrants' fascination with consumerism and vulnerability to racism and assaults: "The hairy hideous ghula saw the beauty in child's face and grew madly jealous...[w]hen the ghula thought the girl would be grown and ripe for eating, she began to reel in the remaining threads, pulling the girl away from her familiar world" (Halaby. 331-332). *Ghula* lures innocent people and eat them up once they are in her clutches. Only the clever people like Nus Nsays can escape this trap. These arts of storytelling, according to Yekenkurul, "function as a didactic lesson in regards to a particular act" (56) and in doing so, Halaby has successfully introduced America as a conspiratorial, xenophobic and intolerant environment for Arab immigrants.

Narration in *Once in a Promised Land* connects Salwa, the heroine, to history and place where she lived the origin of folktale in her childhood: "[w]hen Salwa was a child, she always asked her grandmother for the meaning behind the stories" and raised question about the reality of Nus Nsays to which she got an answer: " *It is just a story*" (98). The grandmother's

answers to Salwa's questions are full of optimism and hope. When Salwa asks about Nus Nsays: "But what is the point of him being so small?", the answer of grandmother emphasizes the importance of internal qualities of the person: " *with determination and a clever wit, small character can defeat large evils* (98). The second answer to Salwa's question has relevance to the Palestinian heroism at home as well as abroad that "[e]very Palestinian has a habit of Nus Nsays within him. Or her." (98). And, the *ghula*, who tempts innocent people and eat them, can refer to the American Dream that lures people and traps them once they are in America especially after the rise of terror issue. However, only clever immigrants can overcome difficulties. Narration tends to end when Salwa falls a victim of American Dream and is beaten by her American bank co-worker. Jassim, her husband, who is a scientist and works hard to save rainwater for all Americans, is suspected and his work contract is terminated. Therefore, blending folktales in *Once in a Promised Land* reflects the author's perception of the richness of her history and awareness in making cultural heritage relevant to the modern issues related to the community of the immigrants.

Identity is constructed through narrative memories, conversation and social interaction. Of course, narrative can function as an analogy between fictional and imaginary incidents from folk heritage and real events. In other words, in narratives, reality can become fiction and vice versa. Halaby, for example, uses folk narratives and events to explain how story can recall human experience and memories. Addressing issues related to Arab community in America through folktales, Halaby contributes to the maturation of this art which deals with complexities of 9/11 and their consequences on Arab community. This dual function of narrative is a personal corrective and accumulated storage of the years which are recalled when a person gets involved in similar experiences at any geographic location.

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Evaluation of EFL Teachers Opinions about Online In-Service Teacher Training Programs in Iran

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Abstract

Despite the technological advances of the 1990s which have led to increasing integration of web-based courses in educational areas, teachers' attitudes still have not been clearly diagnosed regarding the implementation of online in-service training (hereafter INSET) programs. Understanding factors in successful online programs from the point of view of teachers can offer suggestions for INSET program holders to promote the quality of both learning experiences of teaching courses as well as the quality of professional development for teachers. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to determine the opinions of the school teachers about online in-service teacher training programs in the Iranian educational system. More specifically, the present study examined the effect of different variables such as gender, years of experience on 150 participants EFL teachers from 10 different schools in Sabzevar, Iran. A researcher-made questionnaire based on five-point Likert scale was employed to collect data. The collected data were analyzed conducting t-tests and ANOVA. The results showed that teachers prefer online INSET; moreover, they prefer such programs to be held by university lecturers who are experts in their fields. In addition the results depicted the difference between the general perceptions of male and female teachers. Respondents think that such a program is a necessity for teachers' professional development. Implications for future INSETs were discussed based on the findings.

Keywords: EFL Teachers' Opinions, Evaluation, In-service training, Online learning, Teachers' professional development.

1. Introduction

A glimpse at review of literature depicts that many countries consider in-service training (hereafter INSET) programs as significant for teacher professionalism since such programs play a major role in increasing the quality of education. These programs focus on creating a change in the teachers' behavior after they start their profession. Such programs provide a life-long support for teachers. Teachers usually participate in INSET programs after their initial education to boost their efficiency and professional development. In other words, INSET programs are either means for some teachers to keep in touch with the recent developments in their respective field, or for some others an opportunity to refresh and broaden their previous knowledge as well as their teaching skills practice and management ability to cope with the problems in future. Teacher education programs can function as an important link between a nation's institutions of higher learning and the public they are designed to serve (Shahmohammadi, 2012).

Moreover, INSET creates an atmosphere of sharing. In such programs, trainees share and discuss their problems and experiences to find practical solutions or bring about new ideas with academic help from trainers (Turhan & Arıkan, 2009). Given that there has been transit from the traditional stage to the industrial stage, continuous trend of changes in different aspects of social life, considerable development in different sciences and technologies, technological advancement with their impacts on service areas of institutes and educational organizations, training and improving human resources of organizations are felt to be imperative. Given the abovementioned remarks, there is a need to discover and develop more effective ways of preparing teacher education programs at all levels to meet the challenges of a changing society.

There are dozens of studies on teacher education programs evaluation conducted both inside and outside Iran. Literature in this field indicates that in the process of evaluation researchers have focused on the content, social skills instruction, teachers' beliefs, and administration as different dimensions. Shahmohammadi (2012) examined the state of pre-service and in-service programs for teachers in Iran especially with the purposes of finding out the aims of in-service programs, their organization, nature of curriculum, the methods of teaching, and techniques of evaluation, educational agencies involved in this program, and their strengths and weaknesses. A questionnaire was used to collect data from the target group. The results reported that recent changes towards student centered learning and qualitative assessment have brought teaching closer to the ideal status.

Another study carried out by Birjandi & Derakhshan Hesari (2010) in Iran, displayed that most teachers were not satisfied with the in-service program; they believed that the program cannot boost their proficiency level. Although these studies provide some information regarding evaluation programs' in terms of their efficiency and deficiency, there is scant research on how teacher education programs should be administered. It would be beneficial to assess and review both the teachers and the students-teachers' attitudes towards online INSET. Therefore, the present study tries to examine the perceptions and opinions of novice and experienced EFL teachers about online teacher education programs. The findings can potentially have implications for program holders and educators in charge of teacher training classes.

2. Review of Literature

Without a shadow of doubt, education is one of the main concerns all over the world. Education can bring about learning experiences to lead students from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge. Teachers play key role to bring about this transformation. Teachers have multifaceted functions, they can function as educational leaders; can serve as councilors; can trigger change in the classroom and in the lives of their students and can shape or alter the environment, or even the future of a country. On the other hand, teachers can also spoil the lives of individuals or even ruin the future of a country. Becoming a professional teacher entails teacher education.

Teacher education is a multifaceted process. It includes teachers' preferences, pre-service training, practice period and monitoring and evaluation during this period, and INSET, (Demir, 2015). Among these elements, in-service and pre-service programs are an important step toward professionalization and receive considerable attention. Pre-service education programs offer some special courses for teacher-students in universities and teacher training centers in order to prepare them to teach and to cope with real language class problems in future before they graduate and experience real teaching. Usually, an in-service teaching program refers to professional development activities for all employed teachers, those with and those without formal qualifications offered after primary training and after they have had some teaching experiences. These programs range from occasional workshops to continuous, comprehensive, career-long programs of professional learning. Such professional development programs play crucial role in developing and maintaining teachers' quality, and improving their knowledge.

This issue is important because providing the programs and conditions that create better teachers have become a high priority in most countries that are rapidly expanding their educational systems to meet the education for all students (Ginsburg, 2011). It is widely acknowledged that education quality interpreted in accordance with a country's policies, practices, and standards of achievement is the product of many factors such as relevant curriculum, transaction modes, good learning materials, safe learning spaces, governmental support, strong leadership and so on (Ginsburg, 2011). To educate well-prepared teachers, well-designed INSET courses are crucial. To facilitate such goals certain principles should be considered in the design and implementation of programs. The principles are outlined as follows:

1. Consider in-service programs as part of a continuum of professional development.
2. Involve teachers in the planning and implementation of programs.
3. Emphasize pedagogical content knowledge in designing program content.
4. Use adult-oriented models of active learning as the pedagogical design for in-service programs.
5. Build reflective practice and action research within teacher learning communities.
6. Include all teachers in learning opportunities and base most of the in-service program at the school or school-cluster level.

7. Incorporate strong instructional leadership by school administrators and local supervisors.
8. Link teacher in-service programs to a more-holistic school improvement approach involving community members in planning for and monitoring school quality.
9. Successful participation in in-service professional development programs should receive official recognition by the ministry or local authority.
10. Consider the budget implications of building realistic and sustainable programs (Ginsburg, 2011).

In addition, it should be securitized as to what extent these programs are in line with teachers' and learners' needs. Just as the development of any program should be based on the needs of its audiences so do programs of professional teacher development. One of the prerequisites for implementing context-bound INSET models is to take into account teachers' beliefs and their context realities as well as to involve teachers in both the planning and the implementation phases of an INSET activity (Sandholtz, 2002). To catch up with the changes in teaching and teacher education theories, teachers' needs and experiences, and their opinions about all aspects of teacher education programs need to be accepted and reflected in such programs. Some studies have evaluated the needs and expectations of teachers in relation to their professional development as reflected in these programs. An investigation carried out by Razi & Kargar (2014) indicated that the status of the current in-service foreign language teacher education program in Iran is not satisfactory with regard to improving English teachers' language proficiency level, teaching skills, management skills, and evaluation skills. It was also revealed that the program suffers a relative inadequacy with respect to increasing teachers' motivation and the administration of the courses.

Another factor is setting. Determination of setting is an important factor in organizing INSTE. According to John and Gravani, (2005, cited in Uysal, 2012), Teachers need a friendly atmosphere where openness and collaboration are encouraged and where they can share their own knowledge of classroom, students and pedagogy with colleagues. Such INSET courses are often linked to improvements in quality of education and successful implementation of curriculum innovations. In a study conducted by Kavak *et al.* (2012), it was found that teachers participating in this study suggested that in-service teacher trainings be conducted in the teachers' own school, within working times, and by experts in their fields.

Other important factors are content, materials, and resources such as handouts, audio, and visual texts. According to Uysal (2012), whether new materials are created during the courses, and whether feedback and evaluation are gathered after the courses have further positive effects on the level of impact of INSETs on teachers' practices. Rahimi (2008) in his study reviewed the content of EFL teacher education program, its knowledge/competency base, procedures utilized to present that knowledge/competency to student-teachers, and the types of teaching materials that best suit this provision. Based on insights provided by Korthagen, Loughran, and Russell (2006), he proposed four principles for evaluation/selection of teaching materials and sources of information in EFL teacher training programs. These principles are as follows (1) aims and objectives of an EFL teacher training

program with regard to the knowledge/competency base, (2) student-teacher's role, (3) cultural issues, and (4) teacher trainer's role.

How to administer and how to deliver INSET is as critical as other factors. A review of studies on INSET shows that research in this area is desperately needed to improve INSET practices in general. At present, considering the fact that science and technology have improved in recent decades, more than any other time in human history, their role should not be ignored in INSET. Rapidly changing technologies and the need to integrate them into teacher education entails the restructuring of the current program. There is also a need for a needs analysis before restructuring the program. Recognizing and knowing the needs of today's teachers and how technology impacts their educating is one of the keys to providing them with such education that meet their needs.

3. Online Learning

Nowadays the use of Communication Technology has become an important part of the teaching-learning process. The emergence of new technologies prompted educators to understanding and applying these technologies for classroom use. Online learning is defined as an innovative form of distance education that delivers instruction to a remote audience, using computer networks as the main medium. In particular, online learning has captured the attention of many educational institutions throughout the world, and as a result, over the past few years, the number of courses offered online has increased to accommodate the increasing number of students who are interested in online learning. The rationale underlying the application of new technology is attributed to many economic, political, and societal factors. These factors include low cost, full access to various learning resources, and the ability to provide high-quality learning to off-campus learners providing students with more opportunities for interaction with instructors, access to diverse learning resources, and development of certain skills, such as time management (Al-Jabri, 2012).

In addition, web-based technology with the removal of the time, place, and political barriers has increased access to education for individuals located throughout the world; besides it has developed a cost-effective approach by providing interactive learning opportunities for adults and school quitters. Today universities are able to offer high-quality learning to anyone who has access to the Internet. Web-based learning provides a learning environment where different cultures, people, and needs are met. The use of online technology enables learners who are unable to attend face-to-face classes for whatever reasons to attend class from home or at work. It offers users with choices about when, where, and how they want educational material be presented to them.

Communication technologies fall namely into two categories: synchronous or asynchronous. The former refers to any real-time online interaction between learners and instructors through media such as online text-chat systems, video conference, whereas the latter refers to any non-real-time online interaction between learners and instructors anytime and anywhere through media such as e-mail, social networking sites, and Blackboard (Gasaymeh & Jwaifell, 2013). Each has its own pluses and minuses.

Asynchronous courses enjoy more flexibility compared to synchronous courses; because in asynchronous learning settings, students are able to access the educational material at anytime and

anywhere. Disadvantages of asynchronous courses are associated with moderating large-scale conversations lack of reflection time for students and intimidation of poor typists. The advantage of the use of synchronous online courses is that it allows learners to have choice concerning when and where they want to take part in the class activities. Disadvantages of asynchronous communication include the feeling of isolation and disconnection from other group members, and difficulties in keeping track of and facilitating the responses of large. (Al-Jabri, 2012). The focus of the present research is on synchronous online courses.

Although online-learning has got a special place in the modern education, however, when applied in teacher education learning, the attitudes towards online may be different. As noted by Tok & Dos (2010) if the online teacher education programs are well-designed to create new opportunities in teacher education, the cost of teacher training activities can be reduced. Hence research shows that online education via the web provides learners with an opportunity to develop new learning experiences by managing self-directed learning, and sharing information and ideas in a cooperative and collaborative manner. Online in-service programs with the removal of time and space barriers will provide more teachers with getting instruction at any time and any place.

Today more and more, educational practitioners appreciate a web-based course's merits and regard it as a useful resource for making the learning process more diverse and attractive. Yet, comparing web-based education to traditional face to face classes does not mean that the former is in the more right position. Gaining more insight into the participants' opinions and understanding teachers' attitudes toward the application of modern communication technologies and the need for quality professional development and technological training of teachers would allow educational practitioners select and incorporate communication technologies in the teacher education programs much better.

4. Research Questions

The present study addressed the following questions:

1. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the online in-service programs from the perspectives of teachers?
2. Is there any significant difference between the pedagogical beliefs of Iranian male and female instructors about online INSTE programs?
3. Is there any significant difference between the pedagogical beliefs of Iranian instructors about online INSET programs with reference to their years of experience?

5. Methodology

The present study enjoys a quantitative and qualitative mixed-method design. The data collection instruments used in this study were a researcher-devised questionnaire and semi-structured interview. The questionnaire (Appendix B) was devised by using the opinion and experience of several experts and teachers. The first section of the questionnaire focused on the personal, academic, and contextual profile of the participants. The second section consisted of content areas under study on a five-point Likert scale. In order to decide on these areas, the author first conducted interviews with the two

experts of English programs who gave useful insights into the professional needs of in-service teachers from their own perspective. Based on this information, on a review of the relevant literature on measurement of attitudes, informal feedback from teachers, as well as the researchers' understanding of language teaching and experience of language learning, the first draft of the questionnaire was developed. The first draft of the questionnaire later was examined and slightly modified. The total number of items in the questionnaire was 30. To estimate the reliability coefficients in the questionnaire, Cronbach Alpha Analysis was conducted, and a value of 0.81 was found which is acceptable. In addition, the validity of the questionnaire was examined by two faculty members.

5.1 Participants

The participants of the study were 150 teachers with university degrees ranging from BA and MA to PhD. This sample was asked to complete a questionnaire about teachers' beliefs about in-service program practices via web. They had about 15 minutes allocated time to answer the questions. In the second phase, semi-structured interviews were carried out with 8 teachers. The purpose of the interviews was to provide more detailed explanation of teachers' attitudes toward online programs (Appendix A).

5.2 Data Analysis

Having collected the data, the analysis was done through computation of descriptive statistics such as frequencies and means. *T*-test and *ANOVA* were also run to examine any relationships between questionnaire items and gender, and years of experience. Then the audio-taped interviews were transcribed and analyzed qualitatively along with quantitative analysis.

6. Results

One hundred and fifty teachers from 10 different schools in Sabzevar participated in this study. As Table 1 displays, teachers have different years of professional experience. Furthermore, all of them had participated in in-service teacher training in their professional life before this study. 91.5% of the participants have computer with 90% internet access at home. 47.7% of the teachers considered themselves as average computer users and 30.7% think of themselves as advanced users.

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Demographic Characteristic	Number
Gender	-
Male	60
Female	90
Education degree	-
Bachelor	118
Master	40
PhD	2
Professional experience (years)	-
Less than one year	0
1-2 years	0

3-5 years	10
5-10 years	60
More than 10 years	80

6.1 Questionnaire Findings

The results of questionnaire analysis are presented in Table 2. As it is demonstrated, the majority of the teachers (67.6%) are at ease with computer and they favor online program more than traditional programs. 46% participants report that they do participate in online programs.

Table 2 The Mean and Percentage of Questionnaire Items

Items	SA%	A%	UN%	DA%	SD%	M
1. I feel at ease with using computer.	14.6	53	4.9	18.3	0.6	2.31
2. I think I will participate in online programs.	6.1	40.9	11.6	31.7	1.2	2.73
3. I have phobia for online equipment.	24.4	7.9	33.5	25		2.92
4. If something goes wrong I will not know what to do to fix it.	12.2	42.7	26.8	9.8		2.37
5. I think participation in online INSET programs should be done voluntarily.	34.8	53.7	1.8	0.6	0.6	1.67
6. I favor online INSET to traditional INSET courses.	18.3	51.8	9.8	9.01	2.4	2.19
7. I prefer the material to be presented by an expert in the respective field when the course is offered.	28	53	10.4	91.5		1.81
8. The time schedule of the program should be appropriate for the participants.	29.3	60.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.72
9. The instructional activities should provide the active participation of the participants.	27.4	61	1.8	1.2		1.75
10. Instructional activities should meet the INSET needs of the participants.	29.9	59.1	1.2	1.2		1.71
11. Online INSET provides better learning experiences.	18.3	40.2	15.9	14	3	2.38
12. Online INSET makes the training course more interesting.	22	43.3	14	11.6	0.6	2.19
13. Online INSET gives teachers opportunity to learn more.	3	36.6	28.7	23.2		2.79
14. Online INSET enable teachers to interact with each other better.		33.5	32.9	25		2.91
15. Online INSET saves teachers' time and energy enabling them to attend to other activities, too.	1.2	49.4	31.7	9.1		2.53
16. Online INSET reduces training costs.	36.6	49.4	4.9	6		1.67

17. Online INSET facilitate teachers' access to the latest techniques and methods.	27.4	52.4	11.6		1.83
18. Online INSET contributes to teachers' autonomy.	27.4	48.2	12.8	0.3	1.91
19. Online INSET helps teachers to keep abreast of new technology	27.4	51.8	12.2		1.83
20. Online programs can accommodate a large number of teachers at a time.	21.3	54.3	15.9		1.94
21. Administrators should offer sufficient online facilities to implement online INSET	21.3	56.7	13.4		1.94
22. Administrators should offer courses for teachers with limited computer skills.	20.1	56.7	14.6		1.93
23. The accessibility of the internet and computer facilities should be taken into consideration.	22	54.3	15.2		1.93
24. The INSET needs of participants should be identified during these programs.	22	50	18.9	0.6	1.98
25. Today online programs are a necessity.	23.2	51.8	15.9		1.93
26. I think traditional programs are better, when it comes to making teachers actively involved in the teaching-learning process.	1.8	29.9	12.8	47	3.15
27. I think in traditional programs the specific techniques and lessons are modeled by the trainers better.	4.3	36.6	9.8	40.9	1.2 2.95
28. I think traditional programs are suitable for the computer-illiterate.	16.5	60.41	14.6		1.98
29. In traditional programs teachers collaborate with their peers more.	44.5	47			1.51
30. In traditional programs the physical atmosphere is of more fun.	37.2	42.7	6.1	5.5	1.78

Note: SA: Strongly Agree A: Agree D: Disagree SD: Strongly Disagree, % Percentage, M: Mean

6.2 Interview Report

During the interviews, six interviewees said that they would like to attend such an online- in-service program for their in-service professional development as it appears below:

A. "I'll attend such a program if the program include both latest educational theories, especially those related to language teaching, and teaching practice. What is important for me is that the in-service professional development should expose us to the latest theories or concepts in our field and offer opportunity to share our experiences and exchange our practice, and learn from each other. What's

more, the program should be goal-oriented, that is, it should increase our knowledge in daily teaching.”

B. “I think an online program is more convenient for teachers, because they have heavy load work. I support such programs. Some teachers are so busy they cannot participate in these programs. So, the role of online programs is very important.”

C. “It is a good idea. Because some teachers may have problems which prevent them from participating in in-service programs. When it is supposed to be held online, we can follow it better. The important factor is time I think.”

D. “I have been teaching English for more than ten years. Of course, I know the reform that our Ministry of Education is now implementing on teaching with this fast pace, and we need to update ourselves. But how can we do it? I have to teach over ten hours a week, two different courses. After this, I have to save some time to take care of the family, so what can I do with my professional development? I know it’s important and necessary, if there would be such program it would be very convenient, consequently we’d not miss in-service programs. I will participate in this program if the education office offers bonus for internet connection.”

As for item five 88.5% highly agreed that the course should be optional. They did not want to attend the courses obligatorily. About item six 69.9% teachers reported that they would prefer online to traditional programs. Concerning item seven, 8.4% participants believe that the courses should be presented by experts. Almost All teachers in the interview strongly agreed on the same issue as well.

B. “The instructors should be lecturers; they should be experts in the respective area; they should be knowledgeable, they should be among those who are familiar with teaching issues. Those who have been successful in teaching should be invited to share their experiences with other colleagues. In addition, we like to receive training on concepts and scientific developments related to our subject matter, new approaches for instructional strategies and methods.”

Regarding item eight, the majority of the teachers (89/7%) deemed that the time for the program should be suitable to encourage participation; besides, the interviewers reported that they sometimes are not duly informed of programs as explained in the following comment:

A. “Sometimes school managers and principals do not inform teachers of programs. We sometimes miss programs; if programs are announced by text messages or phone, it would be convenient.”

With respect to items nine and ten, teachers expressed that they desire such programs involve them actively and enable them use and share their teaching experiences and use other colleagues’ experiences. They complained that sometimes in-service programs were inefficient, and did not lead anywhere. They like their needs to be met by such programs. Interviewers stated they sometimes do not know the ends of such programs. They think such programs have wasted their time without taking them anywhere.

A. “The challenges of such programs are that these programs are not goal-oriented. They are offered by some non-experts without sufficient knowledge in their fields. These programs have been held in

order to pass a course rather than being considered as serious matter. They have been held without any results. They were held in vain, without any aim.”

Regarding items eleven through item twenty, about 50% to 70% of teachers emphasize the advantages of online programs.

A. *“The courses enable teachers to upgrade their knowledge through participating in online activities. In other words, they give teachers more opportunities to get involved in the learning experiences by participating and sharing their experiences. Teachers have more time to prepare resources such as handouts, materials, CDs to be used for future reference and for classroom use. These classes should be offered without fees. Some teachers do not participate in such classes because they have to pay for them. If they are free, more teachers will participate. I think internet charge cards and technological facilities should be provided by education authorities to meet this need.”*

B. *“In-service education facilitates teachers’ access to the latest techniques and methods as an online in-service education creates a continuous and accessible environment for teachers. The use of online programs would bring about change in teachers’ trend of teaching. They might become familiar with new materials by searching the net.”*

With regard to items twenty one to twenty two, about 70% stated that there should be sufficient facilities to implement such programs. They stated that the education office or ministry of education should pay for the internet charges of online programs. In their interview, they pointed out that certain teaching of computer skills should be taken into count for the lack in computer literacy.

A. *“If the education office does not receive fees for such programs or get the fees through method, or it offers bonus charge for internet connection, that might serve as an incentive; as a results, more teachers will participate in such a program.”*

B. *“Given the advances of information technology and the computer sciences, teachers expect to learn computer skills which would help them to take advantage of online courses with ease. If such a class is offered, teachers will be more motivated to attend online courses. So far, some of our colleagues have participated in computer classes. With such skills, teachers can use the internet to get needed materials/test samples in their filed or for their students.”*

With respect to item twenty four, 75% believed that for the sake of the effectiveness of the program, the participants can be given an opportunity to control the process of their own development and choose the topics and activities they need to investigate. Similarly, the participants believed INSET courses should identify their actual needs rather than offer a course just for the sake of presenting such course. They reported that before carrying out a program, a need analysis should be conducted to hold the courses in line with their needs. They mentioned that mostly such programs laid less emphasis on the issues existing in teaching, but focused too much on its theories.

B. *“In my opinion, the program for in-service professional development should be something that can lead to a goal-oriented practice. It can attract us to follow it willingly and continuously, and we can have it as a base to improve our daily teaching, and share our experiences with our colleagues, and of course, participating in online programs can help us to learn more and further practice toward our professional development”*

C. “As a matter of fact, when talking about the “in-service teacher training program”, we expect that teachers be directly taken into account. I mean, those who are responsible for holding these programs should pay attention to our needs, they should offer programs that meet our needs. For the content of the program, the education experts ask teachers’ opinions, a needs survey has to be conducted. They should try to design and hold a program in line with those identified interests and working needs.”

Concerning item 25, 70% believed that today online programs are essential. As far as the remaining items are concerned, approximately 40% to 70% respondents stated that traditional programs are suitable for the computer-illiterate.

6.3 Gender Difference and Years of Experience

To determine whether there is a difference between male participant’s opinions, an independent *t*-test was run. The results were presented in tables 3 and 4. According to Table 4, with alpha set at $p < 0.05$, there is statistically significant mean difference in the perception scores about online in-service programs according to gender. As seen in table 3, mean of females (M=24.96, SD=14.491) and is larger than that of males (M=100.50, SD=29.011).

Table 3 Mean for Gender

	gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
variable	male	50	24.96	14.491	2.049
	female	100	100.50	29.011	2.901

Table 4 Independent Samples T-Test for Gender Differences

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene’s Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
id	Equal variances assumed	14.892	0.000	-19.608	148	0.000	-75.450	3.848	83.054	67.846
	Equal variances not assumed			-21.164	147.987	0.000	-75.450	3.565	82.495	68.405

not
assumed

To find out whether there is any difference among teachers' opinions in terms of years of experiences, one way ANOVA was carried out (Table 5). It should be mentioned that teachers with more than one year experience were classified as less experienced and those with more than five years of experiences were classified as experienced. The results revealed that there is a significance difference among teachers in terms of years of experience. As the following table shows, the mean of for the less experienced group (M 5.50) with $p=0.00$ is smaller than 0.05 and indicates a statistically meaningful difference among the groups. Thus, years of experience have a meaningful effect on teacher's opinion about online in-service programs.

Table 5 Mean For Years of Experience

Years of experience	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
less than five	10	5.50	3.028	.957
more than ten	140	67.88	40.693	4.132

Table 6 One Way ANOVA For Years of Experience

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	223055.771	3	74351.924	178.634	0.000
Within Groups	60768.869	146	416.225		
Total	283824.640	149			

7. Discussion

Based on the results, it can be claimed that the importance of needs analysis including need identification, assessment of learners' abilities, and assessment of the teaching environment should be taken into account when planning or developing teacher training services, since identifying and satisfying the needs of teachers determine the applicability of the service that is provided. As regards the aims of in-service programs, it is expected that training programs should offer opportunity for teachers' involvement, commitment and experiential gains, and involve learning by doing. Moreover, training should aim to provide teachers with proficiency in the execution of given tasks. On the basis of findings of the current study, the active participation of INSET participants during the application of these programs should not be ignored. By active participation it means that the participants in the

context of online INSET programs can practice by trying out new things, modeling new experiences while experiencing and trying out new things; the participants can take advantage of opportunities in order to boost their professional development. The current paper is one of the first study of its kind evaluating teachers' opinions regarding on line training courses in Iran. Some studies (TOK & DOS, 2010) conducted in Gaziantep City in Turkey reported that teachers believe that online programs will increase the teachers' technology skills and will be more useful than traditional in-service education. Furthermore, they view online programs as an essential tool needed for teachers' professional development. The findings of this paper are in agreement with the above mentioned study.

In general, since the participants of the present study report technological changes in their setting, accessibility to internet, confidence in their uses of technologies, and their knowledge of these technology and computer skills, online INSET programs are counted as a necessity. Of course some respondents acknowledged that they were computer illiterate and would not participate in online programs. Thus teachers also need some improvement and education in their computer literacy and internet knowledge to participate in such courses. 44% of respondents preferred attending traditional programs to collaborate contact with their peers. It seems that in traditional programs collaboration and actual contact with peers and their lectures has had a positive impact on teachers' affection especially among older teachers with more experience.

As the findings indicate the respondents' opinions supported the merits of online programs mentioned in the questionnaire. Program holders need to appreciate the advantages of such programs. Thus when planning a program, they need to consider time flexibility, needs, cost, availability of internet, and setting. As for gender variable, there were significant differences in the responses of both males and females. Regarding years of experience, there is difference between less experienced and more experienced teachers' opinions. In a nut shell, respondents preferred online training to the conventional method because of its flexibility and convenience. Online courses could be a convenient way of perusing professional development for teachers to study from their own location, in their own time.

8. Conclusion

Planning for a comprehensive in-service teacher professional development program is normally driven by policy and curriculum reform and organized by national education authorities, However, it is important that teachers, school administrators, supervisors, and in-service teacher educators be involved in the planning of both the structure and the content of in-service programs so that both their needs and their students' needs are addressed. In particular, if teacher involvement and the inclusion of classroom realities are taken into account in program design, it would promote teachers' ownership of and support for the programs.

The results of the present study revealed that teachers' attitudes towards online programs were positive in general, and the use of a new technology offers opportunities for teachers to participate in the activities and to collaborate with peers and reflect. However, teachers point out that the planning and evaluation stages of the online course, the contextual needs of teachers as well as the characteristics of teachers and their facilities, their internet knowledge and computer literacy need to be considered. In the current research project, teachers expressed a need for more time and resources such

as handouts, materials, CDs, etc. to be used for future reference and for classroom use. Therefore, technological infrastructures should be provided by administrative authorities to meet these needs.

Future research should further identify and contrast the impact of teachers' place of residence whether in the city or remote villages. Researchers should also consider how government facilities contribute to implementing programs and what technical and technological infrastructures should be provided by government authorities. Moreover, another line of research could investigate the content and resources for offering such courses. The designing of curricula compatible with computer use puts extra burden on administrators' shoulders. The sample of the current study was small. Conducting the same study with a bigger sample can yield more or different findings than the ones found in this study. Administrators should also consider the results of such a study while designing and altering the materials for teacher education courses.

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Appendix A

Interview questions:

1. What are your opinions about in-service teacher training program (INST) held via online?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of online INST?
3. What factors should be taken into account in offering online INST?
4. As a teacher, who do you like to attend offer such courses?
5. What factors encourage teachers to attend online INST?
6. What are the factors that limit attending such programs?
7. What are your suggestions and recommendation on improvement of the process of in such courses?
8. How do you like in-service programs to be announced?
9. In general, do you think the use of online facility in the programs would be useful? Why? Why not?
10. Should participation in such program be voluntary or obligatory?

Appendix B

Online in-service program evaluation (English version)

Directions: Please complete the following survey as completely and honestly as possible.

Name: (optional) -----

School: (optional) -----

Nationality: -----

Gender: Male Female

1- Are you an English teacher? Yes No

Qualification: Diploma B.A M.A PhD.

English Teacher Training: Attended sessions Not Attended

English Teaching Experience:

Less than one year 1-2 years 3-5 years 5-10 years More than 10 years

Level of computer literacy basic intermediate advanced

Do you have access to Internet at home? Yes No

Would you like to receive an electronic copy of the study results? Yes No

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Circle ONE answer only.

Note: INSET stands for in-service teacher training programs

1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=undecided 4=agree

5=strongly agree

1. I feel at ease with using computer. 1 2 3 4 5
2. I think I will participate in online programs. 1 2 3 4 5
3. I have phobia for online equipment. 1 2 3 4 5
4. If something goes wrong I will not know what to do to fix it. 1 2 3 4 5
5. I think participation in online INSET programs should be done voluntarily. 1 2 3 4 5
6. I favor online INSET to traditional INSET courses. 1 2 3 4 5
7. I prefer the material to be presented by an expert in the respective field when the course is offered. 1 2 3 4 5
8. The time schedule of the program should be appropriate for the participants. 1 2 3 4 5
9. The instructional activities should provide the active participation of the participants. 1 2 3 4 5
10. Instructional activities should meet the INSET needs of the participants. 1 2 3 4 5
11. Online INSET provides better learning experiences. 1 2 3 4 5
12. Online INSET makes the training course more interesting. 1 2 3 4 5
13. Online INSET gives teachers opportunity to learn more. 1 2 3 4 5
14. Online INSET enable teachers to interact with each other better. 1 2 3 4 5
15. Online INSET saves teachers' time and energy enabling them to attend to other activities, too. 1 2 3 4 5
16. Online INSET reduces training costs. 1 2 3 4 5
17. Online INSET facilitate teachers' access to the latest techniques and methods. 1 2 3 4 5
18. Online INSET contributes to teachers' autonomy. 1 2 3 4 5
19. Online INSET helps teachers to keep abreast of new technology 1 2 3 4 5
20. Online programs can accommodate a large number of teachers at a time. 1 2 3 4 5
21. Administrators should offer sufficient online facilities to implement online INSET 1 2 3 4 5
22. Administrators should offer courses for teachers with limited computer skills. 1 2 3 4 5
23. The accessibility of the internet and computer facilities should be taken into consideration. 1 2 3 4 5
24. The INSET needs of participants should be identified during these programs. 1 2 3 4 5
25. Today online programs are a necessity. 1 2 3 4 5
26. I think traditional programs are better, when it comes to making teachers actively involved in the teaching-learning process. 1 2 3 4 5
27. I think in traditional programs the specific techniques and lessons are modeled by the trainers better. 1 2 3 4 5
28. I think traditional pograms are suitable for the computer-illiterate. 1 2 3 4 5

29. In traditional programs teachers collaborate with their peers more.

1 2 3 4 5

Online in-service program evaluation (Persian version)

نظر سنجی در مورد برگزاری کلاسهای ضمن خدمت معلمان بصورت آنلاین لطفا به این پرسشنامه به طور کامل و صادقانه پاسخ دهید. تنها یک گزینه را تیک ✓ بزنید.

نام (اختیاری)

مدرسه (اختیاری)

ملیت

جنسیت: مذکر مونت

آیا شما معلم هستید؟ بلی خیر

مدرک: دیپلم فوق دیپلم لیسانس فوق لیسانس دکترا

کلاسهای ضمن خدمت شرکت داشته ام

شرکت نداشته ام

سابقه تدریس کمتر از یک سال 1-2 سال 3-5 سال 5-10 سال 10 سال بیشتر

آیا در منزل دسترسی به اینترنت دارید؟ بلی خیر

سطح سواد کامپیوتر مقدماتی متوسط پیشرفته

تمایل دارید نسخه الکترونیکی نتایج دست امده این تحقیق را دریافت نمایید. بلی خیر

تاجه اندازه با موارد زیر موافق هستید؟ فقط یک گزینه را علامت بزنید.

کاملا موافقم = 1 موافقم = 2 نظری ندارم = 3 مخالفم = 4 کاملا مخالفم = 5

1. کار با کامپیوتر برای من آسان است. 5 4 3 2 1

2. من در کلاسهای آنلاین حتما شرکت میکنم. 5 4 3 2 1

3. من از تکنولوژی آنلاین میترسم. 5 4 3 2 1

4. اگر کامپیوتر هنگام حضور در برنامه آنلاین دچار اشکال شود نمیتوانم آن را درست کنم. 5 4 3 2 1

5. به نظر من شرکت در کلاسهای ضمن خدمت بایستی بصورت داوطلبانه باشد. 5 4 3 2 1

6. من برنامه ضمن برنامه ضمن خدمت آنلاین را به برنامه ضمن خدمت به روش سنتی ترجیح میدهم. 5 4 3 2 1

7. ترجیح میدهم درس مربوطه توسط متخصص مربوطه ارائه شود. 5 4 3 2 1

8. برنامه زمان بندی بایستی برای شرکت کنندگان مناسب باشد. 5 4 3 2 1

9. فعالیتهای آموزشی بایستی برای شرکت کنندگان مشارکت فعالانه فراهم آورد. 5 4 3 2 1

10. فعالیتهای آموزشی بایستی پاسخگوی نیازهای شرکت کنندگان باشد. 5 4 3 2 1

11. به نظر من برنامه های آنلاین تجربه های یادگیری بهتری فراهم می آورند. 5 4 3 2 1

12. به نظر من برنامه آنلاین دوره آموزشی ضمن خدمت را جذابتر میکند. 5 4 3 2 1

-
13. به نظر من برنامه های آنلاین فرصت یادگیری بیشتری فراهم می آورند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
14. به نظر من این برنامه ها باعث تعامل بهتر بین معلمان میشود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
15. برنامه های آنلاین باعث صرفه جویی در وقت و هزینه معلمان میشود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
16. برنامه های آنلاین باعث کاهش هزینه های دوره تربیت معلم میشود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
17. به نظر من شرکت در کلاسهای آنلاین باعث آشنایی معلمان با تکنیک و روشهای جدید میشود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
18. به نظر من این برنامه ها به استقلال معلمان کمک میکند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
19. به نظر من شرکت در کلاسهای آنلاین باعث آشنایی معلمان با تکنولوژی جدید میشود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
20. روشهای آنلاین تعداد زیادی از معلمان پوشش میدهد. 5 4 3 2 1
-
21. مسولان مربوطه بایستی امکانات آنلاین کافی برای ارایه این برنامه ها ارایه کنند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
22. مسولان مربوطه بایستی برنامه آموزش کامپیوتر برای کسانی که مهارت کمتری در استفاده از کامپیوتر دارند ارایه کنند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
23. در دسترس بودن اینترنت بایستی در نظر گرفته شود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
24. نیازهای معلمان بایستی در طول دوره شناخته شود. 5 4 3 2 1
-
25. امروزه برنامه آنلاین یک ضرورت است. 5 4 3 2 1
-
26. روشهای سنتی بهتر معلمان در گیر فرایند آموزش و تدریس میکند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
27. معلمان در روشهای سنتی بهتر تکنیکها و روشهای خاص را الگو برداری میکنند. 5 4 3 2 1
-
29. برنامه های سنتی برای کسانی که سواد کامپیوتر ندارند مناسب است. 5 4 3 2 1
-
30. برنامه های سنتی جو فیزیکی جالبتری دارند. 5 4 3 2 1
-

Reading Amy Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* With and Against the Grain of 'A Sex Which Is Not One.'

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Abstract

*This paper problematizes the traditionalist conception of gender identity in terms of such a rigid boundary as female castration which is best captured in Luce Irigaray's notion of "A Sex which Is Not One." The sexist also misogynistic load embedded in this particular discursive formation is doubly affirmed and debunked through *The Kitchen God's Wife* (1991), a novel by the contemporary popular writer Amy Tan. By reading this text with and against a paradigmatic phallogocentrism, I try to demonstrate that Tan is not only subservient to and affirmative of gender binary oppositions, even through performing what is called the phallic masquerade, but also makes of the lack fantasy a more elusive ungraspable term. Among the conceptual fluidities resulting from the appropriation and reconstruction of such a Freudian theme is the project of tracing back the protagonist's disregard of femininity as well as phallic positionings to mythical roots and symbolical structures. Through a gender analysis of Tan's resistant inversion of the Kitchen God's Wife tale, I shall point out a feminist search for a more equitable system of signification and stress the incongruities and vulnerabilities of adopting phallogocentric frameworks.*

Keywords: *The Kitchen God's Wife*, Luce Irigaray, gender dichotomies, reading with and against the grain.

Reading Amy Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* With and Against the Grain of 'A Sex Which Is Not One'¹

The field of gender studies admits everything but stability, consistence and homogeneity. Prolific at all levels, as Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* shows, the area is far from offering the reader a coherent or uniform body of findings and discussions and, as a result, is inconceivable outside features of splitting and perspectiveness. Paradoxes, ambiguities, gaps and counter discourses are main aspects of gender theories, precisely as they engulf such confounding questions and relations as the metaphysical categories of natural castration or phallic masquerade and penis envy, the three of which will be dealt with as disputable interdependent foci in the current paper.² The trio is captured in what is becoming a catch-phrase in this essay, the ideology of "a sex which is not one" which, I suppose, requires a reading with and against the grain (Irigaray, "Sex" 254).

My article argues that the intertwined designations natural castration or phallic masquerade and penis envy are problematically embedded in Amy Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* as a postmodern text which partakes in bringing further trouble and controversy to the constructions of femininity in relationship and opposition to masculinity.³ By adopting Luce Irigaray's phrase "a sex which is not one" as a title, it promises to proceed according to a reading with and against the mythical grain of feminine lack, that is, in a way that alerts us to the contributions but also masculinist defects in certain literary works that follow in the footsteps of psychoanalytic and feminist insights about gender matters and themes.⁴ The idea is that, in spite of dismantling biological readings of natural castration and its attributes by grounding them in cultural apparatuses, Tan's account of femininity still tends to interpret gender difference as failure. Indeed, neither referring her misrepresentation of the feminine gender back to a Confucian world view, an Eastern mouthpiece supportive of "female secondariness and seclusion", nor her narrator-protagonist's desire for a symbolic stature exonerates the considered text from perpetuating masculinist ideologies (Croll 13).⁵

On the basis of a Freudian / Lacanian story which is founded on a binary structure, I will back up my reading of *The Kitchen God's Wife* with specific terminology and theoretical

¹ The title of the essay draws on Luce Irigaray, "The Sex Which is Not One," in *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology*, 1996, ed. by Lawrence Cahoone (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003): 254-258. Further references to this essay in parentheses will be shortened into "Sex". I will follow a similar strategy with other long article or book titles in processing parenthetical references, that is, by citing just the first word in the title of the article or book, without counting demonstrative articles as words.

² I am borrowing the key term counter discourse to describe theoretical and practical challenges to well-established assumptions (Ashcroft et. al).

³ Note that I am using the 1991 edition of *The Kitchen God's Wife*, published by Ivy in New York. Forthcoming parenthetical references to this text will appear simply as *Kitchen*.

As to my reference to the attribute postmodern, it simply chronicles any form of writing rejecting the modern preoccupations with "the purity of form and technique", such as Tan's conscious trusting of her stories to incoherent narrators (*Hutchinson*).

⁴ It might be helpful noting that myth and mythical in this particular essay simply register whatever does not correspond to reality, or whatever is based on common fantasies that do not necessarily rely on logic. As to the use of the attribute masculinist, it tries to illustrate any preference of or exaggerated reliance on the reliability and righteousness of masculine aspects and roles.

⁵ My references to the symbolic play on the process of functioning with a sign system as a subject, rather than as an object (Roudiez 19).

discoveries reviewed, mainly, by Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler and Rosalind Minsky. This is because much of the negativist constructions of the feminine gender in the selected work are motivated as well as questioned by the informative, yet, problematic, results achieved in both psychoanalysis and feminism.¹ Within this controversial frame, the essay will shed light on Winnie Louie's self-contempt as a cultural construct, rather than a biological given, and demonstrate how her disturbed ego-formation is strongly embedded with a misogynist ideological system. Last, I will scrutinize the notion of penis envy in connection with "women's masculine self-fashioning" and look into the protagonist's subversion of phallic signifiers as a polemical feminist search for a more equitable system of signification (Schoene 286).

In its slippery recognition also disruption of the recurrent and central proposition about women's natural invisibility, Tan's gender framework seems to have everything to do with an oppositional conceptual paradigm which we always encounter in the analyses of Sigmund Freud, in those of his advocates and even in the attacks of his critics.² Now becoming classical, the latter's dichotomous thinking could be said to hinge on such asymmetrical categories as the clitoris "as a little penis which is pleasurable to masturbation" and the vagina as an organ that "derives its value from the 'home' it offers the male penis when the now forbidden hand must find a substitute to take its place in giving pleasure" (Irigaray, "Sex" 254).

In her mockingly re-interpretive criticism of the Freudian implicit insights, Irigaray states that the above differentiation, among other ones, almost suggests undermining woman's erogenous zones to the sole benefit of a "valued phallic organ," whereby the clitoris stands as nothing less than "a hole-envelope, a sheath which surrounds and rubs the penis during coition; a nonsex organ or a masculine sex turned inside out in order to caress itself" ("Sex" 254). According to Irigaray's recuperative censure of Freud, absence or negativity originates in invisibility and is closely tied to a system of signification wherein a woman's "sex organ represents the horror of having nothing to see" ("Sex" 255). Even in her other book *Speculum of the Other Woman*, Irigaray comments that "[n]othing to be seen is equivalent to having no thing. No being and no truth," a claim that leaves every woman with a "sexual void" (48).

Nevertheless, what is of interest to us in the involved reflections, especially if we attempt a reading against what I would term the naturalistic grain of the above analysis, is their erroneous tendency to see a woman's inferiority as being a purely genetic matter, in addition to other deficiencies. The fact of confronting this traditionalist view with the intervention of domestic structures and culture, in the creation of unequal but separate spheres for men and women, leads to the notion that the Freudian insights are, in essence, biologically-packed and blind to other dynamics such as the effects of language and paid versus unpaid productivity on gender formation (Minsky 17).

¹ Dated back to Ferdinand de Saussure, binarism can be defined according to its concern with "violent hierarchies" wherein the first partner in the opposition is dominant and the second is other, dominated (Ashcroft et. al).

² For this particular reason, in the remainder of my essay, I will speak of Freudianism to account for the continuity of the Freudian tradition and the broad influence of its terminology and conceptions on Western philosophies, in general.

Respectively resonant with Freudian female castration but encompassed rather in a structural outline is the Lacanian principle of phallic masquerade which could be identified as the (non)position of women within language, also used in exchange with “[b]eing’ the phallus” as a male sign (Butler 44). Interpreting Lacan, Butler explains that “[to] be the phallus is to be the ‘signifier’ of the desire of the other and *to appear* as this signifier [...] to reflect the power of the phallus, to signify that power, to ‘embody’ the phallus, to supply the site to which it penetrates” (44). Hence, the phrase living the masquerade speaks of women as they play “the part man has assigned to [them] – the ‘not man’, ‘the lack’, a fictional complement to himself”, i.e. perform the “‘natural’ ‘feminine behaviour’” that patriarchal societies expect of women such as wife, mother, little girl, housewife, mother-in-law, baby doll, iron lady, and so on (Minsky 161).

In parallel with Lacan’s illuminating structuralist analysis, women’s rejection of their feminine identity is, in origin, shaped after the social inequalities between men and women which are, largely, rooted in the interference of what Friedrich Engels calls the master / slave hierarchy, which not only affects private family relationships but also constructs global gender roles. Hence, in line with Engels’ image of the husband as “‘the *bourgeois*’” and of the wife as “‘the *proletariat*’”, Irigaray cites a woman’s inclusion “*in the exchange market only as a commodity*” (sic., *Speculum* 118).¹ In explicit terms, Irigaray is right in suggesting that there is no single space for a normal sexual development, as long as “the commodities themselves have nothing to ask or say, no desire or need to express, no sale or purchase to make on their own account” (*Speculum* 118). Hence, apart from women’s different anatomy, their different position in language and economy affects their understanding of femininity and the world’s pejoratively.²

With regard to this indefinite theoretical agenda, which is proposed to allow glimpses of Tan’s text as both embodying and interrogating certain gender controversial notions, the following section tries to establish that *The Kitchen God’s Wife* could be, at the same time, read as phallogocentric but also transcendent of phallogocentrism.³ It addresses itself to a close scrutiny of Winnie’s journey as a contentious instance. At first glance, the novel seems to take the fantasy of female castration and its consequent features at face value. However, its deep examination enables us to decipher the intricate ways in which the question of female invisibility is adapted and traced back, above all, to the pivotal requirements of patriarchal structures. I will show that Winnie has yielded to the falseness of castrated womanhood, as a repressive complex which is subtly engrained in concepts such as self-effacement, to the

¹ Irigaray is citing Friedrich Engels’ *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (New York: International Publishers, 1972): 137.

² Although enlightening of the domestic-cultural building-up of a woman’s sense of lack, the considered revisions are still contaminated with essentialist fissures. The troublesome aspect that provides ample ground for undercutting their convincing vigour lies in what Butler terms the “globalizing reach” and “failure to acknowledge the specific cultural operations of gender oppression” which is liable to constitute “a kind of epistemological imperialism” (13). This particular criticism points out that the gender perspectives reviewed so far are silent on natural castration in its entrenchment in such unsteady and unpredictable cultural prisms as ethnicity, race and hybridity.

³ I expand Rosalind Minsky’s classification of phallogocentrism as a major short-coming in Freud’s theory --- given that “his construction of gender and the inherent quality within his categories of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’, seem to centre obsessively around the father and the male genital organ”--- to envelope and affect a major body of gender studies, and their literary adaptations, in varying degrees (63).

degree that she ends up almost defending the natural righteousness in the opposition between male favoritism and female worthlessness.

Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* destabilizes the argument about women's sexual inaptness as a natural given *per se* so as to deepen its intrinsic connection with the exclusive configuration of patriarchal cultures. Through the central character's contemplation of an early life span in China, during the Japanese occupation, which is replete with exploitation, abortion, inhibition and rape, despite devotion, diligence and selflessness, Tan's book demonstrates that Winnie's conviction in female inferiority is picked up and imposed by a religious political organism which is founded on purely oppressive gender codes that form the backbone of Winnie's growth from a little girl to a mature woman (*Kitchen* 208-210; 246-247; 505).

The narrative bulk of *The Kitchen God's Wife* mirrors the overt and covert means through which culture filters and reinforces the association between the notions of lack, absence and femininity. It allows us to scrutinize women's low status as second-class citizens, as an outcome of how Winnie "was raised---never to criticize men or the society they ruled, or Confucius" (*Kitchen* 325). Apart from the fact that, back in China, Winnie is brought up as a spoiled girl in a bourgeois milieu that embraces rather Western culture commodities, her later ritualistic preparation for marital life is starkly impregnated with traditional doctrines about feminine demureness (*Kitchen* 106). Right before Winnie's wedding, for instance, her father puts it bluntly to her: "From now on [...] consider what your husband's opinions are. Yours do not matter so much anymore" (*Kitchen* 178). As surrogate mothers, even Winnie's aunts instruct her to believe in her husband and his service as sacramental (*Kitchen* 162-3).

As a result of such indoctrination, Winnie's restrained will throughout the novel becomes understandable, to a large extent. Giving her tyrant husband the upper hand in their conjugal relationship, Winnie diligently humbles herself to fulfil her domestic obligations, spends her dowry money on entertaining her husband and his fellows and resigns to whatever assaults throughout series of chastising intimidations. Ironically, her prevalent function as the angel in the house culminates with her public censure in Chinese mass media as a bad wife and mother, leading, eventually to her imprisonment (*Kitchen* 473-78). As Bella Adams puts it, everything in the media and law system conjures to make of Winnie the "lecherous" violator and of her wicked husband a victim of women's perversity (20).

After all, "Chinese patriarchy is so powerful in its affect that there is no structure, no language" to point at men as criminals, deviants or unsound (Adams 20). Mainly, it helps us grasp Winnie's own comment that "[n]obody worshipped [her] for living with Wen Fu [a husband-rapist]. I was like that wife of kitchen God. Nobody worshipped her either. He got all the excuses. He got all the credit. She was forgotten" (*Kitchen* 322). Reference here is made to an archetypal myth of male superiority suggestive in turn of feminine insignificance, that of the Kitchen God, after which Tan's novel is entitled. We also learn that an altar of the Kitchen God is left to Winnie's daughter in an aunt's will (*Kitchen* 529).

As Tan's text indicates, the traditional Chinese folktale is about the metamorphosis of a rich farmer into the Kitchen God, ironically, after squandering all his wealth on a passionate affair with a pretty Lady and chasing the legal wife out of the house. Unexpectedly, he is

pitied for this misfortune and rewarded with deification; hence, he becomes the Kitchen God who is to judge the behavior of mortals each Chinese New Year, i.e. reporting to the emperor those who should be awarded with good luck or bad luck (*Kitchen* 58-61). The binary core of such a mythical tale serves as an outstanding allegory that underpins masculinity as an epitome of perfection and pre-eminence.

As I have announced in my thesis, despite the fact that the novel under investigation stresses the inevitable cultural roots of the female protagonist's psychological crisis over her insignificant identity as a woman, its commitment to a phallogocentric view of womanhood is also indivisible from its adoption of the myth about Freudian penis envy. There are viable reasons to argue that Winnie's endeavor to heal, substitute and counteract a visibly atrophied body, meaning a decreased subject or degenerate in size, sounds subversive, yet remains caught in phallogocentrism, since it essentially tries to transmute a phallic symbol and bestow it with renewed emotional potentiality (*Webster's*).¹

At this particular level, I argue that even the protagonist's resistant journey is strikingly reminiscent of gender discourses which are reiterative of Freudianism and its principle of penis envy. Afresh rephrasing Freud, Irigaray explains that every girl seeks "to appropriate [the penis] for herself, by all the means at her disposal: by her somewhat servile love of the father-husband capable of giving it to her; by her desire of a penis-child, preferably male; by gaining access to those cultural values which are still 'by right' reserved for males alone" ("Sex" 254). Of the mentioned mechanisms of substitution, *The Kitchen God's Wife*, starting from the novel's title itself, espouses a similar posture of male appropriation by struggling with the myth of Man as God and challenging it through nomenclature. Its stance of mimicking, even usurping and uncovering the phallus of its exceptionality and authenticity, arises to the status of an explicit emblem of a deep recognition of the "feminine position of not-having" (Butler 44).

Somehow following in the footsteps of Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, the teller in Tan's book is equally incited to recoil from a passive contemplation of her individuality as a mere shadow to the interest of enacting a more active gender role. Latent markers of this aspect are foreshadowed by Winnie's protesting response when she hears of the death of the girl-servant raped by her husband and determines to break up her silence and face Wen Fu with his brutality and barbarity (*Kitchen* 330-32). In another token of crossing to the phallic attributes of self-expression, Winnie even works on challenging the legal system that nourishes her rapist's narcissistic power and, hence, the hampering ideology of a sex which is not one, through an eminent volition to endure public censure in Chinese mass media rather than continuing subjugating herself to her husband's lust for violence (*Kitchen* 474-78). As E. D. Huntley comments, her prominent impulse to work on sharpening a vigorous self-consciousness and question the *status quo* speaks to a move from the passivity lending itself to self-containment and self-content toward a newly-formed resistance (102).

However, the gesture the most subversive of conventional gender hierarchies is performed in targeting the patriarchal essence about the very myth of male supremacy. Sensitive to the

¹ I use and understand subversion as a counter discourse technique that consists in standing against or opposing archaic forms and ideas.

unfairness embedded in the folk story of the Kitchen God and, through an episode that coincides with the need to support a low-spirited daughter, Winnie, searches for a symbolical gift in a Chinatown shop which is specialized in trading statues of the principal Chinese deities. After having picked a nameless goddess, Winnie removes the Kitchen God from the altar left to her daughter and replaces it with the nameless statute which is supposed to represent the Kitchen's God's Wife (*Kitchen* 529-32). According to this crucially overturning gesture, Winnie indicates that the dethroned Kitchen God becomes unfit as a gift to decorate Pearl's altar, because he is no more than a trope for a philandering man (*Kitchen*, 58-61).

Winnie seems to reason that, after all, he has become a god despite the mistreatment of his good wife, whom, in her belief, is the one worthy of deification for her tolerance and should be rewarded with another chance to experience happiness (Huntley 85). The whole rationale represents a rectification of the gender standards that have shaped Winnie's earlier sense of dependence and docility and, additionally, demonstrates a repressed complex of penis envy. It is crucial to notice that Winnie's aspiration for denuding the phallus of its singularity makes explicit Tan's negotiable re-writing or disruption of inscriptions which are denotative of firmness in men's phallic power.

Furthermore, what serves the notion of appearing or disguising as the phallus is the subsequent act of Winnie renaming the whole gift Lady Sorrow-free (Huntley 83). The designation Lady Sorrow-free transmogrifies the gift into an incarnation of nurturance, care and consideration, ethics encompassed in the silent gestures of the goddess: "[H]er smile is genuine, wise and innocent at the same time. And her hand, see how she just raised it? That means she is about to speak, or may be she is telling you to speak" (*Kitchen* 531). Winnie goes on explaining to her daughter: "When you are afraid, you can talk to her. She will listen. She will wash away everything sad with her tears. She will use her stick to chase away everything bad" (*Kitchen* 532). She can only assert that the gift takes on the authority to liberate Winnie's daughter of any trouble and nurture her spirit with self-expression, besides resurrecting all of Tan's mothers in *The Joy Luck Club* and their endless good intentions. Not only does she overturn the traditional values associated with femininity such as compliance and repression, by inciting articulation which harkens back to a common credit of speech and telling in women's writings, but further valorizes its potential generosity in affection, empathy and support.

As a result of using Tan's book in an endeavour to illustrate how feminine identity and its embedding with undermining values such as lack and absence are constructed, I have attempted to demonstrate that this text affirms but also adds volatility to the conventional complex of the "garçon manqué" and, at times, amounts to a mere complicit variation on the inseparable trio of natural castration, phallic masquerade and penis envy (Beauvoir 296).¹ Both in the denunciation of hegemonic structures and parody of androcentric fantasies, Tan reads with what Irigaray calls a sex which is not one and stresses gender binarism.

In the meantime, although through a masculinist representation of femininity, it should be acknowledged that Tan downplays the importance of sexuality in the development of the

¹ Beauvoir's own translation of "garçons manqués" is "children who lack something of being boys," which implies that Beauvoir, in her turn, takes for granted the Freudian mythology of female lack or invisibility (*Webster's*).

feminine gender to shade the latter with male-centred androgynic and ethnic modalities, as Butler terms it (3).¹ Hence, in reading against the negativist grain of invisible sexual anatomy, we are enlightened to the fluctuating cultural interference in shaping the world's phallogocentric denotations of sex / gender differences, giving utter validity to the word and male realm (*Penguin*).

More to the point, Tan's paradigmatic idea of subjecting an essentialist mythical heritage, in its redolence with male favouritism, to subversive renaming carries within it certain perpetuation of binary ideologies and oppositions.² Throughout her protagonist's later endeavours to usurp "the power to 'embody' the Phallus", Tan expresses an overtly disputable wish for achieving masculinity (Butler 44). Accordingly, her descriptions and recastings of femininity epitomize that woman's "mimicry of masculine behaviour in the name of equality [...] significantly thwarts the possibility of any enduring manifestation of female distinctiveness", albeit Tan re-valorises compassion and empathy as feminine constructs (Schoene 286).

A reading with and against the stereotyped interpretation of being sexually and genderly different as being deficient is best illustrative of the troublesome complex inspirations that Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife* has borrowed from the predominant theoretical models. It demonstrates that the relationship between theory and practice is one of both attraction and hostility, support and criticism, adoption and adaptation, enlightenment and contamination. As a result, Tan's re-inscriptive representations of gender symbols and themes in the archaic realm of female inferiority turn out ambivalently replete with assets, possibilities and yet liabilities. Among these, we can mainly mention her destabilized image as Orientalist in the sense of promoting Westernized misrepresenting constructions of the Orient (Ashcroft et al. 167).

¹ My understanding of androcentrism is based on a general designation of what is "dominated by or emphasizing masculine interests of a masculine point of view" (*Webster's*).

² I am using essentialist to describe the process of assuming the presence of defining "characteristics distinguishing the feminine from the masculine" (Ashcroft et. al).

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Reconstituting the Self: Of Names, Discourses and Agency in Amma Darko's

Beyond the Horizon

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Abstract

*What "Mara" signifies and how this is constitutive of the quest for a conscious but problematic postcolonial transnational subjectivity has rarely reverberated in the burgeoning critical commentary on Amma Darko's *Beyond the Horizon*. This paper explores how 'Mara' functions in *Beyond the Horizon* as a name and concept that summons a specific biblical discourse that foregrounds female migratory subjectivity, vulnerability, dispossession and redemption, and a Fanti concept of a beleaguered and ethical subjectivity that emerges from complicity, radical decision and agency. The paper demonstrates that these discourses are pertinent in determining how Mara reconstitutes her subjectivity at the margins of Empire. The paper contributes to our understanding of how literary names designate and conceptualise experience, function as archetypal and intertextual coda that gesture, to borrow Judith Butler's words for our purposes, to "a world beyond themselves [and] their boundaries," and therefore have rhetorical and thematic force. How Mara negotiates the problematics of capture is therefore crucial to Darko's narrative of awakening.*

Keywords: Amma Darko, Mara, agency, postcolonial, vulnerability, discourse, Corporeal liberation.

There is no closure of discourse, discourse only ever being a compromise—or bricolage—between what it is legitimate to say, what one would like to contend or argue, and what one is forced to recognize. Michèle Le Doeuff, *The Philosophical Imaginary*

Introduction

Two deep structural logics drive the narrative dynamics in Amma Darko's debut novel, *Beyond the Horizon*: the demythologization of Europe as the privileged place of redemption for marginalised subjects from the periphery of the global system, and the possibility of corporeal redemption or liberation. The two trajectories are not mutually exclusive. They are intimately linked and interdependent: the disappointment of the initial fantasy and hope becomes the precondition for Mara's awakening and reconstitution of the self and identity. At the end of the novel, we are confronted with a beleaguered postcolonial subject, Mara, the narrator and protagonist, who is trapped in Germany, Europe, and abandons Ghana and Africa for fear that her forced illicit prostitution activities might be exposed (139). As a result, she resigns herself to sending "material things" (140) to her relations in Ghana. Mara thus disavows and redefines intimacy and filiation. Instead, what is entrenched is a structure of dependency that problematically bypasses the question of integrity and responsibility.

From the above perspective, Mara's experiences and abnegation of home constitutes Darko's interrogation of Europe as the horizon of hope in the imagination of the postcolonial subject, and a critique of the fetish of "The Cargo" mentality or consumerism that Ayi Kwei Armah, in his *Fragments*, identifies as the curse of Africa. Europe emerges in Darko's novel, then, not as the "privileged topos" (Chambers 14) but as the locus of shame, solitude, invisibility and annihilation of peripheral people like "economic migrants, exiles and refugees" (Odamtten 104)¹. This interpretation, which is representative of the dominant reading that has crystallised around *Beyond the Horizon*, presents Mara as a tragic victim of fantasy and naivety, patriarchal violence, and contemporary global structures of dependency and flows of illicit labour (Odamtten 1, 53, 104). Thus, it is unsurprising that Angsotinge, Dako, Denkabe, and Yitah have described the novel as "a tale of exploitation, broken hopes and promises" (86).

However, this dominant critical attitude obscures and occludes the novel's essential structural logic of awakening and possibility or redemption that revolves around Mara's negotiation of apparatuses of domination and exploitation. If, as O'Connell and Odamtten have insisted, *Beyond the Horizon* is "primarily a coming-of-age narrative" (49), then it is crucial that, in addition to the issues of patriarchal violence and betrayal, exploitation, shame, and the demythologization of Europe, we pay attention to the novel's mechanics or rhetoric of

reconstituting a postcolonial transnational female subjectivity at the heart of Empire.² Otherwise, it is problematic to characterise the novel as a narrative of awakening without adverting to the inscription of agency, voice and emergence, however tenuous that may be. This is because the coming-of-age narrative hinges on a transformational structure that inscribes difference in terms of cognitive awareness and valuation of moments, events and incidents that define the character's maturational trajectory.

To focus on the novel as a coming-of-age narrative that emphasises the protagonist-narrator's reconstitution of the self or identity is to raise the crucial issue of the place of the proper name, Mara, and its relation to discourses of migratory subjectivity, precarity, vulnerability, agency and corporeal redemption. Unfortunately, although various theoretical perspectives have been brought to bear on *Beyond the Horizon*, rarely has attention been drawn to the proper name Mara as the central axis around which the rhetoric and discourse of the crisis of hope and identity, and the quest for liberation revolves. In this paper, therefore, we propose to explore the semantics of 'Mara' in the construction of *Beyond the Horizon* as a narrative of awakening that traces Mara's transformation from a compliant village girl in Naka, Ghana, to a perceptive reader, in Germany, of the multifaceted patriarchal and transnational regimes that exploit women. We contend that 'Mara' functions as a *translinguistic*³ concept that invokes a specific biblical discourse of female migratory subjectivity, vulnerability, dispossession and the possibility of redemption, and a specific Fanti notion of a beleaguered and ethical subjectivity that revolves around complicity, responsibility, radical decision and agency. We demonstrate that these cultural texts are pertinent to determining not only what 'Mara' signifies but also what "history" Mara makes in the novel. By "making history" we are drawing on Marx's seminal insight that "Men (sic) make their own history, but not of their free will; not under circumstances they themselves have chosen but under the given and inherited circumstances with which they are directly confronted" (185). Our analysis will reveal that Marx's notions of structure and agency, history and the mechanics of the constitution of agency and freedom are relevant to understanding Mara's appropriation of the biblical story of Naomi and the Fanti discourse of problematic and ethical subjectivity to reconstitute her identity. However, rather than the grand or revolutionary history that Marx dwells on, we argue that Darko focuses on *herstory*; how the making of *herstory* depends on negotiating diabolical normative structures and ideologies of oppression or corporeal commodification of the female body. What constitutes 'history' making in *Beyond the Horizon* must, therefore, be seen not as a radical rapture but as an ethical investment that revolves around Mara's deliberate acts or tactics that interrogate the foundational logics of the patriarchy that use women as "objects in male transaction" (Gough, 69).⁴

Focusing on the semantics of names as central to Mara's reconstitution of the self or

identity therefore places emphasis on how Darko explores the possibility of corporeal redemption from ideologies and figures that produce “corporeal vulnerability” (Athanasios 98). Semantics of names in this paper refers to the multiple discourses and meanings inscribed in ‘Mara’ as a personal name in Darko’s novel. Mara does not just designate an entity in *Beyond the Horizon*; it also posits a form of migratory subjectivity, ethical attitude and awakening. To arrive at this conclusion requires an appreciation of the discourses that Mara as a name summons. As Anderson rightly points out “the use of names can serve various functions, and this may be reflected in our knowledge concerning a particular name-referent” (83). Following Anderson, we are interested in the discursive referents invoked by Darko’s deployment of Mara as a proper name. In pursuit of this objective, we have disaggregated Mara into its biblical (Jewish) and Fanti semantic frames not only to highlight their dialogical, thematic and rhetorical ‘dramatization’ in the novel but, crucially, to indicate how they contribute to Darko’s exploration of female migratory liminality, crisis of identity, and reconstitution of the self. Perhaps it is worth stressing that this disaggregation is as germane for analytical purposes as it is for showing that the success of Darko’s craft in *Beyond the Horizon* is the interpenetration of these discourses in a manner that make their identification almost indiscernible to the uncritical reader. Finally, we use ‘agency’ in terms of Emirbaýer and Mische’s reconceptualisation of human agency as “temporally embedded” practices of “social engagement” that are informed by the past and the present, but oriented toward the future, alternative configurations or ways of being (963). It is our view that Darko’s framing of her protagonist-narrator’s experiences around Mara as a name and a concept is critical to appreciating not just the nature of Mara’s inventiveness and choice with a view to redefining what it means *to be*⁵, it also emphasises the interconnectedness of experience, discourses of migratory subjectivity, complicity, ethics and radical decision. The paper concludes by drawing attention to some implications of focusing on the significance of Mara to the reading *Beyond the Horizon*.

1.1 Echoes of Naomi: Framing postcolonial migratory subjectivity, bitterness and dispossession

The first discourse that Darko invokes for her protagonist-narrator through the strategic choice of the name Mara is the biblical migratory narrative of Naomi. The significance of the biblical account of Naomi’s transformation to a reading of Darko’s novel is multidimensional. It functions as a typology of how precarity or crisis at home becomes the incentive for positioning another country as the horizon; a site that generates a specific conceptual figure that addresses female dispossession and shame in the context of migratory subjectivity; a frame for exploring the horizon as a problematic and therefore how the foreign country as the redemptive place may be disappointed.

According to the Book of *Ruth* in the Old Testament, Elimelech, his wife Naomi, and their two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, are forced by famine in Bethlehem, Judea, to migrate to Moab. Tragedy, however, strikes as Naomi loses her husband and two sons. On hearing that the situation in Judah has changed for the better, Naomi returns to Bethlehem but this time a destitute accompanied only by Ruth, her widowed daughter-in-law. So deteriorated has Naomi become that when she arrives in Bethlehem, the womenfolk register their consternation: “Is this Naomi?” (1:19). Perhaps ashamed of and embittered by the dramatic reversal of her fortunes which positions her as a failure, without social status and recognition, Naomi takes the radical step by changing her name to Mara which means “Bitter”: “Don’t call me Naomi, she told them, call me Mara because the Almighty (Shaddai) has made my life very bitter. I went away full but the Lord has brought me back empty (1:20). Since Naomi means “Pleasant” Mara, for Naomi, represents the supreme designation for a calamitous state of dispossession and shame. By this singular act Naomi taps into a dominant Old Testament conceptualisation of catastrophe, misfortune, or radical degeneration or devaluation of being into bare life — Mara (Job 3:20; 7:11; 10:1; 21:25; 1; Sam 15:32; Isa 38:17). Naomi’s act of self-naming or constitution marks the first time in the Bible that *Mara* occurs with reference to a woman’s situation. What is more, it is also the first instantiation of a character deliberately assuming *Mara* as a proper name to describe her terrible circumstances that results from migration. This originary convergence of migration, gender, bitterness, dispossession, shame, alienation and the crisis of identity makes the biblical Mara, as an archetypal female figure and as a concept, which articulates a particular form of contingent existence, significant for Darko’s interrogation of transnational travel and the postcolonial female subject.

By invoking Naomi’s story Darko not only constructs an interpretive community; she also sets in motion the potent trope of repetition and difference that highlights the parallels and, especially, the differences in the conceptualisation of the source of the bitterness of the tough situation Mara is confronted with in Germany. Three issues stand out in this recontextualisation of Naomi’s story in the dynamics of global mobility. The first relates to how crisis at home becomes the push factor for migrating to the ‘beyond’ for greener pastures or a better life. In “Amma Darko: Writing Her Way, Creating a Writing Life,” Louise Allen Zak situates Darko’s life and the writing of *Beyond the Horizon* in Germany within the larger historical context of the socio-economic and food crisis that hit Ghana in the 1980s. In an uncanny echo or repetition of the drought that forced Naomi and her family to migrate to Moab, Zak argues that the “several seasons of drought and bush fires had created severe food shortages” in Ghana forced Amma Darko to move to Germany in search of greener pastures (13). In Zak’s view, then, what we read in *Beyond the Horizon* is the fictionalisation of the real: the re-presentation of Amma Darko’s first-hand experiences of the fate of postcolonial women trapped in what Odamtten has aptly

described as the “blank of whiteness” (120). In both the biblical and Darko’s stories, it is easy to see how precarity at home forces the characters to view the foreign country as the place of redemption.

Secondly, while for Naomi the assumption of the name Mara is a temporary marker of what Victor Matthews has aptly described as her “doubly liminal based on physical location and social status” (cited in Lau, 126), the same cannot be said for Darko’s protagonist-narrator. Following Matthews, Lau contends that, for Naomi, Mara “symbolises the way she feels [and] also corresponds to her liminal phase” (126). We find confirmation of this when toward the end of the Book of *Ruth* Naomi no longer objects to being called Naomi. This is because her status has changed and she has become more integrated into the community (4:14-17): she has regained her social recognition. Mara is no longer appropriate for her. On the other hand, in *Beyond the Horizon*, when Mara has transformed herself from being “totally green” and her status recognised, she declines the suggestion from Kaye, her friend, to change her name to commensurate with her new identity: “You are no more you, Mara. You’ve changed.” Unlike the biblical Naomi, Mara objects: “No, Kaye. I’m still me. I have just understood the world better” (127). As we show in our reading of ‘Mara’ as a Fanti word, Mara’s refusal to change her name is important to how she reconstitutes herself. While Kaye’s suggestion for a change of name indicates that, she rightly interprets ‘Mara’ as bitterness, shame, naivety and exploitation, Mara’s insistence on holding on to her name suggests a perceptive understanding of the multiple connotations of the Fanti word unavailable to Kaye. Furthermore, Mara’s insistence on maintaining her name is a recognition that genuine liberation is a process and not a single dramatic event.

Thirdly, the other key departure Darko introduces in her subtle appropriation of the Naomi narrative is Mara’s refusal to return home for fear of the shame that will come with the potent Naomi-like question “Is this Mara?” This is not to suggest that by refusing to return Mara averts shame. The difference lies in Darko’s strategic relocation of the source of the shame. For Mara, shame is not triggered by the community’s failure to recognise the returnee (she does not return anyway) but by a deeper personal realisation that she has been made dirty, made impure sexually, and that she is complicit in that corporeal devaluation.

The invocation of Naomi’s story therefore seeks to highlight the enormity of Mara’s situation. Unlike Naomi who eventually decides to return home, Bethlehem, to pursue a different redemptive path, Mara denies herself that possibility for fear of shame. In a way, then, Darko disrupts the emplotment we find in the biblical narrative. This emerges by comparing Darko’s reconfiguration of the structure of the Naomi’s story. The Naomi story has a tripartite structure: an “Israelite in her home country; to Israelite sojourner in Moab; to Israelite repatriate” (Lau 121).

To heighten the complex condition of the postcolonial female migratory subject, Darko's novel leaves out the returnee phase.

While Mara's liminality is important to reading *Beyond the Horizon*, Darko's emphasis is more on Mara's growing awareness of the multifaceted players in her oppression, her complicity in her own oppression, and the decisive actions she initiates to reclaim some integrity and ownership over where the money that accrues from her prostitution goes. It is precisely in the context of these thematics of complicity and radical decision that the biblical story of Naomi becomes inadequate as a framing and interpretive device. In addition, unlike Naomi who frames her bitterness within the Jewish epistemology of the relationship between the Jew and her God, Mara contextualizes her bitterness within the matrix of patriarchal domination and the precarious conditions at home that make postcolonial subjects to view Europe as the horizon. For Naomi the Almighty has a hand in her bitterness. In other words, while Naomi's bitterness emanates from her bereavement, disempowerment, and loss of social recognition as a returnee, Mara's bitterness is the result of male domination and betrayal, her complicity and the impossibility of returning home. Nonetheless, for both figures, at the core of their bitterness and sense of humiliation or shame is the feeling of nothingness or loss of a former status. As Naomi aptly put it: "I went away full but the Lord has brought me back empty" (1:21). Similarly, Mara describes herself as this "bit of garbage that once used to be me" (3). So convinced is Mara about her degeneration that she concludes that, "Material things are all I can offer them, as for myself, there's nothing dignified and decent left of me to give them" (140). For Darko, therefore, it is this corporeal indignity; this reduction of the body to a commodity or an object of exploitation and abuse that constitutes the very nadir of devaluation.

The biblical story of Naomi thus sheds light on Darko's focus on the bitter experiences of Mara in a foreign land. Naomi's migratory experience thus functions as a subtle hermeneutic and epistemic code that partly speaks to the existential crisis of postcolonial subjects like Mara whose precarious or embattled subjectivity interrogates the notion of the beyond. Although this is the case, we must emphasise that what is at stake in the two narratives is not the abandonment of the desire for the beyond. Rather it is how the trope of the beyond functions as the mechanism for plotting the incorporation of the other in a grand genealogy of redemption (the biblical story), and as a critique of the systemic inequities in the postcolony that create the conditions for the emergence of Euro-America as potent charms for postcolonial subjects (Darko's story). Herein lies the political in Darko's title: by deconstructing the privileged status of Europe, by secularizing the biblical Naomi discourse and thereby placing it in a postcolonial and contemporary temporality of global mobility of persons (licit and illicit) or transnationalism, Darko forces us to rethink the very notion 'beyond', especially of its depiction of Europe as

redemption.

Furthermore, by subtly invoking Naomi's story as constitutive to *Beyond the Horizon*, Darko establishes a transhistorical dimension for exploring female migratory experiences, bitterness and oppression. Like Naomi, for whom Moab fails to deliver the promise of liberation, Mara's initial fantastic conception of Europe as a kind of Eldorado for the postcolonial subject evaporates when she comes face-to-face with the reality of life in Germany. In the opening scenes of *Beyond the Horizon*, the reader is confronted with Mara staring painfully at what is left of what once used to be her image:

I am sitting here before my large oval mirror. I like oval things... I am staring painfully at an image. My image? No! – What is left of what once used to be my image and from my left and right, all about me, I keep hearing chuckles and pantings, wild bedspring, creaks, screaming oohs and yelling aahs, they are coming from rooms that are the same as mine, rooms where the same things are more as they are in mine. And in all of them, there are pretty women like myself (p.1).

The significance of this passage is that Mara registers her personal devaluation and at same time captures, within the poignant economy of her narration, the terrible plight of a mass of pretty women caught in the prostitution of their bodies. It is a dark world dominated by a perverse libidinal economy run by bodily oligarchs who parade as Lords, masters, and pimps over vulnerable women reduced to the degrading status of pawns, slaves and property (3). Caught in this painful situation, Mara as 'bitter' signifies a particular form migratory subjectivity.

The Fanti Mara: Framing Vulnerability, Complicity and Radical decision

We have suggested that although Naomi's narrative of transformation is pertinent to interpreting *Beyond the Horizon*, it is also fundamentally inadequate. The limitation lies in its inability to grapple with and foreground the issues of complicity and radical decision, corporeal integrity and liberation that are critical to Mara's migratory subjectivity and reconstitution of the self. It is here that Darko makes her most radical rhetorical and interpretive move by incorporating an indigenous Fanti conception of the emergence of a beleaguered and ethical subject. We must stress that we are not the first to point to Darko's appropriation of Fanti (Akan) concepts or notions in her novel. Louise Allen Zak has shown that "beyond the horizon", or overseas" (13) is the English rendition of the Akan word *aburokyire*. Unfortunately, while this is illuminating, Zak does not explore the subtlety of this notion to subjectivity and identity formation in the novel. The concept of *aburokyire* transcends the spatial (as overseas or beyond

the horizon); it is intimately associated with a particular structure of feeling wherein the sojourner to the Whiteman's land is the bringer of the material boon of the West that radically transforms her personal and family social status. Mara's particular sense of complicity, failure, shame and abnegation of home partly derives from this social definition of *aburokyire*. However, *aburokyire* is not the only Fanti notion in Darko's novel. *Mara* functions as another important Fanti concept in *Beyond the Horizon*. More than naming the protagonist-narrator, *Mara* as a Fanti word functions, rhetorically, as the ethical conceptual horizon through which we are to view Darko's novel as narrative of awakening and self-constitution. While *aburokyire* emphasises migratory discourse and transnational location of hope and redemption, *Mara* speaks to the notion of voice, responsibility, agency and embattled subjectivity. To grasp the specificity of these meanings we need to unravel the context of application.

Unlike the biblical meaning of Mara as bitter, Mara in Fanti, although superficially a pronoun, is complex in terms of the associated meanings it generates or summons. Mara is the Fanti word for the emphatic I and Me. In its extended form it means "It's me" or "I'm the one" Although used in various contexts or discourse situations, it acquires its criticality when deployed as an emphatic riposte to a question or situation that explicitly or tacitly demands the affirmation or denial of ethical responsibility. Consequently, to say *Mara* ("It's me" or "I'm the one") is to refer to either of two things or both simultaneously: first, an acknowledgement of complicity in an act or situation that is ethically degrading or shameful. Second, an audacious act that signals ownership of an action. In other words, it is a subtle form of defiance or contestation of ideologies of silence and invisibility. *Mara* thus reifies agency and voice in a problematic situation that otherwise demands subordination and silence. In a deeply epistemological sense, Mara is no just a proper name but a positionality, a manner of responding to a problematic world and one's place in it. Mara, then, as a Fanti word is structured by dialogism in the sense that its condition of possibility as an utterance is founded on the existence of the Other that enforces the interdiction or prohibition which devalues and makes Mara as a subject invisible. Our contention then is that when Darko names her protagonist-narrator Mara, she is doing something more than assigning a proper name. She is signifying a specific form of beleaguered subjectivity in whom we have the paradoxical coexistence of Mara as complicity and Mara as the radical emergence of agency and voice in a challenging world that views one's place as insignificant or ethically compromised.

Perhaps a few examples from the novel will suffice to substantiate our claim. First, we will focus on Mara as an acknowledgment of the protagonist-narrator's complicity in her shameful state in Germany. Contrary to Mawuli Adjei's criticism of Darko of male bashing, Mara in telling her plight focuses on how her fantasy and naivety contribute to her manipulation by her husband,

Akobi. Mara's complicity derives from two sources. Firstly, her assumption, partly through the advice of her mother, that "a wife was there for man for one thing...to ensure his well-being and pleasure" (13). The result is that Mara comes to regard suffering as an essential part of being a wife (13). Secondly, Europe has such a potent hold on the imagination of Mara and the people of Naka that the possibility that Europe could be anything other than redemptive is not entertained. As Mara regretfully recalls; "Ah, when we were young in Naka we used to imagine Europe not just to be near Heaven but Heaven itself...That is why people who go there return very beautiful" (55). This magical hold of Europe has consequences. Not only does Mara willingly agree to her husband selling off her clothes and jewellery to make possible the dream of going to Europe but as she confesses, "[I]f Akobi had suggested there and then a wish to sell me...I would gladly have agreed" (35). By these examples, Mara indicates her complicity in her enslavement and liminality in Germany. Indeed, Mara in this context means, "I am partly responsible or to be blamed for my degradation."

At the same time, that Mara signifies taking ownership or responsibility for an act in order to emphasise agency, voice and ethical investment is also exemplified in the novel. While the interpretation of Mara as complicity has negative connotations and indicates passivity in the Spinozian sense of being acted upon, this second meaning of Mara is largely positive. Mara in this context foregrounds the deliberate actions the protagonist-narrator takes to ensure her limited freedom: the imprisonment of Akobi, her husband; the fraudulent measures she takes to acquire a five-year resident's visa to stay in Germany; and her final radical decision to make prostitution her profession. These agential acts place her in a good position to send material things to her relations back home. Indeed, the possibility of narration in *Beyond the Horizon* stems from the acquisition of voice or the emergence of a Mara who understands "the world a bit better" (127). Part of the advantage of learning to negotiate the problematic world in which Mara finds herself is the acquisition of "allowance of audacity" as "a parcel of civilisation" that manifests itself in her ability "to assert my opinions and get away with it...to ask relatively daring questions" that back home would have been considered an anathema (80, 81). With these attainments, we can appreciate the significance of Mara as defiance, contestation, agency and voice. In fact, voice in Darko's novel is inseparable from this idea of Mara as contestation and audacity to assert her opinions. As Giroux argues:

The concept of voice points to ways in which one's voice becomes an elaboration of location, experience, and history and as well constitutes forms of subjectivity. To speak of voice is to address the wider issue of how people become either subjects who are agents in the process of making history or how they function as subjects oppressed and exploited within the various discursive and institutional boundaries that produce dominant and subordinate cultures in any

society” (70).

Our reading so far indicates that rather than focusing on Mara as a proper name, Darko draws on Fanti epistemology of naming to inscribe in “Mara” the double function of voice to which Giroux refers.

Conclusion

We conclude by focusing on the implications of our emphasis on the semantics of the name Mara to a critical engagement with *Beyond the Horizon*. Firstly, the paper suggests that a nuanced reading of Darko’s novel calls into question the charge of male bashing. We have demonstrated that placing the name Mara within Fanti cultural and epistemological context reveals an insistence on Mara’s complicity in her state of affairs. In “Male-bashing and narrative subjectivity in Amma Darko’s first three novels,” Mawuli Adjei demonstrates the narrative utility of the highly subjective fictional *I* in Darko’s works. However, Adjei’s fundamental thesis that Darko deploys the first person narrative voice in order to “bash” men needs to be interrogated - especially in relation to *Beyond the Horizon* - as our reading has shown that such conclusions appear hasty and simplistic. In other words, simply focusing on the *I* without also paying attention to how that subjective voice is supplemented and undermined by other key notions or ideas embedded in the name that deploys the *I*, for example, may lead to a tenuous conclusion. This means that to grasp the totality of the text we must advert to the intricate interplay among the various aspects make up the text.

Secondly, our reading shows that literary names can function as narrative or discursal sub-texts in a literary work. A perceptive attention to the discursal or narrative referents of Mara in *Beyond the Horizon* is therefore essential to the narrative of awakening and reconstitution of identity in the novel. Rather than seeing Mara as operating only as a proper name, we have demonstrated that it may be exegetically rewarding also to view it as an intertextual node that summons series of sub-texts that open up areas of blindness in the novel. To borrow the words of the literary critic Terry Eagleton for our purposes, what we have tried to do by focusing on the semantics of Mara in *Beyond the Horizon* is to construct

what may be called a “sub-text” for the work—a text which runs within it, visible at certain “symptomatic” points of ambiguity, evasion or overemphasis, and which we as readers are able to “write” even if the novel itself does not. All literary works contain one or more such sub-texts, and there is a sense in which they may be spoken of as the “unconscious” of the work itself. The work’s insights, as with all writing, are deeply related to its blindnesses: what

it does not say, and *how* it does not say it, may be as important as what it articulates; what seems absent, marginal or ambivalent about it may provide a central clue to its meanings (178).

In other words, it is when we make the name ‘Mara’ central to the narrative of awakening that the biblical story of Naomi’s transformation emerges as essential to the mechanics of Mara’s reconstitution of her identity.

In sum we have demonstrated that placing the name Mara within the biblical and Fanti cultural epistemological contexts reveals an acknowledgment of Mara’s complicity in her shameful state of affairs as well as representing a delicate form of boldness in responding to issues in an otherwise prejudiced world. Such a reading then complicates the tendency to characterise her as a passive character. ‘Mara’ as a proper name of *Beyond the Horizon* does merely designate the protagonist-narrator, it speaks to the experience of migratory subjectivity, vulnerability and at also posits a radical re-positioning of the character from a compliant and passive subject to an active agent determined to redefine her place in the libidinal economy of exchange. Mara is therefore a history making subject who compelled by the circumstances that reifies a pernicious form of corporeal exchange

¹ As our reading demonstrate this negative perspective on Europe is undermined by the fact that Europe also functions as the locus where the juridical system allows Mara to prosecute her oppressors especially her husband who lured her Germany, Akobi. Europe therefore functions simultaneously as the locus of invisibility and liberation.

² By Empire, we are not referring to imperialism, colonial expansion or acquisition of territories and domination of others. Rather as Negri and Hardt have argued Empire refers to “a new global order, logic and structure of rule”

wherein we witness the “irreversible globalization of economic and cultural exchanges” (xi). In this form of globalisation, Europe and America appear as magical sites of redemption for people in troubled regions of the world.

⁴ See Kathleen Gough, “The origin of the Family” where she lists eight manifestations or features of male power: men’s ability to deny women sexuality or to force it upon them; to command or exploit their labor to control their produce; to control or rub them of their children; to confine them physically and prevent their movement; to use them as objects of male transactions; to cramp their creativeness; or to withhold from them large areas of society’s knowledge and cultural attainment” (69-70)

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Social-affective strategy instruction in EFL materials: The case of English textbooks and official programs in Tunisia

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Abstract

This paper reports on the findings of a descriptive study which sought to evaluate the integration of social-affective strategy instruction in EFL official documents and textbooks used in basic and secondary education in Tunisia. The study relied on document survey, and used qualitative and quantitative methods. The corpus under investigation included official programs, textbooks, and teacher's guidebooks for grade 6 and 9 of basic education, and grade 3 of secondary education in Tunisia. The results of the study indicated that the implementation of social-affective strategy instruction in textbooks was limited and mostly implicit. Although the official programs tended to provide solid foundations for strategy instruction, they fell short of offering explicit guidelines thereof. A promising finding, however, was that the textbooks made use of content areas and activities which can very well host social-affective strategy instruction if intended by teachers and material designers. Implications of the study as well as recommendations for teachers and material designers are presented and discussed in this paper.

Keywords: Social-affective strategies, Strategy instruction, Material design, EFL textbooks, Oral skills, Task-based instruction.

Introduction

The strategy area in second language (L2) learning has cumulated so far almost 40 years of research with variance in research activity rate and a constant debate on future research directions. However, a general consensus among strategy researchers implies that learning strategies are characteristics of effective learners (Wong and Nunan, 2011), and that strategy instruction may lead to success in language learning if explicitly integrated in the curriculum (Chamot, 2004; Cohen, 2009; Griffiths & Oxford, 2014). Although promising strategy instruction models have been carried out (Chamot, 2005; Cohen & Weaver, 2005; Harris & Grenfell, 2004; Nakatani, 2005; Naughton, 2006), only few studies dealt with the use and design of strategy-based textbooks in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts.

This study attempted to investigate strategy instruction in EFL materials with a focus on social-affective strategies in oral skills, an area which received little but significant attention in strategy research (e.g., Cohen, 1998; Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Graham & Macaro, 2008; Ma & Oxford, 2014; Nakatani, 2005, 2006). It was also the intention of the present study to bring together three learning aspects, namely, materials development, oral skills (listening and speaking), and social-affective strategies in order to give an account of a domain-specific strategy instruction. It should be noted however that the results and implications of this study are to be considered carefully, taking into account degrees of abstraction dictated by the study's scope. A critical reading of the findings implies a holistic approach to strategy instruction that emphasizes the interdependence between social-affective strategies – the focus of this study – and other strategy categories, application of strategy use to the different skills, and considering learner variables, task specificities and the context of learning. This paper starts with a theoretical discussion on relevant issues to strategy instructional materials, then presents and discusses results and implications of the present study.

1. Theoretical background

Social-affective learning strategies are the different mental and behavioral mechanisms learners use either to come to grips with emotional and socio-cultural challenges they encounter in their learning process or to improve their learning capacities. Griffiths (2010) defines social-affective strategies, among other strategy types, as the “activities consciously chosen by learners for the purpose of regulating their own language learning” (p.1). Affective strategies, also called self-motivational strategies (Dörnyei, 2003), assist learners in dealing with personality factors which are believed to impair their progress in learning and using the language such as debilitating anxiety, low self-esteem, and negative attitudes. Social strategies, sometimes referred to as sociocultural strategies (Savignon & Sysoyev, 2002), “help the learner work with others and understand the target culture as well as the language” (Oxford, 2003: 14).

The fact that social-affective strategies have been found to exhibit positive correlations with different learner variables such as motivation (Dörnyei, 2003), learning styles (Cohen, 2009; Ma & Oxford, 2014; Uhrig, 2015; Wong & Nunan, 2011), personality types (Liyanage &

Bartlett, 2013), multiple intelligences (Akbari & Hosseini, 2008), and self-regulation (Bidjerano & Dai, 2007), and relate significantly to success in language learning (see for e.g., Bremner, 1999; Griffiths, 2010; Griffiths & Oxford, 2014; Lan & Oxford, 2003; Wong & Nunan, 2011; and Yammamori, Isoda, Hiromori, & Oxford, 2003) have led many strategy scholars to call for the inclusion of these techniques in FL curricular.

1.1. Rationale for teaching social-affective strategies

There is sound evidence in strategy research that social-affective strategies can facilitate L2 learning and may contribute to language proficiency (Chou, 2004; Ma & Oxford, 2014; Oxford, 1990, 2003; Wong & Nunan, 2011). In a paper on social-affective strategy use, Chou (2004) postulates that social-affective strategies have the potential to improve learners' communicative competence and motivation if these techniques are seriously considered in the classroom. Earlier studies on learning strategies and strategy training (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Oxford, 1990; Ross & Rost, 1991; Wenden & Rubin, 1987) have identified many strategy features that have to do with the learnability as well as the teachability of these techniques. More recently, Griffiths and Oxford (2014) and Wong and Nunan (2011) among others still advocate the potential of integrating social-affective strategies in teaching. Evidence from outside strategy research also advances the concept of social-affective strategy instruction. Two main sources have helped and supported the inclusion of these techniques into language classrooms: *Humanistic education* and *self-regulated learning*, both of which bear a close relationship to the social-affective strategy domain.

Humanistic approaches to language learning and teaching (Legutke & Thomas, 1991; Moskowitz, 1978) have called for humanizing the FL classroom by promoting learners' self-actualization and personal growth. This view has also been endorsed by educational psychology research into the concept of self-regulated learning (SRL) (for a review of SRL, see Bidjerano & Dai, 2007; Cleary, 2006). Social-affective strategies fall into the self-motivating category of the SRL model, and are considered as prerequisites for developing learners' motivation (Dörnyei, 2003) and the different dimensions of learners' self concept, namely, self-regulation and self-efficacy (Bidjerano & Dai, 2007).

Studies investigating the relationship between strategy use and proficiency (see for e.g., Bremner, 1999; Griffiths, 2010; Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Lan & Oxford, 2003; Oxford & Ehrman, 1995; Yammamori, Isoda, Hiromori, & Oxford, 2003) have shown that the relationship is generally held to be a significant one, particularly in oral performance (Cohen, Weaver, & Li, 1998; Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Nakatani, 2006; Naughton, 2006). In their study on EFL elementary school children, Lan and Oxford (2003) found that high-proficiency learners attended to social-affective strategies with a higher frequency than did their medium- and lower-proficiency peers. Likewise, Nakatani (2006), investigating strategy use among EFL Japanese learners, has demonstrated that students scoring high on an oral test employed social-affective strategies more than did those with low scores. Intervention studies (for e.g., Cohen, Weaver, & Li, 1998; Naughton, 2006; O'Malley, 1987) have also come up with evidence showing a

significant improvement in learners' achievement after receiving a special training in strategy use relative to a control group which did not undergo the training. Other studies have shown that affective strategies are underused by learners (see Bremner, 1999; Hong-Nam & Leavell, 2006), and that social strategies like cooperation do not attract students unless they undergo a special training, and get teacher encouragement (Harish, 2014).

It is also worth mentioning that the potential of social-affective strategy instruction is not limited to proficiency. Training learners in the use of social-affective strategies has been shown to play a major role in enhancing learner autonomy and self-confidence (Chamot, 1999), self-direction (Gan, 2004), motivation and positive attitudes (Dörnyei, 2003; Kao & Oxford, 2014), and learner self-evaluation (Nikolov, 2006). It should be noted, however, that the incorporation of social-affective strategies in EFL programs and materials evokes a number of challenges teachers and educators should take into account.

1.2. Materials in strategy instruction

Designing or adapting teaching materials to incorporate social-affective strategies among other strategies requires a number of prerequisites such as considering task nature, content, and the appropriate models and frameworks for strategy instruction (see Cohen, 1998, 2003, 2009; Oxford, 1990). Issues related to process material and task-based instruction, learners' needs and socio-cultural background, and experiential learning approaches definitely come into play in this regard given their inherent relationship with social-affective strategies.

1.2.1. Process material and the issue of 'task' in strategy instruction

The orientation of language classroom research and syllabus design towards a process-oriented approach to teaching that emphasizes the process of learning in addition to its outcome (Breen, 2001; and Spada, 1987) has strong links with strategy instruction. In fact, the concept of strategy rests on the idea that learners need to know how to learn in order to attain autonomy and self-direction in the learning task (Cohen, 2009; Holec, 1992; Oxford, 2001). This shift in focus had led researchers to the identification of "task-based and process syllabus types" (Breen, 2001: 153; see also Nunan, 2004) which bear an obvious connection to learning strategies in general, and social-affective strategies in particular (Cohen, 1998; Oxford, 2001; Oxford, Cho, Leung, & Kim, 2004).

The relationship between social-affective strategies and process and task-based learning/teaching seems to be reciprocal. On the one hand, social-affective strategy instruction inherently requires materials and activities that focus on the learning process since social-affective strategies pertain to a great extent to the latter. On the other hand, social-affective strategies, in their turn, can constitute actual learning tasks or what is referred to as "meta-communicative" tasks (Breen, 2001: 153). Learning or meta-communicative tasks, as opposed to, yet compatible with, communicative tasks, aim at facilitating "learners' engagement in communicative or target-like tasks" by involving them in activities that reflect upon how

language is learned or used (Breen, 2001: 153; see also Nunan, 2004, for ‘pedagogical tasks’). It has also been shown that strategy instruction is particularly susceptible to task nature and requirements (Cohen, 1998; Oxford, 2001; Oxford, Cho, Leung, & Kim, 2004). Oxford, Cho, Leung, and Kim (2004), after investigating the impact of task on second language university and community school students’ strategy use, found that learners’ strategy choice was partly influenced by the presence and difficulty of the task undertaken. Consequently, Oxford, Cho, Leung, and Kim (2004) and Cohen (1998) have advanced the notion of, and called for, the incorporation of task-based strategy instruction by language teachers.

Accordingly, it comes to reason that teachers, wishing to develop or adapt materials for strategy instruction, are required to consider activities and content areas that focus on, and raise their students’ awareness to, the learning process in general, and learning strategies in particular. The extent to which tasks encourage students to use appropriate strategies in a meaningful and individualized way is also of a special relevance in designing strategy-based materials.

1.2.2. Designing and integrating social-affective strategy-based activities

The first issue in this regard is that available materials designed to teach learning strategies are scarce, which requires teachers to produce their own materials (O’Malley & Chamot, 1990), or at least adapt existing ones to include strategy-based activities (Cohen, 1998). Tomlinson (2001: 67) declares that “an effective classroom teacher needs to be able to evaluate, adapt, and produce materials (...)”. Oxford (1990) also refers to the strategic teacher as a creative figure in the language classroom. However, for teachers to be creative and take the responsibility of developing classroom materials, they should undergo intensive and special training (Cohen, 1998).

Regarding materials content and activities, Cohen (1998, 2009) argues for materials that include both awareness-raising and strategy-based activities, which help the learner gain knowledge and skill in language learning in general and strategy use in particular. Tasks should also be relevant to the learners, and involve their individual experiences and “communicative intentions” of their own (Littlewood, 1992: 86). Examples of these tasks may include problem-solving activities, simulations and discussions that make use of “referential or real questions” (Lynch, 1996: 108) to which the teacher, or the student interlocutor, does not know the answer in advance. Such activities, due to their unpredictable aspect, may provide the learner with opportunities to engage in genuine and cooperative turn-exchange and discussions (Littlewood, 1992). Consequently, social-affective strategies such as cooperation, asking questions, expressing feelings and attitudes, and taking calculated risks among others may be intrigued and used.

Another type of learning tasks that is likely to fit social-affective strategy instruction is project work. Nunan (2004) acknowledges that learning strategies are inherent in project-based instruction. Legutke and Thomas (1991) underscore the effectiveness of project work in language classrooms, and provide a comprehensive and detailed framework for project-based learning in their process-competence model. Littlewood (1992: 93) advocates that social strategies, if

integrated in regular instructional materials and activities, could involve learners in “experiential learning” through project work. Tudor (1996) has provided empirical evidence showing that students engaging in a content-based project work reported using social-affective strategies.

Material content should also be challenging to the learner not only intellectually, but also emotionally and strategically (Dewaele, 2005; Tomlinson, 2001). Tomlinson (2001: 68) points out that tasks which have the potential to involve the learner emotionally are “more likely to facilitate learning than neutral texts which do not”. Social-affective strategy instruction, in particular, requires students to engage in activities that involve discussing their emotions and attitudes, and expressing their fear, hopes, desires and so on. However, they may find some difficulty in so doing due to insufficient linguistic repertoire. Dewaele (2005: 374, 375-376) reports on empirical findings showing that native speakers use more emotion words than L2 users when engaged in the same task and that people tend to recall and express emotional events in their first language rather in their L2. He attributed this to the absence of emotional involvement in “teaching material[s]” which, as such, “do not prepare L2 learners to become proficient L2 users”. He then suggests inserting emotion vocabulary into textbooks and exploring emotionally challenging and authentic material such as movies. However, teachers should pay attention not to engage students in activities that are emotionally demanding. Legutke and Thomas (1991: 60) warn of “high-risk” activities which may cause resistance in learners.

1.2.3. I.T.-related materials and activities

In addition to the traditional materials, such as books, newspapers, and T.V., the Internet proved to be particularly relevant to the teaching of social-affective strategies. Using the Internet may provide the learner with genuine opportunities and tools to initiate conversations with native speakers, fellow students or other students all over the world by exchanging e-mails or via online chat, and engage in project work (Gonglewski, Meloni, & Brant, 2001; Warschaur, 2001). Also, using e-mails and blogs can serve as a fast and easy extra-class medium of communication between students and their teachers, whereby teachers can overcome the problem of lack of time to give the needed feedback to students, and learners can in their turn come to grips with their shyness to ask questions in the classroom (Warschaur et al., 2000). Stepp-Greany (2003: 3), discussing how affective issues can be addressed through instructional technology, states that “[t]he computer may inform and prompt appropriate strategies, providing the opportunity for success in risk-taking in a judgment-free environment”. Warschaur (2001) adds that technology-based activities can be very motivating to learners if they do not conflict with their learning goals and preferences. Griffiths, Oxford, Kawai, Y., Kawai, C., Park, Ma, Meng, and Yang (2014) report on an interesting strategy-based I.T. project developed by Yang in Taiwan which was designed to support and assess strategy use through portfolios. The authors gave accounts on increasing learner collaboration and participation, lower stress, and effective teacher feedback and guidance. Strategy materials, therefore, can very well invest in I.T.-related activities, and use technology as a “catalyst” (Griffiths, Oxford, Kawai, Y., Kawai, C., Park, Ma, Meng, & Yang, 2014: 62) to support strategy use eventually, and language learning ultimately. It is one of the

intentions of this study to bring to focus strategy-based activities and topics that promote social-affective strategy use.

2. The study

This study explored the integration of social-affective strategies in three EFL textbooks and the accompanied teacher's books and programs. The textbooks and programs were designed by a team of Tunisian EFL teacher trainers who had been EFL teachers prior to serving as trainers and material designers. The three textbooks represent the official teaching materials approved by the Tunisian Ministry of Education, and adopted in 6th and 9th grade basic education, and 3rd grade secondary education in all public and private schools. The educational system in Tunisia encompasses 9 years of basic education – with the first 6 years equivalent to primary education – and 3 years of secondary education prior to university pursuits. Adherence to the official EFL programs and the use of textbooks are mandatory in public and private schools. However, teachers can supplement the existing materials with extra-activities.

2.1. Research questions

The aim of the present study was to evaluate the integration of social-affective strategies in EFL textbooks and official programs, and addressed the following research questions:

1. To what extent social-affective strategies are integrated in textbooks and official programs?
2. To what extent the textbooks and official programs are process-oriented?
3. Do the textbooks and programs support social-affective strategy instruction?

2.2. Method

The researcher relied upon document survey to evaluate the implementation of social-affective strategy. This included teacher and student manuals as well as the official programs of 6th and 9th grades basic education, and 3rd grade secondary education. The official program for 6th grade was not available. While evaluating these documents, the researcher focused on the extent to which social-affective strategies were included in the materials and the official programs, whether the strategies were integrated within the lesson content and activities, the degree of explicitness within which these learning tools were considered, and oral/aural skills and subskills to which the strategies in question were applied. The evaluation procedure also sought to assess the extent to which the documents stimulated social-affective strategy awareness, use, instruction, transfer, and evaluation as well as out-of-class use.

To ensure precision in the evaluation process and to supplement the qualitative data, the researcher developed an evaluation framework (Appendix, Table 1) which was based on the strategy literature and on some insights from Lake (1997). The framework consisted of the main criteria required by the strategic teaching approach (see for e.g., Cohen, 2003, 2009). A five-point scale ranging from 0 = not at all (of the criterion) to 4 = very much (of the criterion) was used to determine the extent to which the materials incorporated each criterion (Appendix, Table 2). The

quantitative evaluation was limited to the evaluation of textbooks, and excluded the official programs and teachers' guidebooks as some evaluation criteria did not fit them. The official programs and guidebooks, however, were surveyed with regard to more relevant strategy instruction criteria including social-affective strategy scope, the degree to which the strategies in question were integrated, and whether they were explicitly or implicitly stated. Issues relating to materials and content areas were considered as well.

2.3. Results and discussion

The results of the present study generally indicated that social-affective strategies were implicitly integrated in the materials with a lack of precision and explicitness as to the methods of application in actual teaching. The results will be presented and discussed in this section, and attempts to suggest possible alternatives will be delineated as well.

2.3.1. Social-affective strategies in the official programs

In the following analysis reference will be made to Programmes of English for Basic Education (PEBE) and English Programmes for Secondary Education (EPSE). PEBE was meant for grade 7, 8, and 9 of basic education. The official program for grade 6, however, was not available or did not exist. EPSE covered the curriculum for 3rd and 4th grade secondary education.

2.3.1.1. Scope of social-affective strategy instruction

While going across the program booklets set up for basic and secondary education, one clearly notices that both maintained exclusively the same objectives and assumptions. For this reason, only PEBE will be referred to in the analysis relating to the scope of social-affective strategy instruction. In defining the status of English as a subject, the program authors stated that

“[A]s a means of communication, English will foster *learner self-expression* as well as *appropriate interaction* with peers and other interlocutors, which, in turn, will ensure access to *universal culture* through Anglophone contexts” (PEBE, 2006: 4, italics mine).

This definition bears a close relationship to social-affective strategies given the authors' emphasis on the individual, the interactional, and the cultural potential of English language, which are at the core of social-affective strategy. By definition, social-affective strategies aim the advancement of the personal and interpersonal as well the sociocultural skills of the learner (Grainger, 2012; Harish, 2014; Savignon & Sysoyev, 2002), which goes in line with the underlying assumptions of both programs.

In like manner, the principles, assumptions and methodology which were stated in the programs related to a great extent to the social-affective strategic approach. Regarding the principles and assumptions on which both curricular are based, it was emphasized that the teaching/learning process should consider the learner as a central figure, encourage learners' autonomy, and foster their “self-confidence and social relationships”, which are meant to

“nurture in learners positive values and a sense of identity” (PEBE, 2006: 5). These premises support social-affective strategy instruction, being a means whereby students can eventually develop their “self-other awareness” (Legutke and Thomas, 1991: 38; see also Harish, 2014), autonomy (Cohen, 1998; Wong & Nunan, 2011), and ultimately a positive self-image (Csizár & Dörnyei, 2005)

Under the same heading, ‘Principles, assumptions, and methodology’, the authors stated that not only should students be active figures in their classrooms, but should also reflect on the learning process, which imply a metacognitive awareness (Harris and Grenfell, 2004; O’Malley and Chamot, 1990) by reflecting on the learning process itself. In delineating lesson activities and tasks, the authors asserted that “[p]roject work activities, portfolios, research and web quests are meant to foster socio-psychological skills, research strategies and learner autonomy” (PEBE, 2006: 5). In this regard, social-affective strategies may very well be stimulated by web quests and project work. Task-based strategy instruction (see Cohen, 1998; and Oxford, Cho, Leung, & Kim, 2004), of which project work is an essential part (Nunan, 2004), also pertain to the social-affective strategy domain (see Littlewood, 1992; and Tudor, 1996). The authors have also emphasized social-affective strategy use by referring to ‘socio-psychological skills’.

Furthermore, the authors explicitly mentioned learning strategies by emphasizing that classroom activities and tasks were meant to assist the students in developing both language features and learning strategies. It was also stated that learner assessment should focus on the process, and not exclusively on the product of learning, which related to social-affective strategies since they pertain to the learning process, and, thus, involve formative assessment.

The different assumptions discussed above showed that the objectives and principles included in the two programs went in line, though mostly in an implicit way, with those evoked by social-affective strategy instruction literature. These assumptions, though very promising, did not find support in the subsequent sections of the programs in which it was expected to find specific techniques and classroom procedures whereby the teachers could bring these claims into practice. Actually, it is very common that, drawing on Lake (1997: 171), while language programs start by establishing an attractive scope for strategy instruction, “(...) but gradually taper off to no mention of the topic whatsoever”. It is very well the case with the two programs at hand as we will see in the analysis below.

2.3.1.2. Social-affective strategy instruction in oral skills

PEBE included two lists under each of which a number of different strategies and skills relating to the four skills were randomly presented. The first list entitled ‘Reading and Listening skills and Strategies’ (PEBE, 2006: 8 – 9) included 52 items while the second taxonomy labeled ‘Speaking and Writing Skills and Strategies’ (PEBE, 2006: 10) had 28 items. The two lists, however, neither specified which items constitute the ‘skills’, and which correspond to the ‘strategies’, nor did they differentiate between what items relate to which skill. It was also noticeable that the items which were attributed to reading and listening skills outnumbered those

devoted to speaking and writing, with a difference as big as 24 items. The different statements relating to skills and strategies were presented in a random manner, and no categorization was being adopted whatsoever. As far as social-affective strategies are concerned, only cooperation was mentioned, though indirectly as it could be inferred from items involving pair and group work.

Listening and speaking subskills were not an exception in this regard as no reference to social-affective strategies for pronunciation, vocabulary or grammar was mentioned. Though PEBE devoted a whole section for grammar, the focus was exclusively on grammatical typology and discrete language structures. The rationale behind each item and specific procedures to help the teachers link the items to lesson activities and content were not provided as well. Some items were also too vague. For example, one item which appeared in both programs stating: *“Employ the strategy appropriate to one’s purpose and/or text type”* (EPSE, 2006: 10) fell short of giving any direction to particular strategies or specific use.

Virtually all the strategies which were included in PEBE fell within the cognitive type, while social-affective strategies and other strategy categories such as metacognitive and communicative ones were overlooked. The lists were a melting pot of cognitive strategies, language functions, and discrete grammatical and phonological items randomly assigned to the four skills without any rationale or clear guidance as to how, where, and when each item could be put into operation in the classroom.

Unlike PEBE, EPSE provided rather detailed skill and strategy taxonomies which encompassed relevant, though very few, examples of social-affective strategies. Two strategy lists were presented under two headings corresponding to the Reading/Listening and Speaking/Writing skills respectively. The first list (EPSE, 2006: 10-11) which was assigned to reading and listening included 62 strategies of which only four (or 5%) were social-affective. The four social-affective strategies related mainly to cultural understanding with the exception of one strategy which referred to *“expanding knowledge”* of both culture and *“self”*. Examples of the strategies included in the list are *“Develop awareness of aspects of the target culture”* and *“Develop appreciation of self, environment and culture”*.

The list attributed to speaking and writing included almost the same number of strategies (N= 61) as those assigned to listening and reading (N = 62), which was an advantage comparing to PEBE’s number (N = 28) and distribution of the strategies assigned to speaking and writing. However, the list did not mention any social-affective strategy explicitly. Some strategies such as *‘using the Internet’*, *‘discussing feelings’* and *‘writing diaries’* could only be implied. In fact, social-affective strategies were indirectly referred to through reference to language use functions, and/or as a supplement or extension of other strategies and work arrangements. For instance, the so-called strategy *“Express one’s appreciation of peers’ contribution”* referred to a language function more than a strategy. Nonetheless, it could have stood for a (social-affective) strategy if it were formulated, for instance, as *‘Appreciate one’s peer’s contribution’*, and subsequently followed by explaining the rationale behind it. In like manner, another item stating *“Work in pairs/groups to perform a task such as solving a problem”* was actually an example of work

arrangement which might or might not entail strategic use, contrary to what is implied by the heading 'strategies' under which this item was included. Though pair and group work inherently imply cooperation and other social strategies, this might not necessarily lead to effective and conscious strategy use, nor could it help the learner know which strategies were relevant to specific tasks and skills.

Same as PEBE, EPSE focused on cognitive strategies at the expense of social-affective strategies and other strategy categories. The program not only focused on language functions and discrete linguistic elements, but also took some of them as strategies. Also, some so-called strategies were too vague and should have been reformulated and supplemented with a rationale and specific ways to implement them within the relevant skills and activities in the textbooks. As it was expected, the strong introduction of the two programs did not find support when probing into specific skills and activities. How teachers could foster their students' 'self-confidence', social relationships', and autonomy as well as positive values and a 'sense of identity', as mentioned in the introduction to the program, seemed to be left to chance.

2.3.1.3. Course materials and content areas

Both programs provided separate sections for content areas and materials. The material sections included in the two programs were almost the same, but the topics differed. Various I.T. tools and media-related materials such as the Internet, software, cartoons, and T.V. which related to social-affective strategies were included in both programs. Other materials including use of diaries, poetry and drama as well as magazine and newspaper articles, which might stimulate students to discuss their feelings, develop cultural understanding, and relax while learning, were also highlighted. The topics in both programs were also very challenging and interesting, and, consequently, could encourage the students to attend to social-affective strategies if intended and scaffolded by their teachers.

PEBE included topics such as "*Free Time and Entertainment*", "*Relationship with Peers*", "*Civility*", and "*Education*", which were very likely to trigger social-affective strategy use. EPSE offered a variety of content areas including themes which explicitly catered for students' different attitudes and preferences. Topics such as "*Generation Gap*", "*communication technology*", "*eating out*", "*chatrooms*", "*success and failure*", and "*tolerance*" were pertinent enough to host social-affective strategy-based tasks. It was also very interesting that topics such as "*Relating to Others*" and "*Attitudes and Values*", which related to a great extent to social-affective strategies, were presented as major content areas. Not less interesting was the fact that education-related topics which might lead the students to reflect upon the learning process were also included. Most illustrating examples of such consciousness raising themes were "*Why learn English*" and "*Autonomous Learners*". This could eventually stimulate strategy use and Metacognitive awareness, and ultimately lead them to reflect on the learning process and be independent learners.

Accordingly, it could be claimed that the two programs offered a range of topics and materials which were very relevant to social-affective strategy instruction. Still, both of them did not provide guidance as to how social-affective strategies could be integrated within such challenging content areas. A serious deficiency in this regard was that the topics were cut off from the skills and the strategies. However, if the strategy taxonomies were linked to the topics and materials, the teachers might then recognize specific ways to make use of the content areas strategically.

To conclude, the strategy lists provided in both programs were far from being exhaustive, and lacked variety and specification. The focus on cognitive strategies and language functions as well as on discrete linguistic items tended to suggest structural and functional rather than strategic and communicative approaches to learning/teaching. Both programs focused on 'what to teach', but overlooked 'how to teach' it. Other gaps in both programs were the lack of a rationale behind each instructional component including strategy teaching, specific procedures whereby the strategies could be operationalized in the classroom, and an evaluation component which is essential in any strategy instruction (Cohen, 2008; Hsiao & Oxford, 2002). It could have been more practical if more strategy types including social-affective ones were added to the lists along with a rationale, and specific ways to implement them within the skills and topics. Linking the strategies to the different skills and content areas is also recommended, so that the teachers could recognize which strategies to assign to specific skills and topics as well as to the different tasks in the textbooks.

2.3.2. Social-affective strategies in textbooks and teachers' guidebooks

Students' textbooks and the corresponding teachers' guides (except 6th grade teachers' guidebook which was not available) were analyzed according to specific criteria dictated by the strategic approach to teaching (see Appendix, Table 1) and partly inspired from Lake (1997). A 5-point scale was used to determine the extent to which the textbooks incorporated each criterion. Teachers' guides were not included in the scale evaluation because they did not fit all the criteria; however, they were analyzed separately. The final scores for each textbook can be found in Table 2 below. The following analysis will include textbooks for grade 6 ('*Prime English*'), Grade 9 ('*Say it in English*') of basic education, and grade 3 ('*Activate and Perfrom*') of secondary education as well as the corresponding teachers' guides.

2.3.2.1. *Prime English* (Grade 6 basic education)

Although *Prime English* fell short of offering a comprehensive and explicit model for social-affective strategy instruction as shown in table 2 (Appendix), it could be claimed that it had a rather promising strategic potential. This textbook included very motivating and, mainly, personalized activities that might stimulate 6th grade students' strategic awareness and use. For instance, song-based activities which were systematically arranged within each unit in this book might trigger a number of social-affective strategies. The listening activity (p. 9), which included a very reflective rhyme featuring different work arrangements with an apparent emphasis on

group work, was a good example of an awareness-raising activity. This activity could not only raise students' awareness of the different classroom work arrangements, but also stimulate social-affective strategies such as cooperation, discussing feelings, empathizing with peers, and relaxation (Kao & Oxford, 2014), as well as other strategies, depending on the lesson scope and objectives.

In addition to song-based activities, *Prime English* made use of e-mails (p. 35, 133 & 165) which were well integrated and sequenced within lesson units. Interestingly, e-mails might involve students not only in the use of social strategies such as using the Internet and developing cultural understanding, but also affective ones like discussing feelings. Though e-mails generally fit reading and writing, they could be extended to speaking as well by, for instance, having the students reflect on online interaction and discuss its cultural as well as personal aspects.

Prime English also included activities which made use of websites (p. 140) and texting (e.g., p. 155). For example, the 'Homefun Project' (p. 140) required the students to google the weather forecast on a local and international website, or text a weather forecast call center. In addition to encouraging the students to use I.T. tools in a well-contextualized and individualized manner, this task might assist them in engaging in a strategic task-based learning, taking on active roles, and expanding their strategy use outside the classroom (Cohen, 2008). Furthermore, *Prime English* offered many opportunities for students to relax and learn through the systematic and frequent insertion of fun pages, cartoons, games, and motivating pictures.

As shown in Table 2, *Prime English* had a total score of 24 (or 43%) out of an ultimate score of 56 (i.e., scoring 4 on all items, or 100%), which is slightly below the average of a comprehensive social-affective strategy instruction. *Prime English* featured some essential aspects of social-affective strategy instruction like motivation, learner involvement, and a variety of activities that suited students' preferences and needs, and which deemed to be very flexible to host and stimulate social-affective strategies (see Appendix, Table 2 for the scoring of each feature). The book, however, missed some basic elements such as explicit focus on the strategies, a strategy evaluation component, and guidance for teachers, which were totally absent in the book as indicated in Table 2. Accordingly, it could be said that *Prime English* might help the teachers deliver a fairly comprehensive social-affective strategy instruction if it included more strategies and especially a rationale behind their use as well as guidance for teachers.

2.3.2.2. *Say it in English* (Grade 9 basic education)

The objectives set out for each lesson in the teachers' guide to '*Say it in English*' tended to be language-oriented as they virtually focused on discrete linguistic features and language functions such as 'describing', 'giving directions', 'making requests' and so on. No explicit claim was made about strategic and communicative objectives in this regard. However, it should be noted that the authors mentioned in the introduction to the teachers' guide that "(...) [the] lists of objectives are not exhaustive and more objectives can be devised by the teacher in the light of

results obtained in class” (p. 3). Teachers, thus, were encouraged to include other objectives which possibly could cover social-affective strategies among other strategies and learning areas.

What was interesting in the teachers’ guide to *Say it in English* was that, unlike the corresponding official program, a separate heading was systematically devoted to strategies in each section. However, the strategy category exclusively focused on memory and mainly cognitive strategies, while other strategy categories namely social-affective strategies were missed out. It should also be noted that not only a small range of strategies was focused on in each lesson, but also too much emphasis was put on reading ‘strategies’ such as guessing meaning from context, matching, skimming and scanning, which were repeated over and over in almost every section. Social-affective strategies for speaking and listening were totally absent in this guidebook.

In much the same way, the textbook, *Say it in English*, did not feature social-affective strategies to a sufficient extent. As indicated in Table 2, this book had the smallest score comparing to *Prime English* and *Activate and Perform*, with an overall score of 11 (or 20% of a comprehensive strategic potential). Out of the 12 strategy features, only 6 were found in this book, among which only two aspects (‘variety and flexibility’ and ‘strategic potential’) were fairly salient.

Although strategy instruction was not catered for in *Say it in English*, there were some hints in the activities which might involve strategy instruction. For instance, 3 out of the 7 objectives set out in the teachers’ guide for lesson 1 (p. 5) included a social-affective strategy dimension as they involved learners’ reflection on themselves and peers, and peer-evaluation. Although the corresponding task in the textbook did not target directly the use of social-affective strategies, it could be extended to involve students’ feelings and attitudes towards themselves and their peers. The objective requiring students to “[e]ngage in collaborative work to assess peers’ results” embraced a strong social-affective and metacognitive dimension, and might stimulate the use of strategies such as cooperation and peer-assessment.

Furthermore, *Say it in English* activities which featured games (p. 17), questionnaires (for e.g., p.12 & p. 48), and songs (p. 28; p.141) evidenced a strong potential to stimulate social-affective strategies. For example, one lesson included a questionnaire (p. 48) requiring the students to report on some activities as whether their parents allow them or not. The questionnaire items dealt with activities such as surfing the Internet, watching T.V., and going to the cinema. In addition to leisure, those activities could be explored further as strategic learning experiences beyond the classroom.

Nevertheless, the textbook strategic potential was diminished by the fact that most of the activities made use of examples of people, places and events that were not likely to fit the students’ preferences, age, and/or cultural background. For instance, unlike the other two textbooks, *Say it in English* activities over-emphasized the British cultural context at the expense of the broader Anglophone and global culture, and even the local context. Many themes and

personalities were also old-fashioned and could barely trigger interest in the students. For instance, one task (p.47) included pictures of the British Royal Family many years ago. The task then required the students to tell who is who. Other pictures (e.g. p. 120) featured famous personalities exclusively from the eighties and early nineties such as Sophia Loren and Steffi Graf. More up-to-date figures that would match the students' cultural repertoire would have been more stimulating however. Also, the students were not involved directly in so many activities, which might make them feel distant as far as the activities are concerned. Such activities might diminish the opportunities for students to attend to social-affective strategies, given that those techniques are to a great extent task- and content-sensitive. Revisions of the textbook activities and content areas so as to be tailored to the learners' preferences and cultural repertoire are highly recommended in this regard.

2.3.2.3. *Activate and Perform* (Grade 3 secondary education)

In the introduction to *Activate and Perform* teachers' guide, the authors explicitly included statements featuring strategy awareness, learner identity, and autonomy through self-evaluation and positive values. The authors mentioned that the teachers should explain the objectives to their students while tackling each module, and guide them to assess their progress and "set their own goals" (p. 5) through self-assessment forms to be filled in at the completion of each module. Accordingly, the authors concluded, students will be given

"the self-confidence, the autonomy and the responsibility they need to become aware of their *learning strategies*, monitor their progress and continue learning by themselves, beyond the programme" (p. 5, italics mine).

Such introduction makes up a promising blueprint for strategy instruction, and, consequently, could be claimed to raise teachers' awareness of social-affective strategy instruction. Although the teachers' book provided a strong introduction to strategic teaching, it lacked guidance as to which specific procedures teachers were expected to follow in order to operationalize those claims. This was apparent when examining the strategies and subskills included in the teacher's guidebook, which were randomly put under the corresponding major skills. Cognitive strategies dominated the list much more than the other strategy categories. In fact, social-affective strategies were only touched upon in the 'helpful notes' provided for the teachers within each sections.

Examples of these notes were "*Encourage the students to overcome their shyness*" (p. 11), "*Let the students interact and talk fluently without worrying too much about mistakes*" (p. 15), "*Have the students construct meaning in the cartoons and enjoy the humorous aspect*" (p. 49), and "*have the students express their opinions, compare and respond to the different attitudes*" (p. 49). One prompt saying "*Give help when asked for only*" (p. 10) would have been more strategic if it were formulated as '*Encourage students to ask for help*'. As such, students would be stimulated to use this strategy instead of waiting for them to initiate, or not initiate, it. Also, it is advisable that these notes make part of the strategy list so that teachers consider them as basic teaching components, rather than mere 'helpful notes'.

However, *Activate and Perform* gave a considerable support to the claims stated in the introduction to the teachers' guide. In fact, it offered the most comprehensive social-affective strategy scope comparing to 6th and 9th grades textbooks. According to table 2, *Activate and Perform* had an average score of 31 (or 55% overall strategic potential), featuring 12 out of the 14 criterion. This textbook could have been of much more relevance to social-affective strategy instruction if it included explicit strategies and guidance to the teachers; two aspects which were totally overlooked as shown in Table 2.

What was promising about *Activate and Perform* is the amount of self-assessment given to students in a systematic manner. As mentioned in the introduction to the teachers' guidebook, a self-assessment checklist was provided at the end of each module. For example, the checklist (p. 168) was an example of successful, though implicit, social-affective strategy incorporation. Not only did this checklist include out-of-class strategy use as indicated in the item: "*My classmates and I work together outside the classroom*", but also could assist the students and teacher to figure out appropriate social-affective test-taking strategies as they report on another item stating: "*When I sit for a test I get frightened*". Still another Item ("*Tests give me clear ideas about my weaknesses and strengths*") might also help the students reflect on test-taking strategy use and the learning process, and pave the way for the teacher to provide guidance and more consciousness-raising thereof. More interesting was the fact that the checklist was included in a speaking lesson through which students were required to discuss their answers. Although reference to social-affective strategy use was minimal in this regard, the other checklists could be stretched out to include more strategies of this kind.

The textbook objectives which were given in the beginning of each module may feature a more comprehensive strategic rationale, given the fact that teachers were encouraged in the guidebook to insert more objectives that might deem necessary for their classes. Another noticeable feature in *Activate and Perform* was the frequent and systematic inclusion of project-based tasks which have a strong potential to trigger students' existing social-affective strategies, and trigger new ones. In addition, Language functions and content areas of the textbook might also encourage the students to attend to social-affective strategies as both components dealt with students' attitudes, feelings, needs and preferences. For instance, one module entitled "*We Learn to Give, Share and Care*" was a perfect example of humanistic learning/teaching (Legutke and Thomas, 1991) which definitely suited social-affective strategy instruction. One final aspect to mention in this regard is the fact that the textbook included a humor page at the end of each module, thus, encouraging students to use laughter both to relax and learn.

Finally, considering the above analysis and the fact that *Activate and Perform* also included very motivating, up-to-date, and context-relevant pictures, and that it made use of I.T. areas and well-chosen poems, it could be said that this book had a fair potential to offer a comprehensive social-affective strategy instruction if two conditions were met. First, the book should include more social-affective strategies orchestrated with other strategy types. Second, an explicit focus on strategy use regarding the objectives, practice, and assessment for both teachers

and students is highly recommended. Adding clearer and more concise guidelines in the teachers' guidebook would be of a great benefit as well.

2.4. Conclusion and recommendations

The official programs for basic and secondary education included promising assumptions and objectives which generally catered for social-affective strategy instruction. However, it was found that these principles were not supplemented with specific applications and guidelines that could help the teachers implement social-affective strategies in lesson content. The different curricular attributes; namely, skills, strategies, materials and content areas were cut off, and, fell short of constituting a solid model for a strategy-based course. The teachers' guidebooks had the same tendency as the corresponding programs since these guidebooks reflected the same assumptions and procedures.

The three textbooks had an overall score of 22 (or 39% overall strategic potential) which is a small level, with considerable variance among them. The textbooks featured important strategy attributes like challenging topics, use of I.T.-based activities, and involving the learners through personalized activities and self-/peer-assessment. However, this might not necessarily lead to strategy use and awareness unless explicit focus on social-affective strategies and guidance to teachers were included.

It was also found that the programs and materials under investigation proved to encompass a strategic dimension as far as the general principles and objectives are concerned. However, when probing into specific task and skill areas, the documents tapered off to emphasizing discrete language items and functions at the expense of strategy use. In addition, the programs focused too much on cognitive strategies, particularly, for the reading skill, while other strategies which are relevant to the remaining skills were overlooked. Program and material designers are then required to fine-tune their documents to include more strategies, a rationale behind their use, and specific ways to integrate them into classroom tasks and materials. Program designers, whether following a task, skill or content-based approach, would not find too much difficulty in so doing given the fact that strategy use is inherent in all tasks and skills, and, thus only require attention and explicit guidelines to make them more salient and transferable to other tasks and learning situations. A promising finding in this regard was that the textbooks included challenging and reflective content and activities which could be easily tailored to social-affective strategy instruction if supplemented with a rationale and strategy-relevant guidelines.

Strategy guidebooks and assessment tools are available for teachers and material designers wishing to incorporate strategy instruction. Teachers can consult strategy assessment inventories such as Oxford's (1990) SILL questionnaire or more up-to-date and validated strategy lists (for e.g., Nakatani, 2006; Cleary, 2006; Tragant, Thompson & Victori, 2013). An interesting strategy instruction guidebook designed by Cohen and Weaver (2005) can be very helpful in designing strategy-based activities as well. It should also be noted that integrating social-affective strategies requires careful consideration of the learners' needs (Sadeghi, 2014), styles

(Wong & Nunan, 2011, Uhrig, 2015), personality types (Liyanage & Bartlett, 2013), and their socio-cultural background (Grainger, 2012). Teachers and material designers are advised to fine-tune existing materials to their immediate context and the local norms while keeping informed by international research and interventions. A final note is that further research that investigates the use of strategy-oriented materials in EFL classrooms is definitely needed to account for a broader perspective of the matter. Future studies may address teachers' and learners' attitudes towards strategy instruction in materials, complementarity between curricular theory and practice in materials design, or the impact of strategy-based tasks on learner advancement. Investigations that adopt socio-cognitive and critical evaluation frameworks (Santos, 2016) is also called upon in recent literature on material evaluation.

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Appendix

Table 1. Evaluation criteria of the textbooks

Criteria	Explanation
Scope of social-affective strategy instruction	Extent to which the basic components of social-affective strategy instruction namely social-affective strategies, metacognitive knowledge, and motivation/attitudes are incorporated.
General approach	Extent to which the material activities are process-oriented.
Breadth of focus	Type, range and combination of social-affective strategies.
Explicit focus on social-affective strategies	Extent to which the purpose of an activity is clearly stated regarding the use of social-affective strategies.
Integration of social-affective strategies	Whether the strategies are integrated within aural/oral activities and tasks or separate.
Variety and flexibility	- Range of task/activity types to suit students' strategy knowledge, interests and learning styles. - Extent to which social-affective strategies can be inserted within the existing tasks/activities and content.
Strategic potential	Extent to which the activities and content can stimulate social-affective strategy use and instruction.
Strategy awareness	Extent to which materials raise students' awareness as to the use of social-affective strategies and its different attributes including reflecting on the learning process, metacognitive awareness, and being aware of themselves as language learners as well as of other (peer) learners and users of the T.L.
Strategy transfer	Extent to which the activities and content help students to apply the strategies being taught or used in new learning contexts.
Strategy evaluation	Evaluation procedures included to enable students to assess their performance and progress, such as questionnaires, strategy checklists, and self-evaluation tools.
Out-of-class strategy use and long term involvement	Extent to which the activities and content encourage and guide students to use social-affective strategies beyond the classroom context.
Affective involvement	Amount of affective involvement given to students, and the level of

Para-materials	interest it will generate
Guide for teachers	Inclusion of additional materials to supplement and support existing materials, such as visuals, audio/video tools, kinesthetic (Tomilson, 2001), checklists etc. Extent to which the rationale, procedures for strategy instruction, and the expected outcomes as well as teacher and students' roles are explained and demonstrated.

Table 2. Results of textbooks analysis

Criteria	Scores on a 5-point scale* for each textbook			
	<i>Prime English</i>	<i>Say it in English</i>	<i>Activate & Perform</i>	<i>Total</i>
Scope of social-affective strategy instruction	2	1	3	6
General approach	2	0	2	4
Breadth of focus	1	1	1	3
Explicit focus on social-affective strategies	0	0	0	0
Integration of social-affective strategies	3	1	3	7
Variety and flexibility	3	2	4	9
Strategic potential	3	3	4	10
Strategic awareness	2	1	3	6
Strategy transfer	1	0	1	2
Strategy evaluation	0	0	1	1
Out-of-class strategy use and long term involvement	1	0	2	3
Affective involvement	3	1	4	8
Para-materials	3	1	3	7
Guide for teachers	0	0	0	0
Total	24	11	31	66

*Scale Transcription: **0** = Criterion is not incorporated **1** = Criterion is incorporated to a small extent **2** = Criterion is incorporated to a moderate extent **3** = Criterion is incorporated to a great extent **4** = Criterion incorporated to a much greater extent

Subversive Themes and Dangerous Sub-plots in Nella Larsen's *Passing*

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Abstract

This paper explores Nella Larsen's Passing (1929), a Harlem Renaissance fictitious work that displays its author's avant-gardism in her approach to race and gender issues of the 1920s segregated America. Larsen's novel centers on the theme of passing, as a social phenomenon that was in vogue during the 1920s. Larsen's critically tackles this complex subject by juxtaposing two passing figures, namely, Irene Redfield and Clare Kendry. Whereas the former passes for convenience (situational/functional passing), the latter's passing is a life commitment (pathological passing). Many critics suggest that biracial authors' identification of two sorts of passing articulate their pardoning of the situational passing, perceiving it as a mechanism of resistance to the economic and social oppressions, they were subject to during this era, while indicting the other form. The power of Larsen's Passing lies in its depiction of a multi-layered passing that turns out, as we closely read the novel, to include five tropes of passing. Clare's passing for White is to attain the social and material privileges of the White world. Second, Irene's attraction to Clare; hence Irene's passing for a heterosexual. As a matter of fact, the plot is passing for a racial one covering its sexual sub-plot. The following form of passing is the narrator's. In fact, many textual clues reveal that Irene is attracted to Clare, but the narrator never mentions it explicitly. The narrator's disguise is another form of passing. Last but not least, Clare's death finds its symbolic correlative in passing, for death signifies the ultimate crossing over. Accordingly, the complexity and real challenge of this novel lies in the revision of the definition of passing, rather than in having a sexual sub-plot, as many critics went on to explain. Larsen's use of passing-as-structure suggests that the most compelling and pertinent aspects of her characters' lives are to be found in imaginative constructs, in the subtext rather than in subplots. Both Queering and passing, major themes of the novel carry a subversive potential. While queering challenges White heteronormativity, racial passing constitutes a veritable laugh at the color line. Both subversive narrative strategies destabilize the White Other's expectations and, therefore, help subvert the existent locus of power, as later revealed by identity politics theorists. It is along these lines, that I came to qualify Nella Larsen as an avant-garde author.

Keywords: Passing, Black Feminism, Queering, Woman-to-woman Bond, Harlem Renaissance Literature.

One of the most important topics in the study of race and gender in Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929) is the curious phenomenon of passing that will be the main focus of this paper. Probing this subject needs to sort out, first, what passing means. The term "passing" designates a person's being regarded as a member of a social class other than his/her real or actual one, such as a different sex, race, or disability status, generally, with the purpose of gaining social acceptance or comporting with the person's own cultural or gender identity. Etymologically, the term is simply a clipped form of the phrasal verb 'pass as' or 'pass for,' referring to an impostor passing for another person. Critic and Scholar Kelby Harrison defines passing as a successful self-presentation in line with a socially-favored identity at the expense of an "authentic one" such as passing for White when Black¹, passing for "heterosexual" when "homosexual," or passing for "cisgender"² when one is "transgender" (1). Thus, passing is an option for only those who inhabit a "minimal space between a favored identity and a minoritized identity" (Harrison 1). Passing for white implies "wearing a mask, stimulating whiteness, hiding one's true identity under a false appearance" (Kawash 126). It can be, thus, conceived as a performance or a practice that can be judged with moral disdain or "as a necessary act of self-defense/accommodation in a vicious reality" (126). Passing dismisses our 'traditional' understanding of authenticity and 'natural' identity. It, unavoidably, functions at two levels: the individual and the social (Harrison 33). The act of passing implies necessarily the presence of, first, an actor (the one who passes), a spectator who is fooled by the white appearance of a black s/he takes for white, a witness who knows that the first actor is not white but passing for white. This term has been in use since at least the 1920s but the phenomenon certainly existed much before.

Samira Kawash suggests in her influential book, *Dislocating the Color Line: Identity, Hybridity, and Singularity in African- American Narrative* (1997) that the passing theme is a textual strategy that allows the destabilization of the rigid binarization of Black and White, by foregrounding the collapse of the continuity between representation and identity, appearance and being, as they are supposedly determined along the color line (Kawash 133-4). Unlike in mulatto fiction, where there is always a telling mark that reveals the truth of the drop of Black blood (no matter how faint the bodily mark) to assure that appearances are, in fact, not deceiving, the passing theme insists that knowability and visibility may diverge in unsuspected and uncontrollable ways. Although the one who passes is technically a mulatto, it is not his or her "mulatto-ness" that is the issue in passing narratives; rather, the issue is the problem of "reconciling identity to appearance; an epistemological problem of restoring order and certainty when the condition of certainty fails to hold" (Kawash 134). Thus, what is unique in passing narratives is the fact that, unlike the so-called tragic mulatto who is ultimately revealed to be truly Black, the passing figure evades any singular judgment, suggesting the possibility of an irrecoverable chasm

¹ 'Black,' 'Negro,' 'Colored' or 'African American,' all are different words that define the same essence. However, because the use of Negro is generally regarded as offensive, as it is a color-based term that bears racist connotations, I prefer the use of African American or Black, even though the latter is a term that has been more in use since the sixties. Indeed, after the Civil Rights Movement, Blackness was consciously meant to designate Blacks' sense of pride and self-esteem after a long struggle. I capitalize 'Black' as well as 'White' because I share the belief that it is not simply a skin color but a cultural, personal, and political identity (Humm 26).

² 'Cisgender' (def.1) describes someone whose sense of gender corresponds to the sex the person was identified with at birth in contrast to transgender which refers to a person whose internal sense of gender is opposite the sex he/she was identified with at birth.

between appearance and an unreachable truth (134). Larsen's dealing with passing is challenging for two reasons. First, Larsen's tackling of the issue of passing sheds the light on the psychic complexity of the novella. Second, her novel revises the definition of passing, generally restricted to passing for White because this trope of passing was a sizeable phenomenon during the Harlem Renaissance (though it certainly existed much before). Larsen, however, reveals that passing has other forms in addition to passing for White.

The present paper will study the psychological dimensions of this phenomenon by investigating the causes lying behind it, and how its consequences are manifested, using Larsen's characters as a case study. Passing is the central theme of this novel, but, in addition to Clare's passing for White, this paper will explore other forms of passing in the novel, including Irene's passing for a heterosexual, the author's passing, and the plot's passing for a racial novel.

Passing for White constitutes the surface plot of this novel. Larsen's dealing with this phenomenon reflects the influence of the social context, in which she produced her novel. Indeed, during the Harlem Renaissance, the passing phenomenon and the passing novel were in vogue. By 1929, it was estimated that there were some twenty thousand African Americans passing for White in New York (McLendon 9). Some of them passed just for fun or convenience (functional or situational passing), while others made passing a lifetime commitment (pathological passing). But, their stories remained strictly private. Passing for White might have been the subject of familial debate or anecdote but it was not publicly registered or recognized (Kawash 128). Larsen's text provides a definition of its central theme. Passing, Larsen defines, "is the breaking away from all that was familiar and friendly to take one's chance in another environment, not entirely strange, perhaps, but certainly not entirely friendly" (Larsen 186-7). Irene uses this definition to describe Clare's passing, but it might just as easily describe her own. In fact, in this novel, there are two sorts of passers for White: Clare who passes permanently in her life and in her marriage, and Irene who passes casually for convenience. They both meet after a long separation passing as White in a rooftop of a café.

Larsen's juxtaposition of two passing figures, Irene Redfield and Clare Kendry, aims at revising the very definition of passing by presenting two sorts of passing. Irene Redfield, who passes occasionally, but resorts to other kinds of disguise and erasure to escape the difficulties of being Negro and female, and Clare who passes permanently (McLendon 96). Jacqueline McLendon suggests that the juxtaposition of the two characters makes it clear that passing is, as much a state of mind as a physical act, which imparts a parodic thrust to the received social meaning of the term. The title, then, is ambiguous in that it refers both to Clare's actions, retaining the usual meaning of the word, and to Irene's actions, implying psychological passing or "escapism" (McLendon 96). As such, Larsen broadens our definition of the term 'passing' to be "any form of pretense or disguise that results in a loss or surrender of, or a failure to satisfy a desire for, identity, whether racial, cultural, social, or sexual" (McLendon 96). "Tell me honestly," Clare asks, "haven't you ever thought of passing?" Irene answers, "No, why should I?" (Larsen 190). In this scene, Irene's insistence that she has no desire to pass is given the lie by the fact that at the very moment, she is in fact passing, enjoying her tea in a segregated Chicago hotel. Accordingly, Irene Redfield, in her strict adherence to bourgeois ideological codes, strives

to mask any feelings or behavior that appear to be uncivilized or unladylike, measures herself by White standards, and lives in constant imitation of Whites (McLendon 97). Accordingly, some people do not pass physically, but adopt the values and attitudes and mimic the mannerism associated to the White culture (McLendon 9). Along these lines, Irene is, in a sense, passing for not being a passer.

Let us, now, switch our focus to the reasons that drive light-skinned Negroes to pass. One of the direct and most common push factors is the search for social and material privileges. Indeed, despite the fact that Clare claims that she was compelled to pass as "they [her aunts] forbade me to mention Negroes to the neighbors or even to mention the South Side" (Larsen 189), her passing for White is a choice. Clare sought to belong to the White community in order to be "[. . .], a person and not a charity or a problem, or even a daughter of the indiscreet Ham. Then, too, I wanted things. I knew I wasn't bad-looking and that I could 'pass.' [. . .] You had all the things I wanted and never had had. It made me all the more determined to get them, and others" (Larsen 188-9). African Americans pass for White in order to enjoy many social and material privileges they are not allowed, like having free access to segregated hotels. Irene justifies the act of passing for White as follows, "[i]t wasn't that she was ashamed of being a Negro, or even of having it declared. It was the idea of being ejected from any place, even in the polite and tactful way in which the Drayton [hotel] would probably do it, that disturbed her" (Larsen 179). Besides, passing for White grants non-Whites many material opportunities. Clare's passing, for instance, offered her a wealthy husband who procured her a beautiful house with "[. . .] a sitting room, large and high, at whose windows hung startling blue draperies which triumphantly dragged attention from the gloomy chocolate-colored furniture" (Larsen 194). Clare's luxurious house reflects her material comfort, as do her clothes: "Clare was wearing a thin floating dress of the same shade of blue, which suited her and the rather difficult room to perfection" (194). "Near White Negroes" would explain that they did not "love their dark relatives less, but. . . they desired the advantages of the White race more" (Vincent 1-2). To put it brief, what drives light-skinned African Americans to pass for White is their search to surpass the disabilities of being Negro.

On the other hand, it would be misleading to plunge into a simplistic unproblematized dealing with the issue of passing as a current social phenomenon during the 1920s, without addressing what we might term the 'psychology of passing,' what drives the passing figure to lead a disguised life and how does he/she deals with his/her isolation and alienation. Blacks, having come to believe that they were inferior simply because they did not measure up to the physical standards of Whites, Negroes passed if they could; and if they could not, they otherwise assimilated into mainstream society (McLendon 9). Clare's decision to become White is, of course, partly based on a similar need not to be humiliated, her need "to be a person and not a charity or a problem [. . .]" (Larsen 188). But, escape often led to "suicide" or "death-in-life existence" (McLendon 15). The need to be part of the White world is clearly manifested in Irene's following statement: "[i]t was, she thought, like being wafted upward on a magic carpet to another world, pleasant, quiet, and strangely remote from the sizzling one that she had left below" (Larsen 176). The accumulation of positive adjectives attributed to the White world, in Irene's discourse, points to her yearning for the comfort White people enjoy, which is not only material but also psychological. The White world was, like the cup of tea she was served, "all what she had desired and

expected" (Larsen 176). Besides, the choice of the adjective "below" to describe the place, where she was, reflects her inner conviction that the White world is superior. Very significant, as well, is the symbolic link between her need for security when she sought refuge from the accident's crowd: "[w]ith a quick perception of the need for immediate safety, she lifted a wavering hand in the direction of a cab parked directly in front of her," and the destination she chose "[. . .], I think the Drayton'll do nicely," she told him" (Larsen 175). Correspondingly, passing for White is a proof "[. . .] that nothing was worse than possessing black blood, that no action was too extreme in order to escape it" (McLendon 15). Thus, Negroes' passing for White stems from their need for the security that the privileged White world provides. The assimilation into the American mainstream is no less beneficial. Clare's eventual death, however, is both a warning and an indictment of American society's racial discrimination.

Critics' attitude via passing narratives vary from one standpoint to another. Some critics believe that the negative aspect about passing is the metaphor of wearing the mask, which refers to the distorted and stereotypical image imposed upon African Americans, a metaphor that produces a self-destructive duplicity engendered by the discrepancy between 'appearance' and 'being.' The positive thing about passing, on the other hand, is the notion of the "third self," which results from the union of African American ethnic identity and an American national identity, building a nation where the Africana and the Americana can co-exist. What is most important, however, is that this ironic discrepancy between appearance and reality proves that the order, on which Bellew, Clare's White racist husband, has staked the purity of his familial line, is *de facto* illusory. As revealed by Clare, the very possibility of passing challenges the divisions established by the color line.

Despite the fact that the passing figure is a mulatto, the idea of miscegenation, in itself, did not alter strict racial divisions, for mulattoes are, none the less, in social and legal practice returned to the Black side of the color line according to the hypodescent doctrine (called variously the one-drop rule). The one-drop rule states that one is White if *all* one's ancestors are White; one is Black if *any* of one's ancestors is Black. The term 'mulatto,' in itself, was, initially, coined to refer to "the sterile mule, the progeny of a mating between two diverse species" (Kawash 133). Thus, "the mulatto's presumed sterility was (tautological) evidence of the assertion that White and Black were indeed, separate and distinct" (133). Although crossing was possible, as evidenced by the undeniable existence of mulattoes, White racist thinkers insisted that these mulattoes were doomed to disappear and, thereby, posed no real threat to the continued separation of the races.

The exclusiveness of Whiteness, according to White essentialist hegemonists is based on the fact that Whiteness qualifies "more than a racial division; it is a culturally-constructed ethnic identity," in contradistinction, it is implied, to the less privileged "subaltern minorities, who have been subjugated, or silenced" (Cashmore 357). The modern definition of 'White' began to crystallize in the 1850s and came to be characterized in terms of the one drop rule, which, in subsequent decades, prevailed socially throughout the United States, and in many states stood as the legal definition of Negro (Kawash 132).

It must be reckoned, however, that miscegenation results in the gradual blurring of the line between the black and white races, for blackness and whiteness are inevitably

losing ground to a “third space,” to borrow Homi Bhabha terms, that of the mixed-race. In fact, due to the phenomenon of miscegenation, Blacks and Whites “lost visibility,” so much did color and physical features overlap between those who were mixed and those who were purebloods (Kawash 132).

The possibility of passing for White destabilizes the stability of racial hierarchy. Mulattoes’ ability to cross over the color line disturbs the very idea of racial divisions, as it points to ‘the arbitrary, contingent character of the law of race, which raises an empty mark, one drop of black blood, to the sign of difference’ (Kawash 157). The following passage, which is an extract from Bellew's discourse concerning miscegenation, is a veritable laugh at the color line:

I draw the line at that. No Niggers in my family. Never have been and never will be." Irene's lips trembled almost uncontrollably, but she made a desperate effort to fight back her disastrous desire to laugh again. [. . .] She [Irene] had a leaping desire to shout at the man beside her: "And you're here surrounded by three black devils, drinking tea. (Larsen 201-2)

In this scene, Clare's White husband proclaims his hatred for Negroes, while being, unknowingly, in the company of three Negro women, his very wife included. Another episode of the text displays his racist attitude when he responds to Hugh Wentworth's -a White friend- admission that he found it impossible to distinguish light-skinned Negroes from Whites. To this, Irene sarcastically adds, "Nobody can. Not by looking" (Larsen 236), suggesting that appearance and essence do not necessarily coincide. The aforementioned episodes are, in this sense, ironic inversions of the common belief that "blood tells" (McLendon 97).

The text even goes further by suggesting that even Blacks cannot, sometimes, distinguish a passing figure from a real White person. Consider, for example the following scene, in which Irene meets Clare after a long separation, and does not realize that she is, like her, a Black passing for White.

Absurd! Impossible! White people were so stupid about such things for all that they were able to tell; and by the most ridiculous means: fingernails, palms of hands, shapes of ears, teeth, and other equally sillyrot. They always took her for an Italian, a Spaniard, a Mexican, or a Gypsy. Never when she was alone, had they even remotely seemed to suspect that she was a Negro. Not the woman [Clare] sitting there staring at her couldn't possibly know. (Larsen 178)

Irene, in the passage above, affirms to the reader that no White person is able to distinguish her from other White persons, not even the (supposedly White) woman in front her, who turns out to be Clare. Accordingly, race becomes a “difference that cannot be described, located, seen, or distinguished, in any “definite or tangible way” (Kawash 155). Race, we can conclude, “is not nothing-at-all, but a something that says nothing” (155),

The gap between appearance and essence is also demonstrated by Larsen’s satiric portrayal of the bourgeois class. In fact, Larsen satirizes the bourgeois class and finds in it a correlation with the concept of passing, for, characteristic of the members of such a class, is their propensity for behaving in ways designed to disguise the truth. As such, the Black

bourgeois' hypocrisy and pretensions exhibit another form of 'wearing the mask.' Larsen, therefore, explores the sociological and psychological dimensions of passing, and does not solely deal with it from the racial perspective.

An in-depth examination of Larsen's text discloses another form of disguised identity. Many clues in the text suggest Irene's attraction to Clare. Irene's awakening sexual desire for Clare adds another dimension to psychological passing: that of passing for a heterosexual. When Irene, first, muses over Clare's boldness, Larsen states, "she wished to find out about this hazardous business of 'passing,' this breaking away from all that was familiar and friendly to take one's chance in another environment, not entirely strange, perhaps, but certainly not entirely friendly" (Larsen 186-7). This statement hints at passing in a double sense, and not only on racial passing. In effect, a close scrutiny of the relationship between Irene and Clare reveals the former's concealment of her attraction to Clare and, thereupon, Irene's passing for a heterosexual. This idea is reinforced by the fact that the two major characters in the novel are females, while both the Black subaltern and the White male other are marginalized.

Borrowing the "analyst-as-detective" metaphor in our study of the language in use, the next part of this chapter will detect the different clues that display Irene's attraction to Clare and the author's "involvement" in making us aware of this, while showing no signs of knowledge about it (Triki and Sellami 184). In this respect, Professor Mounir Triki and Akila Sellami put it:

[. . .] Literary criticism is essentially a highly inferential and necessarily interdisciplinary act of interpretation. Each text is full of clues indicating the strategies and intentions of the writer. It is important to identify these clues, to piece them together in order to uncover the writer's strategy or plan, and from there on to make calculated guesses as to the possible motives behind such choices. (183)

So, in order to detect Irene's attraction to Clare, two potentially seminal areas in the text are likely to yield interesting clues, useful in making inferences, namely the strategies of Description and Narration (Triki and Sellami 183).

Focusing on narration in *Passing*, we notice the unreliability of the narrator. Indeed, the narrator in *Passing* makes us aware of Irene's attraction to Clare, while she espouses a narratorial position that shows no awareness of this fact. In effect, Clare and Irene's encounter is full of suspense and starts with eye contact, described in details in the text that reads:

Very slowly, she looked around, and into the dark eyes of the woman in the green frock at the next table. But, she evidently failed to realize that such intense interest as she was showing might be embarrassing, and continued to stare. Her demeanor was that of one who with utmost singleness of mind was determined to impress firmly and accurately each detail of Irene's features upon her memory for all time, nor showed the slightest trace of disconcertment at having been detected in her steady scrutiny. Instead, it was Irene who was put out. Feeling her color heighten under the continued inspection, she slid her eyes down. [. . .] Again, she looked up, and for a moment her brown eyes politely returned to the stare of the other's black ones, which never for an instant fell or wavered. [...] Oh well, let her look! She tried to treat the woman and her watching with indifference, but she couldn't. All her efforts to ignore her, it [sic], were futile. She stole

another glance. Still looking, what strange languorous eyes she had! They did not seem to her hostile or resentful. Rather, Irene had the feeling that they were ready to smile if she would [. . .] the feeling passed, and she turned away with the firm intention of keeping her gaze on the lake, the roofs of the buildings across the way, the sky, anywhere but on that annoying woman. Almost immediately, however, her eyes were back again. (Larsen 178-9)

An alert reader-analyst is not only invited to pay attention to the content of the passage above but also to the space devoted by the author to record the eye contact between Irene and Clare. The length of the passage and Irene's inner thoughts contradict the author's claim that her staring at the woman in front of her is solely triggered by her fear that the latter finds out her true racial identity. Irene's gaze, in reality, suggests an admiration for the beautiful woman in front of her and a search for a response. Thus, the text above suggests that Irene's gaze at Clare is not innocent despite the fact that the author does not explicitly acknowledge it.

The text also shows us that Irene's feelings for Clare, like her feelings about passing, are paradoxical, wavering between attraction and repulsion: "We disapprove of it and at the same time condone it. It excites our contempt and yet we rather admire it. We shy away from it with an odd kind of revulsion, but we protect it" (Larsen 216). This analogy is suggested by the fact that Irene's attraction to Clare originates from her fascination with her as a mysterious passing body: "It was as if the woman sitting on the other side of the table, a girl that she had known, Who had done this rather dangerous and, to Irene Redfield, abhorrent thing successfully and had announced herself well satisfied, had for her a fascination, strange and compelling" (Larsen 190). As the text reveals, Clare's seduction works through the daring of putting into question both the "sanctity of marriage" and the "clarity of racial demarcations" (Butler 169). As Kawash rightly states, Irene's encounter with Clare was "like an explosion sending shock waves into her placid existence" (Kawash 155). There is something about Clare or, more precisely, there is something about Clare, as a passing figure, which makes her simultaneously dangerous but attractive, desirable and derisible. For Irene, Clare's passing body becomes "the site of rupture in the orderly structure of transparent identities" (Kawash 157-8). Determined to push Clare away, Irene always succumbs to the temptation to draw her closer, despite herself. Following the episode with Bellew in Clare's drawing room, Irene receives a letter from Clare. At first, she is determined to "tell her at once, and definitively, that it was no use, her coming" (Larsen 224). Her resolve dissolves in an instant, when Clare enters and "drops a kiss on her dark curls. Looking at the woman before her, Irene Redfield had a sudden inexplicable onrush of affectionate feeling" (224). Irene is "possessed," she is ruled by "uncontrollable," "inexplicable" feelings (224).

Irene's attraction to Clare can also be deduced from the narrator's description of her paradoxical feelings in the tea party episode, in which we see Irene "pouring tea properly and nicely" (Larsen 218), all the while feeling "the impulse to laugh, to scream, to hurl things about. She wanted suddenly to shock people, to hurt them, to make them notice her, to be aware of her suffering" (219). Paradox is also omnipresent in Irene's "extravagantly phrased wish to see her again. Well, she wouldn't and needn't, Irene told herself, accede to that" (Larsen 173). Larsen justifies Irene's confused feelings towards Clare and her willingness to take a distance from her by the latter's disavowal of her

color. So, she refuses to respond to her letters, and tries to close her out of her life. Larsen also suggests that Clare embodies a certain kind of sexual daring that Irene defends herself against. Unable to confront the potential attraction to Clare, Irene resolves to repress this feeling but she constantly "finds herself drawn by Clare, wanting to be her, but also wanting her" (Butler 169). Accordingly, Irene's willingness to distance herself from Clare is due to the potential danger she represents to Irene, being a threat to her stability and safe conformity to the heterosexual norms.

Larsen's narrative provides also textual evidence that demonstrates that Clare turned Irene's life upside down. Before she meets Clare, "Irene live[d] in a carefully controlled oblivion, wanting what she has, having what she wants" (Kawash 15). Irene's meeting with Clare deeply unsettles her, for she "ruptures her satisfied, if illusory feeling of wholeness by disrupting her carefully constructed correspondence between her own desire and what she has" (Kawash 158). Clare's letter destabilizes her: "[s]he was wholly unable to comprehend such an attitude towards danger as she was sure the letter's contents would reveal; and she disliked the idea of opening and reading it" (Larsen 172). When Irene receives a note from Clare as she is leaving Chicago, she becomes frightened and annoyed by Clare's attempted intrusion into her life. The arrival of Clare's letter sends Irene into a state of panic that totally paralyzes her. Significantly, for the entire first section, Irene sits frozen at her desk. She tears "the offending letters into tiny ragged squares" and "drop[s] them over the railing of the train" (208). A few sentences later, the text reads: "[s]he dropped Clare out of her mind and turned [. . .] her thoughts to her own affairs" (208). For Irene, meeting Clare produces a wedge between desire and satisfaction because, all of a sudden, she realizes the possibility of wanting something she does not have. Clare asks her, "haven't you ever thought of passing?" Irene answers promptly: "No. Why should I? . . . You see, Clare, I've everything I want. Except, perhaps, a little more money" (Larsen 190). This "except" exposes "a fissure in the continuity between having and wanting" that forms the basis of Irene's sense of stability (Kawash 158).

Bellew's physical absence until very near the end, when his wife dies, consolidates the hypothesis of Irene's attraction to Clare. Thus, although Irene's fear is partly the result of her belief that Clare's tendency to risk danger might, in some way, impinge upon her own safety, it is also stimulated, the text tells us at the beginning of section two, by the letter's being a strong reminder of Bellew and his hatred for Negroes. Irene attempts to convince herself that her fear, her silence, and her paralysis, stem, indeed, from her need to protect Clare (McLendon 102). This is an episode that illustrates Irene's tendency to deny reality and also an indication that the fear goes much deeper: "She couldn't betray Clare, couldn't even run the risk of appearing to defend a people that were being maligned, for fear that deference might, in some infinitesimal degree, lead the way to the final discovery of her secret" (Larsen 101). But, the question here is: "Is it Clare's secret or her own that needs to be protected? The ambiguous pronoun in the phrase, "her secret," could signify either, or both, in the same way that the title of the book and the definition of 'passing' signify at both Irene's and Clare's forms of passing (McLendon 102).

Paradoxical as it may seem, Larsen's text clearly points to Irene's attraction to Clare, but the narrator never mentions it explicitly.

What is concealed by narration was bluntly exposed by description and the language in use. Part and parcel of our study of the narrator's unreliability is the scrutiny of her description. "[. . .] conventional criticism has particularly explored the importance of diction in descriptions, - whilst other more recent critical trends have emphasized the connotative level of lexis" (Triki and Sellami 85); this section will explore both. The examination of description strategies in this text will consider two areas: the physical profile as well as the mental and psychological profiles of Clare as projected by Larsen's narrative (Triki and Sellami 190-1).

The study of Clare's physical profile reveals both the author's involvement and her unreliability concerning the issue of Irene's desire to Clare. As stated by Triki and Sellami:

The physical profile of a given character is part and parcel of the overall strategy of portraying that character from a certain angle. Physical description covers a variety of traits pertaining to appearance, facial expressions, attire, gestures and postures that cumulatively create a pattern that activate the readers' own stereotypes through culturally determined connotations (189-90).

In *Passing*, the author's adjectival use denies her unawareness of Irene's attraction to Clare. Notice, for instance, the choice of adjectives in the following passage: "[. . .], her *bright* lips slightly parted, her whole face lit by the radiance of her *happy* eyes" (Larsen 184, emphasis added). Irene's desire is more obvious in the description of Clare's mouth as "[a] *tempting* mouth" (191, emphasis added). The use of the adjective "tempting" indulges the author in the very act of temptation, because we, as readers, can assume that Irene, herself, is tempted by Clare's mouth. The use of the adjective "beautiful" to qualify the term "mouth" could have conveyed the same meaning without indulging her in the desire implied by temptation. Now, consider the use of similes in this sentence, "[t]he woman laughed, a lovely laugh, a small sequence of notes that was *like* a trill and also *like* the ringing of a delicate bell fashioned of a precious metal, a tinkling" (Larsen 180, emphasis added). Irene describes Clare's "lovely laugh" poetically; she assimilates it to a "delicate bell fashioned of a precious metal." This simile articulates her allurements and confirms our previous analysis of her discourse at an earlier stage of this text-based analysis.

At the modal level, the abundance of evaluative modalisers to describe Irene's description of Clare is very telling. The use of intensifiers in the following passages: "Irene wondered if it was tears that made Clare's eyes *so* luminous" (184, emphasis added), or also: "[s]he's really almost *too* Good-looking" (185, emphasis added). The accumulation of intensifiers to describe Clare exposes Irene's fascination with the latter and divulges what is obscured by narration.

We also notice the presence of the flame imagery and lexical items related to desire; together they contribute to the creation of an erotic mood in many instances of the novel. Consider, for example, the use of the flame diction in the following passage, in which Irene recalls the last time she met Clare:

Chicago. August. A *brilliant* day, *hot*, with a brutal staring sun pouring down *rays* [. . .] a day on which the very outlines of the buildings shuddered as if in **protest** at the *heat*. Quivering lines sprang up from baked pavements and wriggled along the *shining* car tracks. The automobiles parked at the curbs were a dancing *blaze*, and the

glass of the shop windows threw out a blinding *radiance*. Sharp articles of dust rose from the *burning* sidewalks, stinging the seared or dripping skins of wilting pedestrians. What small breeze there was seemed [sic] like the breath of a *flame* fanned by slow bellows. (Larsen 174, emphasis added)

Larsen's recurrent utilization of the flame diction and the fire imagery hints at Irene's desire when she thinks of Clare. Likewise, the term "protest," highlighted above, reflects, Irene's attempt to conceal and control her desire to the latter. More significant, the flame diction connotes danger, mirroring thereby the fact that Clare represents a threat to Irene's stability and certainty about her sexual identity.

In addition to the flame imagery, some passages eroticize Clare openly. Irene's desire and yearning for physical contact with Clare is apparent in the text that reads: "Irene touched her arm caressingly, [...]" (Larsen 226), or also in this passage: "[I]nto those eyes there came a smile and over Irene the sense of being *petted* and *caressed*" (Larsen 191, emphasis added). Irene's wondering: "[w]hat is about Clare's voice that was *so appealing*, *so very seductive*?" (Larsen 191, emphasis added) and the accumulation of intensifiers in her statement reflect, in fact, her being seduced. More illustration can be provided by this passage, "[a]t that moment it seemed a dreadful thing to think of never seeing Clare Kendry again. Standing there under the *appeal*, the *caress* of her eyes, Irene had the *desire*, the hope, that this parting wouldn't be the last" (Larsen 191, emphasis added). "There was no mistaking the friendliness of that smile or *resisting* its charm. Instantly, she *surrendered* to it and smiled too, [. . .]" (Larsen 179, emphasis added). In the light of what has been assessed so far, we can deduce that the narrator's use of fire imagery, a recurrent use of terms pertaining to the diction of desire, and the erotic mood created by both of them, expose consistently what the narrator attempts to conceal in narration.

Irene's fascination with Clare is not limited to her physical beauty; it also extends to her mental and psychological profiles. Irene's assimilation of Clare to a cat in the following passage is very significant:

Catlike. That was certainly the word which best described Clare Kendry, if any single word could describe her. Sometimes she was hard and apparently without feeling at all; sometimes she was affectionate and rashly impulsive. And there was about her an amazing soft malice, hidden well away until provoked. Then, she was capable of scratching, and very effectively too. (Larsen 173)

In this passage, Irene attributes to Clare the "smoothness" and "danger" that a cat typically evokes in the mind of the reader. Similarly, Clare's personality is attractive because of its complex association of extremes, an amalgam of pure femininity and "soft malice."

By insisting on the appealing aspect of Clare's beauty and the uniqueness of her personality in description, the portrait of the latter shows the narrator's involvement in revealing Irene's desire for Clare to the reader and leads us, thereby, to make the following observations: First, Irene may be passing for a heterosexual in order to conform to the bourgeois ethos, to which she is proud to belong. Second, the narrator strongly suggests this fact to the reader, but chooses to never acknowledge it. The narrator's subjectivity indicates, all considered, his unreliability.

By the same token, we can conclude that the author is passing. To further examine this hypothesis, it is helpful to go back to Roland Barthes' method of establishing a text's point of view, as outlined in *Image-Music-Text* (99). Barthes argues that narrative "knows only two systems of signs: personal and apersonal" and that they "do not necessarily present the linguistic marks attached to person (I) and non-person (He). Barthes suggests rewriting passage of the text using a first-person pronoun to replace the third- person, as a way of making the distinction. If the only change is a change of grammatical pronouns, we can identify a "personal system" (112). For instance, the text that reads: "But she looked, boldly this time, back into the eyes still frankly intent upon her" (Larsen 179) might easily read: "But I [Irene Redfield] looked, boldly this time, back into the eyes still frankly intent upon me." This substitution of grammatical pronouns may be made easily for most of Irene's discourse throughout the text but not for Clare. Conspicuously, this is Irene's narrative, since much of the text surfaces in her mind through these "narrative episodes [. . .] which though written in the third person nevertheless have as their true instance the first person" (112). This narrational mode creates a disguised "I," as it were, emphasizing Irene's repression and the use of passing as structure (McLendon 99). As a matter of fact, readers, who believed what they saw, that is read at the surface level, certainly missed the point. Larsen, under the sexist and racist forms of oppression she was subjugated to while writing this novel in the 1920s and, "lack[ing] the daring of... the black female blues singers," who "sang openly and seductively about sex and celebrated the female body and female desire," chose to pass, as an author, by hiding behind the disguised "I" and the "safe plot" of race (McLendon 2).

Critics were right, then, to claim that the "safe" theme of passing is a "protective cover underneath which lie more dangerous sub-plots," particularly the implicit story of "Irene's awakening sexual desire for Clare" (McDowell xxvi). Indeed, the story has often been misconstrued as Clare Kendry's tragedy, since she is the character who crosses over the color line, conceals her racial origins, and whose past is eventually discovered by her White racist husband (Larson xv). Critic Deborah McDowell was the first to detect the complex erotics of the novel in terms of a "protolesbian" relation between the two female characters. McDowell also ascertains that, by making the dominant point of view that of a woman who represses all her true feelings, Larsen invites us to explore the very emotions Irene seeks to conceal. In this respect, McDowell writes, "though, superficially, Irene's is an account of Clare's passing for White and related issues of racial identity and loyalty, underneath the safety of that surface is the more dangerous story -though not named explicitly- of Irene's awakening sexual desire for Clare" (xxvi). McDowell also believes that Irene effectively displaces her own desire on other people like Brian and the waiter (xxviii). Accordingly, Irene's suspicion that Brian might have a love affair with Clare is but a projection of her anxiety vis à vis her own desire for the latter. The same thing happens with the Drayton hotel's waiter: "[a] waiter was taking her order. Irene couldn't quite define it, but she was sure that she would have classed it, coming from another woman, as being just a shade too provocative for a waiter" (Larsen 177). In this scene, Irene communicates her belief that Clare is a provocative woman, but, in reality, she is the one who is provoked, because detecting the exertion of an act of seduction over other people implies necessarily one's subjugation to it.

To thoroughly discern the “muteness of homosexuality” in this text, and thereby, the displacement, the jealousy, and Irene’s pushing of Clare out of the window in the closing scene of the novel to ensure the death of her destructive feelings for her, it is primordial to read this repression in terms of the social constraints that defined the representation of black female sexuality in the 1920s (Butler 175). In this context, Hazel Carby puts it:

Larsen's representation of both race and class are structured through the prism of black female sexuality. Larsen recognized that the repression of the sensual in Afro-American fiction, in response to the long history of exploitation of black sexuality, led to the repression or denial of female sexuality and desire. But, of course, the representation of black female sexuality meant risking its definition as primitive and exotic within a racist society...Racist sexual ideologies proclaimed the black woman to be a rampant sexual being, and, in response, black women writers either focused on defending their morality or displaced sexuality onto another terrain. (174)

The total rejection of issues related to the flesh in African American literature has a historical explanation. The repression of sexuality is not only a characteristic of Larsen's fiction, but rather part of a literary reaction that aims to redeem the racist sexual prejudices that "proclaimed the Negro woman to be a rampant sexual being" and to dispel the Jezebel stereotype circulated by the White media, depicting the loose Negro woman who must be controlled sexually, which are propagated by the White media. The virgin/whore dichotomy which was imposed upon White and Negro women has deeply affected their images of themselves and of each other (Gwin 5). It is hardly surprising, then, that African American women writers sought to construct a respectable image of the Negro female, that of the pure and virtuous woman, a mere projection of the White Victorian values.

In psychoanalytic terms, passing is a phenomenon that "postulates violence as a consequence of the failure to merge personal desire and societal expectations" (McLendon 12). Butler reads passing as the occasion for something else to emerge, namely "queering" (Butler 176). Queering can be defined "as a term for betraying what ought to remain concealed, 'queering' works as the exposure within language -an exposure that disrupts the repressive surface of language- of both sexuality and race" (176). In *Passing*, for instance, homosexuality is "mute," "repressed," "a powerful presence that is struggling to come to the surface" (Kawash 160), but "[i]n the last instance, queering is what upsets and exposes passing; it is the act by which the racially and sexually repressive surface of conversation is exploded, by rage, by sexuality, by the insistence on color" (Butler 176), which explains why, the woman-to-woman bond theme is very current among succeeding African American women writings like *Sula* (1973) by Toni Morrison and *The Color Purple* (1982) by Alice Walker that, similarly, deal with queering, with varying degrees of explicitness. These works are characterized by woman-centeredness, and thus aim to dismantle the central pillar of the patriarchal institution. By glorifying a Black female culture, Larsen shares many of the values championed by Walker and her theory of “Womanism.” *In Search of our Mothers' Gardens* (1983). Walker outlines four features of defining features of Womanism, namely, "Black feminism," "women who love other women sexually or none sexually and appreciate and prefer women's culture," "emotions and strength; women who love music, dance and themselves;" and "womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender" (Humm 305).

Making the dominant point of view that of a woman who represses all her feelings and, to borrow from Deborah McDowell, "deludes herself," is a strategy Larsen consciously uses to explore the psychological dimensions of passing, its causes, and effects (McLendon 101). In effect, Irene's passing for a heterosexual stems from her constant repression of subjects deemed unladylike like sexuality. Irene's references to "ideas about sex" as "queer ideas about things" and "dreadful jokes" indicate her discomfort in broaching the subject of sexuality. Of course, her own class ideals are also partly responsible for her discomfort in dealing with this subject. Thus, sexism plays a large part in Irene's feeling that she must "discipline" her body (101). After an attempted conversation with Brian about sex, "her extreme resentment at his attitude, the sense of having been wilfully misunderstood and reproved, drove her to fury" (Larsen 189); an emotion that, of course, she represses. For while the text implies that, for males, sexuality is a "necessary education" (Larsen 219), it also implies that, for females, it is a taboo subject. It is, indeed, this repression of topics deemed unladylike that drives Irene to pass for a heterosexual.

McDowell suggests that the passing of the novel's title implies "false, forged, or mistaken identities" (xvii). So, in addition to the issue of racial passing for White, *Passing* can be read as a narrative of Irene's passing for a heterosexual. Irene's consideration or the narrator's of sex as a taboo explains the reason why Larsen repressed the sexuality of her female characters. As Judith Butler explains in her book, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*, "[t]he muteness of homosexuality converges in the story with the illegibility of Clare's blackness" (175); and the novel "takes the form of the act it describes;" that is, the dangerous "sex plot" is passing as a "safe race plot" (Butler 175).

It must also be reckoned that Irene's passing for heterosexual and her attraction to Clare is one among other possible interpretations of Larsen's text. Critic Lauren Berlant, for instance, looked at the relationship between Irene and Clare from a different angle. She suggests that Irene's desire for Clare is an articulation of her need to be unchained from the social and spiritual codes that have controlled her life so far (166). Berlant maintains that "[. . .] Irene's xenophilia isn't indeed a desire to occupy, to experience the privileges of Clare's body, not to love or to make love to her, but rather to wear her way of wearing her body, like a prosthesis, or a fetish" (166). What Irene wants is "relief from the body she has: her intense class identification with the discipline of the bourgeois body is only one tactic for producing the corporeal 'fog' in which she walks" (Berlant 165). This idea is confirmed by Irene's acknowledgement that she feels "a sense of aloneness, in her adherence to her own class and kind" (Larsen 195). Yet, even though Berlant agrees with Hortense Spillers' in that "American genders are always racially inflected," her own argument assumes a separation of race and gender, or, more specifically, of race and sex (166). It is as if one can "cast off the visible [racial] body while simultaneously flaunting the sexual body, which, Berlant argues, is what Clare does and what Irene would like to do" (166). Thus, Irene's passing stems to a certain extent from her need to be "disembodied" (McLendon 102).

Looking at *Passing* as a counter response to the prevailing sexism and racism of the 1920s America helps decode Larsen's intentions behind the limitation of the male presence in her novel and the total exclusion of White females in her novel. By the same token, the

strong presence of Black female characters in Larsen's novel must be conceived as a celebration of Black women's power and a subversion of the ideology of "man-as-the-norm," the only recognized human frame of reference so far (Klein qtd. in Humm 9). The women-centeredness of *Passing* is, thus, one of the –often obscured- subversive textual strategies of Larsen's approach, in addition to the woman-to-woman bond theme that display Larsen's avant-gardism, pragmatism, and feminist orientations.

Identity politics theorists identify the woman-to-woman bond theme as "an in- your-face rejection of the proper response to heteronormativity, a version of acting up" to patriarchy (Hennessy qtd. in Hernandez 244). The theme of woman-to- woman-bond in literature, as in theoretical studies, is a reaction against androcentrism (or male centredness), since it attacks both the institution and the ideology of heterosexuality, being the center of patriarchy (Humm 149). Lesbian feminism believes that women-identified women, committed together for political, sexual and economic support, provide an alternative model to male/female relations that lesbians see as oppressive (Humm 149). Theorists Charlotte Bunch, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Adrienne Rich and collectives such as The Furies believe that lesbian feminism involves both a sexual preference and a political choice because it rejects male definitions of women's lives (149). In statements like "feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice," The Furies and others made lesbian feminism a primary force in a radical women's culture. Accordingly, the very use of the woman-to-woman bond theme is one of the pivotal feminist textual strategies that aim to subvert the patriarchal social order by countering sexist stereotypes and male-centredness in literature.

The writings of self-identified Lesbian women, such as Gloria Anzaldua and Audre Lorde, have provided crucial literary basics for the more abstract theoretical discussions of American queer theorists, such as Teresa de Lauretis, Judith Butler, and others, who critique the notion of stable, autonomous identities and advocate an understanding of lesbianism in literature "not as an essence . . . but as a critical space within social structures" (Phelan qtd. in Hernandez 245). In their insistence on multiple, "fluid identities" and on a "coalitional politics" that transcends racial, ethnic, religious, and other barriers, Anzaldua and Lorde use their personal stories as antiracist, radical feminist political weapons (Hernandez 245). In their autobiographical texts, *Borderlands/La Frontera* and *Zami: a New Spelling of My Name*, Anzaldua and Lorde subvert the normative space of autobiography by turning it to their own radical purposes. They use the traditionally conservative masculine mode of sublime writing to inscribe a lesbian sublime that, as Biddy Martin suggests, "works to unsettle rather than to consolidate the boundaries around identity, not to dissolve them altogether but to open them to the fluidities and heterogeneities that make their renegotiation possible" (qtd. in Hernandez 245). In their subversive use of the normative categories of autobiography, identity, and the sublime, Anzaldua and Lorde engage in a textual form of acting up, creating the kind of "public scandal" that queer theory both champions and describes (Hernandez 245). In *Gender Trouble*, Butler argues that identity can be "proliferated" subversively, in a way dismantles binary oppositions; her privileged example of such a subversive identity is the lesbian (Hernandez 253). She calls for "a thorough-going appropriation and redeployment of the categories of identity themselves, not merely to contest 'sex,' but to articulate the convergence of multiple sexual discourses at the site of 'identity' in order to render that

category. . . permanently problematic" (Butler qtd. in Hernandez 253). Anzaldua and Lorde take Butler's oppositional strategy even further, proliferating identity not only in terms of gender but also in terms of race, class, ethnicity, and other even more marginalized affinities (Hernandez 253).

In short, identity politics bases political strategies on "humanist notions of stable, unitary identities that fragment groups from within" (Keating 36). Pratibha Parmar asserts that, when feminists "rely on a language of 'authentic subjective experience'" derived from restrictive self-definitions, they "develop hierarchies of oppression" that prevent "the establishment of alliances across differences" (Keating 36). Yet, the solution is not to abandon all references to personal experiences, but rather to take experientially based knowledge claims even further by redefining identity (36). Thus, the essence of identity must not be restricted to mere conformity to heteronormativity; instead, we must believe in the relativity of the 'normative.' Accordingly, to establish healthy alliances, we must leave behind us the safety of "unitary, insular conceptions of identity" by acknowledging, articulating, and accepting both the differences and the similarities among ourselves and others (Keating 37).

Larsen's dealing with the theme of passing, both for White and for heterosexual, does not solely aim at indicting racism and countering sexist stereotypes, it also seizes to explore the psychological costs of being non-White. Dealing with the pathologies of passing is beyond the scope of this dissertation, though it must be noted that Larsen managed to show to the reader that passing is a self-destructive option that implies leading a disguised life and co-existing with the constant fear of being exposed.

To conclude, we can say that this chapter studied one of the most important elements in Larsen's approach to race and gender issues in the 1920s America: that of passing. Larsen's superior craft added new meaning to the subject implied by her title, and revised the definition of this phenomenon. In *Passing*, we find five tropes of passing. The most explicit one is, of course, Clare's passing for White in order to attain the social and material privileges of the White world. Second, using the analyst-as-detective strategy, we could detect many clues that suggest Irene's homosexual tendency; hence Irene's passing for a heterosexual. The plot thereby is passing for a racial one while there is a sexual sub-plot in the novel. Besides, because the narrator provides many indications that reveal to the reader that Irene desires Clare, while showing no signs of knowledge about it; then, we can conclude that the narrator is disguised: her disguise is also a sort of passing. Last but not least, Clare's death finds its symbolic correlative in passing. Death signifies the ultimate "crossing over," to borrow from Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "in that ironic double sense of 'passing' and 'dying'" (109). Accordingly, the complexity and real challenge of this novel lies in the revision of the definition of passing, rather than in having a sexual sub-plot, as many critics went on to explain. Larsen's "use of passing as structure suggests that the most compelling and pertinent aspects of her characters' lives are to be found in imaginative constructs, in the subtext rather than in subplots" (McLendon 104). Perceived from this angle, Larsen's narrative strategy intensify rather than obscure possible readings because readers are invited to examine the text more closely. On the other hand, Larsen's addressing of the issue of racial passing reveals also her talents in the communication of the psychic dilemmas confronting her Black female characters. Clare manifested a desire for access to

power connected to wealth, to middle-class comfort, to public life, to male privilege, to White people, and to artistic communities. Yet, Larsen interwove the more complicated results of such desire for a woman of color: the ravages of racism; the penalties extracted by patriarchy; the hypocrisies of the elite; the false promises of the American dream; and the female's ultimate breakdown (Davis 6). Larsen's work has also critical dimensions. Indeed, no passing novel can be regarded as anything other than a strong indictment of American life; people are driven to such drastic measures because of White American's racism and Blacks' need for economic survival (Larsen xv). Having come to believe that they were inferior, simply because they did not measure up to the physical standards of Whites, Negroes passed if they could; and if they could not, they otherwise assimilated into mainstream society (McLendon 9). Larsen, in a sense, warns the reader against the disruptive consequences of passing. Indeed, through their "literal and/or psychological passing, Larsen's heroines behave in ways that ensure movement away from rather than toward selfhood and freedom" (McLendon 12). Moreover, the tragic end of Clare, when her husband found out all about her racial identity, demonstrates that there is no escape from the discipline and order of racial knowledge (Kawash 155-6). As Clare, herself, anticipated "Everything must be paid for" (Larsen 198). Despite the fact that the very possibility of passing points to the absurdity of the concept of race, Larsen's text suggests her agreement with the ideology of the racialized body. None the less, this writer managed to impose her own critical version of the consequence of not escaping, in an effort "not to finally assert "blackness' as a negative essence" (McLendon 20). Indeed, the book provokes complex racial and gender issues that Larsen, restrained by her socio-cultural context, could not eventually transcend. However, later identity politics' writings further explored the subject of identity definition and emphasized the importance of flexibility in that regard. Allen, Lorde and Anzaldua destabilized the very criteria set in order to define the boundaries of difference; skin color classification becomes elusive and thus worthless. By destabilizing pre-established concepts of ethnic, cultural, and gender identity in literature the limitation of any fixed socio-cultural or ethnic inscription is demonstrated.

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IJHCS

Brecht's *Gestus* within a Churchillian Context: *Top Girls*'s 'Gestic' Characters

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Abstract

Predominant cultural customs can work as means of oppression for women due to their patriarchal orientations. Yet, these codes are even more dangerous when they are internalized and normalized by women themselves. In this case, women become the embodiment of their victimizer's ideology, henceforth, they are unable to correct their submissive situation or achieve social equality. As a suggestion, Top Girls brings to the fore all these complex issues through the exploitation of Brecht's dramatic pattern Gestus. This technique focuses on the manner the presented characters in the play are extremely affected by their prevailing social assumptions. These domineering assumptions exert certain powers upon women's identities and mindsets. They tear down a female's own character and substitute it with another already-made identity. Gestus tries to project to what extent cultural values may blind women and be the real cause behind so many misogynous acts in society. This paper is, then, an attempt to scrutinize the way Churchill adopts and adapts Gestus (through dresses and cross-dressing) to tackle her feminist themes in a fresh dramatic fashion.

Keywords: Caryl Churchill, *Top Girls*, *Gestus*, Culture, Predominant Ideologies, Patriarchal codes, Dresses and Clothes, Cross-dressing.

Introduction

Much has been said about Caryl Churchill's influence by Brecht's dramatic strategies. Her resort to the Brechtian form permeates her to submit fresh tools in her play. It helps her reproduce and expertise these epic patterns in order to appear innovative and non-classical. For instance, feminist Critic Janelle Reinelt asserts that "of all of Brecht's tools, however, the one that Caryl Churchill most expertly uses for" her thematic and stylistic "ends is the social gest" (91 *After Brecht*). Reinelt here alludes to the third major practical artistry underpinning the epic theatre called *Gestus*. This concept can be summarized as the piling up of actions, movements, and gesticulations that carry social functions and trigger specific meanings (91 *After Brecht*). *Gestus* like any other Brechtian notion tends to convey a social message and hamper emotional assimilation in favour of intellectual responses.

Within her text, Churchill declares the necessity of this Brechtian device. Frankly, *Top Girls* executes *Gestus* in an attempt to scrutinize gender roles and shed lights on the absurdity of some predominant ideological doctrines. These dogmas ensure that in a society, tasks and requirements, rights and duties are ought not to be equally distributed. They are classified in terms of economic and sexual notifications. This final chapter discusses, thence, some aspects of the exploitations of the 'gest' technique in the play. It scrutinizes the gestures and attitudes displayed by characters in a way to show the absurd nature of social and cultural divisions. The first part will be devoted to the depiction of the concept. The following parts will exhibit how Churchill adapts the notion in her piece to reveal women's cases within society. Maybe here, the most prominent 'gestic' signs exhibited by characters will be studied as a manner to detect the biased practices exerted on a female's body and mind.

I. Definition of *Gestus* and its Various Dimensions

As a focal point in Brecht's dramaturgy, just like other previously mentioned Brechtian principles, *Gestus* has to be firstly defined and analyzed. According to *The Dictionary of Theatre: Terms, Concepts and Analysis*, *Gestus* is a German term which has Latin origins. It refers to an individual's gestures or deeds (Pavis and Shantz 164). It can hint at the tone of the voice, way of talking, manner of addressing others, or any other possible expressive form. Within the epic theatre, the technique seems to center primarily on the presented characters' conducts within the play. The protagonists' attitudes, according to Bertolt Brecht, are to be made remarkable and crystal clear (83). In general, Brecht does not provide a discreet well-definite definition to *Gestus*. He only assumes that this concept would not be materialized unless it is attached to an attitude. For instance, he interprets that "a language is gestic when it is grounded in a gest¹ and conveys particular attitudes adopted by the speaker towards other men" (104). A character's utterances may not be significant if they do not show and refer to some ideas about the character himself/herself or about the whole scene.

Therefore, in few words, *Gestus* can be illustrated as a theatrical practice based on the examination of a character's striking behaviours, opinions or vocal displays. In this case, Brecht appears to insist on the importance of these remarkable signs for the construction of meaning. He explains further that "the arts have to begin paying attention to the gest" (86). These references can be very important for the enhancement of the play's themes and transmission of ideas about characters. Critics Carol Martin and Henry Bial pinpoint that these triggered signs should be assembled and linked to the overall context of the play. They reinforce that "eventually, *Gestus* became to be understood by

¹ 'Gest' is used by Brecht in order to refer to a sign that suggests a social attitude (Brecht 104).

Brecht...as the total process, the 'ensemble' of all...behavior" (41). 'Gestic' elements can neither operate solely nor be separated from their context.

Furthermore, and within the same line, Martin and Bial continue to remind that *Gestus* may possibly be incarnated by many elements such as "movements and gestures, the face and its mimetic expressions, the voice and its sounds and inflections, speech with its patterns and rhythms ..." (41). Perhaps, Brecht proposes that it is the role of readers/audiences to detect the desirable signs" and determine their sense. It looks really fundamental that these clues should be "memorable" for readers/audiences "and, consequently, quotable" (Martin and Bial 41). Brecht himself intensifies the impact of these 'gestic' references upon readers/audiences. He outlines that "the gest stays in the memory" (83). He asserts that these striking clues can easily capture the attention better than other introduced elements. The playwright is able to convey his/her messages through these gestures since they are loaded with significations.

The notion of *Gestus*, thence, encapsulates two ideas: gesture and gist. Apart from the tangible clues and gestures, *Gestus* aims at reaching some conclusions about the play. Brecht notifies that "'gest' is not supposed to mean [mere] gesticulation: it is not a matter of explanatory or emphatic movements of the hands, but of overall attitudes" (104). Again, as epic theatre requires purposeful gestures, not all references are "gestic" and thus crystallized. For example, a wave by the hand, a wink, or a choked voice are all supposed to be bound to a meaningful context. If not, they cannot be considered meaningful or focal. "Among all the possible signs certain particular ones are picked out" (Brecht 94). These selected clues, according to Brecht, ought to uphold the meaning of the scene. Hence, the play's didactic side is triggered by certain disclosed hints that can be kept in mind by readers/audiences.

As readers/audiences are left to figure out the essence of some introduced signs, Brecht insists on the notion of critical detachment. *Gestus* can in its turn function as an alienating factor. For instance, in an attempt to prevent the reader/audience from being emotionally assimilated with characters, Brecht puts forward the need for the destruction of the psychological descriptions of protagonists. According to him, depicting characters' psyche is an old invalid tradition (248). It distracts the public's attention into some characters' private sentiments and inner cogitations so that there would be no space for the apprehension of other elements. The dramatist discards the idea that one of the readers'/audiences' role is to search for the characters' latent world. He claims that all what matters in a play are people's attitudes and opinions (248). Thereupon, he recommends that theatre ought to intrigue its readers'/audiences' intellectual reactions.

As long as one of epic theatre's prior goals is to keep the readers/audiences alert and impede their emotional empathy with the presented agents and actions, *Gestus* shares a responsibility in this distancing process. As Brecht supposes, "everything to do with the emotions has to be externalized, that is to say, it must be developed into a gesture" (139). Focusing on the attitudes, utterances, thoughts, etc., of central figures and the absence of psychological illustrations may help in keeping the readers/audiences intellectually attentive. Their concerns would be directed into the characters' external presentations and attitudes. In this fashion, the need for staying rationally active to decode signs hold by characters may probably leave no space for moral identifications.

Yet, it is essential to note that epic theatre does not completely reject the exhibition of feelings. An epic play does not exhibit a non-emotional context. It only demonstrates that sentiments have to signify a set of social codes. "Every emotion" when treated under the rubric of *Gestus*, Elizabeth Wright

explains, “manifests itself as a set of social relations. The empathy that the Brechtian [character] solicits will thus not be an end in itself, but a means to an end” (27). Feelings are expressed with gestures. Brecht commands that the playwright “has to find a sensibly perceptible outward expression for his [/her] character’s emotions” (139). Inner feelings have to be related to its wider context. The German dramatist attests that “the emotion in question must be brought out ... so that it can be treated on a big scale” (139). A protagonist plots to show how human emotions are manufactured by social norms. For instance, when, for what purpose and how do people laugh, grin, get angry, etc, are to a certain degree agreed upon by culture. In other words, an epic play ought to “exhibit the outer signs which accompany these emotions and identify them” (Brecht 92). A reader/audience may in this sense evaluate the way different sentiments are expressed in the dramatic work and try to connect them within a web of social and cultural codes.

Gestus displays the linkages and ties attaching characters’ feelings, thoughts and behaviours to specific social grounds. For example, it can depict how a character belonging to a “specific social strata” acts, dresses, thinks and feels (Brecht 100). Examining society from a given protagonist proves very significant for the playwright. Brecht reminds that “the epic theatre is chiefly interested in the attitudes which people adopt towards one another” (86). Theatre can trace back and visualize individuals’ behaviours in society. However, all conducts are envisaged within their social scopes.

The *Gestus* technique, therefore, appears “coloured by the social connotation of an attitude toward others” (Pavis and Shantz 164). The device depicts to what extent social norms can influence individuals’ deportment toward each other. A man from a working class origin may not eat or greet people the same manner as a bourgeois man does (Pavis and Shantz 164). These differences are all emphasized in order to show how people act according to social divisions. They expose the influences brought on individual’s attitudes due to certain social or cultural factors. The meaning, here, is detected from the characters’ “behaviour and ... speech” (Pavis and Shantz 164). Epic theatre, through *Gestus*, stresses the idea that people are the products of their own culture and society. As a consequence, their deportments or behaviours are adjusted by these social norms (Brecht 98). Observing actors’ deportments can deduce the way society operates and detect the impact of ideology upon human beings’ conducts and opinions.

In this frame, the whole concept of *Gestus* centers on the idea of drawing the attention toward the observation of peoples’ behaviors in society, the driving forces behind such deportments and their leading consequences. Alienated readers/audiences are more able to visualize the whole introduced situation neutrally. Through emphatic gestures, people’s relations to each other can be assessed and criticized (Payne and Barbera 93). This process allows the readers/audiences to understand something specific about the social circumstances presented in the play. Likewise, Carol Martin and Henry Bial underscore the connections between *Gestus* and society. They proclaim that “equally important was that *Gestus* defined a social position, the character’s status and function in society, and that it yielded an image of a socially conditioned behavior that, in turn, conditions the functioning of society” (41). Martin and Bial explain how studying an individual within his/her social context would give insights about the influences exerted upon individuals by social values and regulations. Moreover, they underline that a ‘gestic’ play can detect how society operates by manifesting the ideological dynamics dominating a specific culture.

Gestus discloses the impact of ideology not only on peoples’ attitudes but also on the way they feel and perceive things. It “allows conclusions to be drawn about the social circumstances” (Brecht

105). Human beings' deportments and attitudes, according to Brecht, are not steady or permanent. They are only the outcome of the predominant social doctrines. As a consequence, and within the Brechtian context, bourgeois beliefs are the causes of some unfair social realities (104-5). Once people feel the need to change these existing norms, society would possibly alter and change. These ideas will be supported if *Gestus* functions within its stylistic and thematic spheres. The play should emphasize specific physical signs to both alienate characters and study their social attitudes. It can refer to the possibility of surpassing existing absurd or illogic realities. Within this scope, alternative resolutions may prove to be needed and urgent for some marginalized social categories like women. For this purpose, the second part of this paper will aims at studying the notion of *Gestus* within Churchill's play. It will shed lights on the manifestations of this notion as demonstrated by different characters. Simultaneously, it will look for the ways these 'gestic' references could trigger the impact of cultural norms on women's thoughts and disposals.

II. The Exploitation of *Gestus* in *Top Girls*

Similar to Brecht's description of *Gestus* and its objectives, the 'gest' scheme is also applied in *Top Girls* to highlight women's conditions within capitalist patriarchal societies. It is utilized to visualize the arbitrariness of social classifications. Obviously, the play tends to explore women's states within a community, reveal their behaviour and study their interactions with the surrounding environment. *Gestus*, within this frame, is useful as it can show and stress upon women's social realities with remarkable and meaningful signs. Lynda Hart confirms that within the Churchillian context "language, space, and the body are loci for the woman playwright to dramatically challenge the images of women determined in dominant discourses" (13). Hart notes that a woman is repressed by dominant powers because of her body. Notions of femininity and masculinity are designed in line with certain ready-made sexual accounts (13). They seem to be predetermined and settled alongside being presented as fixed and unbreakable.

Therefore, *Top Girls* can enhance the representation of women through the attitudes and gestures of characters as it may be expressed from language and verbal clues². Janelle Reinelt highlights Churchill's reliance on Brecht's *Gestus*. Yet, she admits that the artist directs the principle toward a close focus "on gender and sexuality as well as economic and social issues" (23 "Navigating Postfeminism"). Demonstrated codes should be related to the material and social descriptions of women. They can detect how culture discriminates and controls women through a number of social restrictions and assumptions. These unjust treatments are introduced as normal and sound mainly because they are justified by certain biological and economic distinctions. Reinelt illustrates that "Churchill became expert at the feminist *gestus*, what Elin Diamond has described as those moments in the play text when social attitudes about gender and sexuality conceal or disrupt patriarchal ideology" (23 "Navigating Postfeminism"). Churchill tries to draw the complexities of women's lives and experiences within these harsh social rules in an attempt to prove them absurd. On the whole, the major striking models of *Gestus* within the play appear through the recurrent theme of clothes alongside the double cast scheme. Therefore, the next section will start by dealing with clothing as a theme and style.

² The study of *Gestus* will depend at a large scale on the analysis of language for two main reasons. The first reason is that the play is essentially based on conversations and narration with the absence or scarcity of incidents, descriptions or stage directions. Secondly, this paper focuses on the written script of the play at the expense of the performed version.

II.1. Clothes and Dresses as Themes and Tools: We are Wearing our Culture!

Perhaps the most palpable example of the *Gestus* technique lies in the recurrent emphasis on costumes and dressings. Clothes and garments are prior elements in *Top Girls* as they work on two levels: thematic and stylistic. The stylistic level concerns the cross-dressing scheme and will be dealt with in later stages. But at this level, the analysis will consider the thematic side of these elements. To start with, it is remarkable that the mentioning and depiction of uniforms are very frequent in the text. In the first opening scene, Lady Nijo, who is probably the chief embodiment of this phenomenon, appears so obsessed with talks about costumes. Whether in recounting her story or commenting on others' responses, her speech is usually about dresses and tissues. For her, clothes are a substantial tradition in her society. Dresses, as they may become plausible from her utterances, reflect the social position of a person. For instance, she portrays that the emperor often wears "a green robe with a scarlet lining and very heavily embroidered trousers" (Churchill 3). Her descriptions refer to the fact that the more heavily the person is dressed, the higher in position he/she is. In particular, her obedience to and respect for the emperor are expressed through her fascinating descriptions of his robes.

Equally noticeable, Nijo's fondness of clothes explains her desire to reach a high status in society. She even acknowledges that "what I enjoyed most was being the Emperor's favourite / and wearing thin silk" (Churchill 4). From the expression, the connections between living in the castle, being close to the emperor and wearing decent gowns look more remarkable. She connects wearing silky clothes to being a 'privileged' woman who is chosen by the emperor himself to be his personal servant. Uniforms tend to take a great part in the Japanese social structure in that period.

Clearly, as appearances epitomize the social position of a person, Nijo's dialogue is heavily dominated by the register of clothing. Even when she is overwhelmed by feelings of grief after the emperor's death, she wonders if she would be allowed to wear a full mourning dress (Churchill 26). Costumes become the loop through which she can perceive other people or ideas. She considers that putting on that mourning dress may indicate her feelings of distress since her culture recommends and insists upon these practices. As part of the domineering cultural system, Nijo is deeply absorbed by these values. Her emotions and ways of thinking are designed and reflected by and through clothes. Yet, robes and gowns become part of her life the moment she enters the palace, precisely when she is forced to get off her own dress and get used to another. She says that the emperor "sent me an eight-layered gown ... my thin gowns were badly ripped" (Churchill 3). The lady has to give up her original clothes and dresses as the norms dictate. Layers and tissues are symbols for a new character to be put on. In order to get into the mainstream (the palace), she is obliged to obey her society's orders at the expense of her real desires. Again, these cultural orders are described as thick, tough and multilayered to tear down or completely cover her original character.

Similar to Nijo's story, patient Griselda is forced to change her clothes before being part of the highest social structure by marrying the marquise. During her wedding, she recounts that a group of servants "undressed" her and gave her other dresses (Churchill 22). For both women, changing garments and dresses work as a change in character as well as in the social status. As if they are asked to put off their true selves and embrace other layers or identities. This time, these new personalities are formed by cultural dictations just like customs are constructed by social orders.

Victoria Bazin explains how costumes tend to play the role of a social "gest" in the play. She interprets that Churchill links uniforms to customs, conformity and conventions (123). They do signal

aspects about each character's society. Each introduced woman seems to wear her social codes and imbeds them (as clothes differ from a culture to another) (Bazin 123). Lady Nijo's persistent use of expressions like silks, layers, embroidery, tissues and colours manifest her deep attachments to social ideals and prescriptions. Clothing functions, then, as a striking sign. It not only exposes the characters' social and cultural belongings, but also shows to what extent are these characters influenced by conventions. The emperor in Nijo's story is set as the one who is heavily dressed and thence he is the one who mostly symbolizes the system (Bazin 123). Even more, he represents the supreme authority. The one who is responsible for the respect of order and perhaps the manufacturing of cultural dispositions. Thereupon, the central figures, such as Griselda and lady Nijo, may demonstrate the view that an individual's identity heavily clings to the prevailing culture. People's conducts and thoughts are adjusted by their social systems.

As a remark, among Marlene's guests, Nijo and Griselda undergo very harsh experiences of discrimination because of their fathers and then partners. They are taught that a decent lady must blindly obey and serve her husband (or the emperor in the case of Nijo since she is his concubine). The acceptance of repression and patriarchal commands situate main parts of the newly embraced character (or cloth) for the two girls. Victoria Bazin accentuates here that "Churchill emphasizes the 'social gest,' the learned patterns of behaviour, the social codes and structures underpinning gender and reproducing gendered differences" (123). Women's positions and images are outlined by the way they dress, perform their social rituals and obey cultural rules. The recurrent emphasis on describing clothes could possibly attract the attention into the social and cultural values these dresses expose and hint at.

Maybe slightly in the same fashion, the resort to clothes as a stylistic device designates the bonds between an individual's attitudes and predominant social orders. Churchill exploits the cross-dressing style as another way to materialize *Gestus*. But before the embarking on the exploration of this pattern in the text, few words about cross-dressing shall be pointed out. Scholar G. G. Bolich interprets that cross-dressing can be attributed to the "act of dressing in clothes typically associated with a gender other than the one assigned the wearer" (2). It originally implies wearing the clothes of the opposite sex. Bolich explains in details that cross-dressing establishes some ties between dresses, gender and culture. He postulates that the "culture dress is a chief way of presenting _ perhaps enacting _ gender. Because gender is so rigidly paired with sex, and because both stand so central to our sense of self and relationships, clothes garners significant meaning" (17). Maybe Bolich aims at highlighting that a robe can epitomize the culture's perception of gender. The same, it can refer to the biological and social division between individuals.

Similarly, Jean E. Howard comments on how robes portray cultural understanding of masculinity and femininity but this time in connection to drama. She admits that cross-dressing is a recurrent scheme in theatre (Howard 47). It is a form of disguise that may interpret a character's desire to hide himself/herself maybe out of fear or weakness. Or on the contrary, cross-dressing could in a way or the other function as an act of resistance directed into any form of cultural commands and dictations (Howard 50). As far as Churchill is concerned, the playwright employs cross-dressing as a 'gestic' reference to the illogic state of social divisions between men and women. She seeks to challenge and subvert these unsound differences. In *Top Girls*, the act of cross-dressing is put into relief through the character of Joan who lives a 'manly' life.

Pope Joan is introduced as the reference that casts light upon how costumes epitomize customs. Quite interesting, this figure appears to point at the absurdity of gender role within society and the

unfixed nature of masculinity and femininity. Joan disguises as a man and lives a manly life in an attempt to achieve intellectual aspirations. Masculine clothes work as an armor which protects her in a patriarchal community. This appearance allows her to become a pope, an upper and outstanding state. Being accustomed to men's 'cloth' (or body) compels her to forget her reality. To a certain degree, she announces: "I think I forgot I was pretending" (Churchill 9). The female Pope seems to become completely immersed within the personality she is playing. Though with the exception of some differences, she has undergone the same experience as Griselda or Nijo: Having taken off her original suits and replaced them with other uniforms. This new outfit follows cultural and social demands (for she symbolizes religious supreme authorities). However, in this case, the devoted girl chooses herself to embrace a manly character and succeeds to certain extents at becoming a man. Through this disguise, Pope Joan proposes, or even concretizes, the idea that masculinity is not innate. It is a cultural construct maybe like any other custom (Howard 48). Society teaches people how to act and understand things. Therefore, it imposes rules to prescribe the role and behaviour of each person.

Joan is born a woman. Still, she successfully manages to embrace a masculine character. She has no idea what does a woman's body mean. In response to her pregnancy, for instance, the pope remarks: "I didn't live a woman's life. I don't understand it" (Churchill 24). Her comments disclose that an identity is acquired. It is not that universal or stable. Joan presents an interesting figure, for apart from her masculine apparition, she talks and thinks as a man. Scholar Dimple Godiwala ensures that "at the dinner, however, Joan is almost a token man, in that her point of view is more detached from the intimate female confessions surrounding her" (Godiwala 10). Joan actually behaves and speaks in a different way from other female guests. "Linguistically, she occupies a traditionally male discursive space especially at the end of the scene...being apart and removed from the oppressions and confessions of female victimization which she scarcely identifies with ... Joan is the male in the gathering as she speaks in a language pervasively masculinist, a phallogocentric language" (Godiwala 10). The critic examines Joan's contributions to the others' speeches. Throughout the scene, her reactions are a bit indifferent and cold. Her register is of course full of religious terminologies and quotes. But more importantly, she appears in many instances not willing to understand other women or share their feelings. She outlines: "I never obeyed anyone. They all obeyed me" in order not to identify with others' feelings of victimization (Churchill 21). She does not accept her biological body as she perceives herself a man, or sometimes, the symbol of social and religious superiority.

Within the text, Joan confirms that a woman can behave and view things like men if she gets used to masculine norms. From the characters' portrayals, gender appears to be dictated and arranged by culture. Individuals learn how to interact, judge and behave. Joan's expression "I wasn't used to having a woman's body" summarizes the Churchillian definition of gender (Churchill 15-7). People, in society, are mainly classified according to their biological makeup. Therefore, the majority of cultural norms and arrangements are formed according to gendered scales. Likewise, social relations are controlled by predominant ideologies.

Through these 'gestic' references (clothes and dressing), Churchill attempts at giving insights on how society operates. To intensify these conceptions, the British artist 'placed her characters as social subjects at the intersection of economic, religious and political forces which disciplined their sexuality and prescribed their gender' (Reinelt 175 "Caryl Churchill"). The impacts of these authorities are made palpable for readers/audiences. Individuals cannot be studied outside their contexts. *Top Girls'* characters are victims of capitalist, patriarchal or conservative forces. Influences of their fathers' or husbands' instructions and commands are exhibited from their attitudes and language.

Gayle Austin indicates that “we cannot separate questions of gender stereotyping from their material conditions” (134). Within this frame, *Gestus* is applied in the first place to portray the way the predominant culture measures tasks, rights and social values according to biological makeup. What men or women must or must not do is determined by customs. In her turn, materialist feminist scholar Elin Diamond defines gender in relation to the Churchillian text. She proposes that “gender refers to the words, gestures, appearances, ideas, and behavior that dominant culture understands as indices of feminine or masculine identity” (84). Diamond correlates the individual identity with its wide social scope. In this sense, Churchill aims at highlighting the idea that differences based on gendered connotations can be blurred and disrupted.

Furthermore, being forged by bourgeois and patriarchal principles, society would be an incarnation of these standards. Diamond indicates that “when [reader/] spectators ‘see’ gender they are seeing (and producing) the cultural signs of gender, and by implication, the gender ideology of a culture” (84). Annexes between culture and ideology are made emphatic in the play. According to Diamond’s descriptions, readers/audiences would probably conclude that gender is only schemed by the domineering ideologies. Thus, one-sided treatments can no longer be justifiable or accepted. Evidently, Diamond estimates that Churchill’s play reflects modern women drama’s understanding of gender, or more specifically, materialist feminism’s belief that gender is culturally built and founded. Diamond additionally proves that “gender in fact provides a perfect illustration of ideology at work since ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’ behavior usually appears to be ‘natural’ _and thus fixed and unalterable_ extension of biological sex. Feminist practice that seeks to expose or mock the strictures of gender usually uses some version of the Brechtian” scheme of ‘gestic’ signs (84). *Gestus* in *Top Girls* is exploited to explain Churchill’s analysis of gender and her strong belief that the body is designed according to a set of ideological articulations.

Notwithstanding, the playwright seeks to transgress these imposed codes within her play. Dresses and costumes in the dramatic text situate an efficient device that makes manifest the non-stagnant status of women’s social positions. “By foregrounding the expectation of resemblance, the ideology of gender is exposed and thrown back to the [reader/] spectator... gender is exposed as a sexual costume, a sign of a role, not evidence of identity” (Diamond 84). Society shows individuals how to perceive their bodies and decides what values they should put on. Perhaps as a result, their authentic identities are either hidden or substituted and effaced. Diamond hints at this illogic and nature of these ideologies. In *Top Girls*, the unnatural sides of certain conducts are made visible in order to be evaluated and calculated in an objective manner. Elin Diamond confirms:

When gender is “alienated” or foregrounded, the [reader/] spectator is enabled to see a sign system as a sign system _ the appearance, words, gestures, ideas, attitudes, etc., the comprise of gender lexicon become so many illusionistic trappings to be put on or shed at will. Understanding gender as ideology _ as a system of beliefs and behavior mapped across the bodies of females and males, which reinforces a social status quo _ is to appreciate the continued timeless of [the Brechtian device], the purpose of which is to denaturalize and defamiliarize what ideology makes seem normal, acceptable, inescapable. (84)

The use of the themes of robes and outfits offers significant indicators about the strong ties between ideology and gender roles. *Gestus* functions as an alienating tool at this stage. The dramatic text has to distance the already established depictions of gender as universally outlined by nature. Since gender is fabricated, thence, can be transformed and reversed. Janelle Reinelt agrees with Diamond’s

opinions. She shows that an artist like Caryl Churchill uses the *Gestus* as a generator of the alienating effect to deconstruct the fixedness of identities pictured by society (25 “On Feminist”). Social structures do not respond to women’s diverse characteristics and feelings. It only illustrates them according to a static stereotypical framing.

These framings ought to be brought down to the fore and then deconstructed. Churchill sounds to “have spotted the potential of Brechtian *Gestus* to undermine stereotypical representations of women” (Smith 495). If these representations are shown as transient, women’s situation in the community would find its way to switch. The play, at this level, offers other alternative dimensions for women. As a result, *Gestus* is also responsible for encouraging the readers/audiences to keep thinking about these raised issues. The unequal nature of social relations between different categories is now made plain. “By means of *Gestus*, epic theatre draws the spectator away from the well-made play, with its closed forms and consumer ideologies, breaking the play’s conventions open to view and leaving them open at the play’s conclusion. *Gestus* attempts to energize the readers/audiences to continue the text outside the theater” (Smith 493). This technique intends to contribute to the didactic function of the play. Different clues introduced in the text, which are underlined and intensified, are unforgettable. Readers/audiences can start thinking and maybe evaluating the rationale of these realities. Changing the status quo does not look that impossible to achieve.

In reference to the play, for instance, the travelling figure Isabella Bird appears liberated as she is allowed to wander the world when it is only a privileging practice for men in a Victorian context (Godiwala 12). Yet, Isabella manages to break up her social constraints only after her husband’s and father’s deaths. This attained “freedom comes late” (Godiwala 12). Only in later stages, she gets rid of patriarchal control. She clarifies how her trips make her see “a new world ... no dressing” (Churchill 8). She is able thanks to her adventures to escape the chains of culture. Consequently, she learns how to be free and act according to her will. This Victorian woman stands as an example of a revolutionary figure who throws away social dictations in order to fulfill her personal interests (Godiwala 12). Even later, Isabella implies how the rigidity of conventions and ideologies can eliminate one’s identity. She enquires: “How can people live in this dim pale island and wear our hideous clothes? I cannot and will not live the life of a lady” (Churchill 26). To be a lady in a capitalist patriarchal system means accepting certain commands that can encapsulate a woman’s own choices and decisions. The wandering woman is now able to criticize her society. She becomes conscious of the “hideous” values society imposes on individuals. Women cannot be faithful to their authentic selves as long as they are jailed within the confinement of cultural or domestic requirements.

Isabella dares comment on the social system mainly because she steps out the mainstream. She strips the character of the ‘lady’ with all its complexities. Being within the system necessitates and means being kept blinded by dominant ideologies. Patriarchal capitalist ideals dominate society and control people’s opinions and relations. As explicit models, the majority of *Top Girls*’ women agree on the superiority of men. They even tend to associate the masculine outfit to security. When Isabella asks Joan: “you dressed as a boy?” her question is quickly answered by Marlene: “of course, / for safety” (Churchill 8). Femininity (or women’s clothes) embeds meanings of inferiority, insecurity and weakness.

Marlene, maybe like Joan, puts on manly traits and characteristics in an attempt to live in a patriarchal capitalist world. To succeed at work and raise a sum of money, the twentieth century woman starts to mimic masculine modes until her personality totally infuses in them. The newly promoted

manager turns into a person inhabited by predominant codes. Liza Merrill examines the transformations done to Marlene when she puts off her femininity. Throughout the play, Marlene's relations to others (especially at work) are marked by discrimination and indifference (Merrill 70). She believes in the laws of dominance and authorial control. "Marlene's model of power is having power over others rather than being empowered to perform some social action ... this hierarchal model of success has a particularly male-identified dimensions" (Merrill 70). At the "Top Girls" agency, Marlene and her colleagues, being successful and rich, are exercising power and dominance over working-class women.

Power and wealth are the criteria according to which society is divided. In this context, powerful and prosperous ladies control those who are at the bottom of society. The play, at this stage, examines "what it means to be 'on top' and have power in the present day" (Merrill 70). For instance, the waitress, the three interviewed girls as well as Joyce are all illustrated as inferior and incompetent in a discriminatory bourgeois world. The working class girls are there to serve those at the top of society. Furthermore, in order to be on top, one has to oppress others. Society is divided according to sexual as well as economic principles. To define success, Marlene states: "you'll be in at the top with new girls coming in underneath you" (Churchill 32). Apparently, women who take over the predominant values strongly defend this hierarchal structure. Churchill demonstrates that accepting the social order without questioning it would not only efface women's identities, but also fathom their ways of thinking since successful ladies become as cruel to other women as men.

Within this context, the play accentuates two types of women existing within society. Though they are classified in a hierarchical manner, critic Dimple Godiwala comments that sarcastically both bourgeois and working women are subjects to the same patriarchal discriminating treatments. The collection of characters in the play "brings into confrontation two opposing types of women, but both, ironically, living by the same" capitalist and patriarchal "norms" (Godiwala 13). Godiwala objects the great differences between these two groups of women saying that "both are occupants of the same patriarchal system within which each has made a choice," while the first group opts for "an internalization of masculinist rules," the other remains "in compliance to her position as a married woman in a patriarchal society" (Godiwala 13). In both cases, women's situation is still critical and therefore needs significant transformations.

For Churchill, attaining high positions at work does not seem to ameliorate the state of women in society. Through the character of Marlene, *Top Girls* sheds light on the position of feminist movements within the twentieth century Britain. Janelle Reinelt interprets that "Churchill, with her finger on the pulse of contemporary culture, wanted to address how material success for a few women did not build solidarity or foster change for the majority" (30 "On Feminist"). As a remark, the British playwright concludes that the achievements made by Marlene and her colleagues are futile chiefly because they do not have the desire for change as well as they embody themselves their oppressor's values. Churchill intends to criticize the adoption of bourgeois ideals by some women in Britain with the access of Margaret Thatcher (a capitalist woman) to power. Elaine Aston and Geraldine Harris undertake that

Feminism in the 1980s was in danger of overturning the co-operative and collaborative ethos of the 1970s in favour of a selfish, materialistic creed favouring a minority of already privileged women at the expense of the majority. In theatre, Caryl Churchill's *Top Girls* (1982) famously illustrated the dangers of this new style of "right-wing" feminism, showed the dangers and consequences for future generations of women of not pursuing a political agenda that took account of both feminism and socialism. In *Top Girls* "superwoman" Marlene's success is at the

expense of her slow-learning “daughter,” Angie [and working-class sister Joyce].
(71-2)

Marlene and her fellow ladies need this type of capitalist atmosphere to achieve their material profit. They are not ready to engage in any process that may lead to a change in the situation. *Top Girls*' main figure is aware that the system is harsh for certain girls including her own daughter. Nevertheless, she appears to be careless for her child's future. She predicts that Angie is “not going to make it” (Churchill 66). Within Marlene's capitalist world, unintelligent girls will have no place in society, they are not going to succeed. Angie is “a bit thick,” hence would be put at the margin (Churchill 66). This cruelty and heartlessness of the mother is so striking and irritating. For these noted reasons, “*Top Girls* shows the dangers of feminism without socialism” (Aston 20). Collective actions and solidarity between different women can help redress some of the unequal conventions imposed by capitalist patriarchal standards. Society must be reconstructed again with divisions according to biological or economic norms have to be stopped (Aston 20). Churchill's attempts at foregrounding the lack of significant evolutions in women's position in society continue to be consolidated and demonstrated by her exploitation of the double casting technique. Henceforth, the following section examines this dramatic pattern with its remarkable manifestation in *Top Girls*.

II.2. Churchill's Double Casting Scheme

Despite the fact that this article originally studies and focuses on *Top Girls* as a text, it seems essential to talk at least in a brief way about this acting style chiefly because the written script of the play contains a production note on the way the play is generally enacted. These notes clarify that when *Top Girls* is performed for the first time at the Royal Court Theatre in London in 1982, the sixteen introduced characters are played by only six actresses (Churchill ii). With the exception of the main figure Marlene, other characters are either doubled or trebled. Janelle Reinelt expresses that the cross-casting scheme is one of Churchill's “most arresting device” (89 *After Brecht*). She inaugurates that Churchill manages to a degree to master this acting technique and rework it to reinforce her ideas. As a possible definition, the double-cast style hints at “giving an actor [/actress] two (or more) parts to play within a given production” (Wise and Walker 660). Interestingly, Caryl Churchill doubles her players' roles within the frame of *Gestus* in order to suit her feminist quests.

In the first place, *Top Girls* is presented as an all-female cast. All characters are played by females. Chantal Cornut-Gentille describes that “all sixteen characters” in the play “are women, and no men appear on stage at all” (105). *Top Girls* announces from the beginning that demonstrated events would only center on women. It tries to convey a more authentic representation of women and their concerns. Gayle Austin talks about the play as being only performed by females in an endeavour to concentrate on the portrayal of the female in drama (135). Perhaps, Churchill tries to send a message through her play about women's position in theatre. *Top Girls*, in this sense, can prove the ability of women to control theatre. It is projected to talk about women's experiences on a male-free stage (Austin 135). It intends to create an atmosphere fully controlled and elaborated by women. Presumably, the double cast technique is not only deployed to enhance this established atmosphere, but rather to serve as an alienating pattern.

One of the objectives of this mentioned acting scheme is to impede emotional assimilation with characters. It appears as one of the basic alienating tools. Helen Keyssar postulates that “Churchill divides our attention among ... characters, refusing hierarchy of interest or role ... so as to avoid sustained concern for any character” (205). Churchill intends to surpass the tradition of focusing on or

sympathizing with one sole character. Each demonstrated character contributes in a way or the other to the unfolding of events and takes a substantial part in the exhibition of certain ideas (Keyssar 205). The multiplicity of protagonists reflects the desire of the playwright to represent different images for women. She attempts to manifest the idea that women's concerns cannot be voiced by a single representation. Each brought in woman in *Top Girls* develops a discreet identity and experience. These personalities may diverge as the characters' social and cultural backgrounds differ (Merrill 68). The play displays a variety of images and voices for women that can be rationally examined and evaluated.

Maybe within this complex atmosphere due to the blend in players and roles, any attempts to identify with characters would fail. Marvin Carlson takes on the idea that a modern playwright like Caryl Churchill seems to share Brecht's claims that "theatre language should be always directed toward action, not realism, or psychological expression, it must demand gesture" (398). *Top Girls* does not focus on its characters' psychological portrayal or even try to reflect inner feelings. Rather, it stresses the relations between different characters and the way they behave. Women's conducts within society are what matter for the spectators. The latter would remark the reality that the person they are watching is going to appear in another role the following scenes (Reinelt 90 *After Brecht*). The physical changes brought on the player in this shift of role would attract the audience.

Churchill makes use of the double-role technique to highlight "the economic rather than the psychological circumstances of her characters ... this double casting, besides diffusing identification with an individual character's unique experience, functions to effect comparisons between the various conditions presented by the several characters portrayed by each performer" (Merrill 70). Concentrating on the body of characters prevent the digging for the figure's psychological sides. The fact that they are performing different roles on stage becomes evident. Players in *Top Girls* have to perform historical guests and then shift into being modern women. They may appear working-class girls and in the next scene, they would represent employees from the "Top Girls" agency.

Equally, characters of little girls like Kit and Angie would be performed by grown up women. The female body is depicted within its various manifestations. The same figure could be poor, rich, modern, adult, child, from the past, etc. Every role has to expose distinct personality and concerns. Janelle Reinelt interprets that the multiple casting pattern aims at "recognizing the necessity of deconstructing subjectivity as an unchanging gendered essence" or alienating "character and reveal social construction" (89 *After Brecht*). Differences are not universal. Economic or sexual distinctions can be blurred. Here, nothing appears fixed and stable. In the course of time, social values may alter. "*Top Girls* double casts the historical women as present day women and calls for adults to portray the children's part" chiefly to highlight the impossibility of historical fixedness (Reinelt 90 *After Brecht*). At this level, changes in roles lead to the idea of the presence of alternative solutions for women's social situation. Reinelt continues her analysis of the connections between Churchill's acting form and theme of change. She insists that

Multiply cast roles ... represented the different subject positioning the depicted society, and historicized the events of the narrative to enable spectators to see how these events were similar to and different from the present-day circumstances, similar to and different from the received historical traditions. While her narratives constituted logical outcomes of a series of events, these were not portrayed as inevitable – it might have been otherwise: therein lies the "hope" for the future borne on the back of the failure of the past. (176 "Caryl Churchill")

The female body is constructed under the pressure of dominant ideological traits. This interjected image is not eternal since other representations appear possible on stage. Ideology changes throughout history, therefore women's conditions are variable. Gender roles are illogically prescribed since they are only transient and not stable. Perhaps, as means of oppressions are now recognized, feminist efforts should direct into reforming the social system with its ideological creeds.

Conclusion

Gestus proves to set a favourable ground for the representation of a number of ideas throughout the play. It adds aesthetic qualities to the dramatic work as well as helps probe many crucial themes. Among these topics appears the identification of the relation between women and their cultural environment. Within this relation, the female body and even mind are illustrated by predominant social ideologies. The latter are fashioned by capitalist patriarchal outlets, therefore do not respond to women's needs and cogitations.

In *Top Girls*, however, the characters' concerns about dresses and clothes unveil the deep influences done by culture on these women. They tend to embrace their societies' norms though at the expense of their original personalities. Besides, the double casting technique functions as a distancing factor that may encourage the critical assessment of the way each woman is influenced by her culture. As a drawn conclusion, *Gestus* proposes that women cannot attain their freedom and ameliorate their social conditions unless they take off these ideologically knitted gowns.

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Erotic Spirituality: Metaphorical conceptualization of Desires for the Divine in Sufi Discourse

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Abstract

The embodiment hypothesis views cognition as grounded in the body's sensory motor experience of the physical world. Gibbs' (2005) case study of people's talk about desire revealed that there is a cross-cultural tendency to conceptualize abstract emotions of desire, love and lust for non-material things such as reputation, success, appreciation...etc, in terms of physical sensation of hunger. Extending the findings of this experiment the current paper intended to study the conceptualization of desire for non-physical things in a more abstract realm of human experience which is Sufism. The paper's major goal is to explain how the conceptualization of the most abstract, untenable, and ineffable spiritual experiences is constrained by the embodied mind.

*Applying the neural theory of metaphor and the embodied cognition hypothesis, the paper investigated the reasons motivating the recruitment of erotic images in the conceptualization of abstract desires for abstract things such as desire for knowledge, desire for spiritual achievement, and desire for the Divine in Al-Ghazali's *The Revival of the Sciences of Religion*. The findings indicated that the bodily experience impacted the sensual and lustful corporal conceptualization of spiritual desires.*

Keywords: abstract desires, conceptual metaphor, embodiment hypothesis, sexuality, Sufi discourse.

Background: Metaphorical talk of desire

To test how people physical sensation of hunger contributes to their understanding of abstract emotive experiences such as love, lust and desire Gibbs (2005, p. 84/ 85/ 86) conducted an experiment with American and Brazilian students that tested the influence of people awareness and folk knowledge about their hunger experience in shaping their understanding of more abstract emotions such as desire. Participants were presented with two ranges of questions. The first range of questions revolved around bodily sensations generated by the experience of three sorts of desires: love, lust, and desire for nonhuman things like fame, adventure and money. Participants were required to read the questions and decide about their degree of relatedness to the body symptoms accompanying the experience of hunger.

The second range of questions explored the role of people's intuitions in judging the acceptability of certain linguistic manner of expressing desire. Participants were presented with statements like "My whole body aches for you", "I have a strong headache for knowledge", "My hands are itching for you", "My knees ache for information about my ancestry") and asked to judge whether it is an acceptable linguistic form to talk about desire in their community. Quantification of the mean ratings indicated that there is a consistency in the findings of both groups for the body and the linguistic questions concerning the three types of symptoms for the three sorts of desires. For example both groups of participants judged "I have a great appetite for money" and "I have a stomach pain for my old way of life" as sound and acceptable way of expressing varied desires. And they both agreed that expressions like "I became talkative for adventure" and "My knees swell for information about my ancestry" are not acceptable to linguistically express desire. The findings provided additional empirical support for the hypothesis that embodied experience plays crucial part in structuring people's metaphorical understanding of abstract desires and emotions (Gibbs, 2005, p. 84/ 85/ 86).

Based on these findings this research paper attempts to explore the conceptualisation of spiritual desires for the sublime and the transcendent notably desire for God, for worshipping God, and for knowing about God in a highly abstract, ineffable, and incommunicable realm of human experience which is Sufism focusing on the book of the revival of the sciences of religion. The paper's major goal is to explain, from the embodiment of cognition perspective, what motivates the choice of erotic sensual and corporeal domains of experience to conceptualize spiritual desires for the sublime. To my knowledge linguistic account and particularly from a cognitive semantic view to the fusion of sexuality and spirituality in Sufism is very limited. Evola (2004) studied the blending of the erotic and the Divine in mystic discourse but he did not provide an explanation of the phenomenon.

Literature review

Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor is defined as a set of fixed patterns of ontological and epistemic correspondences across conceptual domains where knowledge about conceptual domains and inferences are projected systematically from source to target. It consists in understanding and conceptualizing one domain of experience such as life in terms of another domain of experience such as journey (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003, p. 6). "The locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another"

(Lakoff, 1992, p. 1). Conceptual domains represent “any coherent organization of experience” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). Source domains are typically more concrete and more clearly delineated concepts whereas target domains are “abstract, diffuse, and lack clear delineation; as a result, they “cry out” for metaphorical conceptualization” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 23). Understanding typically goes from the more concrete domains of experience to the more abstract ones (Kövecses, 2010, p. 9). Conceptual metaphor is considered as indispensable mechanism for abstract reasoning and one of the fundamental cognitive capacities for making sense of human experience. “Conceptual metaphor is what makes most abstract thought possible” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, p. 120).

The embodiment of cognition hypothesis

There has been a huge body of research since the emergence of cognitive linguistics that has discussed the embodiment of cognition hypothesis: (Johnson and Lakoff, 1999 and 2003, Lakoff, 1992 and 1987, Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, Johnson, 2005, Gibbs, 2005 and 2006, Feldman, 2006, Feldman and Narayanan, 2004, Kövecses and 2010, Rohrer, 2005, Pecher and Zwaan, 2005, Grady 1999, and Coulson, 2008). These studies have maintained that abstract mental processes of the mind like language and reasoning are grounded in the in the body sensory-motor experience with the physical environment. (Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, Feldman, 2006, and Johnson, 2005) provided neural evidence (neural modeling of the brain) supporting the embodiment of cognition hypothesis. They maintain that neural circuitry originally specialized in sensory-motor functions are recruited to enable abstract reasoning and mental processes of conceptualizing abstract and concrete entities. Neuroimaging research also has indicated that brain areas involved in the processing of perceptual and motor data are also activated in higher mental activities such as conceptualization (Coulson, 2008, p. 189). The neural theory of language developed by Gallese and Lakoff (2005) suggests that Brain structures in the sensory-motor regions are utilized to express abstract concepts

The evidence emerged from the discovery that imagining doing some action and actual doing of that action make use of the same neural substrate. For example imagining moving activates the same part of the brain used in actual moving, grasping and imagining grasping use the same neural substrate. “Neural exploitation” is fundamental aspect of human cognition. It consists in the use of the brain sensory-motor mechanisms to serve higher-order mental processes (language and reasoning) alongside their original functions (Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, p. 456). Gibbs (2006, p. 447/ 448) provided psychological evidence for the embodiment hypothesis by empirical testing of the embodied understanding of metaphoric expressions containing physically impossible actions like “chewing on ideas”, “stretching for understanding”, “put your finger on the truth” and “tearing apart an argument” by studying how people form mental images of these metaphors. when a participant was presented with the phrase “put your finger on the truth” and asked to imagine its meaning she replied with the following statement “I guess being able to touch the truth is an important thing, being able to relate to it, being able to actually see that it is a physical thing and can be examined” (Gibbs, 2006, p. 447/ 448). Conceptual metaphor is the mechanism that “bridges” from abstract to concrete and makes abstract thought possible Thus, metaphorical mappings from the idea of visually seeing things to the idea of intellectually understanding (Gibbs, 2005, p. 160). Lakoff (1987, p. 280) defines “the conceptualizing capacity” as the human mind capacity of abstract reasoning. This capacity is facilitated by the ability to construe symbolic structures

which are basic-level and image-schematic concepts that correlate with preconceptual structures in daily experience. The conceptualizing capacity is also fostered by the ability to metaphorically map structures from physical domains with structures from abstract domains and also the ability to form cognitive models.

Methodology

Relying on the embodied mind hypothesis, in particular neural embodiment, this paper analyzes metaphorical conceptualization of desires for the Divine (God, worship, and knowledge) in Al-Ghazali's *The Revival of the Sciences of Religion* (*Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*). The book was written by Al-Ghazali (1058/1111). It reflects on religion (faith, worship, religious knowledge, morality, etc) from a Sufi perspective. It has been considered amongst the most read and most influential works in the Islamic and particularly Sufi literature. Al-Zabidi (1311) states: "were the books of Islam all to be lost, excepting only the *Ihya'a*", it would suffice to replace them all". Imam Nawawi (606) stated that "*ihyaa*' was about to be a Qur'an" (the most read work in the Muslim world, after the Qur'an). The choice of the book is completely random. I read the book a year ago (2014) and when I read the experiment about the conceptualization of desire for non-material things via aspects of the bodily experience, it raised my curiosity to investigate the conceptualization of abstract desires especially desire for the sublime in this Sufi work and I decided that it could be a topic of research. The paper analyzed the entire book available on Al-Ghazali's website. Metaphors describing desire for three major elements: union with God, worshipping God, and knowing about God, are compiled and displayed in a tabular format specifying their names, their target and source domains, and linguistic expressions exemplifying them.

To guarantee accuracy and objectivity of analysis the study relied on MIP model of metaphor identification. It is based on four procedures. The first procedure consists in entire reading of the text and establishing an understanding of the meaning. The second procedure concerns the division of the text/discourse into lexical units. The third procedure requires: a) establishing the meaning of each lexical unit in context by taking into account preceding and following units, b) determining if the lexical unit has a basic current-contemporary sense other than the one utilized in the current context. Basic sense tends to be concrete (related to perception of the five senses), associated with the body actions, more precise (opposed to vague), and historically older. (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic sense different with its meaning in the current context, decision should be taken regarding whether the context meaning contrasts the basic meaning and whether it can be interpreted in the light of it. Finally, the fourth procedure consists in marking the lexical unit as metaphorical after comparing its meaning with the basic meaning (Erlbaum Associates (Pragglejaz Group), 2009, p. 3).

Corpus analysis

Corpus analysis has indicated that the conceptual metaphor GOD IS A BELOVED pervades the conceptualisations of yearning for the Sublime in the revival of the sciences of religion. The analysis yielded three types of interrelated desires; desire for union with God, desire for knowing about him, and desire for worshipping him. The three desires revolve around one centre which is the beloved God and they give the same sort of pleasure to the *mureed*.

فالعارفين في فكرهم و مناجاتهم لله تعالى لذات لو عرضت عليهم الجنة في الدنيا بدلا عنها لم يستبدلوا بها لذة الجنة ثم هذه اللذة مع كمالها لا نسبة لها أصلا إلى لذة اللقاء و المشاهدة كما لا نسبة للذة خيال المعشوق إلى رؤيته و لا للذة استنشاق الروائح الشهية إلى ذوقها و لا للذة اللمس باليد إلى لذة الوقاع و إظهار عظم التفاوت بينهما لا يمكن إلا بضرب مثال فنقول لذة النظر إلى وجه المعشوق في الدنيا تتفاوت بأسباب احدها كمال جمال المعشوق و نقصانه فان اللذة في النظر إلى الأجل أكمل لا محالة. و الثاني كمال قوة الحب و الشهوة والعشق فليس التناذ من اشتد عشقه كالتناذ من ضعفت شهوته و حبه و الثالث كمال الإدراك فليس التناذ برؤية المعشوق في ظلمة او من وراء ستر رقيق أو من بعد كالتناذ بإدراكه على قرب من غير ستر عند كمال الضوء و لا إدراك لذة المضاجعة مع ثوب حائل كإدراكها مع التجرد. و الرابع اندفاع العوائق المشوشة و الألام الشاغلة للقلب فليس التناذ الصحيح الفارغ المتجرد للنظر إلى المعشوق كالتناذ الخائف المذعور أو المريض المتألم أو المشغول قلبه بهم من مهمات الدنيا فقدر عاشقا ضعيف العشق ينظر إلى وجه معشوقه من وراء ستر على بعد بحيث يمنع انكشاف كنه صورته في حالة اجتمع عليه عقارب و زنابير تؤذيه و تلدغه و تشغل قلبه فهو في هذه الحالة لا يخلو عن لذة ما من مشاهدة معشوقه فلو طرا على الفجأة حالة انتهك بها الستر و أشرق بها الضوء و اندفع عنه المؤذيات و بقي سليما فارغا و هجمت عليه الشهوة القوية و العشق المفرط حتى بلغ أقصى الغايات فانظر كيف تتضاعف اللذة حتى لا يبقى للأولى إليها نسبة يعتد بها فكذلك فافهم نسبة لذة النظر إلى لذة المعرفة فالستر الرقيق مثال البدن و الاشتغال به و العقارب و الزنابير مثال الشهوات المتسلطة على الإنسان من الجوع و العطش و الغضب و الغم و الحزن و ضعف الشهوة و الحب مثال لقصور النفس في الدنيا و نقصانها عن الشوق إلى الملا الأعلى و التفاتها إلى أسفل السافلين و هو مثل قصور الصبي عن ملاحظة لذة الرياسة و التفاته إلى اللعب بالعصفور و العارف و إن قويت في الدنيا معرفته فلا يخلو عن هذه المشوشات و لا يتصور أن يخلو عنها البتة

(Al-Ghazali, vol. 4, p. 305/306).

Gnostics have, in their reflection and *munajaat* of God, pleasures that they would not accept to exchange these pleasures of paradise even with a paradise given to them in the worldly life. This pleasure of (*munajat*), despite being a complete pleasure, is incomparable to the pleasure of meeting (God) and looking at (him) in the same way that the pleasure of imagining the beloved is incomparable to viewing him, the pleasure of smelling nice odours is incomparable to tasting them, and the pleasure of mere hand touching is incomparable to the pleasure of sexual intercourse. Pointing out to the big disparity between the two pleasures cannot be done except with an example. So we say the pleasure of looking at the face of a beloved in the worldly life varies according to some variables. one of them is the perfection or imperfection of the beauty of the beloved because the pleasure of looking at the most beautiful is certainly more complete. The second variable is the degree of the completeness of the power of love, lust, and passion because the excitement experienced by someone who has strong passion does not equal the excitement of someone with weak lust and passion. The third variable is the degree of the completeness of perception as the excitement of (the lover) who views his beloved in darkness, or from behind a fine veil, or from a distance is not equal to his excitement when perceiving his beloved from near, without veil, and in full light and experiencing the pleasure of sexual intercourse with a separating dress is not equal to experiencing it when neat. The third variable is the absence of the annoying obstacles and pains worrying the heart. The excitement of someone in full health with mind free when looking at his beloved is not equal to the excitement of someone who is scared, startled, or sic and suffering, or someone whose heart is preoccupied with worldly life affairs. A lover with weak passion looking at the face of his beloved from a distance and from behind a veil that prevents the unveiling of the nature of his image in a state when scorpions and wasps are gathered upon him hurting and biting him, and worrying his heart, despite this condition he definitely experiences some sort of pleasure from looking at his beloved. But if suddenly it happens that the veil is penetrated, the light shined, the worries have gone, and he became mind-free, in a good state, and overwhelmed by strong lust and excessive passion, then look! How the pleasure is

heightened to the extent that the first state of pleasure is nothing compared to it. In this way you must understand the difference between the pleasure of looking at (God) to the pleasure of knowing (him). The fine veil symbolizes the body, being preoccupied with the body together with the scorpions and the wasps symbolizes lusts such as hunger, thirst, anger, worry, distress that are oppressing man. The weakness of love and lust symbolizes the limitation of the soul and the insufficiency of its yearning to heaven because of its preoccupation with the lowest matters. It is similar to the inability of a child to recognize the pleasure of leadership turning to play with a bird. Even if the knowledge of the Gnostics in worldly life is strong they cannot be free from these worries and it is not possible to imagine them free from them (my translation).

Conceptual projection from the source domain of the experience of erotic love to the target domain of desire for the unification with God has yielded rich metaphorical entailments. Kövecses (2010, p. 122) defines metaphorical entailments as the “rich additional knowledge about a source mapped onto a target”. For example in POLITICS IS WAR metaphor knowledge such as war heroes can be added to structure political debate or argument as producing war heroes (politicians).

- The relationship between the *mureed* and God is a passionate love (*ishk*) relationship.
- God is the beloved.
- The *mureed* is the lover.
- Intensive yearning for God is lustful and passionate longing for a beloved.
- Rejoicing the presence in intimacy with God without fearing seclusion from him is experiencing the pleasure of being in an intimate presence with the beloved.
- Union with God is sexual union of two lovers.
- The pleasure (*ladhdha*) of being with God, looking at him, and union with him is the sensual pleasure of looking at a beloved and having sex with him.
- Desire for union with God is desire for sexual intercourse.
- Lustful desires (hunger, thirst, anger, and weakness in lust and love) that worry the heart of a *mureed* and prevent him from absolute presence with God is Physical obstacles that covers the body of the beloved preventing the lover from perfect viewing of his beloved.
- Obstacles (the body) that prevent the *mureed* from absolute rejoicing with God is a dress that covers the body of the beloved denying the lover strong and perfect pleasure of the sexual intercourse with his beloved.
- Separation from God is a separation from a beloved.
- Feeling jealousy toward God is feeling jealousy toward a beloved
- Hiding the secret of the Divine love is hiding the secret of a love relationship.
- Enduring hardship for the sake of God is enduring hardship for a beloved.
- The spiritual quest for the Divine is a journey to pursuit the beloved.
- Persevering in worship is preparing the self to meet a beloved in the best state.

Alghazali resorted to analogical reasoning in describing desires for the Divine by comparing the God-devotee relationship to a lover-beloved relationship. The description of the relationship with God relied on typical terminology and imageries of a passionate love relationship. Al-Ghazali argues that it is extremely unfair to call this kind of love even *ishk* (strong passionate love) claiming that the term is not sufficient to describe the ultimate and extreme form of passion a Sufi lover feels towards God.

In the same way that desire for God is conceptualized as a passionate love (*ishk*) and passionate yearning for having sexual pleasure with a beloved so are knowledge and worship conceptualized as experiencing pleasure (*iltidhedh*) with the beloved. Knowledge also is conceptualized as pleasurable (*al-'ilm ladhidh*) but not the pleasure of tasting food. The meaning clearly alludes to rejoicing sexual pleasures. Knowledge is restricted to knowing Allah, his attributes, his deeds, and the meaning of meeting him, looking at his face, and being close to him. Al-Ghazali considers these themes as the focal concern of the science of mystic unveiling (*'ulum al-mukashafa*) which he deems as the most elevated and the noblest type of sciences. He regards this science as the end of all sciences. For him knowledge is a necessary condition for love. Love is not possible with someone unknown. The pleasure of knowing God is conceptualized as the pleasure of looking at the body of a beloved. The pleasure of a lover looking at his beloved in darkness from a distance or from behind a fine veil is weaker than the pleasure of a lover who looks at the body of his beloved directly in full lightening condition and from a near distance. The clearer and the nearer the image of the body the more heightened the excitement and the pleasure. So with more knowledge the image of God is more clarified and the pleasure is heightened. Less knowledge gives only weak pleasure.

The pleasure of knowing God is deemed nothing compared to the great pleasure of meeting and union with him. The pleasure of meeting and union is equated with the pleasure of having sexual intercourse. Sexual intercourse is viewed as generating greater excitement compared to mere touch of hands, or looking from a distance to a beloved without coming into contact with him. Yet the pleasure of knowledge continues in paradise in a state of ever-growing intensity. Since God is infinite, knowledge keeps increasing infinitely and with more knowledge the pleasure is continuously heightening.

Desire for ritual activities like prayer such as night prayer and God remembrance (*dhikr*) is conceptualized as intensive yearning for intimate presence and talk with a beloved in private, like the pleasure of a private and intimate meeting between a lover and his beloved. The lover enjoys private and intimate presence with his beloved in seclusion even if his beloved is covered from him by a veil preventing the lover from seeing him. The mere knowledge that the beloved is there without being seen is sufficient to give pleasure. Intimate talk with him even if it is a one way talk (the beloved keeps silent and does not participate) is pleasurable. Munajat (speaking in private, fervent prayer, inner monologue with God) is viewed as an intimate monologue with a beloved that the lover finds very pleasurable and passionately longs for. The lover abandons everything for entering into seclusion with his beloved God. The state of '*uns*' (enjoying being with the beloved) in worldly life is equated with an ill, fearful, or suffering lover whose suffering and pains deprive him from completely rejoicing with his beloved, he finds some pleasure but not a complete pleasure. Worldly life presents many obstacles for the *mureed* that prevent him from permanent presence and spiritual seclusion with his beloved (God) and from achieving ultimate pleasure. In paradise the pleasure of '*uns*' will be heightened as the *mureed* will enjoy being with his beloved without fearing separation from him. The pleasure of yearning for God is a supreme growing pleasure to the infinite.

The conceptualization of these abstract desires for the sublime clearly utilizes erotic terms and sensual imageries pertaining to passionate lustful love experience where the lover

manifests lustful desire for the lover. Al-Ghazali strongly advocates the existence of this kind of passionate love that he calls '*ishk*' (excessive love) between God and the *mureed*:

Perhaps you might say how can passionate love (*ishk*) be possible with Allah (to believe that) it is provoked by *samaa*'. So know that whoever knows Allah inevitably would love him and anyone whose knowledge about Allah is confirmed his love is ascertained. Love that is ascertained is called (*ishk*). '*Ishk*' has no sense other than an ascertained extreme love (Al-Ghazali, vol. 2, p. 278) (my translation).

Despite this strong assertion, he strongly rejects any erotic interpretation that could be aroused in minds from the sensual terminology such as '*ishk*', longing, '*uns*' (presence in intimacy with Allah), the pleasure of *munajat*, and union employed to conceptualize the relationship with God:

Yes anyone who suffers from deficiency (mental deficiency) approximate to the deficiency of a beast might not understand from the term '*ishk*' other thing than demanding (sexual) reunion that is perceived as a contact between apparent bodies for having sexual pleasure. Terms like '*ishk*', longing, union, and '*uns*' should be avoided with such beast. These terms and meanings should be avoided with him the same way as narcissus and basil are avoided with a beast allowing him only grass... terms must be used with Allah only when they do not illusively evoke meanings that God must be sanctified from (viewing him with) these meanings (in mind) (Al-Ghazali, vol. 2, p. 278) (my translation).

He insists that the pleasure of being close to Allah is not a sensual corporeal pleasure that can be experienced by the body organs. The locus of this pleasure (*ladhdha*) is the heart defined as "subtle tenuous substance" *al-Latifah al-Ruhaniyah* (spiritual subtlety). This subtle substance connected to the physical heart is spiritual in nature and it is the substance by which the real essence of man is defined. It represents the locus of knowledge and intellection. It pertains to the realm of the sciences of mystical unveiling (*'ulum al-mukaashafa*) and it represents the central concern of this science. It is also viewed as a Divine matter that transcends the capacity of intelligences (*'ukul*) and understandings (*afhem*) to perceive and discern its nature and essence (Al-Ghazali, 1058/1111). The heart contains an inner sense '*haassa baatina*' also called by Al-Ghazali 'inner instinct' reserved for tasting spiritual Divine pleasures. Spiritual pleasures cannot be tasted without the existence of this inner sense as a locus for rejoicing these pleasures. And also they cannot be known unless tasted the same as sexual pleasures cannot be tasted without actual engagement in an intercourse.

Discussion and implications of the study

Corpus analysis has revealed the prevalence of erotic conceptualization of spiritual desires for the Divine. (Ostow, 1995, p. 219) maintains that "It is a commonplace that mystical literature is inclined to express the relationship between the mystic soul and the Divine by means of erotic imagery. Similarly, Evola (2004) states that:

One could argue that one contradiction is the fact that a religious system, whose laws concerning sexuality are so rigorous and whose punishments are so harsh, would even admit more or less explicit descriptions of those same acts to talk about the Sublime.

Even though sexuality and spirituality pertain to two entirely distinct and opposite domains, the former from a physical corporeal domain and the latter from a metaphysical and unintelligible domain, they are reunited in the experience of the sacred. Relying on findings of

the studies on embodiment, this section intends to provide explanation for the reasons that motivate the erotic conceptualization of the spiritual desires to account for what seems a contradiction of recruiting sexuality in a spiritual context.

One of the key aspects characterizing the mystic experience is its “ineffability” and “incommunicableness” as it constitutes “a new awareness of other levels of reality that are not accessible to normal consciousness” (James, 1902). It is especially an experience of highly abstract, vague, and inaccessible to the domain of perception realm. The Sufi experience represents typical Target domains that are “abstract, diffuse and lack clear delineation; as a result, they “cry out” for metaphorical conceptualization” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 20). Cacciri (1998, p. 121) suggests that metaphor functions to “bridge” from abstract domains to perceptual experiential domains and describe abstract ideas that are inexpressible by literal language. She conceptualizes metaphor as “a bridge” that serves to connect abstract entities (God is love) and abstract concepts to sensory-perceptual experiences, and perceptual experiences pertaining to different sensory modalities (“warm tension of the curved Lines”, “the rigid to the infinity”, “the flexible to the compact”). Metaphor is the cognitive mechanism that enables the recruitment of sensory-motor experience to conceptualize the abstract domain of desire for the Divine.

In the same context Johnson (2005, p. 16) argues that reasoning and comprehension are tightly shaped and constrained by the brain, the body and the environment, and that reasoning is not possible without the integration of three factors “a brain in a body in an environment”. Perceptual and sensory-motor structures are recruited to enable abstract reasoning and mental processes of conceptualizing abstract and concrete entities (Johnson, 2005, p. 16). Structures of the mind represent abstract reflections of the body sensorimotor activities “What we identify as the mental and then contrast it with the bodily dimensions of our experience are really just abstractions from the embodied patterns and activities that make up that experience” (Johnson, 2005, p. 18). Johnson and Lakoff (1999, p. 28) also argue that “What is important is not just that we have bodies and that thought is somehow embodied. What is important is that the peculiar nature of our bodies shapes our very possibilities for conceptualization and categorization”.

These claims are sustained by strong empirical evidence from research in neural modelling and neuroimaging of the brain, and psychological experiments. The neural theory of language (NLT) (Lakoff and Galeese, 2005 and Feldmen and narayanan, 2004) maintains that the same neural structures used in understanding concrete events and actions are employed to understand abstract events, that meaning understanding is fundamentally based on simulation of embodied experience, and that metaphorical concepts are grounded in concrete concepts.

Neuroscientific evidence revealed that concepts are embodied and that the sensory-motor system provides structural patterns to organize conceptual content. The evidence emerged from the discovery that imagining doing some action and actual doing of that action make use of the same neural substrate. Imagining moving activates the same part of the brain used in actual moving, grasping and imagining grasping use the same neural substrate. “Neural exploitation” is a fundamental aspect of human cognition that consists in the use of the brain sensory-motor mechanisms to serve higher-order mental processes (language and reasoning) alongside their original functions (Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, p. 456). Pecher and

Zwaan (2005, p. 1) suggest that conception is grounded in perception. Sensorimotor functions operating during immediate interaction with the environment through action and perception processes are the same functions utilized during “offline cognition” that is when reasoning about displaced past events and situations (Pecher and Zwaan, 2005, p. 2).

Neuroimaging research has indicated that brain areas and neural circuitries involved in the processing of perceptual and motor data are also activated in higher mental activities such as conceptualization (Coulson, 2008, p. 189). Gibbs’ (2005) reporting about the results of neuroimaging studies revealed that Conceptualization is the product of “tight coupling of cognitive and motoric processes”. Psychological experiments of Gibbs’ (2005) case study of *DESIRE IS HUNGER* concluded that abstract desires tend to be metaphorically conceptualized in terms of bodily desires for concrete objects such as lust and hunger: “he hungers for recognition, he hungers for adventure, he had a hunger for power”.

The aforementioned research explains the tendency in mystic literature and in the revival of the sciences of religion to recruit the sexual experience in order to conceptualize and convey the spiritual experience. (Rosch, 1999) argues that the spiritual experience resembles any other human experience in that it is experienced via the body that “bridges” the mind and the world. Although the pleasure of the mystic union with the Divine is a spiritual pleasure experienced by an inner spiritual instinct not by any body part, the sexual pleasure experienced by the body strongly constrained and shaped the conceptualization of the spiritual pleasure. Al-Ghazali considers the sexual pleasure as a pleasure from paradise if only it can last longer in time. The neural mechanism that enables the projection from sexuality to spiritual pleasure is called “neural recruitment”.

Lakoff (2015), discussing constraints on the brain’s neural system, argues that the brain becomes embodied from before birth when inborn-brain body neural connections, e.g. primitives for controlling movements, space, and force, are developed and established. Commonalities of brain and body plus common real world experiences determine and constrain the superstructure of the conceptual system. So that learning and acquisition of anything cannot be possible unless there is a pre-natal established neural circuitry for learning that thing. The conceptual system is tightly constrained by circuitries of the neural system. It cannot override these circuits. Any process of reasoning and conceptualization whether abstract or concrete depends entirely on neural recruitment of the available neural circuitries. Thus, since the circuitries are originally designed for sensory motor control purposes and there are no circuits designed for abstract reasoning, abstract reasoning necessarily depends on the recruitment of sensory-motor structures (Lakoff 2015).

Hence Sufis cannot invent novel structures to conceptualize the spiritual pleasures. They can only exploit what is available in the neural system. What is available is sensual corporeal experience. The erotic conceptual content of the sexual pleasure of a passionate love relationship experienced by the body is recruited to conceptualize the *God-mureed* relationship. What explains the choice of the domain of sexual experience from other varieties of concrete domains of bodily experience (food, building, light, nature, plants, animal, machines, and so on) is that there is a strong correlation of experience between a love relationship and a God-devotee relationship. Grady (1999, p. 81) introduces the notion of “primary metaphors”. They are motivated by strong experiential correlation that consists in a kind of co-occurrence in experiences for example the experiential motivation for *DESIRE IS*

HUNGER metaphor is the physical feeling of hunger and desire for food to satisfy that feeling. INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS e.g., “We have a close relationship”, AFFECTION IS WARMTH e.g., “They greeted me warmly”, and UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING (e.g., “I’ve never been able to grasp complex math”). DESIRE FOR DIVINE UNION IS DESIRE FOR SEXUAL PLEASURES is motivated by a correlation between desire for sexual pleasures and desire for non-material pleasures.

What the study has presented is just a one perspective of approaching fusion of eroticism and spirituality in mysticism. There certainly still remains a multitude of other plausible perspectives. And also the findings are just speculative. Their validation is a matter of empirical testing. Future research may be interested in testing whether brain areas involved in processing sexual data are activated when engaging in spiritual practices such as when being in a spiritual seclusion with the “beloved” God (*munajat*). Empirical testing can include brainimaging of a devotee in a state of meditation or performing worship (*dhikr*, prayer, or even dancing that leads to the state of excitement called intoxication). This can be investigated in the research field of neurotheology.

Conclusion

Corpus analysis indicated the prevalence of erotic conceptualization of the spiritual desires for the Divine. The study has tried to provide an explanation of the contradiction of recruiting sensual lustful bodily experience to describe a spiritual experience of the mystic soul. It suggested that the embodied mind imposes constraints on the conceptualization process. Abstract reasoning is grounded and deeply rooted in the body sensory-motor experience and abstract reasoning is not possible beyond this experience. However findings need empirical validation.

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The Image of the Lighthouse and Lily's Pursuit of Artistic Dreams in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*

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Abstract

*This paper studies the pivotal image of the "lighthouse" in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927) from three different perspectives and with relation to one artistic figure in the novel. On a psychological level, the paper explores the image of the lighthouse that seems to synchronize with Lily Briscoe's inner self that constantly changes in accordance with her psychological dreams and ambitions. In this regard, this image reflects her awareness, self-epiphany, and character development. On philosophical and ontological levels, the image of the lighthouse seems to reflect Lily's views about her being and existence, views that continually change as time goes on. The concept of place represented by the lighthouse manifests how Lily's character has undergone a drastic development through her contemplation of art and life. Lily has got her own individual philosophy about life because she could also look at things from a different critical and philosophical perspective. Her perceptions of place, the surroundings, and the cycle of time influence her understanding of the meaning of life and death. The paper also investigates the role of art from an unconventional perspective so as to reveal essential concepts such as time, the idea of being, transformation, self-realization, and more importantly—death. As a result, Woolf's novel emerges as a supremely symbolic, and hence a truly modernist, text.*

Keywords: Virginia Woolf; *To the Lighthouse*; Art; Imagery; Symbolism; Literary Analysis.

I. Introduction and Literature Review

The image of the lighthouse in Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927) is a very essential aspect in the novel in terms of its association with artistic wishes and dreams, especially for Lily Briscoe who is a major character in the novel. The image of the lighthouse is one of the mysteries that make us think about its significance, dominance, richness, and more importantly about the development of this image which goes in line with the development of the artistic dreams for Lily. Lily's change of psychological, ontological, personal and social perspectives about herself seems to correlate and synchronize with the constantly changing images of the lighthouse and her perception of the surroundings.

Although many critics have considered different aspects of Woolf's novel like modernist structure and feminist themes, the rich imagery and symbolism of the lighthouse still warrant more attention. In a related article, Munca Daniela notes in "Virginia Woolf's Answer to 'Women Can't Paint, Women Can't Write' in *To the Lighthouse*" that Lily "comes to realize that Mr. Ramsay, like herself, has doubts about the value of his work. She appreciates what he does. Having reached this moment of understanding, Lily will follow Ramsay's progress to the Lighthouse as she works on her painting; and she will complete her work simultaneous to his arrival there, thus bringing closure to her identification with him" (287). Lily begins to be more mature and aware of people around her. The artistic value that she has realized and appreciated in her work as well as in others reflects the amount of maturity, appreciation, and understanding of humanity and the value of human art. This awareness reflects a profound observation of her being and an ontological sense of the surrounding. It makes her appreciate her own inner self. It gives her the love that she always needed, and it bridges the missing chains that she has always looked for in life

We get to recognize the synchronized picture between Lily's artistic vision and the surrounding place which seems to provide Lily with power, imagination, and motivation. She does not stop and surrender to frustration, stifling conditions, and patriarchal domination. She goes on to discover the artistic self with strong will and determination. And finally we see this victorious confirmation and reassurance that she grants to her being as she exactly finds what she needs. Munca Daniela stresses the significance of this synchronized picture as Lily reaches the ontological understanding of her being. Daniela asserts that "*To the Lighthouse* culminates with Mr. Ramsay reaching the Lighthouse and Lily Briscoe having her vision. The Ramsay family is reunited and Lily Briscoe realizes that she is not haunted by Mrs. Ramsay's statement 'women must marry'. As she matures as a painter Virginia Woolf is overcoming her anger and frustration caused by the fact that she didn't not fit into the generally accepted pattern of the woman's role in society and in the family life, and especially of the status of women as artists" (288).

Elizabeth Hirt in "Language in the Silent Space: Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*" refers to the astonishing power of human soul in Lily's vision about art. She argues that "Virginia Woolf creates a small moment that captures the final significance of the soul's place in this

compelling intimacy, contrasting the strength of the human soul with the spoken and written word. A few of the adult characters sit out on the beach on a dry windy day. Lily gazes at Mrs. Ramsay and reflects that though there is energy in paint and words, ‘What a power was in the human soul!’” (160). To Lily, and similarly to Woolf, the human soul, the essence of life which creates and secures the voiceless understandings of intimacy, possesses the most extraordinary influence of all (70).

In addition, Ljiljana Ina Gjurgjan in “The Politics of Gender in Virginia Woolf’s *To the Lighthouse* and James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*”, notices the teleological value of Lily’s pursuit of art, “Her act of finishing her painting can therefore be seen as a moment of self-realization and a teleological ending of the artistic narrative” (15). However, what is the nuanced role and function of the lighthouse in the novel? What range of thematic and artistic ends does it serve? The following section is an attempt to answer such questions since current scholarship on the novel does not fully explore the full scope of symbolism and imagery related to the lighthouse.

II. Discussion: The Lighthouse between Imagery and Symbolism

Throughout the novel, the image of the lighthouse occupies the central focus of our attention as the novel begins and ends with it. First of all, on the personal level, Lily sees art much as a personal and philosophical view of life towards people, things, and existing realities, such as the reality of death and life. In her pursuit of art, Lily could realize how people think about life differently. Through art only, she could understand the very facts of life, views of people around her, dreams, realities, and existence besides her own contemplations of the surroundings and nature. For example, Lily has been greatly influenced by Mrs. Ramsay who gives her more encouragement to pursue her artistic wishes. Lily feels a great intimacy towards Mrs. Ramsay, and that intimacy is part of her own understanding of the depth of Mrs. Ramsay's emotional and sentimental life appearing as a persistent cling to dreams and hopes. Lily feels that there is something special about Mrs. Ramsay because she could see in her the love of wisdom, secrets, and most importantly the appreciation of art. This passage shows us the depth of feelings that Lily has towards Mrs. Ramsay:

Was it wisdom? Was it knowledge? Was it, once more, the deceptiveness of beauty, so that all one’s perceptions, half-way to truth, were tangled in a golden mesh? Or did she lock up within her some secret which certainly Lily Briscoe believed people must have for the world to go on at all? Every one could not be as helter Skelter, hand to mouth as she was. But if they knew, could they tell one what they knew? Sitting on the floor with her arms round Mrs. Ramsay’s knees, close as she could get, smiling to think that Mrs. Ramsay would never know the reason of that pressure, she imagined how in the chambers of the mind and heart of the woman who was, physically, touching her, were stored, like the treasure in the tombs of kings, tablets bearing sacred inscriptions, which if one could spell them out, would teach one everything, but they would never be offered openly, never made public. What art was there, known to love or cunning, by which one pressed through into these secret chambers? (51)

Obviously, Lily sees in Mrs. Ramsay the dreams of art and the aspirations that women look for. She feels sympathy towards her for she has dreams that have never been real, but they all remained suppressed secrets. She sees in her the very dream of woman that she herself dreams to achieve. She could see in her face all the dreams that women want to have in this life, “surely, she could imitate from recollection the glow, the rhapsody, the self-surrender, she had seen on so many women’s faces (on Mrs. Ramsay’s for instance) when on some occasion like this they blazed up-she could remember the look on Mrs. Ramsay’s face-into a rapture of sympathy, of delight in the reward they had, which, though the reason of it escaped her, evidently conferred on them the most supreme bliss of which human nature was capable” (150).

While Mrs. Ramsay has influenced Lily positively and given her inspiration and faith, Lily finds the completely opposite picture in Mrs. Ramsay’s husband, Mr. Ramsay, who did not seem to care about art, emotions, and faith. That actually goes in line with the parallel between the "lighthouse" and the ambivalent/contradictory views of people about it. On many occasions in the novel, Mr. Ramsay is described as a hypocrite, but she also keeps changing her views about him as much as she continues to consider her art and change her views and attitudes towards it. Lily could see in Mr. Ramsay the opposite representation of his wife. Although she is reluctant and unable to decide how to judge him, she could see in him the ugliness of tyranny and selfishness of the soul, “Lily Briscoe went on putting away her brushes, looking up, looking down. Looking up, there he was Mr. Ramsay-advancing towards them, swinging, careless, oblivious, and remote. A bit of a hypocrite? She repeated. Oh, no-the most sincere of men, the truest (here he was), the best; but, looking down, she thought, he is absorbed in himself, he is tyrannical, he is unjust; and kept looking down, purposefully, for only so could she keep steady, staying with the Ramsay” (46). Lily was aware of her own artistic potential regardless of the disappointing criticism and irony made by Mr. Ramsay of her own art, belittling her creativity of making critical and artistic views about life. But Lily was drawing what she feels on the picture trying to again more confidence and power, and thinking of Mr. Ramsay’s criticism of woman as we see in this passage:

He was really, Lily Briscoe thought, in spite of his eyes, but then look at his nose, look at his hands, the most uncaring human being she had ever met. Then why did she mind what she said? Women can’t write, women can’t paint-what did that matter coming from him, since clearly it was not true to him but for some reason helpful to him, and that was why he said it? Why did her whole being bow, like corn under wind, and erect itself again from this abasement only with a great and rather painful effort? She must make it once more. There’s the sprig on the table cloth; there’s my painting; I must move the tree to the middle; that matters nothing else. Could she not hold fast to that, she asked herself, and not lose her temper, and not argue; and if she wanted revenge take it by laughing at him? “Oh, Mr. Tansley,” she said, “Do take me to the light house with you. I should so love it.” (86)

Lily’s views about herself and others keep changing as time goes on, but also her reflections of the place change with the constant change of the place itself. The lighthouse symbolizes how one’s experience of the self also changes with time and place. Lily’s character has undergone a drastic development throughout her journey of art. Furthermore, her perception about herself and life are all in association with the change of the surroundings including people around her, things, and the place. In fact, her sense of the surroundings around her has given her a new philosophical view about art and life. She could realize how art can be so intimate to the soul

when it is closely juxtaposed with one's vision about life. The image of the lighthouse and the place seems to influence Lily's views about herself, existence, art, life, death, and relationships.

On a psychological level, Lily's character and image of the self have undergone several changes which are actually in association with the psychological and social representations for the lives of people around her and the image of the inspiring place. Lily who has a dream to become an artist, and who just keeps seeing her potential of pursuing her own artistic dreams toward the very end of the novel, keeps struggling with an inner conflict, suspecting her own desires and dreams, and doubting her own potentials. The place is always to her, a sense of pursuit and a destination to begin her own journey of pursuing art with, including people like Mrs. Ramsay. Throughout the development of her artistic character, she could overcome her doubts and feel the sense of triumph over the fear within her by the moment she had that epiphany about herself, when she could arrive at what she was seeking from the very beginning of the novel. She could realize at the end how art can be more like satisfaction, a journey into life, maturity and experience. By the time Lily finishes her painting, she frees herself from the boundaries of the self and the place which once made her feel skeptical about herself. Lily was aware that Mr. Ramsay's criticism of her was not more than a frustration that she can overcome through her trust in her potential. In the beginning of her artistic journey, Lily lost the trust in herself, and in her art, but she could overcome that feeling the moment she had that realization through forcing her way and shaping her own view about life. Lily sees that the lighthouse is just a far-fetched dream that is always sought by people, always attempted, visited, and envisioned. The lighthouse seems more of spiritual and psychological value than being just a place. For Lily, and for most of the characters, the lighthouse carries all the memories of the past and all the visions for the future. To Lily, the lighthouse represents the symbols toward the unreachable future, and the far-fetched dream, which from her point of view cannot be attainable. The lighthouse represents the unreachable dream that reflects her own dream, which we do not see come into being, but it remains Lily's vision which is correlated with the dream of art and life. From the very beginning of the novel, the lighthouse looks like a destination for hope, happiness, and a place for contemplating one's self. And for Lily, it is part of her own psychological life; it is more like an ultimate dream which remains unfulfilled up to the very end of the novel. This image is constantly developing and changing in accordance with the development of the psychological maturity within Lily's self, and also with the maturity of her experience of the philosophical and critical views of life.

Psychologically speaking, the fear of loss, despair and failure appear to dominate a great part of the inner psychic motivation that keeps making Lily change her perceptions about things. In addition, Lily keeps projecting her own inner views about life and art on the place, and she also keeps emptying her own emotions on her painting and through her reflections on the lighthouse, which exercises a tremendous influence on her own artistic wishes. For example, the lighthouse seems so far to her in the same way she thinks that she is so far from grasping her own dreams, and her own artistic wishes. This is a quotation that describes Lily's feelings about the lighthouse:

Her sympathy seemed to be cast back on her, like a bramble sprung across her face. She felt curiously divided, as if one part of her were drawn out there-it was a still day, hazy; the light house looked this

morning at an immense distance; the other had fixed itself doggedly, solidly, here on the lawn. She saw her canvas as if it had floated up and placed itself white and uncompromising directly before her. It seemed to rebuke her with its cold stare for all this hurry and agitation; this folly and waste of emotion. (156)

The lighthouse seems more like a vision which Lily could picture and depict at the very end of the novel through finishing her own artistic piece of art and gaining a new vision which she was searching for early in her life. By the time she finishes her painting, Lily has got her own individual philosophy about life, and she can also look at things from a different critical and philosophical angle. She has seen her vision in her art and painting, but her vision is also parallel to the embodiment of the lighthouse which eventually remains as a dream that has never come into reality. As we see in this quotation at the very end of the novel, Lily has found her vision:

Quickly, as if she were recalled by something over there, she turned to her canvas. There it was –her picture. Yes, with all its greens and blues, its lines running up and across, its attempt at something. It would be hung in the attics, she thought; it would be destroyed. But what did that matter? She asked herself, taking up her brush again. She looked at the steps; they were empty; she looked at her canvas; it was blurred. With a sudden intensity, as if she saw it clear for a second, she drew a line there, in the centre. It was done; it was finished. Yes, she thought, laying down her brush in extreme fatigue, I have had my vision. (208)

The thing that Lily could come up with through her art is the vision which she makes about herself, the existence of things, and the passing of time and its influence on things including her own self. This parallel is made clear when we see how Lily reflects on the place, and how the lighthouse could represent what has been totally suppressed within Lily. Her awareness of her own vision and her perception about things have become an intertwined texture of her psychological and philosophical views about things. This is clearly seen when we compare her painting with the lighthouse and how they completely look identical. Also, the idea of being and existence seems vital in her view about herself, the surroundings, and the lighthouse. She says, “Against her will she had come to the surface, and found herself half out of the picture, looking, a little dazedly, as if at unreal things, at Mr. Carmichael. He lay on his chair with his hands clasped above his paunch not reading, or sleeping, but basking like a creature gorged with existence. His book had fallen on to the grass” (178).

Lily could see in the lighthouse the things that she aspires to get. She could see the missing things that she keeps searching for but never have found like the ultimate freedom, the beauty of the self, eternity and continuation. The more she contemplates the lighthouse, the more she discovers the harmony and the unity of the self and the very axioms of life and death. Lily can see how much she belongs to the place through seeing the very human images of life as well as the very true relations of being and harmony with the place. She begins to realize that deep intimacy of the self with nature, and with the very surroundings of the place. Lily can also see the paradoxes and juxtapositions of life and death, sorrow and happiness, depth and shallowness, light and darkness. She knows that only through darkness could one see light, and that through the others one could see the self:

Beneath it is all dark, it is all spreading, it is unfathomably deep; but now and again we rise to the surface and that is what you see us by. Her horizon

seemed to her limitless. There were all the places she had not seen; the Indian plains; she felt herself pushing aside the thick leather curtain of a church in Rome. This core of darkness could go anywhere, for no one saw it. They could not stop it, she thought, exulting. There was freedom, there was space, there was, most welcome of all, a summoning together, a resting on a platform of stability. Not as oneself did one find rest ever, in her experience (she accomplished here something dexterous with her needles) but as a wedge of darkness. Losing personality, one lost the fret, the hurry, the stir; and there rose to her lips always some exclamation of triumph over life when things came together in this peace, this rest, this eternity; and pausing there she looked out to meet that stroke of the light house, the long steady stroke, the last of the three, which was her stroke, for watching them in this mood always at this hour one could not help attaching oneself to one thing especially of the things one saw; and this thing, the long steady stroke, was her stroke. (63)

The lighthouse symbolizes the dreams and wishes of characters in the novel. Lily's artistic wishes begin from that place and extend to the end of her artistic attempts as a haunting, irreplaceable memory that has its effects on the artistic wishes that Lily has been searching for from the outset. Obviously, Lily's artistic journey blooms out of this place and extends through a developmental stage which finally leads her to discover what she has been seeking from the very beginning. This is very a noticeable idea when analyzing her attachment to her artistic wishes and her contemplation of the place which finally gives her that artistic satisfaction, but again the image of the lighthouse has also changed by the time she can make her dream come true. It is self-realization that makes her see her way through the place. The light that she could see in the lighthouse is only the light that she could discover in herself at the end, and by the time she had this self-epiphany she could notice how she has changed and how things around her have also completely changed by time.

The image of the lighthouse is always connected with someone's attitude toward life, art, hope, despair, achievement, or death. To Lily, the lighthouse is also connected with the most intense psychological moments of self-realization and epiphany which the characters experience but in totally different psychological responses that express their dreams and ambitions. However, to some of them the lighthouse seems like a dream that should come true, while some of them see it as a destination for happiness or childhood dreams. David Diaches in his book *Virginia Woolf* refers to this fluidity and retrospect of one's personal views about place in *To the Lighthouse* when he says, "The fluidity which characterized Mrs. Dalloway and *To The Light House*, the quite and effective mingling of objective even and character's thought stream, the subtle alteration of retrospect and anticipation so as to win free of the limitations of traditional chronological narrative, tended to blur the edge of personality: characters are resolved into their ever changing component parts, and their essential unity is difficult to disentangle from multifarious stream of thoughts and impressions in terms of which they are characterized" (104). So, dreams of childhood are told to us as flashbacks that show how deep Lily and others are rooted in the place, signifying how fresh these memories are and their influence on everyone's characters, especially Lily as well as the Ramsay's sons. In addition, these dreams appear as conflicts between reality and imagination. Lee in his book *The Novels of Virginia Woolf* refers to

the significance of the overlap between the real and the metaphorical conflict within Lily, asserting the significance of the place which relates to this issue we are dealing with (126). As we may notice, Lily's childhood dreams were all coming as flashbacks and reflections on the lighthouse. Lily keeps watching the place and people in the place connecting her past with her future, her childhood memories with her womanhood aspirations. We notice in this passage how Lily could see in the place the memories of her childhood through the stress on the word "children",

Often she found herself sitting and looking, sitting and looking, with her work in her hands until she became the thing she looked at that light, for example. And it would lift up on it some little phrase or other which had been lying in her mind like that-"children don't forget, children don't forget"- which she would repeat and begin adding to it, it will end, it will end, she said. It will come, it will come, when suddenly she added, we are in the hands of the lord. (63)

Also, the lighthouse means a lot to Ramsay's sons. For example, the lighthouse means childhood dreams, the past and the future as we see when Paul expresses his feelings after he came to the lighthouse saying, "I have done it, Mrs. Ramsay; thanks to you." And so turning into the lane that led to the house, he could see lights moving about in the upper windows. They must be awfully late then. People were getting ready for dinner. The house was all lit up, and the lights after the darkness made his eyes feel full, and he said to himself, childishly, as he walked up the drive, lights, lights, lights, and repeated in a dazed way, lights, lights, lights, as they came into the house staring about him with his face quite stiff. But, good heavens, he said to himself, putting his hand to his tie, I must not make fool of myself" (78). To Paul, the lighthouse means what it means to Lily, but with different ambitions, views, and aspirations.

On the ontological level, Lily always has her view about existence that she continuously sees in her own painting and how that painting represents a transitory moment of existence exactly as the person who appears in it, but also her view about existence is correlated in the same way with emptiness, hollowness and death that she feels when she contemplates the lighthouse. Lily could also see how death can just be a natural part of life's cycle. But she could also see how immortal art is, even though she doubts that her painting would be, and that one day it is going to die exactly like human beings. Lily also starts to realize that death could be as necessary as life and that all things would die because they are all part of nature. Lily could see both death and life in her picture, and that immortality through art might also be something impossible. The picture that Lily was drawing is a parallel for death and life images,

She looked at her picture. That would have been his answer, presumably-how "you" and "I" and "she" pass and vanish; nothing stays; all changes; but not words, not paint. Yet it would be hung in the attics, she thought; it would be rolled up and flung under a sofa; yet even so, even of this scrawl, not of the actual picture, perhaps, but of what it attempted, that it remained forever, she was going to say, or, for the words spoken sounded even to herself, too boastful, to hint, wordlessly; when, looking at the picture, she was surprised to find that she could not see it. Her eyes were full of a hot liquid (she did not think of tears at first) which, without disturbing the firmness of her lips, made the air thick, rolled down her cheeks. She had perfect control of her self-oh yes! - in every other way. (180)

The image of the lighthouse seems to take all that space and place that goes in line with Lily's views about life, and her own wishes of making her dreams come true. To Lily, the lighthouse seems much more like a whole picture of life that reflects her personal attitude and philosophy about her being and existence. As we notice in this quotation, Lily contemplates her own being, and looking at herself all that she could see is emptiness, "The urgency of the moment always missed its mark. Words fluttered sideways and struck the object inches too low. Then one gave it up; then the idea sunk back again; then one became like most middle-aged people, cautious, furtive, with wrinkles between the eyes and a look of perpetual apprehension. For how could one express in words these emotions of the body? Express that emptiness there? (She was looking at the drawing-room steps; they looked extraordinarily empty)" (178).

Obviously, the emptiness that Lily feels is also connected with her sense of the gradual wasting of her own artistic wishes and dreams that have never come into being exactly like the door steps which seem to her empty, hollow, and meaningless. Lily continues to contemplate her own being, as we notice in this passage, "It was one's body feeling, not one's mind. The physical sensations that went with the bare look of the steps had become suddenly extremely unpleasant. To want and not to have, sent all up her body a hardness, a hollowness, a strain. And then to want and not to have –to want and to want-how that wrung the heart, and wrung it again and again!" (187)

From an ontological perspective, the novel sheds light on the idea of being and how one's being can just be developing and growing as one grows up within time and place. Lily's being and her conceptions about others have totally changed by the time we see certain realities change across the place. Actually the chapter entitled "Time Passes" shows the idea of being as one's sensation of change about the self, and how the self can change as long as the realities of time and place change consecutively. Probably, the sense of time passing, and the sense of waiting as time passes and changes entities is one of the most suggestive issues that the novel tackles through Lily's philosophy of life, time and place.

In fact, Lily's ontological sense of being was part of her contemplations of nature, her reflections on place and time. She could raise all these ontological questions about human existence, and the doubts one has about the very true facts of death and life. She could see in nature and in her art the questions she was thinking over and over and never found an answer for. Only during this long journey with the self and art and through nature could she reach the facts she was looking for:

The nights now are full of wind and destruction; the trees plunge and bend and their leaves fly Heleter Skelter until the lawn is blistered with them and they lie packed in gutters and choke rain-pipes and scatter damp paths. Also the sea tosses itself and breaks itself, and beach an answer to his doubts, a sharer of his solitude, throw off his bed clothes and go down by himself to walk on the sand, no image with semblance of serving and divine promptitude comes readily to hand bringing the night to order and making the world reflect the compass of the soul. The hand dwindles in his hand; the voice bellows in his ear. Almost it would appear that it is useless in such confusion to ask the night those questions as to what, and why, and wherefore, which tempt the sleeper from his bed to seek an answer. (128)

This intimacy that Lily feels towards nature is an ontologically profound experience, as Lily feels that she is part of this changing world and that she is herself changing within the boundaries of time and place. She feels that she belongs to nature, the silence in the house, the soils of the land, and the creatures around. In fact, the image of the house as old, abandoned, deserted, grassy, and silent is just a mere reflection of Lily's images about life and death. Also the depiction of the four seasons is also a representation of that cyclical rotation of life and death which Lily keeps raising questions about to reach a point where she could locate herself in nature and find answers for her own existence. Lily was always asking questions about her own existence, and she was seeking answers in nature, as this passage explains, "Did nature supplement what man advanced? Did she complete what he began with equal complacency; she saw his misery, his meanness, and his torture. That dream, of shaping, completing, finding in solitude on the beach and answer, was then but a reflection in a mirror, and the mirror itself was but the surface glassiness which forms in quiescence when the nobler powers sleep beneath? Impatient, despairing yet love to go (for beauty offers her lures, has her consolations), to pace the beach was impossible; contemplation was unendurable; the mirror was broken." (134)

In fact, there is a big focus on the image of light in the novel, and that image of light always represents something different every time we see this light coming in and fading away. The image of light throughout the novel seems to represent different responses to people, especially Lily. Interestingly enough, the coming of the light reflects ambivalent responses and feelings. Sometimes, the light represents the sense of fear and anxiety people have about their very tiny things in their future. For example, Lily was seeing this light as an omen for doom, impending evil, death, as we see in this passage: "the light in the garden told her that; and the whitening of the flowers and something grey in the leaves conspired together to rouse in her a feeling of anxiety" (61). Sometimes, light is connected with beauty of the self synchronized with the beauty of nature that Lily and Mrs. Ramsay consistently see around them, as we see in this passage, "she looked up over her knitting and met the third stroke and it seemed to her like her own eyes meeting her own eyes, searching as she alone could search into her mind and her heart, purifying out of existence that lie, any lie. She praised herself in praising the light, without vanity, for she was stern, she was searching; she was beautiful like that light. It was odd, she thought, how if one was alone, one leant to inanimate things; trees, streams, flowers; felt they expressed one; felt they became one; felt they knew one, in a sense were one; felt an irrational tenderness thus (she looked at that long steady light) as for oneself." (64)

At other times, the light seems to trigger the past dreams with the dire nostalgia and compassion for the past days, "the lights were rippling and running as if they were drops of silver water held firm in a wind. And all the poverty, all the suffering had turned to that, Mrs. Ramsay thought. The lights of the town of the harbor and the boats seemed like a phantom net floating there to mark something which had sunk" (68). The image of light seems also to tie with the ontological perspectives that Lily keeps thinking about. It is always tied with the question of being and existence, with "who am I?", as we see in this passage:

Some cleavage of the dark there must have been, some channel in the depths of obscurity through which light enough issued to twist her face grinning in the glass and make her, turning to her job again, mumble out the old music hall song. The mystic, the visionary, walking the beach on a fine night,

stirring a puddle, looking at a stone, asking themselves “what am I,” “what is this”? Had suddenly an answer vouchsafed them, they could not say what it was) so that they were warm in the frost and had comfort in the desert. But Mrs. McNab continued to drink and gossip as before. (131)

Interestingly enough, the beam of light also seems to represent the very narrow hope that Lily and Mrs. Ramsay cling to. The light represents a woman’s dreams of family and stability, “The lighthouse, the lighthouse, what is that got to do of some primeval gust (for really he could not restrain himself any longer), there issued from him such a groan that any other woman in the whole world would have done something-all except myself, thought Lily, girding at herself bitterly, who am not a woman, but a peevish, ill-tempered, dried-up old maid, presumably” (151). Throughout her contemplations of the place, Lily could have changed a lot of her views and concepts about life, love, struggle, and art. For example, through her criticism of the relationships between Ramsay and Mrs. Ramsay, she could find out that love is also changeable and constantly varying exactly like the way we change our views about the place. From her point of view, love should be based on congruity and understanding. She could see how love can just be one of the richest things that one can see in nature and in the unity of nature because love is a natural part of this unity. This quotation shows us how intimate and close Lily was to nature, “It was some such feeling of completeness perhaps which ten years ago, standing almost where she stood now, had made her say that she must be in love with place. Love had a thousand shapes. There might be lovers whose gift it was to choose out the elements of things and place them together and so, giving them a wholeness not theirs in life, make of some scene, or meeting of people (all now gone and separate), one of those globed compacted things over which thought lingers, and love plays.” (192)

III. Conclusion

The image of the lighthouse is clearly influential and powerful, since it represents the lively aspirations and dreams that are intertwined with people’s perspectives about life. This central image is also synchronized with the images and flashes of life, whether they are psychological, social, or personal/familial. These constantly changing images of the lighthouse symbolize a constant change in people’s conditions, dreams, and ambitions. More importantly, they suggest the cyclical rotation of life and death images that keep reoccurring in the place. In brief, the constant juxtaposition of the lighthouse against Lily’s artistic vision and the lives of the Ramsays makes it a pivotal symbol of creativity, flux, hopes, frustrations, and importantly achievements. The multi-layered psychological, ontological, and philosophical meanings and associations of the lighthouse make it a recurring symbol in the novel and a unifying thread in a modernist, lyrical novel that works more through subjective reactions and impressions rather than conventional narration and realistic details. And just as the lighthouse is a pivotal image occupying a significant role in the lives of characters in the novel, it is equally a structuring device that endows the novel with shape and focus in the same way it endows characters’ lives with meaning.

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Language Awareness, Intercultural Awareness and Communicative Language Teaching: Towards Language Education

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Abstract

This paper maintains that foreign language teaching does not only involve linguistic competence/performance and verbal communication but also it is much to do with intercultural awareness and intercultural skills: understanding how an identity and a culture are socially constructed and the abilities of discovery of “the other” (Peđich, Draghicescu, Issaiass and Šabec, 2003, p. 7). Also the goals behind learning a foreign language are not only a matter of acquiring that language but also helps learners acquire knowledge, culture, values and education that can be utilized in their life beyond the classroom, link them to their lives and take them back into their community; it aims at developing learners as intercultural speakers or mediators who are equipped with cultural background so that they can use the language efficiently in socially and culturally appropriate ways and who are able to “engage with complexity and multiple identities and to avoid the stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity” (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey, 2002, p. 5). Language education should also aim at “producing men who possess both culture and expert knowledge” (Whitehead, 1929, p. 1). In addition, learning and using languages is about citizenship and democracy (Guilherme, 2002); it is about “people coping with contexts of diversity and with mutable needs and aims” (Ara’ujo e S’a and S’ilvia Melo, 2007, p. 7). The aim of this paper is to shed light on how Language Awareness (LA), Intercultural Awareness (IA) and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) can help learners transfer culture, knowledge, values and education beyond the classroom to influence their way of thinking and consequently their view of life on the basis that a language educational system should inspire a student to understand, explore and think about the world around him/her through and besides learning that language. This paper also calls for a significant attention to intercultural communication in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) and it stresses its increasingly important role in FLT in order to develop students’ intercultural communicative awareness and competence.

Keywords: Applied Linguistics; Culture and Language Teaching; Communicative Language Teaching; Intercultural Awareness; Intercultural Communicative Competence.

Introduction

Foreign language learning is comprised of several components, including grammatical competence, communicative competence, language proficiency, as well as a change in attitudes towards one's own or another culture. For linguists and language teachers, cultural competence, i.e., the knowledge of the conventions, customs, beliefs, and systems of meaning of another country," is indisputably an integral part of foreign language learning, and many teachers have seen it as their goal to incorporate the teaching of culture into the foreign language curriculum". (Thanasoulas, 2000, p. 5)

It has been widely recognized in the language teaching profession that learners need not just knowledge and skill in the grammar of a language but also the ability to use the language in socially and culturally appropriate ways. This was the major innovation of 'communicative language teaching'. At the same time, the 'communicative approach' introduced changes in methods of teaching, the materials used, and the description of what is to be learnt and assessment of learning. On the other hand, The Council of Europe's 'Common European Framework of Reference' together with these innovations also emphasizes the importance of 'intercultural awareness', 'intercultural skills', and 'existential competence' in foreign language teaching. These references highlight the importance of 'Intercultural Dimension' on the hope that "language learners who thus become 'intercultural speakers' will be successful not only in communicating information but also in developing a human relationship with people of other languages and cultures" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 4).

The recent trends in FLT - informed by the worldwide developments in matters of globalization, cross-cultural exchanges and the laws of international communication - are orientated towards an intercultural perspective which makes it so important to provide both students and foreign language learners with intercultural aspects and international experience (Longo, 2008). The claim is for an Intercultural Learning that would foster and help increase international and cross-cultural tolerance and understanding (Guilherm, 2002; Byram et al., 2002; Yassine, 2006; Ara 'ujo e S'a and S'ílvia Melo, 2007; Jular, 2007; Agudelo, 2007; Longo, 2008 among others.)

Learning a foreign language is not simply mastering an object of academic study, but more appropriately focused on learning a means of communication; it is to enable learners to communicate with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in a diverse and multicultural world. Communication can never be out of context and because culture is a part of context, communication is seldom culture-free. Thus, it is today increasingly acknowledged and recognized that in language learning, language and culture cannot be separable and culture teaching is an indispensable aspect in language teaching programs (Valdes, 1986; Kramsch, 1993). On the other hand, van Ek (1986) introduces a framework for comprehensive foreign language learning objectives, which can be developed in the context of this view of how FLT/SLT must be justified through its contribution to learners' general education. He emphasizes that FLT/SLT is not just concerned with training in communication skills, but also

with the personal and social development of the learner as an individual. According to Robotjazi (2008) this framework “indicates reference to ‘social competence’, ‘the promotion of autonomy’, and ‘the development of social responsibility’, which are perhaps inherent in the original discussions of communicative competence, but certainly not central and explicit“(p. 249).

Communication which is the backbone of the FLT/SLT should not be understood as a mere exchange of communication and conveying a message, which has dominated communicative language teaching for years because the exchange of information ; understanding how and what one says or writes , is always perceived and interpreted in cultural context. In this regard, Robotjazi (2008, p. 251) believes that communication, however successful it is, is not judged exclusively in terms of efficiency of information exchange but it is focused on establishing and maintaining relationships. Learning a foreign language is an intercultural experience because “it allows to know another language but above all to enter in contact with another reality” (Longo, 2008, p. 13).

Also, learning and using languages cannot be seen from a narrow pragmatic perspective (Guilherme, 2002). Language teaching is both a social and political activity (Byram, 2008); it is about “citizenship and democracy; it is about people coping with contexts of diversity and with mutable needs and aims” (Ara’ujo e S’a and S’ílvia Melo, 2007, p. 7). From this perspective, learning languages is to be involved with the development of learners’ critical, cultural and linguistic awareness, “hence to political education” (Byram, 1997, p. 35).

Dealing with FLT materials, the concept of culture , “interculturality” and culture awareness are of significant relevance taking into consideration the fact that language is a cultural phenomenon that is best understood and transmitted within the scope of the culture that shapes it (Yassine, 2006, p. 32); the language we actually use to communicate influences our beliefs and our view of life and consequently our culture and in fact our entire lives and most research shows that when people are exposed to another culture -mainly language exposure- , they start acquiring and learning something that goes beyond cultural knowledge (Byram and Feliming, 1998; Couper, 2001; Ara’ujo e S’a and S’ílvia Melo, 2007; Jular, 2007; Longo, 2008 among others).

When different communities and groups get involved in intercultural interaction, communication and tolerance are better acquired and promoted .This, in turn, helps in having more critical individuals who are able to review and change any negative attitudes or prejudices about other cultures, to observe, compare and see the world with a new perspective (Weaver, 1993; Couper, 2001; Ara’ujo e S’a and S’ílvia Melo 2007; Longo, 2008).

We believe that one of the main and most important responsibilities and objectives of FL teaching in schools and language teaching institutions is to establish an awareness of the values and significance of cultural practices in both learners’ own culture and the target language culture; they should be able to live with their own culture and the target culture. At this point, we emphasize what Robotjazi (2008) postulates stating, “what in effect proves critically needed and

crucial is that in any way possible, whether registered techniques or even innovative of the teachers themselves, the teachers and learners shall try to attain competence in intercultural communication through a language and its relationship to the cultural practices and identities interlocutors bring to an interaction” (p. 252). The foreign language teachers must have intercultural background that enables them to help students in the process acquiring the competence to critique (Longo, 2008, p. 13). It is also the task of foreign language teachers to make a foreign language teaching meet the needs of social and economic development in developing students’ intercultural communicative awareness especially in English because it has become the global language.

To sum up our introduction above, we see that Language Awareness (LA) and Intercultural Awareness (IA) are crucial in any foreign language education because they promote knowledge, understanding, tolerance, acceptance, acquiring new values and morals and fostering the existing ones as well as establishing positive attitudes among learners that in turn motivate them to learn foreign languages. This in turn can lead to fruitful and meaningful dialogue that can support mutual understanding among people from different cultural, ethnic and national backgrounds which consequently help people worldwide live in peace and harmony. This is the ultimate purpose behind learning foreign languages. In the following chapters we will shed light on the meaning, perception and importance of Language Awareness (LA), culture and Intercultural Awareness (IA) in foreign language teaching (FLT) and we consider them as very important components of the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) which have to be taken into consideration in learning a foreign language and in syllabus design.

Language Awareness

This chapter deals with language awareness (LA) as an important component of foreign language teaching. We try to explain the meaning, dimensions and role of LA in FLT and the role of the teacher and the learners in raising LA.

It has been generally accepted that LA has vitally an essential and a significant role to play in language education in spite of the fact that no one unified agreement exists as to its definition and scope. Garrett & James (2000) believe that LA is valid and important in the language learning context both for the mother tongue (MT) and for foreign languages (FL) with respect to three different domains: language learning, language teaching and language use... and it can benefit “five dimensions in language education: affective, social, power, cognitive and performance” (p. 330).

Language Awareness (LA) is an approach to language learning and teaching that has been increasingly discussed and applied - both within the L1 (first language) and L2 (second/foreign language) context - during the past few years (Dufva, 1994; van Lier, 1995; Bolitho et al, 2003; Byram, 2006; Ara’ujo e S’a and S’ílvia Melo, 2007 among others). It has been especially outstanding in the United Kingdom, where it originated (see Hawkins, 1984). At present, several conferences have been held, and an academic journal called “*Language Awareness*” is regularly

published. Language Awareness (LA) is neither a methodology nor a theory of learning. Rather, it may be understood and looked upon as an umbrella for a wide range of approaches towards language and language teaching; language is something personal and meaningful where learners can discover it for themselves (Hawkins, 1984; Dufva, 1994; Byram et al., 2002; Bolitho et al., 2003; Jular, 2007; Robotjazi, 2008).

Hawkins (1984, pp. 4-5) sees LA as a process that involves challenging 'pupils to ask questions about language', encouraging learners 'to gather their own data from the world outside school', and helping learners to develop a 'growing insights into the way language works to convey meaning'.

The (British) National Council for Language education (NCLE) defines LA as: "a person's sensitivity to and conscious perception of the nature of language and its role in human life" (as cited in James and Garrett, 1991, p. xi). In this, LA may be understood as "partly synonymous with *reflectivity* in matters of language/language learning, *sensitivity* to matters of language/language learning, and *ability to explore* language/language learning and appreciate it" (James and Garrett, 1991, p. xi). In this way students can be made aware of the similarities and differences between their own language and the foreign language they are learning and as James and Garret (1991) put it "they can be given means to reflect themselves as learners. They may be given tasks that develop their ability to deal with language analytically" (p. xi).

Dufva (1994) emphasizes the fact that LA activities in a foreign language programs are a combination of three interrelated and intermingling aspects; "language, interaction and culture", (p. 23) in the sense that to regard social interaction is to regard culture. This means that if culture is taken, and actually it is, everyday behavior and everyday thought then it cannot be excluded from language teaching or LA programs. We have also to understand that culture entails *external* elements, such as observable manners, habits, customs or rituals, and internal aspects as well, such as notions, attitudes, beliefs and conceptual systems held by people living in this culture (see Holland and Quinn, 1987 and Dufva, 1994).

Alegre defines LA as "the ability to reflect on languages and to verbalize that reflection", including pragmatic behavior and declarative knowledge" (as cited in Ara'ujo e S'a and S'ilvia Melo, 2007, p. 9). However, this view of LA follows 'a more critical and meaning-orientated approach which stresses the role of language in the socio-cultural and political affairs of the people' (van Lier, 1995, p.10). This means that those linguists are concerned with 'linguistic etiquette' (van Lier, 1995), but they put emphasis on the content (what is said) and the communicative process (how it is said), i.e. the meaning, its negotiation, its collaborative construction between different speakers of different languages and the "discursive space" that is given and negotiated within the interaction (Ara'ujo e S'a and S'ilvia Melo, 2007, p. 9). Among the many meanings associated with the concept of LA, "we should say that their view goes beyond a utilitarian definition and focuses on a "plurilingual" and intercultural perspective informed by European linguistic policies" (Ara'ujo e S'a and S'ilvia Melo, 2007, p. 18). As van Lier (1995) points out, "language awareness opens up new possibilities for language education in

schools, and avoids the extremes of prescribed correctness and utter neglect” (p. 9). In fact, the LA approach goes beyond the utilitarian view of (foreign) languages; FLs should be seen as living phenomena which, while to some extent shaping our lives and worlds, are also a set of resources which we ourselves can shape, and through which we can shape our own existence, identities and social lives (Byram et al, 2002; Byram, 2006; Ara’ujo e S’ia and S’ilvia Melo, 2007).

To Bolitho et al. (2003) LA is “a mental attribute which develops through paying motivated attention to language in use, and which enables language learners to gradually gain insights into how languages work “(, p.. 251) ; its objectives are to help learners to gain such insights. They also believe that LA is a pedagogical approach whose key element is that learners ‘discover language for themselves’. They also maintain that LA is developed by the learner and it is “an internal, gradual realization of the realities of language use” (p. 251). The term Critical Language Awareness (CLA) focuses on the “relationship between language and social context in which the awareness that might be developed includes awareness of the ways in which’ language represents the world, and reflects and constructs power relations” (p. 252).

The main objective of LA is to help learners to observe for themselves how language is usually used so that they can note the gaps and ‘achieve learning readiness’ (Tomilson, 1994, p. 122). Other objectives include helping learners to “ develop such cognitive skills as connecting , generalizing , and hypothesizing , and helping learners to become independent , with positive attitudes towards language , and to learning the language beyond the classroom” (Bolitho et al., 2003, p. 252). On the other hand , Critical Language Awareness (CLA) has additional objective of encouraging learners “to explore why the language they are learning may have come to be the way it is: what socio-political factors have shaped it” (Bolitho et al., 2003, p. 253).

James and Garrett (1991, p. 20) maintained by putting LA in practice in the classroom, teachers would take into consideration implicitly all theories and methods of learning and teaching, and all activities that make language more “accessible”, and more “alive” for a learner. In LA the focus is on language in use and in context where language is seen as a social and cultural medium. Language Awareness (LA) is often a learner’s *learner-centered* approach and essentially inductive and it “reflects the finding that, in both L1 and L2, language acquisition occurs when and only when the learners are ready “(Bolitho et al., 2003, p. 254). James and Garrett (1991) believe that in Language Awareness “the level of awareness is not stable, but can be both *raised* and *focused* and that this is done in an *inductive* manner” (, p. 20) and the aim of teaching is “to shape and increase conscious thought around a chosen aspect of language by offering the students such data that they are, for example, able to induce rules and regularities that underlie. In this process of becoming more aware, so it is optimistically argued, the level of language proficiency also increases (p. 20)

However, we believe it is crucial for language learners to realize and understand how language is actually used in everyday communication and interaction, what characteristic is in a given culture, and more important is how learners of a foreign language can transfer what they

learn inside the classroom into behavior and knowledge beyond or outside the classroom (i.e. their life at large) and even more than that is how they can think critically (Dufva, 1994; Byram et al., 2002; Jular, 2007; Robotjazi, 2008). We also believe that learning of languages is not a matter of *language* only; it is also a matter of issues of *interaction* and *culture* which are and should be integral elements of any language teaching. Therefore, it is not enough to make learners aware of language only but they have also to be made interactively and culturally aware. Thus, when the term LA is used, it has to be specified that not only awareness of language structure is involved, but awareness of language use as well.

On the other hand, LA programs should also encourage the view of language as a form of interaction taking into consideration not only its linguistic aspects and properties, but also pragmatic and social features in interaction, including nonverbal behavior. These features have to be observed and practiced in a foreign language classroom. To emphasize, communication cannot take place effectively in the absence of structure as Savignon (2002) points out “while involvement in communicative events is seen as central to language development, this involvement necessarily requires attention to form. Communication cannot take place in the absence of structure, or grammar, a set of shared assumptions about how language works, along with a willingness of participants to cooperate in the negotiation of meaning “ (p. 7).

This paper stresses the importance of LA in any FL language teaching / learning programs. We agree with Savignon (2002, p. 7) who maintained that effective language learning requires attention to form and with Richards (2006) who believes that “learners should also know how to use language for a range of different purposes and functions, how to produce different types of texts and how to maintain communication despite having limitation in one’s language knowledge”(p. 4). We also agree with Ekayati,(2007) who maintains that “linguists, teachers and learners have to be aware of the inter-relationship between language and society because it is in society that language has its existence” (p. 1) . Finally , LA is one of the major components of both communicative competence (CC) and intercultural communicative competence (ICC).

Foreign language teachers need to be trained in Language Awareness programs and workshops so that they will be able to “analyze language , to apply different strategies about language in order to be able to plan lessons , to predict learners’ difficulties , to answer their questions and to write and evaluate materials” (Bolitho et al., 2003, p. 255). This entails a model of language education that this papers tries to call for, which promotes independent and critical thinking.

To sum up our discussion about the importance of LA in FLT, we believe that LA is important for learners of foreign languages to be involved in LA activities because once they do so, they will establish a personal relationship to language and accordingly their motivation to learn is increased and their interest is aroused by intellectual curiosity. Learners will also recognize the relationship between language and society; i.e. how language is used, how different groups use language and what attitudes they hold. James and Garrett (1991) also suggest that an improvement is possible in the cognitive domain when learners are linguistically

aware. “When the learner is guided to perceive ‘organizational’ principles in language, to see units, categories, rules, patterns, and contrasts, he is shown at the same time new cognitive strategies and perhaps skills “(Dufva, 1994, p. 29). We also consider that LA can and should be studied and it can include both a foreign language and the learners’ native language where learners can explore the similarities and differences between the two languages recognizing that languages differ but may share common grammatical, syntactic or lexical features. Learners have to know the basic structure of language and to understand how it works and how to manipulate it.

Finally, we believe that LA is useful for everybody involved in language education: teachers, students and foreign language syllabus and curriculum designers as well as universities and language education training facilities. It is important to have an awareness of the diversity of language varieties students can bring with them as well as an awareness of the critical role language plays in communicating and understanding. Language awareness (LA) is fundamental to knowing who our learners are: In getting to know our students and how best to support their learning, we need to understand what language(s) they bring with them to class or school.

Language Teaching and Culture

The significance, value and importance of culture and cultural aspects in foreign language teaching have been extensively studied and considered by researchers (e.g. Ortuno, 1991; Brogger, 1992); Dufva, 1994; Martinez-Gibson, 1998; Byram and Fleming, 1998; Thanasoulas 2000 ; Alptekin, 2002 ; Skopinskaja, 2003; ; Calvo Cortes, 2007; Jular, 2007; Mai Hoa, 2007 among others). They all recognize the fact that communication is an interrelationship between a language and its people and if cultural aspects are not taught as a part of communicative competence, comprehensive and successful communication cannot properly take place. They also assert that culture has to be integrated into the teaching of all language skills in such a way that enables learners to speak and to write in a culturally appropriate ways; “ culture teaching is one indispensable aspect in language teaching projects and culture and language cannot be understood separately” (Calvo Cortes, 2007, p. 230). In fact, language is a cultural phenomenon that is best understood and transmitted within the scope of the culture that shapes it.

In this regard, Brogger (1992, p. 10) points out that in order for one to understand a language, it is “increasingly important” to study the culture of that language and Calvo Cortes (2007, p. 231) also acknowledges explicitly the same fact stating that in order to be able to understand thoroughly how a language works, it is crucial to be well known with its cultural background which includes, among other things, the customs, historical and geographical aspects, traditions, values and the people’s ways of thinking. Languages can have no meaning without culture taking into consideration the fact that languages are spoken by specific communities and they manifest specific structures to serve the needs of their communities. She also maintains that “language and culture are two interrelated concepts and they cannot really be understood separately “(p. 231).

Thanasoulas (2002) asserts that culture is “merely a repository of facts and experiences to which one can have recourse, if need be, and to learn a foreign language is not merely to learn how to communicate but also to discover how much leeway the target language allows learners to manipulate grammatical forms, sounds, and meanings, and to reflect upon, or even flout, socially accepted norms at work both in their own or the target culture” (p. 8). It is not possible to teach a foreign language effectively and successfully unless we offer insight and understanding into the speakers’ culture of that language. We can neither develop communicative competence, intercultural awareness nor intercultural communicative competence in a foreign language’s learners without taking into consideration the different views and attitudes of people in different cultures which may increase the success of communication or even hinder it. Furthermore , we have to be aware of the fact that teaching a language regardless of teaching the culture in which it functions , “ we are teaching meaningless symbols or symbols to which the student attaches the wrong meaning “(Politzer as cited in Thanasoulas, 2002, p. 9).

Because culture is important in foreign language teaching (e.g. Ortuno, 1991; Dufva, 1994 ; Martinez-Gibson, 1998; Kramsch, 1998; Alptekin, 2002; Lazar, 2003a and 2003b; Yassine ,2006 ; Calvo Cortes, 2007 Mai Hoa, 2007; among others), it is important to explain what it means. We see it as a concept that needs to be delimited because it has been interpreted differently by different people. It is often seen as a matter of only information conveyed by the language, not as an aspect of language itself. For instance, Kramsch (1998) conceives culture as “a membership in a discourse community that shares a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and action”(p. 127) while Goodenough suggests that: “a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and to do so in any role that they accept for anyone of themselves” (as cited by Wadhaugh, 1992, p. 216). Rose sees culture as “a way of life, a set of social practices, a system of beliefs and a shared history or set of experiences” (as cited in Yassine, 2006, p. 31). What one can infer from those definitions is that for Kramsch and Goodenough culture is “acceptable interaction within the group it defines” and for Rose it is “what makes this group “(Yassine, 2006, p. 31). To the latter, culture is a way of life, a set of social practices, a system of beliefs and a shared history or set of experiences.

Furthermore, Dufva (1994) postulates “to regard social interaction is to regard culture” (p. 22). Culture, not necessarily in the sense of fine arts, but especially in the sense of everyday behavior and everyday thought cannot be excluded from language teaching or Language Awareness programs. In Dufva words “ culture does not only involve *external* elements, such as observable manners, habits, customs or rituals, but also *internal* aspect as well, such as notions, attitudes, beliefs and conceptual systems held by people living in this culture” (p. 22) .

This paper thinks of culture as 'a complex system of concepts, attitudes, values, beliefs, conventions, behaviors, practices, rituals and lifestyle of the people who make up a cultural group, as well as the artifacts they produce and the institutions they create'. It is a dynamic, changing and developing process (Humphrey, 2002). We also believe that ‘knowledge of and engagement with the system of culture are fundamental to being able to communicate

successfully and provide a basis for the ways in which speakers of a language establish shared meanings and communicate shared concepts and ways of seeing the world' (see Siboulet, 2005, p. 45) and understanding a foreign culture always entails a change of some of one's attitudes. (see Wadhaugh, 1992; Dufva, 1994 ; Humphrey, 2002; Skopinskaja, 2003; Siboulet, 2005 ; Yassine 2006; Calvo Cortes 2007 among others) .

On the other hand, we also believe that Intercultural language learning should include language, culture and learning mixed together into a single "educative approach". It begins with the idea that language, culture and learning are basically mutually related concepts and this interrelationship is to be put at the heart of the learning process. Conducting intercultural language learning in the classroom means the fusing of these three elements into a single approach (Siboulet, 2005). Also "Culture is recognized as instrumental in shaping speakers' communicative competence, in both their first and subsequent languages" (Berns, as cited in Savignon, 2002, p. 6) and language, interaction and culture are three interrelated and intermingling aspects that are central for language awareness activities in a foreign language classroom" (Dufva, 1994, p. 23). If we teach more cultural things in our classroom, we will not only promote and raise our students' motivation for learning a foreign language but we will also promote and increase their cultural awareness so that their cultural prejudices and preconceptions can be reviewed and challenged. Also knowledge of culture can increase communicative competence and intercultural awareness; knowledge of other cultures can increase tolerance and lead to greater self-awareness and finally language and culture are so closely related that one cannot teach the one without the other (Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2002; Jular, 2007). We agree that the aim of teaching culture is 'to increase students' awareness and to develop their curiosity towards the target culture and their own, helping them to make comparisons among cultures' (Tavares & Cavalcanti, 1996, p. 19). This means that foreign language culture enhances and supplements students 'experience and makes them aware of cultural diversity. To emphasize, teaching culture and knowledge of culture will increase learners' communicative competence, intercultural awareness and intercultural communicative competence; it will increase tolerance, acceptance and understanding and it will also lead to greater self awareness and finally language and culture are so closely related that one cannot teach the one without the other. Culture teaching is one indispensable and crucial aspect in foreign language teaching programs.

Intercultural Awareness (IA)

As mentioned in the previous chapters; it has been broadly acknowledged that language teaching is not only a matter of acquiring knowledge and skills in the grammar of a language, but it is also the ability to use the language in socially and culturally appropriate ways. This was the main principle of 'communicative language teaching'. At the same time, the 'communicative approach' brought significant changes and innovations in methods of teaching, the materials used, the description of what is to be learnt and assessment of learning. (Canale and Swain, 1980; Canale, 1983a; Canale, 1983b; van Ek, 1986; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell , 1995 ; Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2002 Savignon, 2002 among others) . The Council of Europe's 'Common European Framework of Reference' (Byram et al., 2002) incorporates these

innovations and also focuses on the importance of 'intercultural awareness', 'intercultural skills', and 'existential competence'. The 'Common European Framework' introduces the 'Intercultural Dimension' into the aims of language teaching. The essence of 'Intercultural Dimension' is "to help language learners to interact with speakers of other languages on equal terms, and to be aware of their own identities and those of their interlocutors. It is the hope that language learners who thus become 'intercultural speakers' will be successful not only in communicating information but also in developing a human relationship with people of other languages and cultures" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 5). This clearly manifests the recent trends in FLT, specifically Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) to include and incorporate significantly, more than any time before, culture, Intercultural Awareness (IA), Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) and Intercultural Dimension as one of its main goals and principles (Byram, 1997; Byram and Zarate, 1997; Byram et al., 2002; Yassine, 2006; Ara'ujo e S'a and S'ílvia Melo, 2007 among others) taking into account the worldwide developments in matters of globalization, cross-cultural exchanges and the 'laws of international communication' which all consider that an intercultural perspective in LT and language education will support, empower and help increase international and cross-cultural tolerance, acceptance and understanding. The following section of this study tries to shed light on the meaning, definitions and features of Intercultural Communication (IC), Intercultural Awareness (IA) and Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) as the most recent dimension and development in CLT. The Intercultural Awareness (IA) is considered to be the core of this study.

The term "Intercultural Communication (IC)", in general, refers to communication between people from different cultures (Damen, 1987; Samovar and Porter 1991; Samovar et al., 1997; Dodd, 1998; Ting-Toomey, 1999; Mai Hoa, 2007). More precisely, it refers to "symbolic exchange processes whereby individuals from two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meaning in an interactive situation" (Ting-Toomey, 1999, p. 16). In the "symbolic exchange process", people from cultural communities "encode and decode the verbal and nonverbal messages into comprehensive meanings" (Mai Hoa, 2007, p. 5). This definition evidently focuses on the influence of cultural differences and diversity on communication. It often happens that people of different cultural backgrounds face cultural difficulties and barriers when they try to communicate with each other to the extent that misunderstanding and communication breakdown take place. That is mostly due to the differences in their customs, traditions, and ways of life, their world view, social norms, religious practices and philosophy among other social cultural factors. One of the most effective ways to overcome these barriers, which this paper holds, is to introduce and teach culture in foreign language programs so that learners can be aware of, as much as possible, the culture of the language they are learning or/and studying. Nowadays, IC plays an important role in FLT because the goal of learning a FL shifts to enable learners to communicate their ideas and culture with speakers of other cultures worldwide. Consequently, the question of IC is clearly indispensable in foreign language learning and teaching if the aim is to develop students' communicative competence, (see Mai Hoa, 2007, p. 5).

The term “Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)” is very much connected with recent principles and traditions in foreign language teaching, and it goes beyond the concept of communicative competence in significant ways. It has been generally defined by many researchers (Baxter, 1983; Krasnick, 1984; Kim, 1991; Meyer, 1991; Schinitzer, 1995; Byrnes, 1991; Byram, 1997; Byram et al., 2001; among others) as the ability to interact with people from another country and culture in a foreign language. More precisely, it is defined as “the overall internal capacity of an individual to manage key challenging features of intercultural communication” (Kim, 1991, p. 259), to the extent that a speaker is able to negotiate meaning efficiently and interact socially in such a way that s/he can use and adapt language appropriately in different cultural contexts. The challenging features of IC can be recognized as cultural differences, unfamiliarity, and incompatibility between the interlocutors. This means that successful communication cannot take place by simply acquiring a linguistic code; it is also by dealing with different cultural values reflected in language use. This lays out the philosophical base for a growing awareness that communicative competence should be conceived as intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (Baxter, 1983), including not only “the knowledge of basic values and norms; verbal and nonverbal interactional competence in using a foreign language in intercultural communication; competence in using language as social action; competence in creating and interpreting linguistic aspects of social reality” (Krasnick, 1984, p. 218), but it also includes “the cognitive, affective, and behavioral adaptability of an individual’s internal system in all intercultural contexts” (Kim, 1991, p. 259). Learners of a foreign language who hope to carry out intercultural interactions effectively must be equipped with this set of abilities to be able to understand and deal with the dynamics of cultural differences because of the inseparable relationship between foreign language learning and intercultural communication.

Savignon (2002) also maintains that “ participants in multicultural communication are sensitive not only to the cultural meanings attached to the language itself but to social conventions concerning language use, such things as taking turns, appropriateness of content, nonverbal language, and tone” (p. 10). She thinks that these ‘conventions’ influence the interpretation of the message and both ‘cultural sensitivity’ and ‘cultural knowledge’ are important in language teaching programs together with understanding, empathy and openness between and towards cultures. This paper agrees with her as she says “socio-cultural competence includes a willingness to engage in the active negotiation of meaning along with a willingness to suspend judgment and take into consideration the possibility of cultural differences in conventions of use.” She puts these terms under “‘cultural flexibility,’ or ‘cultural awareness’” as this paper tries to do.

To Fantini (2009) ICC is a complex phenomenon made up of several components:

1. A group of qualities which include: “flexibility, humor, patience, openness, interest, curiosity, empathy, tolerance for ambiguity, and suspending judgment, among others.”
2. The capacity “to establish and maintain relationships; to communicate with minimal loss or distortion and to collaborate in order to accomplish something of mutual interest or need.”

3. Four dimensions which he labeled as: “knowledge; (positive) attitudes; skills; and awareness.”

4. “Proficiency in a second language. Ability to communicate in a second or foreign language is important to the development of ICC. “

5. And four levels of a longitudinal and developmental process: “Educational Traveler’; ‘Sojourner’ or longer cultural immersion; ‘Professional’, i.e. Staff working in an intercultural or a multicultural context’, and finally the ‘Intercultural/multicultural Specialist’ level” (p. 1-2) .

It is clear from the above definitions that ICC is associated with the concept of culture and communicative competence. Generally speaking, it is the ability to interact effectively with people of cultures other than one’s own (Byram, 2000, p. 297). It “involves awareness of different values, attitudes and behaviors of the ‘others’ as well as skills to deal with them in a non-judgmental way” (Skopinskaja, 2004, p. 2).

One can infer from the aforementioned definitions that it is not easy for learners of FLs to acquire complete and perfect ICC and the destination seems too far for teachers, syllabus designers and educators to attain such a goal because the task needs a lot of funding, international cooperation between different educational institutions worldwide. We also agree with Mai Hoa (2007, p. 8) who thinks that if a teacher wants to maximize students’ communicative effectiveness when interacting with members of other culture, the students should be also receiving cultural awareness training as an integral part of their foreign language courses taking into consideration that teaching or emphasizing cross-cultural awareness in a foreign language classroom is not an easy task. This is why this paper focuses on IA rather than ICC and considers it as a prerequisite stage to ICC. We believe that global teachers /students and learners exchange programs can best help in this and institutions like the British Council, and the Council of Europe, Fulbright Exchange programs, Liberal Arts universities and colleges are good examples on this.

It is worth to emphasize at this point that interculturality is best understood as a dynamic lively process of interchange, interaction and cooperation between cultures focusing on the similarities and taking into account the cultural variety and diversity as an inspiring and improving element. It promotes the coexistence between groups of people having different cultures or cultural background (Byram et al., 2002; Mai Hoa, 2007; Yassine, 2006). In terms of language teaching, interculturality allows for the development of the learners’ intercultural awareness, which is considered by recent pedagogy of great importance to successful learning (Byram et al., 2002; Lazar, 2003a; Lazar 2003b; Yassine, 2006; Agudelo, 2007; Korzilius, van Hoft and Planken, 2007; Mai Hoa, 2007; Longo, 2008).

Rose argues (as cited in Yassine, 2006, p. 33) that Intercultural Awareness (IA) can be seen as the process of becoming more aware of one’s own culture and others cultures and developing better understanding of them. Its main goal is to increase international and cross-cultural understanding. Though it is mainly a part of FLT/SLT, it has ‘exponents’ in all fields of

education. We believe it is an essential ‘prerequisite’ stage for developing intercultural communicative competence and it is a vital concept in an intercultural approach to foreign language teaching (Byram, 1997; Agudelo, 2007; Korzilius, et al., 2007) as we agree with Augdelo (2007:92) who believes that Intercultural Awareness is “a transversal axis in language teaching due to its implications. In other words, becoming conscious of our own cultural representations as well as those we use to identify others helps us see who we are in relation to the other”.

Korzilius et al., (2007) adopt the following definition of IA:

“Intercultural awareness is the ability to empathize and to decentre. More specifically, in a communication situation, it is the ability to take on the perspective(s) of (a) conversational partner(s) from another culture or with another nationality, and of their cultural background(s), and thus, to be able understand and take into consideration interlocutors’ different perspective(s) simultaneously” (p. 2) .

Rose thinks that IA is a set of attitudes and skills that include the following:

“Observing, identifying and recording, comparing and contrasting, negotiating meaning, dealing with or tolerating ambiguity, effectively interpreting messages, limiting the possibility of misinterpretation, defending one’s own point of view while acknowledging the legitimacy of others and accepting difference” (as cited in Yassine, 2006, p.32).

Crawshaw sees IA,” as a competence, to be more than a set of knowledge about different and diverse cultures that language learners need to be proficient in. It is rather an attribute of personal outlook and behavior...it emerges as the central but diversely constituted core of integrated curriculum” (as cited in Yassin, 2006, p. 33).

Intercultural awareness, as defined by Byram et al. (2002) is “the process of becoming more aware of and developing better understanding of one’s own culture and others cultures all over the world to increase international and cross-cultural understanding” (p. 5). It is a new trend in foreign language teaching that takes into consideration the nature of social, cultural and pragmatic aspects of language. It has educational implications in the way that makes learners aware of their own culture and of the culture of the target language, and “learners are intercultural speakers or mediators who are able to engage with complexity and multiple identities and to avoid the stereotyping which accompanies perceiving someone through a single identity” (Byram et al., 2002, p. 5). This implies that the aims of language teaching should include both intercultural and linguistic competences; prepare students for interaction with people of other culture(s); enable them to understand and accept people from other culture(s) who have their own perspectives, values and behaviors; and help them to see that such interaction is an inspiring, enriching, educational and new experience (Byram et al., 2002, p. 6).

Knowledge, skills, attitudes and values involved in intercultural awareness

Intercultural communicative competence (ICC), according to Byram (1997) and Byram et al. (2002), requires certain attitudes, knowledge, and skills to be promoted, in addition to linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competence. He proposed a model that consists of the following five factors or components:

1. The *attitude*, “savoir apprendre”, factor which refers to the ability to relativize one’s self and value others, and includes “curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one’s own” (Byram, 1997, p. 91).

2. *Knowledge* of one’s self and others, “savoirs”, which means knowledge of the rules for individual and social interaction and consists of knowing social groups and their practices, both in one’s own culture and in the other culture.

3. The first skill set, the *skills of interpreting and relating*, “savoir comprendre” which describes an individual’s ability to interpret, explain, and relate events and documents from another culture to one’s own culture.

4. The second skill set, the *skills of discovery and interaction*, “savoir apprendre/ faire”, which allows the individual to acquire “new knowledge of culture and cultural practices,” including the ability to use existing knowledge, attitudes, and skills in cross-cultural interactions (Byram, 1997, p. 98). This factor includes a range of communication forms, including verbal and non-verbal modes and the development of linguistic, sociolinguistic and discourse competencies.

5. The last factor, *critical cultural awareness*, “savoir s’engager”, describes the ability to use perspectives, practices, and products in one’s own culture and in other cultures to make evaluations. It is ‘the ability to evaluate, critically on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one’s own country and other cultures and countries (Byram et al., 2002:12) (see also Sincope, Norris and Watanabe, 2007, pp. 5-6). Byram uses the French terminology because knowledge, skills and attitudes can be described as different ‘savoirs’.

Of these components we believe that the critical cultural awareness is an essential concept in an intercultural approach to language teaching (Agudelo, 2007, 92) as this paper tries to support. Byram (1997) also maintains that the FL classroom can offer enough opportunities for the acquisition of those skills; knowledge and attitudes mentioned above on the condition that it proceeds under the guidance of a teacher (see Skopinskaja, 2003, p. 41).

This paper supports Byram et al (2002:7) who believe that the components of intercultural competence are those of knowledge, skills and attitudes mentioned above, which are to be complemented by the values one has because he/ she belongs to a number of social groups and his /her values are part of one's social identities. The bases of intercultural awareness and competence are seen and reflected in the attitudes of the intercultural speaker and mediator (Byram, 2008). This means that the intercultural speaker should not believe that his/her own values, beliefs and behaviors are the only possible and correct ones but he/she has to be able to see how the others, who have different values, beliefs and behaviors, perceive them. This Byram et al. (2002, p. 7) called the ability to 'decentre'. Students /intercultural speakers should also

respect the others' values and have to accept their ways of acting and thinking without prejudice or discrimination because they make up an important component of the intercultural communication understanding and success. Students, in order to be successful intercultural communicators, have to develop attitudes that help them open to the others and be interested in their culture (Parmenter, 2003).

Accordingly, this paper stresses that a language educational system should inspire a student to understand, explore and think about the world around him/her through and besides learning a language whether it was foreign or native but especially a foreign language. Most of all, it should allow the student to experience the delight one can get from discovering knowledge at one's own pace. This confidently can be done in language teaching classes with syllabuses and teachers who believe in language as a cultural phenomenon and who have enough intercultural awareness. Learning a foreign language should encourage, help and make learners "to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and [the ability] to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction", i.e. skills of discovery and interaction (Byram et al., 2002, p. 16).

Furthermore, in Language education we do not only try to develop knowledge but we also try to develop, encourage and promote skills, transparency, comprehensiveness, coherence, attitudes, values and beliefs as well that can help lead learners /intercultural interlocutors to mutual understanding and cooperation regardless of their diverse and different social and cultural backgrounds and which ultimately helps people from different nations understand each other and live in peace and harmony. In addition to that, Byram et al. (2002) think "because intercultural speakers/mediators need to be able to see how misunderstandings can arise, and how they might be able to resolve them, they need the attitudes of "decentring" but also the skills of comparing" (8). They think that the skills of comparison, of interpreting and relating are very important in language education because these skills will enable learners from two or more cultures to put ideas "side by side and see how each might look from other perspective "and see how people misunderstand what is said or written due to their cultural difference (p. 8). In this way, learners discover not only the differences, but also the advantages and disadvantages of a new culture. If they compare and evaluate what they observe and study, they will be able to perceive differently and see the world with new eyes (Longo, 2008, 112).

On the other hand, Guilherme (2002) believes that learning and using languages cannot be seen from a narrow pragmatic perspective but it is about citizenship and democracy as well; it is about how people with different needs and goals deal with contexts of diversity. Pennycook (1994) thinks that teaching is a process of political engagement and the curriculum should be based on themes of social relevance to students. Byram (1997) also thinks that learning languages is to do with political education because it is related to the "development of learners' critical, cultural and linguistic awareness" (p.35). It is worth to mention here that the concept of democracy in education was emphasized by John Dewey (1916, p. 230) more than a century ago who believed that democracy meant the opportunity and the ability to participate in the continuing conversation of the community, and to participate effectively, education must free the

intelligence to creatively reconstruct the community. According to him, the history of science is the history of a conversation of an international community. Logically, this is best done by creative and disciplined democratic classroom dialogue (Garrison and Lawwill, 1993, p. 29). Araújo e S´a and S´ilvia Melo (2007) also believe that language education has political dimensions saying “as intercultural and plurilingual encounters are about awareness, interaction, mediation and negotiation, [we] consider plurilingualism and intercomprehension as political dimensions of a broad linguistic education” (p. 9). Pennycook (1994) goes farther and urges readers to think of educational institutions as “cultural and political arenas” (p. 299) in which different values are in struggle. On the other hand, Byram (2008) analyses the relationship between language learning and identity thinking that national languages, with their cognitive, affective and behavioral functions, are important for nation states, and the teaching of national languages is “an integral part of creating national identities” and “developing an international identity” (Byram, 2008, p. 123) and “. He adds saying that “there is a potential for foreign language teaching to have a role in identity formation... foreign language teachers could be assigned the role of promoting an international identity and a sense of belonging to international communities of interest, such as those developing in the wake of globalization” (p. 105). Accordingly, we also think, that there always exists a political dimension and implication in foreign language education.

Finally, intercultural speakers, language learners and mediators need, as mentioned above, a critical awareness of themselves and their values, as well as those of other people, (see Byram et al., 2002, p. 8ff). They also need to become aware of how their values influence their views of other people's values. Learners of foreign languages can also learn and acquire, through learning/teaching activities, “the ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries”, i.e. critical cultural awareness (*savoir s'engager*) (p.16). Their role, with the advent of intercultural communicative approach, changes; they are no longer passive observers or imitators of target language speakers but rather are active participants in an exploration into the other and self.

The role of the language teacher is a supportive one, which is to provide learners with the means to understand their own culture and at the same time to learn to relate to the social world inhabited by their interlocutors. Language teachers have to introduce and develop skills, attitudes and awareness of values just as much as to develop knowledge of a particular culture or country by including terms and topics about human rights, equality, dignity; gender; bias; prejudice; stereotype; racism, ethnic minority and the names of ethnic groups ...etc. which can help learners talk about cultural diversity, (Byram et al., 2002, p.16). We emphasize the fact that “teachers need to see themselves as ‘transformative intellectuals’ rather than mere ‘classroom technicians employed to pass on a body of knowledge’ and teachers can empower learners through a combination of approaches known as ‘critical pedagogy’”, (Pennycook, 1994, p. 299). Comprehensiveness, coherence and transparency (Foreign Language Council of Europe, 1993) as well as precision play a great role in developing intercultural communicative awareness and competence among learners (Robatjazi, 2008, p. 252) which can be introduced and developed by language teachers. Language teachers have “the responsibility to help students consider different

world views so that a dialogue can be established between different realities and knowledge” (Agudelo, 2007, 202). It is evident from the above mentioned discussion that the role of the language teacher is crucial in helping students to develop linguistic and intercultural awareness as he/she can help learners talk, write, read and discuss topics dealing with human rights, politics among many other topics as mentioned above.

To conclude our above discussion, IA is connected with the concepts of culture and communicative competence. It goes beyond the learning and teaching of linguistic codes to a broader area of intercultural education where language is seen as essential for effective communication (Li and Li, 2004, p. 33). Intercultural Awareness is the ability to interact effectively with people of cultures other than one’s own (Byram, 2000, p. 297). The term intercultural implies a restructuring of one’s own attitudes and world view (Seelye, 1994, p. 21). In other words, Intercultural Awareness involves awareness of different values, attitudes and behaviors of the ‘others’, as well as skills to deal with them in a non-judgmental way. It requires that students acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and critical culture awareness to communicate intercultural, (Parmenter, 2003, p. 20). Intercultural language learning is not simply a method of embedding language, culture and learning, but rather an overall orientation, a way of thinking and doing, a stance and overall perspective which influences all decisions regarding curriculum (Asian Education Foundation, 2005, p. 6). In terms of FL classroom practice Intercultural Awareness refers to activities connected with behavior and speech patterns, such as appropriate choices for conversation topics, opening and closing a conversation, criticizing and complaining, stereotyping, reacting to culture shock, personal space restrictions and non-verbal communication.

The communicative language teaching is the methodology to be used in achieving the aims of this paper (i.e. raising linguistic awareness and intercultural awareness) because communication, culture and interculturality are related to each other and it carries out the quality of education in foreign language teaching (Jin, 2008, p. 81). The intercultural approach cannot be seen as an approach outside the umbrella of the communicative language teaching; it is a division of the communicative language teaching like other divisions and it plays a role in communicative skills where students need to construct and keep interpersonal relations in different social situations (Longo, 2008). The intercultural approach aims at giving learners both intercultural awareness and linguistic awareness with competencies as learners need linguistic knowledge and skills as well as the ability to use the language in socially and culturally appropriate ways. It can also prepare learners to interact with people of other cultures and enable them to understand and accept each other as individuals with distinctive perspectives, values and behaviors (Chlopek, 2008). The intercultural approach involves an understanding of the social context in which language is used, which is one of the main and most important principles of the communicative language teaching; it is the culture specific context where values, norms, beliefs and behavior patterns of a culture are taken into consideration (Sarem and Qasimi, 2010).

Conclusion

Both intercultural awareness (IA) and linguistic awareness (LA) are crucial and vital in foreign language teaching if one wants to learn and understand a language properly and appropriately, and they should be included in an intercultural communicative approach to foreign language teaching. There is a need to raise cultural awareness about both the target culture and the learners' own culture. Learning a Foreign Language is an intercultural experience "because it allows to know another language but above all to enter in contact with another reality" (Longo, 2008, p. 113).

The prime aim of foreign language teaching should enable learners to communicate effectively with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds in a diverse and multicultural world. This requires new methodological approaches that can provide learners with the means and ways of accessing and analyzing a wide range of cultural practices and meanings ; can help learners develop understanding of the processes involved when interact with people from different cultural backgrounds (Humphrey, 2002) ; can promote and develop critical and creative thinking, mutual understanding , tolerance , acceptance , human rights , democracy and prepare learners to cope with and face life at large outside and beyond the classroom; those learners who are equipped with knowledge about their own culture and the target culture. Foreign language teachers should be trained in language education programs that afford not only linguistic expertise (skills, knowledge and proficiency) in the structural aspects of the language, but also in the appropriate usage of language in diverse socio-cultural contexts, and to be enrolled in workshops dealing with general cultural issues, anthropology and human rights aspects. Teachers, before learners, must have intercultural communicative awareness and competence so that they will be able to teach and raise both linguistic and intercultural awareness in foreign languages classes effectively and competently. Learning foreign languages must be linked to the lives of the students; it should go beyond the classroom in order to be able to inquire into their worlds; to interact and cope with life at large confidently.

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Practicum Teaching Quality for Educators and Aspiring Teachers in Fiji – A case study of selected High schools in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to fill in the void in the existing literature and investigate the quality of practicum teachers in Fiji as this is one of the most crucial factors underpinning Teacher Education Programs in Fiji's Teacher Education Institutions. Furthermore, the paper examines the need to continuously raise the bar and be on par with new teaching knowledge; skills and strategies needs be consistently monitored during this period and not left to chance. The purpose of this research is to identify the necessary contemporary skills essential for the enhancement of learner's skills and attitudes. The study implements mixed method design with the intention of incorporating qualitative and quantitative research methods in the data collection and analysis. Hutter-Hennink qualitative research cycle is used and data is collated through the use of semi-structured interviews which uses a mixture of both open ended and closed questions. Transcripts are analyzed line by line identifying key phrases or indicators in emic and perspectives of Verstehen. Emerging themes are tabulated providing the qualitative analysis of this research. The paper further conducts quantitative technique using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree) to gather the finer points of this Practicum Teaching Quality in Fiji schools. The key findings are that children have a right to quality education. In all facets of the school and its surrounding education community, the rights of the whole child to survival, protection, development and participation are at the core of sustainable development. This means that the focus is on quality learning facilitated by robust, competent, impactful, effective and student-centered teachers who will indisputably strengthens the capacities of children to act progressively on their own behalf through the acquisition of relevant knowledge, useful skills and appropriate attitudes. The paper finds a void in Fiji's aspiring and practicum teachers who need to up skill themselves in terms of quality delivery so that meaningful learning is acquired and children can construct for themselves and the community at large; places of safety, security and healthy communication. However, quality also largely depends on national policies pertaining to teacher intake requirements, practicum duration, synchronizing of Teacher training courses and teacher preparedness.

Keywords: Fiji, practicum teachers, quality, competent, student-centered, FNCF, MOE.

1.1 Introduction

The Teaching Practicum is normally acknowledged as one of the core component in Teacher Education Programs for the three tertiary educational institutions in Fiji. The assessment of Practicum Teachers during the practicum appears to be problematic as making precise conclusions to such teaching has become a more complicated sequence. As with any form of assessment, judgments are made against some form criterion or normative standard, and this judgments must ultimately involve some implicit or explicit understanding of what constitutes good teaching (Porter, A.C., Youngs, P., & Odden, A, 2001). This research will use a Mixed Method Approach (Cresswell, J., & Plano Clark, V, 2010) to better understand the readiness for practicum teachers and aspiring teachers ability to teach as to what aspects of a practicum teacher or aspiring teachers practice are considered when judgments of his/her readiness to teach, are referred to.

On the onset, this paper examines the quality of Practicum Teacher absorption in the main stream teaching in Fiji. The research is primarily based on a mixed method [qualitative and quantitative] study that explores the link between quality, competence efficiency, and teacher preparedness in the practicum teacher requirements in Fiji.

To begin with, quality public education entails learners who are healthy, well-nourished, eager to learn, and supported in learning by their families and communities. With this in the limelight, The Ministry of Education in its vision and mission has precisely spelt out that every child should be given healthy, safe, protective and adequate resources and facilities to ensure quality and equity in education. When a child has access to a conducive learning milieu, acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace can be easily attained. However, this can only happen with the guidance of quality teachers teaching in Fiji schools.

During recent years, the significance of quality education has been rediscovered. The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien in 1990 saw government leaders embark on a global commitment to uplift quality in education delivery (Smedt, 2001:45). This however, cannot be achieved in isolation. The focus now is on the aspiring and practical teachers in Fiji to improve quality. The Education International Declaration on Professional teacher ethics on commitment to the profession explicitly stipulates education personnel to: 'justify public trust and confidence and enhance the esteem in which the profession is held by providing quality education for all students' (Smedt, 2001:10). This depicts that if teachers are competent, efficient and pro-active, they will underpin a vibrant and pluralistic civil society. With the right teacher training, the budding aspiring teachers will enrich social and cultural life by generating new knowledge, thus, enhancing humanity's intellectual and cultural heritage.

More so, there has been growing concerns and interest about the quality of Practicum Teachers graduating from the major Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji. Much debate has

surfaced in The Ministry of Education, after the Fiji government's significant share of 2014 National budget allocation to the Education Sector.

Undoubtedly, myriad inputs contribute to improving the quality of education, which in turn determines the quality of children's learning outcomes. However, there are some reservations and subject to critiques as to how equipped, trained and well-prepared our cohort of Practicum Teachers in Fiji are after completing their Teacher Training Programs and the work expected of them in Fiji's Primary and Secondary schools.

Puamau (2006) writes in *Journal of education Studies*, Volume 28 [1and 2] that teaching, learning and teacher education are facing an uncomfortable dilemma. Indisputably, the inheritance of outdated, cumbersome, colonial and neocolonial education structures are constantly challenged by the desire of the government to implement reforms perceived to better the current education offerings in Fiji with new opportunities at the global front. With Fiji's smallness and still at its developing stage, a lot of pressure is exerted on the education sector to provide quality education for its population.

However, the reality is that Fiji continues to struggle with basic education provisions, accessibility, infrastructure development, appropriate and coherent national curricular, and retention of students in secondary school to complete education up till year twelve, access to higher education at its forefront of literacy and a countless other tribulations. With these issues crippling the national effort to uplift quality in delivering education, one may ask, how well trained and prepared our aspiring teachers are?

Irrefutably, The Ministry of Education's vision explicitly spells out, quality education for change, peace and progress, where the government continues to embark on 'free to all education' – making an effort for education to be accessible through its myriad initiatives such as free bus fare schemes, e-tickets, matua program, 600 national toppers scholarship and so forth. There is no denial that to teach is a life-long process of learning. In Fiji, among other things, recruitment of secondary school graduates, or those with corresponding qualifications into teacher education, quality pre-service training, the induction phase and teacher training is a challenge. No doubt, the status of teacher's quality is declining globally. Thus, it is indispensable that this inclination is addressed so that the teaching profession is alluring to the best students. The Second World Congress of Education International, in Washington D.C from 25-29 July, 1998 states that 'it is of crucial importance that teachers receive the highest quality professional education that builds on a full secondary school qualification' (2001: 41).

In 2014 National Fijian Budget, the government has allocated F\$541.5m to the Education Ministry. This figure entails 19% of the total 2014 budget. This surely confirms the government's commitment in ensuring quality education for a sustainable Fiji. Education is an investment and to ensure a progressive nation; quality, equity and social justice should be at the core of service delivery. For an island nation as ours, it is mandatory for Teacher training Institutions to work closely with The Ministry of Education and provide the highest quality of teacher training to our children as the country is working tirelessly in making education

accessible to the less fortunate, tapping school drop-outs, improving facilities for all — especially in the outer islands and rural areas— and increase access to technology.

In addition, Government funding in terms of increased grants, free to all education, phasing away of external exams in lower Primary and at Form Four Level, food vouchers, bus fare, matua programme are one of the many schemes through which the government assist all Fijians. Another promising initiative is the 600 toppers scholarship given to Form Seven students to pursue tertiary education in Fiji. The scholarship is given to students who excel in Fiji Seventh Form Examination. Irrespective of caste, creed or colour, the Ministry of Education ensures to provide equity so that all children have a fair share of learning which may equip them for lifelong learning.

The Fijian government is investing largely on education. The challenge then is on the teacher education institutions in Fiji to effectively equip teacher training programmes in line with MOE requirements. There are 3 major Universities in Fiji namely; The University of the South Pacific, Fiji National University and University of Fiji train aspiring teachers. Quality Tertiary education is of immense magnitude in today's and globalised educated world. Thus, the need to uplift Teacher Training Institutions and its aspiring workforce is becoming imperative. More so, high-quality and principled tertiary level education is predominantly essential in Fiji. Additionally, tertiary education market in Fiji is small. In the past has been generally catered by The University of the South Pacific (USP) with its main campus located in Suva. The University of Fiji entered tertiary education scene in 2005. More recently there has been an amalgamation of a number of tertiary Government institutions into the new Fiji National University (FNU) established in 2010.

The Teacher Training Programmes within the university requires aspiring teachers to complete student teaching practicum. The Practicum experience enables a much richer experience by expanding the practicum teacher's access to our highest performing educators, providing a collaborative and instructional delivery experience, and enabling them to build more robust relationships with students. Through the course, the practicum experience allows aspiring teaches to expand their capacity and responsibility for student supervision and instructional support and delivery. The benefits of the practicum program positively impact all stakeholders.

In addition, in Fiji schools, the aspiring teacher is mentored by an effective teacher with demonstrated success increasing student achievement as well as coaching and mentoring competencies. The aspiring teacher works collaboratively with other certificated teachers. Aspiring Teachers initially receive targeted professional development on classroom management, establishing cultures and norms, and behavior intervention strategies; and, as the year progresses, the professional development will shift to lesson planning, differentiating instruction, and pedagogy techniques. The school principal is responsible for ensuring the aspiring teacher has the prospect for an authentic and enriching practicum experience. The Mentor Teacher is responsible for ensuring the aspiring teacher has sufficient exposure and knowledge to lesson plans, instructional strategies, content standards, and differentiated

needs. The teacher preparation program will be expected to perform multiple job-embedded observations and provide feedback to the Aspiring Teacher and their mentor. In Fiji schools, the successful completion of the experience is determined by the school Principal with input from the Aspiring Teacher's mentor and measured against a known set of expectations. If the Teacher Practicum requirements are effectively completed, objectives met and Associate Teacher had mentored training teacher, then and only the practicum experience can serve as a critical foundation for future success of achieving quality education in Fiji.

1.2 Background and context

The Practicum Teaching in the Graduate Diploma in Teaching Program is one of the most crucial factors underpinning teacher education programs at the University of Fiji. The need to continuously raise the bar and be on par with new teaching knowledge, skills and strategies needs to be consistently monitored during this period and not left to chance. In Fiji as elsewhere, research has acknowledged the crucial responsibility teachers play in students learning and achievement (Alton-Lee, 2003). The challenge for teachers is to mold and assist in the preparation for practicum teachers to work efficiently and effectively in the real world to cater for all abilities of children in the 21st century. How do practicum and aspiring teachers deem proficient during their field term to become beginning teachers. This research sets out to find how effective is the graduate diploma in teaching program in all the local universities? How has this program enabled graduates to become competent teachers? What key factors do the Administrative Staffs and Associate Teachers use to identify the practicum teachers ability to teach?

Following the demands of the 21st century to transform society through education, the Ministry of Education has articulated its vision '**quality education for peace, change and progress**' (2012:5) at National Level, thus reforming education for quality, equity, accessibility and efficiency in the delivery of education. Among the areas of special prioritized action, the focus is on the Teacher Training Institutions to uplift the quality of aspiring teachers who then will join the teaching fraternity.

Accordingly, the Tertiary Teacher Training institutions in Fiji namely; The University of the South Pacific, Fiji National University, The University of Fiji and Corpus Christy College are expected to align their Teacher Education Programs to that of the Ministry of Education's reformed education system. As articulated by Tuli Fekeke (2009:38):

'It is beyond the shadow of doubt that teachers are agents of change in a society as they are central to the delivery as well as quality of education.'

Similarly, a finding by The National Commission on Teaching America's Future (NCTAF) 1997 asserts that teachers are positioned with a fundamental responsibility in shaping the future of individuals and posterity to come. For the aspiring teachers to be able to execute their roles as impactful teachers, thus creating 'knowledge based society' (MOE, Annual Corporate Plan, 2012:8), the aspiring teachers should be well trained, up skilled with a range of knowledge, adeptness, constructive approach, ethos and apposite teaching experience in Fiji's myriad classroom settings. This will enable the aspiring teachers to swiftly fit-into the

reformed 21st century teaching and learning milieu. The Ministry of Education's (MOE) values explicitly spell out:

'Education provision is based upon a core of intrinsic and enduring values. These are: human rights and human dignity, responsibility, safety and security for all, civic pride, cultural understanding, empathy and tolerance, honesty, fairness and respect for truth and justice, integrity, flexibility, environment sustainability, peace and prosperity, compassion, sense of family and community, faith, creativity and life-long learning' (2012:5).

Thus, the responsibility lies on the tertiary institutions, primarily on the Teacher Training Departments to effectively prepare aspiring teachers who are fully committed, zealous and skillful to disseminate knowledge suited to the realities of today's Fiji classrooms. The aspiring teachers are expected to fathom their discipline, interdisciplinary teaching, be robust human resources for the Ministry of Education and adopt various teaching pedagogies for quality teaching and being exemplary teachers. In response to this, The Ministry of Education in Fiji and the various Teacher Training Institutions are making their teacher training programs competent so that aspiring teachers exhibit all levels of competency in the teaching fraternity. These areas of competencies are:

- i. Planning and teacher preparation;**
- ii. Competency in teaching and learning;**
- iii. Awareness and compliance with MOE's teacher regulations;**
- iv. Organization and professional development;**
- v. Competent management skills, attitudes, ethos and community outreach programs.**

To achieve the aforementioned competencies for aspiring teachers, the Ministry of Education recommends that Pre-service Teacher Training Programs encompass in its delivery of qualified teachers; the introduction of practicum, a robust teacher preparedness programs, quality assessment, micro teaching, and certification of teachers for teacher registration (FTRB), gender balanced for a knowledge based society (FNCF: 2014).

In doing so, one of the most prominent of these is the introduction of practicum, which is undeniably the most valued component of the Teacher Education Program (Silberman, 1970). A supervised internship of the on-site teaching experience forms a pivotal component of the pre-service preparation of professionals across disciplines (Ralph, E, et.al:2007). In Fiji, the Teacher Education Programs in tertiary institutions require the aspiring teachers to spend a significant portion of their Pre-service in schools. Firstly, the aspiring teacher begins with observation of teachers in the first internship, then going into classrooms, experiencing theoretical knowledge with first-hand clinical practice. The practicum assessment thus forms an integral component of the Teacher Education Program.

However, the underlying aim is for the aspiring teacher is to observe teachers, experience different high school settings, experience the school environment and practice teaching specific subjects related to their discipline. The aim of any Practicum experience in Fiji is to integrate campus experience in a meaningful way.

Accordingly, the Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji who prepare high school graduates send their graduating students to different secondary schools of their choice, in the view of having the schools assign an Associate Teacher to each aspiring teacher placed at a particular school. The Associate Teacher is tasked to guide the aspiring teacher during the duration of his/her stay at the school, enabling the student-teacher to achieve high levels of competence, gain first-hand quality practicum experience and knowledge that will allow the aspiring teacher with an opportunity to put their theoretical knowledge learned in the Teacher Training Institutions into practical reality.

Therefore, this research was attempted to ascertain the quality of the student-teacher experience of the practicum. The study was designed to explore, fathom and describe the aspiring teachers' quality after the Teacher Training institutions sent their student-teacher to various high schools in Fiji. As practicum is an essential element of a Pre-service Teacher Training Program, The Ministry of Education, the Teacher Training Institutions, even the society are focused in better preparing the aspiring teachers for realities of Fiji's classroom.

1.3 Research Questions

Given the purpose of the research, this study will be guided by the following overarching questions:

- a) How effective is the Practicum Teaching Programme in all the local universities?
- b) How has this Teacher preparedness enabled aspiring teachers to become competent teachers?
- c) What key factors are employed by the Administrative Staff and Associate Teachers in order to identify the Practicum Teachers ability to teach in an impactful and effective manner?

1.4 Literature Review

“Generally, most of the literature on schools is based on the research undertaken in well-resourced and staffed schools in developing countries” (Harber C, 1997). However, there has been a scarcity of previous research regarding teaching practicum quality standard in Fiji which is one of the several reasons needed to conduct this research. It is crucial since it highlights and addresses issues encompassing the quality of teaching practice and the academic practice and attitude of the teaching practice programme offered at the University of Fiji in the Graduate Diploma in Teaching Program. In light of this all there is a colossal challenge for preliminary teachers to prepare practicum and aspiring teachers in an escalating multifaceted and diverse environment and to teach in more sophisticated ways to meet the demands in the 21st century. Practicum plays an imperative role in the preliminary Teacher Education Programs, ‘presenting genuine opportunities for Practicum and Aspiring Teachers, working in conjunction with and supervised by knowledgeable and skilled teachers, to gain understanding about the authenticity and intricacy of teaching. The practicum is also a key site for determining student appropriateness or otherwise, for entry into the profession. The quality of the Practicum will likely define the quality of teacher education (Zeichner, 1990).

Nevertheless, the assessment of Practicum and Aspiring Student Teachers learning during a practicum is challenging, problematical issues include the tension between purposes of assessment, the collision of milieu on practice and the essential component of what is “good practice” (Porter, A.C., Youngs, P., & Odden, A, 2001). Furthermore, if principles are to impact optimistically on students’ teachers considerate of their practice, then the teacher appraises necessity be part of a society of interpreters (William, 1996) who distribute norms of practice and concur on what constitutes appropriate substantiation of good teaching.

Since there is inadequate research verification from any source about how compelling reliable judgments are made about practicum teacher’s willingness to teach or the way which university personal make evidence-based honorable judgments of student teachers keenness to teach. It is not comprehensible on what foundation the Fiji tertiary institutions and schools make judgments’ about student’s teacher’s achievements against the learning outcomes of the practicum or how issues to do with dependability and legitimacy of judgments’ are addressed. Therefore this research sets out to find out how effective is the graduate diploma in teaching program in all the local universities? How has this program enabled graduates to become competent teachers? What key factors do the Administrative Staffs and Associate Teachers use to identify the practicum teachers ability to teach?

If Practicum quality teaching is aligned in relation to The Fiji National Curriculum Framework (FNCF) that embarks on inclusiveness, the Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji will then have to take into account three fundamental aspects of social constructivist principles (2013:12):

- i.regarding learning as an action process rather than passive recipients of knowledge and understanding
- ii.regarding learning a social process whereby individuals construct meaning about the world around them in dialogue with others
- iii.learners create or recreate knowledge, reshaping and internalizing knowledge in ways that change their view of the world around them [Phillips, 1995].

The philosophy of education in Fiji articulates inductive learning. For this to happen, the FNCF is committed to ensuring teacher preparedness through effective implementation and on-going child monitoring, assessment, evaluation and continuous improvement of curriculum development and delivery. FNCF sets out the groundwork for Teacher Training Institutions in their preparations of aspiring teachers to create knowledge based society. For this to happen, the leading Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji needs to align their practicum with that of FNCF. Thus, teacher preparedness cannot happen in seclusion, the aspiring teachers should be aware of the changed inclusive curriculum and effectively adopt it while teaching.

Literature reveals that Practicum Experience is critical for the totality of the teacher education programme at the different tertiary institutions in Fiji. In its Professional Experience program, the University of Fiji for instance, attempts to shift the focus of the experience from the traditional technical skills of the ‘practicum’ in teacher education programs to one that has a broader educative process; a professional experience that provides

student teachers with opportunities for inquiry, for trying and testing new ideas within collaborative relationships, and for talking about teaching and learning in new ways.

A century ago John Dewey (1904/1965) argued for teacher education programs that went beyond building immediate classroom proficiency skills for teachers. He criticized teacher-education programs for placing too much emphasis on skill acquisition and the mechanics of classroom management. He argued that although first-hand experience in the school is critical for preparation of new teachers, the experience might well become misconstrued if it halted the growth for further learning.

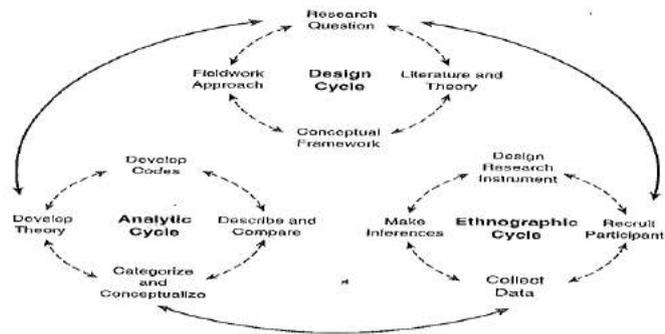
Zeichner (1996) has shared the same view of the professional experience of student teachers being an important opportunity for growth and learning, rather than for demonstrating things already learned. He contends that professional experience is educative if it helps student teachers to understand the full scope of a teacher's role hence, to develop the capacity to learn from future experiences, and to accomplish the central purpose of teaching, helping all pupils to learn. Zeichner (1996: 27) points out 'a focus in the practicum only on instruction with children in the classroom, although important, does not prepare teachers for the full range of their responsibilities'. Zeichner clearly suggests the need for student teachers to engage in inquiry during professional experience in order that they grow into teachers who are knowers, thinkers and researchers about education, and who care about their school and learners.

Teacher education in the 21st century cannot be apprenticeship training that is still rooted in a model of the teacher as technician. Today's schools are asked to educate the most diverse student body ever in response to an increasingly complex society and a rapidly changing, technology-based economy. Teaching has thus become a complex, multifaceted, intellectual, creative decision-making activity. As such, teacher education needs to prepare teachers not as followers, but as leaders, as professionals who are thoughtful, reflective, inquiring, self-directed, goal setting, active participants and wise in decision making. New scholarship in teaching and teacher education must emphasize the preparation of teachers who learn from their teaching, throughout their careers.

1.5 Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methods and procedures that were developed in addressing the research questions. It outlines the details of the research designs, sample size, study population and data collection process. Outlining the proposed theoretical framework of this research, this aids in making the necessary methodological choices and constructing the appropriate research design.

Figure 1.8.1 Hutter-Hennink Qualitative Research Cycle



[Hennink,

M. et al: 2011]

1.6 Research Design

This research will be implemented using a mixed method design (Creswell, 2012) “with the intention of incorporating qualitative and quantitative research methods in the data collection and analysis”. The use of “mixed method designs are considered appropriate in a study when the use of a single type of research is unable to adequately address the research questions”. Qualitative data will be collected through the use of semi-structured interviews (Cresswell, J., & Plano Clark, V, 2010) “which uses a mixture of both open ended and closed questions”. This phase will involve making comparison and asking questions of the data collected. These procedures are “basic to the coding process though their nature changes with each type of coding” (Strauss, 1990). Transcripts will be analyzed line by line identifying key phrases or indicators “because they make some as yet inchoate sense” (Sandelowski cited in Ryan & Bennard, 2000) and emerging themes will be tabulated providing the qualitative analysis of this research. For the quantitative aspect of this research will be enlightened by the use of a 5 point Likert scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree) to address theoretical and practical impacts of Practicum Assessment of the program Teacher Education Programme while open ended questions were used to gather finer points about the overall quality of Aspiring Teachers .

More so, secondary data was sourced from scholarly articles, prior research on practicum teacher quality and most importantly from Practicum Manual for Trainee teachers compiled by The University of Fiji’s Department of Education. It was considered that myriad data types were complementary and allowed for deeper evaluation of aspiring teacher’s quality.

Table 2 shows the study constructs and variables of each construct.
Study Constructs and Variables – Administrative Officer

[5 point Likert scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree)]

1. Planning and Preparation	
a. Does the Practicum/aspiring student demonstrates accurate knowledge of the subject and curriculum expectations of the Ministry of Education	
b. Demonstrates sound knowledge of how students learn and of factors that impact on learning and achievement	
c. Develops appropriate learning expectations from relevant curriculum documents	
d. Plans to accommodates needs and abilities and prior learning of all the students	
e. Organizes learning activities and procedures in clear and meaningful ways that support students' learning.	
f. Identifies, prepares and utilises appropriate resources for learning	
g. Lesson objectives are stated in all three domains: cognitive, psychomotor and affective	
2. Awareness and Compliance with MOE teacher regulations	
a. Aware of the MOE vision and mission.	
b. Aware of the school's vision and mission	
c. The Practicum/aspiring student is punctual to work and all other official gathering	
d. Appropriately dressed at all times	
e. Awareness of Zero tolerance of corporal punishment to students	
f. Awareness of minor and major misconduct and the implementation of appropriate actions	
g. Responsive to the channel of communication in school	
h. Demonstrates awareness of the MOE gazette and closely follows it accordingly	
3. Management	
a. Demonstrates a professional and positive rapport in interactions with students and staff	
b. Upholds the school ethos and displays cultural sensitivity	
c. Promotes a positive and collaborative learning environment	
d. Maintains professional etiquettes in school at all times	
e. Maintains general awareness of student status during the lesson	
f. Willingly executes other responsibilities apart from the teaching duties	
g. Shows initiative to actively engage in other in-house activities organised by the school	
h. Readily entails in community outreach programmes	

Associate Teacher

1. Planning and Preparation	
a. Does the Practicum/aspiring student demonstrates accurate knowledge of the subject and curriculum expectations of the Ministry of Education	
b. Accommodates and facilitates students need to effectively learn and achieve the desired goals	
c. Develops appropriate learning expectations from relevant curriculum documents and other resources aligning with NCF	
d. Plans to accommodate needs and abilities and prior learning of all the students	
e. Uses other teaching strategies consistently other than chalk/board	
f. Identifies, prepares and utilises appropriate resources for effective learning	
g. Lesson objectives are stated consistently in all three domains: cognitive, psychomotor and affective	
2. Teaching and Learning	
a. Does the Practicum/aspiring student use appropriate introductory procedures	
b. Engages students in purposeful learning activities and creates a learner-centred class	
c. Provides clear directions and explanations so that learners are active participants rather than passive recipients	
d. Accommodate diverse learners in class and able to provide appropriate activities to support their learning needs	
e. Provides constructive and timely feedback to students that supports their learning and swiftly progress in class	
f. Integrates, where possible, technologies into teaching and learning opportunities	
g. Demonstrates appropriate use of assessment protocols and recording processes	
h. Demonstrates awareness of pacing and timing and need to be flexible and responsive	
i. Uses textbooks, blackboard, and appropriate teaching aids in an organised manner to maximise student learning.	
j. Uses appropriate summation procedures and sets relevant follow-up activities	
3. Organization and Professional Development	
a. Demonstrates a professional and positive rapport in interactions with students	
b. Uses consistent, fair and positive strategies to manage learning environment	
c. Promotes a positive and collaborative learning milieu	
d. Reinforces positive behaviour in children consistently	
e. Maintains general awareness of student states during and after class	

1.7 Area of Study

Fiji is an archipelago in the South Pacific Ocean. The total number of islands in Fiji archipelago is 332. Among them people live on only 110 islands. The geographical coordinates of the location of Fiji is 18 00 S, 175 00 E. It has a total land area of 18,274 sq km (7,055 sq. miles). The coastlines spread up to 1,129 km, (702 miles). Fiji is made of many small islands of which Viti Levu and Vanua Levu are the largest. The larger islands were formed due to volcanic activity. The comparatively smaller ones are made of coral reefs and thus unsuitable for habitation.



Figure 1.01 Map of Fiji

Source: www.worldatlas.com

1.8 Study Population and Sample

This study sought to understand selected high school teachers' analysis of trainee teachers' quality while on teaching practicum. The prime feature of the interview and questionnaire was to facilitate the participants to share their perceptions and familiarity on the quality of practicum teachers in Fiji.

The study population for the primary data consisted of selected high school teachers' in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. A total of 93 high schools were visited upon receiving approval from The Ministry of Education. Selected high schools from Vitilevu and Vanua Levu was chosen due to the three major teacher training institutions trainees centered around these schools for the completion of teacher training programmes. First visitation to selected high schools in Vanua Levu was from 24th to 26th of September, 2014. Nine high schools in Ba were visited on 12th of September from 8am to 4pm. A total of 18 questionnaires were given. Similarly, all schools in

Sigatoka and selected schools in Nadi were visited on the same day by Ms. Atelini Bai. All high schools in Lautoka were visited on the 16th of September, 2014. Two questionnaires were given in each school visited. Trainee Teacher Coordinator and one Associate Teacher were chosen for interviews and structured questionnaire.

The study examined Teacher Practicum Manual, aimed to illustrate how the nature, content and the duration of Teacher Practicum have developed and trained aspiring teachers and the implications for future Training preparedness. The Teacher Practicum Manuals were sourced through direct request from the Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji.

1.9 Data Collection

The semi-structured interviews and structured questionnaires were distributed from early September to December, 2014. After the first session of the distribution of questionnaires to selected schools in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, interviews were conducted. A questionnaire guide inclusive of questions was used for data collection (Appendix 1). The researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with the same teachers issued with the questionnaire. This allowed the researchers to explore and probe some of the responses further and ask further questions which resulted in explicit explanations. The questionnaire covered an array of questions centered on teacher quality, expectations and delivery in school during practicum sessions. Key issues were noted during school visitations, questionnaire was collected after a month from the first visit. This gave respondents adequate time to precisely reflect on trainee teacher quality and level of preparedness prior to the selection and reporting to respective schools for practicum.

1.10 Findings

Table 5.01 Respondents in the Survey by race

Race	No. of respondents	Percent
i - Taukei	65	38 %
Ind o Fijian	103	60 %
Oth ers	2	2%
Tot al	170	100 %

The Survey was sent to 85 Administrative Officers and 85 Associate Teachers in 92 selected high schools in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. As such the response rate was 91% which is acceptable for discussion.

The Third World Congress of Education International meeting in Jomtien, Thailand (2001:41) delineated four elemental components of training that an aspiring teacher needs to acquire:

- i. Knowledge and skills needed to teach
- ii. In-depth knowledge of the subject taught
- iii. Education in a wide range of approaches other than limited to teaching only
- iv. Knowledge of the psychological and physiological development of learners

As educationalists, we may ask, are these components reflected in the aspiring teachers practicum needs and if they are, how effectively are these implemented in the classrooms in the real teaching and learning? Also, the Teacher Training Institutions need to align their courses and be responsive to global needs in order to achieve quality education for all.

Figure 1.01 Career path for an Aspiring Teacher

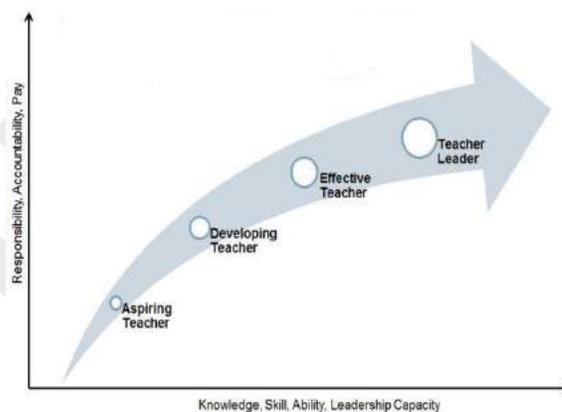
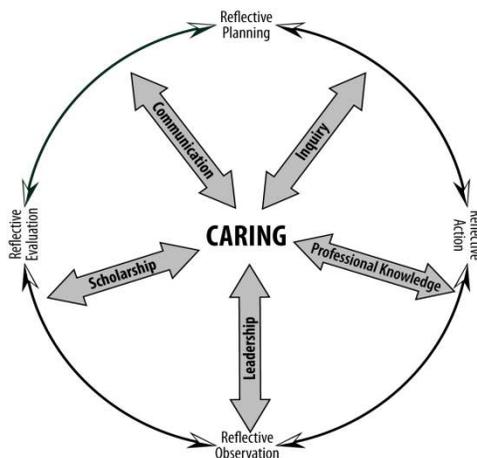


Figure 1.01 explicitly shows the career paths for an aspiring teacher. During the aspiring teacher's span of career advancement, if the **practicum component** was effectively catered for, eventually the aspiring teacher progresses to becoming an impactful teacher. However, research findings revealed that the aspiring teacher needs to understand the significance of the practicum component in order to be able to integrate theoretical knowledge and professional practice across the three domains of a teacher Education Program; 'content' knowledge gained through a liberal education, professional knowledge, pedagogical skills and insights. Figure 1.01 further articulates clear and progressive stages for the development of the acquired knowledge, skills, attributes and dispositions of beginning teachers.

To begin with, for the University of Fiji, the theoretical knowledge that supports the outcomes of the Professional Experience Program are governed by the theories of constructivism, entailed with a commitment to authentic caring, and implemented with conscious, careful, and active inquiry and reflection. The program trains the aspiring teacher as critical thinkers and researchers - one who genuinely cares about the teaching profession, about holistic development of children, their needs and about schools. Such a philosophy is embodied in the 'reflective practitioner model' presented below.



Care about Scholarship requires that teachers understand and master the central concepts, tools of inquiry, and structures of their subject discipline(s) in order to engage students in meaningful learning.

Care about Professional Knowledge requires that teachers reflect on their practice to improve student learning as well as to employ instructional strategies to further develop students' critical and creative thinking skills.

Care about Communication requires attention to detail in written and spoken language as well as a desire to listen and understand others with appreciation for the cultural dimensions of communication. Technology and media are used to facilitate student learning.

Care about Inquiry requires critical thinking about theory and practice, ethics and values, personal reflection and conduct.

Care about Leadership requires professional development and transforming approaches to education through advocacy for children and youth (UniFiji Education Manual: 2006).

Practicum Experience

While the framework of the Professional Experience program of each Teacher training institution is aligned with the new scholarship in teaching and teacher education, the aim of Teacher Education Programs is to ensure aspiring teachers in Fiji are of high quality, able to perform to their fullest and be competent teachers.

The Professional Experience Program amounts to a total of 14 weeks of experience in a secondary school in Fiji. These consist of 4 weeks for Professional Experience Block I, 5 weeks

for Professional Experience Block II and 5 weeks for Professional Experience Block III. Student teachers are placed in schools where a team of at least three collaborating teachers (the school coordinator and two subject mentors) support them in each block. The focus of teaching study is Year 9–10 in Professional Experience Block I, and Year 11-13 in Professional Experience Blocks II and III. The Professional Experience program is supported by Education courses studied by student teachers within the semester at the University of Fiji.

Demographic Data

Table 1.01 Overall Rating of Practicum Teachers in Fiji

Respondents	Highly recommendable	Recommenable	Not recommendable	Highly not recommendable
Administrative Officer	22	45	10	8
Associate Teacher	30	25	21	9

[Source: refer to sample Questionnaire in Appendix 1]

In the light of the changing needs of 21st century and a demand for quality education in Fiji and developments in to global educational landscape, tertiary Teacher Training Institutions need to strengthen teacher training, teacher preparedness, having strong partnership with key stakeholders such as high schools to ensure enhanced practicum experience (NIE, 2009). The study found the following rudimentary areas that should necessitate quality aspiring teachers in Fiji, endowed with these elemental mechanisms in the Teacher Education Programs:

- i. **Creating teaching a profession of choice;**
- ii. **Theory-Practice Nexus ;**
- iii. **Synchronizing Practicum assessment across Teacher Training Institutions;**
- iv. **Programme refinement and an extended instructive selection;**
- v. **Inadequate funding;**
- vi. **Rural and remote placements of Aspiring Teachers;**
- vii. **Role of Associate teachers and schools.**

i. **Creating Teaching a Profession of Choice**

Decades back, Fiji's Teacher Training Institutions had an entry requirement specifically targeting and attracting the best and brightest to make teaching a profession of choice in their specific discipline. 87% percent of the respondents interviewed stated that The Ministry of

Education ensured that Year 13 students should pass English with 50% and above as a mandatory entry requirement together with a quality pass in Fiji Seventh Form Examination of 250 marks and above. Specifically, aspiring teachers were given an entry into the Teacher Training Institutions primarily on a strict entry requirement, aptitude test, and stern screening policies in place for recruitment of aspiring teachers, more so, a sound knowledge of two major vernacular languages in Fiji together with proficiency in English. Only then the best aspiring teachers were taken into the Teacher Training Programs.

However, findings revealed that in recent times with education made more accessible to students, renaming of Teacher Training Institutions and bringing its operations under one umbrella, to the establishment of a new university in Fiji has led to more stiff competition among the tertiary institutions. Hence, the focus has shifted to financial gains and increasing the student population at the expense of quality intake, better teacher preparedness and effective coordination and delivery of Teacher Education Programs in Fiji. 61% percent of the respondents said that the overall quality of teachers has been compromised. The study clearly depicts that 25.1% percent of Associate Teachers strongly feel a decline in the quality of aspiring teachers. This has been attributed to a decline in the recruitment of aspiring teachers by almost all the Teacher Training institutions in Fiji.

During the interview with Associate Teachers, almost all the Associate Teachers had revealed that a defined set of synchronized assessment, timing of Practicum and specifying entry requirements will surely ensure to support the concept of quality and competent teacher graduates in Fiji with a life-long professional education and clinical experience. It is evident that almost all the respondents in the overall comments have stressed on a need for Fiji's Teacher Training Institutions to enroll only those students in the Teacher Education Program who take up the career as a choice and not as a last resort. If the latter is enrolled in the program, quality is undeniably compromised.

Added to that, during the semi-structured interviews, 62 percent of the respondents strongly asserted a need for **a national entry requirement** for teaching profession. In doing so, what this indicates is that the alternative routes that the various Teacher Training Institutions in Fiji offer for students by passing some education coursework required of students in schools of education will simply be left out. Hence, this will have a huge impact on the student number in tertiary institutions and surely not a viable option for the education providers. The study precisely showed that all the Administrative Officers and Associate Teachers strongly indicated that for any aspiring teacher to be a qualified and certified teacher in Fiji, one should primarily be considered for teaching profession on:

- a) **Merit based;**
- b) **Specific entry requirement for teaching as a profession;**
- c) **Taking teaching as a choice and not an alternative career path.**

These indicators are specifically required for teaching as a career as in the 21st century landscape, education focuses on nurturing the whole child – morally, intellectually, physically, socially and aesthetically (NIE, 2009). Undeniably, quality teaching fraternity determines quality education.

ii. Theory-Practice Nexus

The study found that it is evident that a good theoretical knowledge will equate to a better prepared aspiring teachers. However, majority of the respondents indicated that though the aspiring teachers have theoretical knowledge, they are unable to effectively transit this knowledge in schools. 58 percent of Administrative Officers responded in the overall comments stated that Teacher Education Programs must ensure aspiring teachers to leverage on both types of skills in the actual classroom settings. Study showed that this was unfortunately lacking in many of the aspiring teachers. Majority of the respondents during the semi-structured interview showed concerns over the lack of coordination between theoretical knowledge to its application in the actual classroom settings.

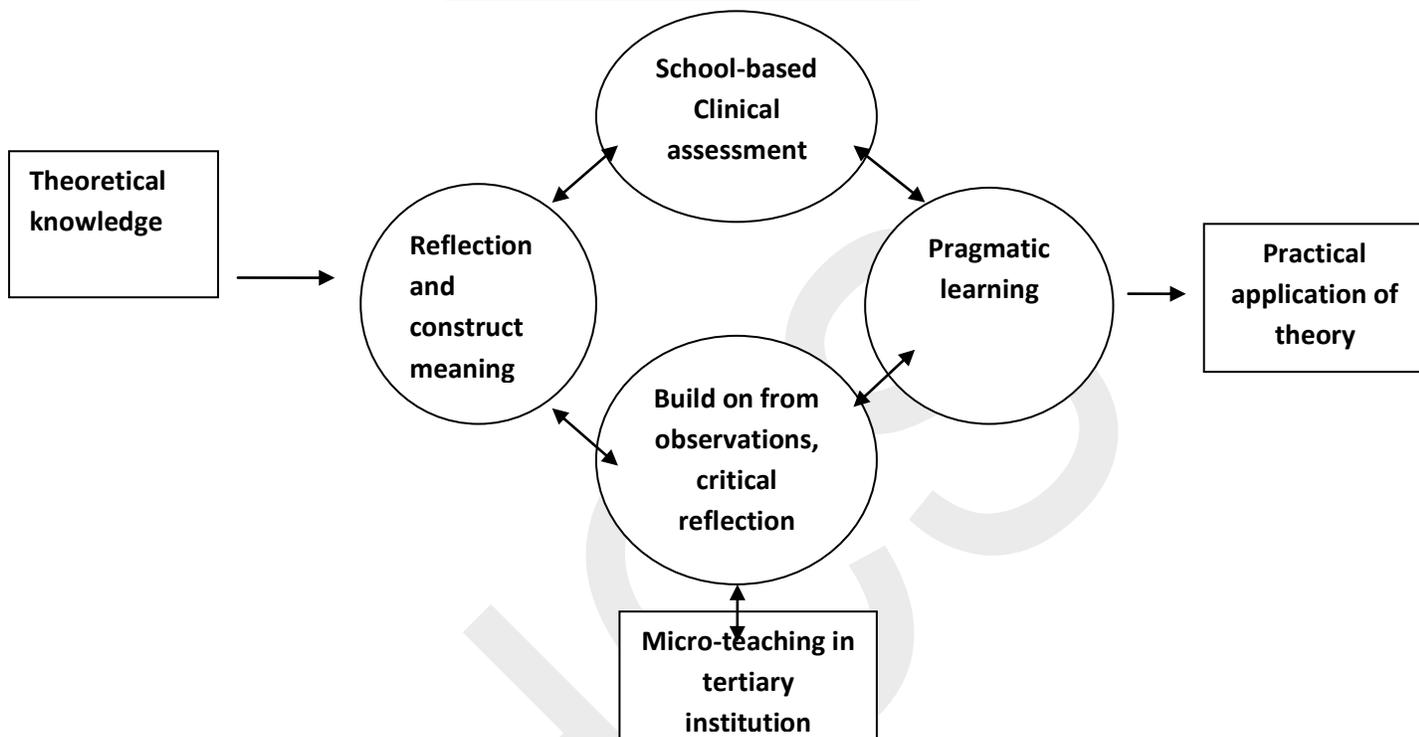
Added to that, when aspiring teachers are sent on practicum, there are usually four phases of practicum assessment by all tertiary Teacher Training Institutions. In these attachments the aspiring teacher is assessed on his/her ability to display the theoretical knowledge acquired at the campus of their choice. The Associate Teacher closely mentors and monitors the performance of the aspiring teacher. The Associate Teacher plays a key role during the aspiring teacher's Practicum assessment. Of the 85 Associate Teachers who were given the questionnaires 35% revealed that the student-teacher under their guidance was robust, effective, displayed etiquettes of shaping into a quality teacher after successful completion of the program, while 35% of the Associate Teachers were awed by the declining quality of overall trainees sent to high schools for attachment. Some even shared unpleasant experiences they had with the trainees who were devoid of theoretical knowledge of teaching, let alone practicing in class. These Associate Teachers of various selected high schools in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu shared similar sentiments in regards to an overall decline in aspiring teachers' quality. While some may have been skillful in classrooms, or proficient in one area, largely they did not perform up to expectations on a whole.

In addition, many respondents indicated a need for Practicum Coordinators in tertiary Teacher Training Institutions to ensure that the very essence of learning how to be competent, confident and inductive teachers in Fiji through a conscientious micro-teaching classes at University Teacher Training Programs. The more robust implementation of micro-teaching program, indubitably Fiji will have better equipped, confident and capable aspiring teachers in high schools.

Figure 1.01 highlights the correlation between theoretical knowledge and Practical experience. If this model is scrupulously followed and effectively implemented in the Teacher

Education Program, the overall quality of aspiring teacher will increase and they will also become versatile teachers. Also, during For the Record Programme by Fiji Broad Casting Corporation [FBC] on 19th October, 2014 from 6.30pm to 7.30pm, the Minister for Education, honorable Dr. Mahendra Reddy stressed an exigency in Fiji's Tertiary institutions to push the frontier for graduates from Universities. He further added after FBC journalist, Edwin Nand posed him of the current quality of graduates in Fiji and Dr. Reddy avowed the need for all stakeholders to work in collaboration in order to uplift quality, ensure critical thinkers, innovative thinkers and most importantly, a need for Fiji's education system to be in a position to produce robust workforce suited to the 21st century. This is also applicable to the focus on the intake of students for specific programmes rather than producing bulk of teacher graduates at the expense of compromising quality.

Figure 1.01 Theory-Practice Nexus



iii. Synchronizing Practicum Assessment Across Teacher Training Institutions

Study has revealed that there is no synchronized model of practicum provision in teacher education courses in Fiji. There is also little consensus on questions such as how many practicum there should be, when practicum should commence and the best structure for practicum as illustrated in the following summary of the evidence that the study received on these questions.

Certainly, there is a range of requirements regarding the amount of practicum that is included in teacher education programs. While there was little consensus in submissions about how much practicum there should be, the respondents highlighted that variance in the number of clinical assessments of each Teacher Training Institution. Many respondents further stressed that the length of practicum should be same for all Teacher Training Institutions. Many Administrative Officers regarded the duration of practicum in year one graduate teacher education programs devoid of consistency. The study discovered that there were be no mandatory requirements for Teacher Training Institutions in determining the appropriate number and duration of Practicum. Respondent have indicated that the quality of the practicum is more important than the number of days.

In addition, research found out that in some Teacher Education Programs the aspiring teacher begins practicum in their first year; in others, they start much later. During semi-structured interviews one Administrative Officer revealed: 'early start to practicum provided students with an opportunity to 'test' whether teaching was an appropriate career choice for them' (2014). Other Administrative officers maintained that aspiring teachers were likely to have a more fulfilling and rewarding practicum experience later in their courses when early studies had provided adequate theoretical grounding. One university Practicum Coordinator argued that school leavers needed at least one year between leaving school and their first practicum in a school because they needed to make a transition from being a pupil to being a teacher'(2014).

Moreover, study found that practicum structures in Fiji vary widely from each Teacher Training Institutions. For instance, Fiji National University has block placements; whereby they send students into schools for a number of weeks at a time. While block placements are often favored as they provide students with continuity and the opportunity to engage more fully with the broader school environment, other teacher Training Institutions place students in schools for stipulated time on a continuing basis, either in addition to or as an alternative to the usual block placements. The concurrent attendance at school and university is considered valuable because it provides students with an opportunity 'to integrate theory and practice and reflect upon their experiences in a supportive environment' (2014).

Conversely, many respondents pointed out that practicum are only one aspect of the professional experience component of teacher education courses. Students also engage in professional experience through a variety of other arrangements, including: spending time in classrooms or relevant non-school organizations as part of the requirements for specific subjects, and working with children who visit the university campus from schools for specific sessions.

iv. Programme Refinement And An Extended Instructive Selection

Teachers interviewed shared views about the need to relook and modify the existing higher teaching curriculum to be inclusive of the needs of modern day students whereby rote learning needs phasing out and the need to critically think was imperative for the modern Fijian learners.

v. Inadequate Funding

Most Teacher training Institutions in Fiji does not provide funding to the aspiring teacher while they are sent on clinical assessment. The study claimed that inadequate funding hindered their capacity to ensure high quality practicum experiences for the aspiring teacher. Expenses relating to practicum include; aspiring teachers travelling to the school for Practicum, administration costs of arranging practicum; travel of Practicum Coordinator visiting and supporting both the students and the teachers supervising them.

Research revealed that each Teacher Training Institution should be responsible for funding aspects of the practicum. The funding level should be sufficient to enable Teacher Education Programs to scrupulously prepare teacher mentors for their role. It should allow for adequate face-to-face visits to high schools where aspiring teachers are placed for Practicum Experience in order to enable collaborative mentoring, supervision and assessment of the students undertaking practicum.

vi. Rural And Remote Placement

Despite the value for students in undertaking practicum in rural and remote areas, the costs borne by students accessing these opportunities can be exorbitant. Costs include travel and accommodation. The family commitments of mature-age students also prevent many from leaving their local area. Where students do undertake practicum in rural and remote areas, the Teacher Training Institutions can find it difficult to provide these students with adequate face-to-face support and to visit them for assessment purposes.

Some respondents suggested that rural practicum placements would lead to more teachers taking up positions in these schools. This is because the experience of living and working in rural and remote communities can persuade graduate teachers of the value of working in schools in these areas. While there are a number of initiatives in place designed to improve practicum and there are also many teachers who individually are outstanding teacher supervisors, it is unacceptable that the quality of practicum is as variable as it is reported to be. Also, it is particularly disappointing that universities are experiencing difficulties finding a sufficient number of schools and teachers willing to accept teacher education students for practicum placements.

The persistence of the problems with practicum can largely be attributed to the current division of responsibilities for delivering teacher education and the lack of a sense of shared responsibility among stakeholders. The key to achieving high quality practicum for aspiring teachers is the establishment of strong authentic partnerships among all stakeholders. It will also require a significantly increased level of effort by each Teacher Training Institution.

vii. Role of Associate Teachers and Schools

Study has explicitly discovered that every aspiring teacher sent on Practicum Experience should be under the guidance of a high quality supervising teacher. The development and implementation of professional standards for teaching at levels of accomplishment and leadership would facilitate the identification of teachers who could be expected to take on this role. There is no denial that MOE and major Teacher Training Institutions are working in isolation. Rather than competing amongst each other, the Teacher training Institutions need to complement each other, assist and meet more often to discuss and align the practicum Teacher requirements with that of

FNCF. It is clearly evident from the research conducted that all stakeholders should take a leadership role in developing a partnership approach to delivering practicum.

Almost all the respondents mentioned during interviews that Teacher Training Institutions need to maintain close links with Associate Teachers while aspiring teachers are on practicum. However, evidence revealed that there is a complex interplay of factors that affects the priority that universities are able to give to practicum supervision and teaching. These include the allocation of funding to Teacher Education Programs. Also, Practicum Coordinators must give greater priority to properly supporting aspiring teachers on practicum and also provided with sufficient time to devote to this aspect of their role.

Added to that, study investigated the role of schools where aspiring teachers are placed for Practicum Experience. Thus, it is indispensable that Teacher Training institutions in Fiji need to build strong relationships with high schools. Since the school is the only place for aspiring teachers to experience their theoretical knowledge into practice, it is essential that Teacher Training institutions entail school staff in the design of the curriculum around practicum. 23 percent of respondents revealed that if the schools were consulted for designing of Practicum Component, apparently schools will be more inclined to welcome practicum students if they stand to benefit from doing so. Study further revealed that one of the Associate Teachers stated in the overall comments section that:

‘ if Teacher Training Institutions begin to value the input of Associate Teachers in mentoring aspiring teachers, ultimately other staff in school will be willing to mentor aspiring teachers in future’ (2014).

Universities need to provide ongoing support to supervising teachers throughout the practicum period through regular contact (not just in response to problems). Universities should make clear to teachers what is expected of them as practicum supervisors. They should also make explicit any relevant theoretical background that the students have been given in their course. Universities should develop and provide specific and substantial preparation processes for teacher supervisors.

Principals should actively encourage suitable teachers to pursue opportunities to supervise practicum students, and to undertake appropriate professional development for this role. School leaders should also promote a culture in which the whole school takes part in supporting practicum students to develop the art, craft and science of teaching.

Conclusion

At the end of this research the collaborative researchers will fill in the void in the existing literature about the worth of Quality Practicum Teachers in Fiji as this is one of the most crucial factors underpinning Teacher Education Programs in the Fiji’s Teacher Education Institutions.

Furthermore, the co-researchers would have been able to collate examined myriad ways in which the teacher Training Institutions will partner to raise the bar and be on par with new teaching knowledge; skills, strategies and attitudes.

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Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* as an Autobiographical Fiction: An Implicit Set of (Re)Order through Generic Disorder

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Abstract

Set to distinguish literary works and the criteria through which these works are to be written and analyzed, literary genres are based on generic limitations that present the norms by which literary generic order is established.

*As it demolishes generic limitations, Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* is read as an autobiographical fiction in which autobiographical reflections of the writer's life are inscribed through the amalgamation of fiction and facts. Fictionality of facts in Lee's work seems to grant fiction, different functions that serve factuality more than fallaciousness. Accordingly, in this paper, fictionality of facts is to be perceived as a break of generic limitations – possibly judged as generic disorder.*

Such generic innovation is to be criticized as a means of factual representation of the writer's life, deposited as a novel way of mirroring the commonly ordered set of codes of the writer's community- the American south. The role of such a blend of fiction and facts is, however, not restricted to allowing a detached position to the writer in order to grant self representation. The 'disordered codes' of writing in this subgenre have a wider function of implicitly unveiling the disordered aspects of the social and political codes commonly constructed as 'legitimized order'. Hence, the notion of disorder in the generic form is therefore a triggering exploration of the discounted disorder in content with an attempt to call for a new set of (re)order on both levels. A study of the fictionalization of the subject, in this paper, is therefore to decipher Harper Lee's implicit attempts of representing her fictionalized subject, all converging in her aim of setting a (re)order at the level of collective subject.

Keywords: order, disorder, (re)order, fiction, facts, autobiographical fiction.

Introduction

To classify *To Kill a Mockingbird* as an autobiographical fiction is an emphasis on its incorporation of both fictional and autobiographical aspects. Breaking generic boundaries, therefore, puts the concepts of order and disorder into play. Antagonist as they might seem, the two are to be considered as notions of correspondence, foreshadowing the multidimensional interplay of unchained generic sets and life-based content in the novel.

In its first part, this article not only studies Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* as defined by generic hybridity but also unravels the latter's role in generating order within disorder. An examination of a hidden disorder within the apparent order embodied in the book is the focus of the second part. Eventually, fictionalization of the self as an aspect of autobiographical fiction is to be assessed in terms of its relativity with respect to the question of authorial intention.

I. Order emanating from disorder

Being a hybrid genre, an autobiographical fiction inherits both autobiographical and fictional generic features. One of the autobiographical sets that distinguish it is the author-narrator common identity.

1. Fictionalization of the self/ the author-narrator identity

The identification of the narrator in the *To Kill a Mockingbird* is unconventionally complex as the novel starts with: "When he was nearly thirteen my brother Jem got his arm badly broken at the elbow" (Lee 3). A hint to the identity of the narrator is conveyed through the first-person point of view exposed through the use of "my.

Besides, adopting a retrospective narration, the novel opens with a childhood incidents "when enough years had gone by to enable us to look back on them" (Lee 3); leaving the narrator's identity, sex, age, and name unidentified. The absence of a clue to the narrating voice breaks the classical code of auto-representation in autobiographical writings. Not till the second paragraph is the first person pronoun explicitly announced: "I maintain that the Ewells started it all..." (Lee 3). The name Scout representing the narrator and protagonist, is uttered by her older brother Jem, saying: "'Scout yonder's been reading ever since she was born,..." (7). The mismatch in the identities of the writing "I" and the narrating one, embodied in a difference in names, is to be noted as transgression of the autobiographical generic code, and therefore as a first aspect of generic disorder in the novel.

Furthermore, the "I" telling, acting and authoring in the autobiographical novel is multidimensional since self-referential clues allow an "équation proprement autobiographique" 'properly autobiographical equation'. In such an equation, the author, narrator and protagonist share the same identity (Gasparini 158, translation mine). Despite the transgression of this equation in the novel, the author-narrator-protagonist common identity is preserved through clues to similarities in physical appearance, age, origins, and social environment, as critic Philip Gasparini reveals.

Biographical examination of the writer's life, named by Gasparini as "clef[s]" ("key[s]") is a strategy the trace resemblances in the identities if the author and narrator. This reveals that the family name of Lee's mother, Frances Finch Cunningham is appointed for her protagonist Scout as a member of the Finches; and attributed to poor white farmers in the novel as the Cunninghams (38, Translation mine).

As for appearance and conduct, being "dubbed 'queen of the Tomboys'"; Lee appears to be the model on which her child-narrator is based, as critic Tamara Castleman clarifies (3). Similar to the author's, Scout's physical appearance and conduct are portrayed as boyish. Therefore, a physical similarity and attitude is another common aspect of the author and the narrator.

Robert Tracy, explains that, in an autobiographical novel, a protagonist and author share the same identity that differs in ways that do not bond them (para.2). Thus, fictionalizing the self establishes a space of freedom for the author.

Ultimately, breaking the autobiographical code of writing through fictionalizing the self appears as a means that camouflages the author's identity, to generate a generic disorder that remains at the surface, while hiding a deeper intentional order in the novel.

2. Fictionalization of facts and the function of fiction

As an autobiographical fiction, *To kill a Mockingbird* majorly comprises real events wrapped in opaque layers of fiction. Such an amalgamation of reality and imagination, however, might represent a locus for disorder in the book.

Despite Lee's persistent denial of the autobiographical aspect of her book, elements like the setting, characters and events in the novel reveal clear resemblances to her personal life. In addition to the previously stated similarities between the author and her child-narrator, like Atticus; lee's father was also a lawyer. And parallel to Dill was Truman Capote, Lee's childhood friend. Adding to that, Maycomb, where the novel's events are set, is obviously inspired by Lee's hometown Monroeville, in Alabama. Furthermore, people who grew up in Lee's neighborhood account for Sonny Boular, a neighbor who displays a real version of Boo Radley in the book. And most importantly, Tom Robinson's trial was modeled, according to the Scottsboro Boys trial in 1931 when nine black men were unfairly accused of raping two white women on a train.

Blending fictional and factual elements might discredit fictionalized facts as truthful though, which might distort the autobiographical dimension in the book.

Holding opposed natures; fiction and truth seem to be antagonist codes in literary order. The exclusion of imagination from the sphere of truth, interpolates the exclusion of truth from fictional works. Thus, the notion of truth is supposedly odd in the functioning of autobiographical fiction.

Classified as nonfiction, autobiographical writings seem to be compatible with truth. However, critic Birgitt Flohr questions the classification of autobiography as nonfiction for

being written in fictional style (3). Besides, According to Klaus and Silverman in *Elements of Literature* “Fact, in order to survive, must become fiction. Seen in this way, fiction is not the opposite of fact, but its complement. It gives a more lasting shape to the vanishing deeds of men”. (qtd. In Adams. *Truth*, para. 6). Fiction then, is not in opposition with reality rather a complement of it (Flohr 4). Imagination becomes a “contamination that “nourit le texte” ‘nourishes the text’ and consequently preserves truth (Gasparini 342).

The duality of features in the novel is then, not only to avoid direct exposition and integration of the author, but also to complement truth and save it from distortions.

Ultimately fiction, chaotic as it might seem within the autobiographical context of the novel, figures as an element that preserves truth and order, through freeing the author from being involved in the text.

Fictionalizing facts might be perceived as facet of the disordered nature of the genre, but according to Katherine Hayles “chaos [is] seen as order’s precursor and partner, rather than its opposite” (9). Thus Blending fiction and facts is not merely a chaotic literary amalgamation but rather, like chaos, “a system that comprises a hidden order” (Hayles, 9). The function of fiction is, thus, what preserves order and reveals a hidden aspect of it in this subgenre.

3. Temporal references

While being set within a lapse of time extending from 1033 to 1953, during the Depression Era; events in the novel cover incidents of the Civil Rights movement, the period when the novel was published. Temporal references in the novel are thus an outcome of temporal concurrency of two distant periods in the history of the American South.

In fact, the period of the sixties is implicitly alluded to in the novel through Atticus’ words as he states: ““ This time we aren’t fighting the Yankees, we’re fighting our friends, but remember this, no matter how bitter things get, they’re still our friends and this is still our home””(84-85). This passage can be viewed as a prolepsis to the period of the sixties when blacks struggling against discrimination and fighting for racial equality in the United States.

Furthermore, Tom Robinson’s fictional trial in the novel is another hint to the Civil Rights Movement, since it reflects the Emmet Till Trial of 1955. It is a case of a Young black fourteen-year-old boy who was murdered by “two white men in the Mississippi Delta on August 28, 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white woman in a store in Money, Mississippi” (Chura 49). Chura further explains that the case caused further reforms and protests and ended by creating a loss of faith in the American legalism as well. The event can be seen as inspirational for the unjust Trial of Tom Robinson showing the unfair victimizations of blacks in that period.

Another event that can be said to be inspirational for the writing of the novel is the Scottsboro trial. The latter took place in Scottsboro, Alabama, when nine black men were accused of raping two white women on a train. As explained in *Harper Lee’s To Kill a Mockingbird* there are many parallels to the trial of Tom Robinson in *To Kill a Mockingbird*

as the unfair verdict based on race segregation. Tom Robinson was accused of rape which was “... a capital offence in Alabama,” faced with a death penalty as stated by Atticus in the novel (Lee 242).

On the one hand, the employment of such events, inspired by happenings in the South during the years of the fifties, give a more solid ground for the referential aspect of the novel. On the other hand, it reflects the author’s representative view of her own community- the Southern communal self and identity.

Accordingly, assessed as “a cross-historical montage”, the novel’s “historical present” is attenuated by events of the period of the book’s production (Chura 48). Not only does this temporal fusion flaw the representation of the 1930s in the novel, but it also contaminates the historical dimension of the book by temporal discrepancies; generating, in consequence, a locus for temporal disorder.

The role of fiction anon evokes an effect of separation between real facts and their fictional counterpart in the novel. Referring to real events with wrong dates exemplifies Katherine Hayles’ idea of “the separating information from meaning” to make the chaotic aspect of reality in the book clearly perceived as a “presence [rather] than an absence” (Hayles 6). Through fiction, this temporal separation of meaning results in valorizing the positive function of chaos within the text. Temporal disorder, as a chaotic aspect, fills temporal discrepancies with meaning to allow it to be more informative and free from judgmental interpretations.

Lee, then, implicitly alludes to facts through fiction to foreground their factual aspect and maybe to stick to fiction’s basic function of creating distance between autobiographical elements and fictional ones.

4. The Title: “To kill a Mockingbird”

Separating fictional techniques from meaning is also manifested through the title. Not till the ninety-ninth page of the book, was an explanation of the title catered by the voice of wisdom of the novel—Atticus.

The title is segmented from Atticus’s advice to his children not to shoot on mockingbirds, as he offered them a rifle on Christmas. Instead of teaching them how to shoot, Atticus recommended that they can shoot on “all the bluejays [they] want... but remember it’s a sin to kill a mockingbird.” (Lee 99).

Accordingly, omitting “It’s a sin” from the title is intentional on the part of the author, as it implements the idea of separation between information and meaning as means of foregrounding a positive function of chaos of intensifying meaning in the book. Emphasizing the generic disorder in the book from the very title is actually the first proof that what is apparently disordered in the novel bares a deeper level of order.

5. Characterization

Among the major aspects of a novel is the technique of characterization. *To Kill a Mockingbird* is obviously rich in key characters that add much to the understanding of the book and to its plot structure. The character to be studied as disordered in the book is that of Arthur known as Boo Radley.

Based on the spread saying of superstitious Maycomb folks, Boo Radley is pictured as Maycomb folks as a “malevolent phantom” living in a haunted house (Lee 9). Such an image of a mentally-disordered man provides no answers to the persistent enquiries of Scout, her brother Jem and their friend Dill. The latter, driven by curiosity, sneak to the Radleys’ garden fence with a hope to see Boo or leave him a note with a persistent attempt to solve his enigma. It’s through their unconventional act of breaking the common order of fearing the Radley place that they managed to unravel the enigmatic image of Boo.

In fact, not till Boo Radley started to leave gifts for the children in a knot hole of a tree near the Radleys’, did they start to realize that Boo’s isolation was not a proof of his evil nature. Additionally, Boo would rather sacrifice his life to save Scout and Jem’s when they were attacked by Bob Ewell in an act of revenge against their father.

Eventually, by offering gifts and by defending the innocent kids Boo symbolizes a break of prejudice in town. The character of Boo is thus presented by Lee an embodiment of the counter-role of fictional disorder in the novel. His character contributes in re-establishing order.

Characterization, as a technique of fiction writing; thus, contributes to revealing the hidden order within the disordered facets of the book.

This implicit order, granted mainly through the fictionalized autobiographical nature of the book, juxtaposes the thematic ‘conventional order’ in to *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

II. Disorder within order

As the novel interplays a variety of factual events and fiction, what seems to be reflected through Maycomb as a system of order through which the town functions is then a truthful representation of Lee’s own community.

1. Codes and Law in the novel

“Because its primary reason for existence was government...”, Maycomb is pictured as a distinguished town where “its court-house [is] proud” (Lee 144). Such a description of Maycomb hints to its ordered nature and proud-full legal system.

Presented as a cornerstone in Maycomb, law extends from the courthouse of the town to its different houses, setting ethical and social codes that regulate relationships in formal and informal ways (Johnson para.6).

The novel unravels several living codes that characterize Maycomb, like going to church on Sundays, closing doors in Sundays as a sign of illness and cold weather, devoting Sunday afternoons for formal visiting etc. These conventions are adopted by most inhabitants of Maycomb. Violations of the legal and ethical codes of Maycomb, however, are in fact the core of plot structure in the novel (Johnson para.8).

Lee stresses the disjunction between Maycomb's people codes and those of the Finches' through the character of Scout. The latter, as a narrator-protagonist seems to be the first demonstration of law and code breaching. A mirror of the author, Scout does not abide by the standard image of a girl in Maycomb who has to dress like a lady and wear pearl necklaces, but she rather identifies with that of a tomboy and a child who cannot even fit in her school for her ability to read since an early age. Scout also shows an inability to fit in her aunt's missionary meetings with her neighborhood ladies, shown as a symbol of hypocrisy and social bias among women in town. The narrator-protagonist's oddity is intensified through her inability to grasp the stereotypical facets of her community when she tries to contradict her brother's scrutiny of Maycomb people as being socially divided saying: " 'Naw Jem, I think there's just one kind of folks. Folks'" (Lee 250). Thus, Scout seems to be the fruit of the Atticus' progressed sense of civilization and ideal domestic tolerance that contradicts and overcomes Maycomb's common codes.

Atticus is, therefore, the principal figure that stands against codes of living in his community. Lee pictures Atticus as a lawyer who implants at his house, various codes in the forms of compromises, treaties, rules like accords about reading and going to school for the children and rules of learning to read and write for their maid Calpurnia (Johnson, para.6). Ironically, despite being a Lawyer, Atticus stands against the discriminatory codes of Maycomb, as he approves to defend a black man and bears the defeat of losing that legal case.

Thus, both Scout and her father are set as unconventional characters that contradict their community's codes and laws, showing an eagerness to resist the acknowledged disordered anomalies their society unfolds despite its various commonly cherished but breached laws and codes.

The incident of Tom Robinson's rape trial is an explicit violation of the law that not only accentuates the image of injustice in southern American courtrooms in the period when the novel was set, but it also expands over the issue of race.

Unfairly accused of raping a white woman, Tom Robinson who is a black man sentenced to prison by a court-jury made up of only white males of the same group the claimant and her father belong to. And as no lawyers are black, black convicts are never to be defended in a town like Maycomb. So, a defending a black by a white lawyer is the first unconventional aspect of the trial. In fact, the trial scene seems to digest the major racial disordered codes of the community that gathers in a courthouse where a physical separation between whites and blacks is crucial through compelling blacks to sit separately in what the narrator names a "Coloured balcony"(208). The trial comes as proof of the favored social position whites hold over the blacks. It is a fact further highlighted by Atticus' words to his children saying "In our

courts, when it's a white's man's word against a black man's, the white man always wins" (Lee 243).

Moreover, discrimination as an internalized and inescapable aspect of Scout's community is alluded to by symbolic instances in the novel. Defended by Boo Radley, Jem survived Bob Ewell's attack but carried a permanent scar. A badly broken arm at the elbow caused Jem a form of physical imbalance, for "His left arm was somewhat shorter than his right..." (Lee 3). Jem's handicap is, in fact, a duplication of Tom Robinson's since his left arm is also shorter than his right because of an occupational accident in the cotton field. In fact, not only is Tom's handicap a proof of his innocence in the mistrial, but it is also perceived by critic Marry D. Esselman as being a symbol of disability of a whole race. Furthermore adopting Esselman's view, Tom and Jem's crippled arms symbolize imbalance as an outcome of injustice originating from a southern system based on a multi-layered order holding disorder at its core (Literary Qualities, para.3,4)

Thus, the legitimized order in Scout's community unfolds a disordered reality that Lee unravels through generic disorder. It is the disordered nature of autobiographical fiction that unravels the disjunction between the ordered nature of law and the disordered nature of injustice in author-narrator's community.

Thus self-writing that obviously contributes to the representation of the socio-cultural aspect of the group where a disjunction between spread discriminatory laws and codes credit no order but stimulate the reader's perception of a 'legitimized' disordered reality of the American South.

III. from generic disorder representative (Re)Order

As the author and narrator's identities are at the vicinity of being identical in the novel, the narrator's point of view is to be attributed to the author herself. The depiction of the past in fusion with the present and through the mediation of fiction foreshadows Lee's own conviction in infiltrating implied self representation that broadens from the private to the public levels.

1. Private level of representation

Falsely perceived as an obstacle to self representation, fiction, in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, becomes a definite part of it. The impersonalization of the personal, as some critics see it, grants the writer's concealing of their true self and the reader's involvement through the "distance de sécurité" 'security distance' granted by fiction (Gasparini 345, translation mine). Fiction writing and fictionalization of the self are therefore, indirect means of self-representation and self-examination in the process of self construction.

Hence, through a child narrator and behind the veil of fiction as a "reinvestissement" 'reinvestment' of a lapse of time of her childhood Lee intends to draw represent her identity through an implicit self-exposition (Regaieg, 49). Self exposition on both the private and

public levels through the process of writing is not to be scrutinized as the only intention of the writer though.

As a fictional replica of the author, the nickname “Scout” accorded to the protagonist Jean Louise seems to interpolate a hidden dimension in the author-narrator’s identity. The word “Scout” holds the meaning of “a character of honest, indomitable curiosity” highlighting the reliability of the representative function of the book told through the perspective of a child (Bloom 16). Besides, “To scout” also stands for a verb meaning “to look in various places to find s.b/s.th ...” (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English*). Another definition of the term by the Free Online Dictionary is “to explore carefully.”

These definitions demonstrate that Harper Lee’s intentional choice of this pseudonym can be interpreted as a missionary role assigned to her fictional replica Jean Louise-Scout. Lee’s writing of Scout’s quality of knowledge seeking can be her own. The author indirectly reviews a past state of anxiety about issues around her from the age of six till nine, like the meanings of “nigger lover” “rape” etc. Such inquiries mirror those of the adult narrator, to which she hints to through the choice of the nickname “Scout. Thus, the latter, might be a sign of the writer’s own effort of seeking knowledge through writing. Accordingly, The meaning of nickname probably unravels Lee’s intention of wrapping over her own inquiry about her own self and identity, through the process of self disguise. In this context, Gasparini makes clear that this strategy of self-disguise in autobiographical novels is mainly to serve self construction of an unknown self through investigation. Accordingly, Fiction is a device to construct the writer’s fictive self. Harper Lee together with the narrative identity of the character Scout forms her fictionalized self for main reasons of self reflection, discovery and self investigation.

The perception of the self as private or public is a subject of investigation in itself. In this context, Anderson, *in her Autobiography*, reports Elspeth Probyn’s words in *Sexing the Self*, saying: “there is never ‘a transparent self who speaks from the heart’” (86). So, voicing the self, constructing it and analyzing it are never made for the sake of the self alone rather for a wider scope. Personal experiences, told about in life writing, do not limit the story to the private only. Gudmundsdóttir states that “the individual autobiographer writes about universal experiences” (6). This emphasizes the universal aspect of the life of the autobiographer that is not limited only to the individual but also to the community.

2. The public level of representation

Alongside with Lee’s quest for identity, Lee’s autobiographical novel is accorded a representative function that transcends mere reproduction of reality through fiction to reach a construction of her subject on both the private and public levels. By means of self detachment, subjectivity construction is intended for main reasons of self discovery and auto-criticism through the blindfold of fiction.

Fictionalizing the self, as one of the aspects of generic disorder in the book, is then the means by which the narrator’s own quest for truth is accomplished through questioning her own sense of belonging into her Southern American community.

In fact, considering that autobiographies display rational and emotional intentions since the very moment the pen is held, as George May explains; emotional intentions, however, can be traced in the very nostalgic side of writing about childhood with an attempt to relive it. The rational motives of witnessing reality can be exposed through Lee's attempt to picture her community and some of the aspects of American southern life in Maycomb, Alabama in the form of a fictionalized history.

Lee's work seems to display the universal aspect of the autobiographer's life that is not limited only to the individual but also to the community through "giving individual experiences universal connotations" (Gudmundsdóttir 6). Thus, the private subject of the writer broadens to the public level in terms of the representation of the community once written. Lee's exposition of reality becomes an epitome of the American southern life in the form of a fictionalized history. Representation of the collective subject, thus, manifested in the image of the southern community is accompanied with an attempt to build an understanding of it.

To implicitly criticize the twisted conception of order in Lee's community, various instances in the novel interpolate images that reflect the flawed image of order in Maycomb. To review facets of the standardized order in Scout's community, the study of certain literary devices employed in the novel is of revealing nature. Symbolism and irony are the main literary tools emphasized in the novel that implicitly divulge the southern community.

One of the instances of irony in the book can be traced through the scene of classroom when Cecil, Scout's classmate triggered the issue about Germany and Hitler. When the teacher Miss Gates asked the children to define Democracy, it was Scout's definition that got praise when she said: "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none!"(270). The ironic part is stressed when the teacher explains to her students: "

'That's the difference between America and Germany. We are a democracy and Germany is a dictatorship. Dictator-ship', she said. 'Over here we don't believe in persecuting anybody. Persecution comes from people who are prejudiced. Pre-ju-dice,' she enunciated carefully. 'There are no better people in the world than the Jews, and why Hitler doesn't think so is a mystery to me.'(270)

Irony, here, emanates from what Miss Gates explains about Americans' rejection of persecution, while they evenly persecute Blacks unfairly. Irony extends when Miss Gates explains that Jews "... contribute to every society they live in, and most of all, they are a deeply religious people...the Jews have been persecuted since the beginning of history, even driven out of their own country. It's one of the most terrible stories in history" (271). The dramatic irony is amplified in Gates' words because she ignores that all what she says about Jews in Germany and all over the world is applicable on the persecuted blacks in Maycomb. The prejudice against blacks is not that different form that on Jews, nor is the fact that blacks were driven out of their countries too. Thus, irony, here, is inscribed by Lee to sarcastically mock the conviction of Maycomb people, as Americans, with their democracy while showing a strictly opposite sense of privileges for whites over blacks, as conveyed in the novel.

In this context, H. Berlioz in his *Mémoires*, explains that writers invite readers to smile on their narrative about happenings of their lives because of their embarrassment, their anger or sadness, Georges May affirms (82, 83). It is their need not to re-experience the event again that results in seeking detachment through “le mécanisme de l’ironie” (“the mechanism of irony”; 83). Accordingly, among means like the use of the third person pronoun, pseudonyms etc, the autobiographer distances himself from what he used to be through an ironic tone, May adds. So, the inscription of irony in such examples, as well as in the rest of the novel conveys some of the negative beliefs of Maycomb, in relation to race, culture and politics, religion etc.

As for the study of symbolism in the novel, Adam Smykowski considers the image of the mad dog in the book as a symbol of prejudice that got spread all around the town like a rabid dog disease man (Blue Jays and Mad Dogs, para.1). The shooting of the mad dog by Atticus symbolizes his attempt to fight prejudice and racism from his position as a lawyer who chooses to defend an innocent black man. The character of Atticus in itself turns into a symbol of wisdom and tolerance in the novel. Finally, Symbolism for Smykowski “...reveals the prejudice and narrow-mindedness, the fears they [people of Maycomb] have, and all the immortal things they do” (Blue Jays and Mad Dogs, para.2). This is, consequently, a literary device used to criticize the community and to rid Maycomb of such negative cultural aspects that go farther than mere racism, injustice, gender, prejudice etc.

Through irony, symbolism and elements of fiction; not only does Lee implicitly and sarcastically reflect the disordered facet of her community but she also conveys an aim of detaching the self from this disorder depicted through both facts and fiction.

Alongside with Symbolism and irony, fiction in itself can be the major tool of detachment, when it functions like a veil to hide the author’s presence in the narrative. Veiling herself by fiction, Lee voices her implicit criticism of the community to contribute in a wider aspect of self introspection.

The author starts the novel by introducing an absence of pride in the history of the Finches. Yet, detachment seems to be explicit in some parts of the novel. On the very first page, Lee starts by exposing the collective voice saying “being Southerners, it was a source of shame to some members of the family that we had no recorded ancestors on either side of the Battle of Hastings” (3). This explains that the narrator, eventually the author herself, tends to demonstrate the absence of the Southern spirit in her as a member of the Finches because they have no sense of ancestor worship. This reflects a sense of detachment and lack of pride towards her family, and towards the Southern community.

As a child character and a protagonist, detachment seems to be traced through Scout’s inability to reach a peaceful link with her community seen the negative aspects of the town conveyed in the novel in what relates to gender, race, segregation etc. this detached stance is in fact the outcome of the disordered nature of the legally imposed order within Maycomb county.

In point of fact, the disordered picture of Lee’s community is, summarized in a statement uttered by Atticus Finch as he addresses his brother saying:

‘... You know what's going to happen as well as I do, Jack, and I hope and pray I can get Jem and Scout through it without bitterness, and most of all, without catching Maycomb's usual disease....I just hope that Jem and Scout come to me for their answers instead of listening to the town. I hope they trust me enough...?’. (98)

Viewed by critics as the voice of wisdom in the novel, Atticus statement seems to condense Maycomb’s disordered facets through the metaphor of “usual disease”. The disease is maybe the town’s racial and discriminatory codes of living that entail a biased judgmental treatment towards anyone who shows sympathy towards ‘niggers’. Being harmful and contagious, Atticus is worried about his kids to be contaminated, and longs for providing them with an immune resistance against it through teaching them tolerance. Consequently, this disease is a reference to the implicit disorder of his town where conventionally justice is a source of shame and disorder is “usual.” (98)

Self representation through fiction in Lee’s autobiographical novel, therefore, is an attempt to detach herself from the narrative and to reestablish one’s identity through reconstructing one’s subject with the intention of criticism. Lee’ implicit criticism is mainly an attempt to juxtapose the generic disorder of the genre with the internal disorder of the Lee’s community mirrored in the novel. The author, thus, attempts to reorder what is established as a personal and communal order in both her private and social spheres.

Conclusion

Based on an amalgamation of reality and imagination, Harper Lee’s *To Kill a Mockingbird* hybrid aspect might represent a locus for generic disorder. As a fundamental aspect of this genre, fiction is the means by which the author camouflages her identity in the text. However, fiction, chaotic as it might seem within the novel’s autobiographical context, figures as an element that preserves truth and order, through preserving authorial detachment.

Generic disorder and apparent order in the novel are presented by Lee through a dialogical relationship based on a reverse movement that permits what is apparently disordered to unravel the disordered nature of what is apparently ordered.

Thus, generic disorder in the book seems to convey an implicit set of (re)order at the level of the form first, to be consequently accentuated at the level of content

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**Transitivity and Context in Critical Discourse Analysis
Case study: TAP headlines on regions in Tunisia**

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Abstract

This article analyzes the contribution of Transitivity to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in relation to the social and historical context in which it occurs. It explores the transitivity-context connection and sheds light on the representation of the discursive construction of Tunis Afrique Press (TAP) releases' headlines in the case of the news of the regions in Tunisia during the period that extends from January to March 2013.

In fact, many regions in Tunisia were marginalized during Ben Ali's governance (Tunisia president from November 7, 1987 to January 14, 2011). After the revolution, too much focus was given out to them by the different means of the media. What are the focal elements and instruments TAP, as a main media in Tunisia, chooses to report and how does it depict the news about these regions; this is particularly what this paper will study through the analysis of the case that is hitherto presented.

Keywords: CDA, Transitivity, Media Discourse, Context.

Introduction

The Systemic Functional linguistic model takes the concept of Context as indispensable in the study of clause structure (Halliday and Hasan 1985). As for the variable of Transitivity, context sets constraints on which the actors, the processes and the circumstances should be used in a clause of a discourse and could be a decisive variable. Matthiessen (1995) and Halliday (2004) grant a big deal of weight to the role of Context in defining Transitivity components.

This paper represents an explanation of the relation Context-Transitivity in a critical discourse analysis framework. The study is based on an application of transitivity on a specific discourse and mainly a deconstruction of its components in terms of the major participants, the processes and the prevailing circumstances. In brief, this study will unveil the context -basically ideological- that underlies the linguistic structure in the discourse (and after all any discourse) of Tunis Afrique Press (TAP) in the coverage of the news of the regions in Tunisia for the period that extends from January to March 2013.

Review of the literature

1-Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA is one of the important approaches to discourse analysis. It was considered in late 1970's as a field of study. It was the idea of Roger Fowler and his colleagues at the University of East Anglia, whose work is based already on language and ideology. Language and social meaning precisely, was the relation to be critically analyzed. In 1991, Fowler assumed that the relationship of text and context represents the essential framework to CDA. Fairclough (1995a: 7) said that "discourse is the use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice". As such, a discursive analysis should not be done without referring to the context of the text production. Another prominent focus in CDA is the ideological concern and its relation to power (Van Dijk, 2000). In fact, "when we speak or write we always take a particular perspective on what the world is like" (Gee, 1999: 2). In *Language in the News*, Fowler (1991: 101) said: "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position". Ideologies then construct the social manifestations of the beliefs shared by a group and therefore foster new social opinions and spread them in the society. In the case of the news of the regions in Tunisia, the headlines assert the failure of the government by depicting those regions negatively in most cases. This media discourse which is accordingly ideologically based is to be considered in this paper.

Through their specific style, different media affect our knowledge and understanding of the world around us. This language, however, cannot be considered as an authentic language as it is designed and administered by certain perspectives or ideologies. In this regard, a media discourse presents "its perception of 'reality' in the form which it regards as most suitable for its readership" (Hodge & Kress, 1993: 17).

2-Transitivity in the Systemic Functional Grammar

The SFG model takes the concept of context as indispensable in the study of sentence structure (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Transitivity, one of the three tenets of Halliday's SFG, represents a reflection of the processes that take place in the world via formal grammatical components. In transitivity, "grammar is related to reality" (Perez. M. C., 2007: 68). It takes into account a paradigmatic conception of language where choices play an essential function. Addressers and addressees do not only compose and decode a spectrum of grammatical constituents but they do so after making choices related to what formal terms they might select to render communication effective. In the same respect, Simpson (1993) said "transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them [...], because it is concerned with the transmission of ideas, is part of the ideational function of language" (p88).

To 'decode' and 'encode' aspects of reality and experience of the world is essentially to answer the questions: who appears in the text? What is happening, and where, when, how... is this happening

The answer to those questions is in the evaluation of transitivity related to concepts of 'process', 'participant' and circumstance or as Burton (1982: 200) puts it: "to describe the scenario of 'who does what to whom'?"

Transitivity processes are made up of six major ones.

- 1- The material processes are 'simply processes of doing' (Simpson, 1993: 89). Participants may have an active or passive role. They may be the 'doers' or the 'goal'. Sometimes, they are the 'beneficiaries', "the one to whom or for whom the process is said to take place" (Halliday, 1994: 144), or the 'range'.
- 2- The mental processes are processes of 'sensing' (Simpson, 1993: 91) which can be processes of perception (see, hear), processes of reaction (like, fear) and processes of cognition (think, believe). The major participant is the 'senser' or 'experiencer' in Toolan's words (1988: 114). The phenomenon is "that which is perceived, reacted to or thought about" (Simpson, 1993: 91).
- 3- The verbal processes or 'processes of saying' (Simpson, 1993: 90) where the participants may either be 'sayers' (the individual speaker) or 'targets' (the addressee) (ibid.) or 'receiver' (Martin et.al., 1997: 113; Thompson, 1996: 97; Toolan, 1988: 115). The 'verbiage' is the message both sayers and targets exchange.
- 4- The relational processes are defined by Halliday (1994: 119) as "processes of being" suggesting that one participant affects the other in anyway. They may be 'intensive' (x is A); possessive (X has A) or 'circumstantial' (X is at/on A). Participants are either 'carriers'/attributants or 'attributes'.
- 5- Other processes: the existential and the behavioral. The existential "posits existence" (Benson & Greaves). It is usually "straight forward" (Perez. M. C., 2007: 75) as they are headed by the empty particle 'there' as in "There were fifty of you" (Bloor & Bloor, 1995: 125). The behavioral process draws aspects from verbal and mental processes. So sensing and saying are considered as behaviors for verbs like gossip, chat, watch, ponder, listen, grin, smile etc. In fact, because one participant is endowed with human consciousness, behavioral processes are similar to mental processes in

that first the participant is called a 'behavior' in the former and a 'senser' in the latter, and second because of the use of verbs of perception, cognition, affection and verbal.

- 6- The circumstances: the circumstantial element "serves as an expansion of something else" (Halliday, 1994: 150-1). Circumstantial elements "refer to the location of an event in time or space, its manner, or its cause... a circumstantial element is a process that has become parasitic on another process. Instead of standing on its own, it serves as an expansion of something else". (Halliday, 1994: 150-1).

In fact, Halliday (1995) points out two approaches to the analysis of the clause in terms of processes and participants. The first one is transitivity system with the six kinds of processes, their particular associated participants and the different types of circumstances, each with its own grammatical relations. The second is ergative interpretation where "the process may happen by itself or be caused to happen" (Thompson, 2004: 135).

Methodology

To have and follow a method of analysis is important in CDA as "it is not possible to 'read off' ideologies from the text" (Fairclough, 1995a: 71). As such, this study follows in its analysis Halliday's transitivity system (1985), as he is considered as one of the most prominent theorists of text and context relationship as regards the development of CDA.

The study relies also on Fairclough's (1992) model that sets the three main heads for a discourse analysis. They are relatively the data, the analysis and the results. Analysis involves a movement from an interpretation stage to a description stage and back to the interpretation stage. Indeed, from the discourse practice interpretation; namely, the process of text construction and consumption, the analyst is supposed to proceed by describing the text, ending in the explanation of both of these "in the light of the social practice in which the discourse is embedded" (Fairclough, 1992: 231).

Data Analysis

1- Data description:

TAP, or Tunis Afrique Press, is a Tunisian press agency and the only source of information in Tunisia. It covers since 1961 the news of Tunisia as a whole. The corpus for this paper is a collection of nearly 100 headlines that represent TAP coverage of the news of the regions in Tunisia during the first three months of 2013. I selected this period of time regarding, first, the variation of events such as the assassination of one of the opposition leaders, Chokri Belaid, the resignation of PM Hammadi Jbali, the reconstruction of a new government with Ali Laaraeh a PM, strikes and demonstrations everywhere etc. This period also presents Tunisia two years after the revolution (January 14, 2011) which means that the coverage is supposed to be different from the pre-revolution one - which abided Ben Ali's regime - in that it considers events and news more professionally, more moderately and more responsibly.

2- Data Analysis

Many regions in Tunisia have not yet witnessed any governmental measures to improve life there especially in the country's marginalized interior, which suffers from chronic lack of development, high unemployment and an increasing rate of violence and crime. Although the initial situation did not look promising, some has been going right so far. This is actually, an overview of the different headlines the corpus stands for.

The process findings:

The analysis shows the over dominance of the material process over the others. Out of 76 processes, 57 are material (75%). The second process in terms of occurrence is the relational with almost 13 processes (17%)

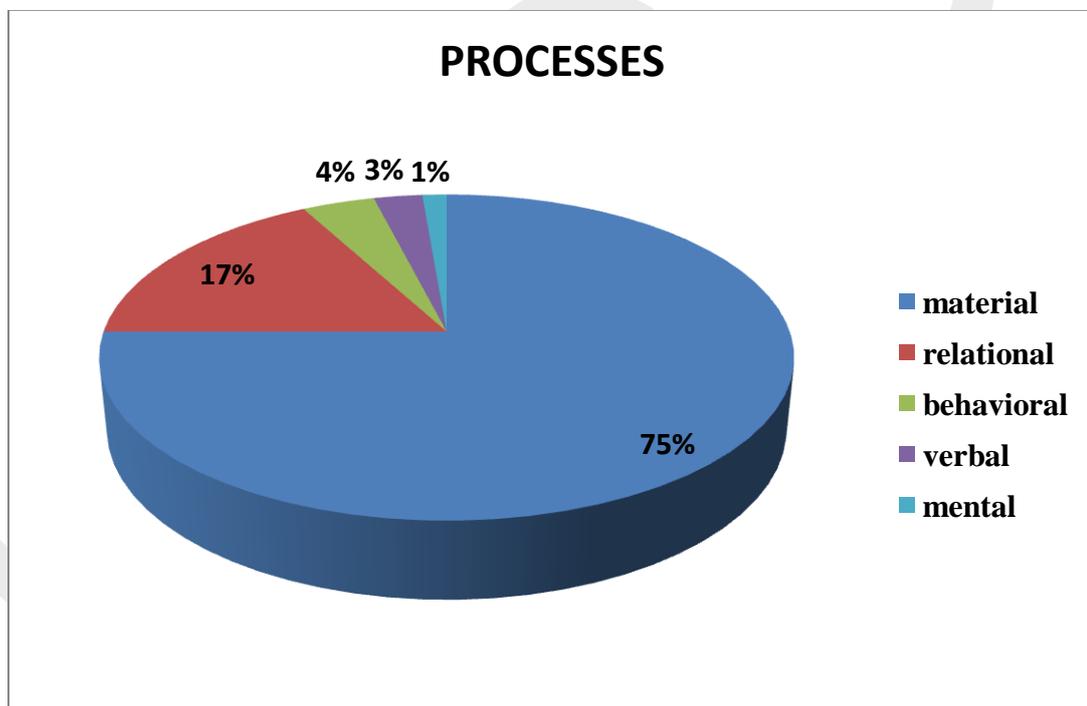


Fig 1: Distribution of the process percentage in TAP headlines on regions in Tunisia January, February, and March 2013

The participants finding:

Participants roles	Occurrences
Actor/agent	41
Goal/patient/range/beneficiary	47
Senser	1
Phenomenon	0
Carrier	13
Attribute	13
Token	0
Value	0
Sayer	1
Receiver	0
Target	1
Behaver	3

Table 1: Participant roles in TAP headlines on regions in Tunisia January, February, and March 2013

Table 1 shows the dominance of goal/patient/range/beneficiary roles over the other roles. The lexical field that is used in this range of goals is related in its totality to ‘crime’ in its general meaning. All the regions that TAP considers in the aforementioned period of time do suffer from the pervasiveness of violence and crimes and considers them as the most disturbing phenomena of our time.

These goals can be divided into two types. The first type is related to violence and crime such as ‘wanted arms traffickers, large quantities of knives, clubs, incendiary bottles’, ‘nephew of Hechmi Hamdi’, ‘two suspects’, ‘policeman (injured), ‘ammunition’, ‘suspected shooter’, ‘hiding armed individuals’, ‘two people arrested’, ‘klashinkovs and RPG rockets’, ‘1 dead, 26 injured’, ‘border guard’, ‘borders with Tunisia’, ‘smuggling of 15 tons of DAP, liqueur’, ‘smuggling of 16.000 tons of phosphate’, ‘8 tons of smuggled pasta’, ‘Ras Jdir border crossing’, ‘2 Libyan nationals’, ‘important quantities of arms’... The second type is not related to violence, but to positive projects in some regions in Tunisia such as ‘commercial traffic party’, ‘projects’, ‘co-operation agreement’, ‘medical equipments’, ‘loan of more than 44 MTD’, ‘multidisciplinary training centre’, ‘development projects’,....

The number of goals related to violence represents more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total number of goals, i.e. 29 out of 40. This helps the reader to imagine the intensity of the level of crimes in Tunisia and therefore appeals the government to take certain measures to fight this phenomenon which is assimilated in some instances with ‘terrorism’ especially that the agents or actors are absent in most cases.

Actually 22 out of the 47 goals do not have any actor at all. This fact could be explained first by the trickiness of the issue to the extent that it is difficult to know the groups that stand behind such acts of terror, and hence, an allusion to the international terrorism whose definition is due to change at any time; and second by the importance that the TAP

Classification of verbs

Positive Meaning	Negative Meaning	Negative then positive meaning
Learns announced	Arrests thwarted	Resume reopened
Restored discovered	Did not calm thwarted	Resumes resumes
Funds discovered	Torched insist	Recovered resumes
Sign donates	Shot dead paralyses	restored
Announce extends	Arrested disturbs	
Plays free	Crossed arrested	
Work funds	Block closed	
discover found	Torched seized	
inaugurated funds	Set ablaze injured	
celebrates visits	Set aflame arrested	
ongoing hosts	Kicked off erupt	
	Thwarts taken	
	Runs close	
	Stops wounded	
	Leave seized	
	Arrested arrested	
	Besieged storm	
	Took arrested	
	Injured held	
	Killed arrested	
	Missing off shot	
	Robbed killed	
	Missing arrested	
	Resume resume	
22 verbs	48 verbs	7 verbs

Table 3: distribution of the verbs according to the positive/negative meaning in the discourse of TAP

This table (table 3) classifies the verbs in the discourse according to three lexical fields: the first is a list of positive events that occurred in the regions of Tunisia, the second is that of the negative events and the third (resume, recover and reopen) are verbs that imply that the state was negative and it is improving.

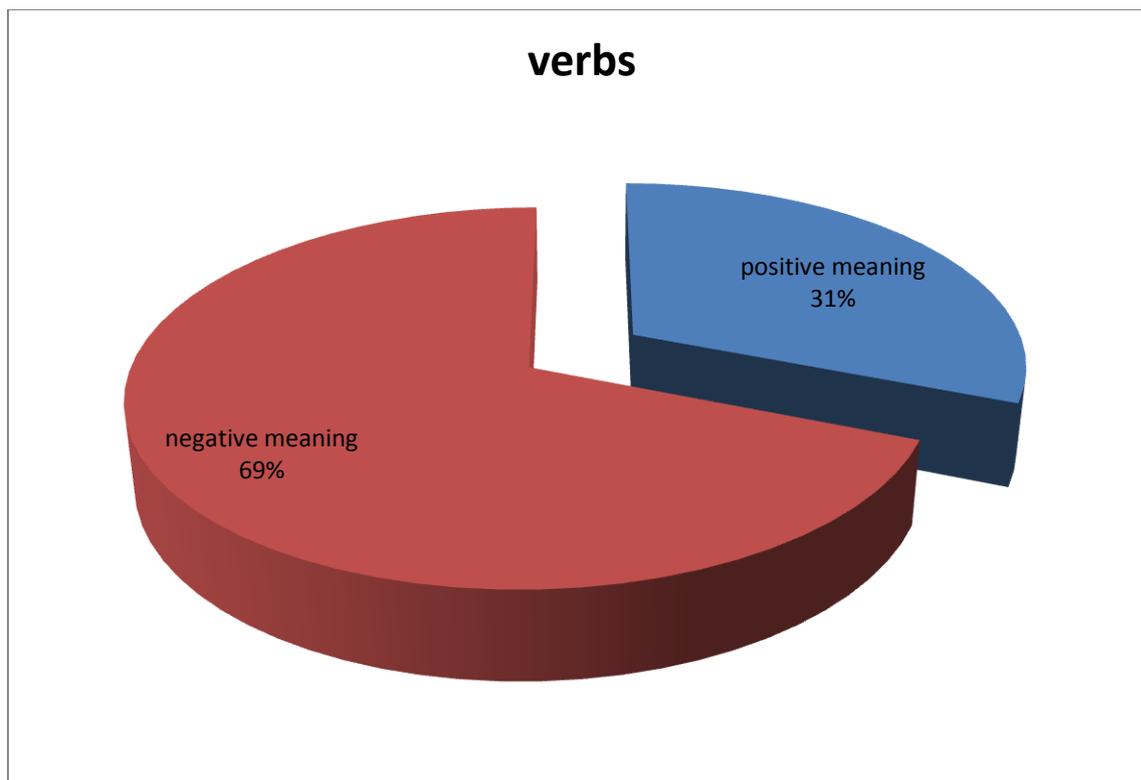


Figure 2: representation of the lexical field of verbs

This figure, added to *table 3*, shows the dominance of verbs denoting violence, demolition, criminalization and chaos in relation to news of the regions in Tunisia. The 31% of the other verbs, namely, those conveying semantically a positive meaning do, on the contrary, represent such a promising future for the regions of the West and the South in terms of financing, projects expansion or inauguration, discoveries, visits and investments.

However, if we compare the number of problems that 69% stands for with the number of solutions that 31% represents, we can remark first that the problems represent more than the double of the solutions, which may imply that the implementation of the latter is tightly related to the salvation and decrease of the rate of violence and criminalization in Tunisia. TAP, therefore, thinks that the crisis/trouble in the regions and that is manifested in the discourse through the governance of verbs of violence and terrorism is responsible for the retardation of any improvement at the economic, social and political level in Tunisia. TAP also assumes that there are forces that protract and support violent groups in the regions; however, these agents were in most cases uncovered.

Circumstances:

The analysis of the circumstances in the corpus led to the following findings: first, TAP does not use circumstantial expressions in all its headlines. Actually, 61 out 100 headlines contain a circumstantial component. 50 headlines include a spatial circumstance, and in most cases, it is the name of the region as a whole and not the exact place where the action occurred. The other circumstances represent the time and the cause. As for the temporal circumstances, one can remark that they don't stand for fixed dates and precise

references. They are vague and general. These are some examples: ‘after exchange of fire with border guards’, ‘after Chokri Belaid’s assassination’, ‘after discovery of equipment to set up camp’...

The generalization strategy that TAP follows through the absence of the temporal circumstances for the lists of crimes of violence and terror that took place in many regions of the interior, together with the abundance of general spatial circumstances which do not give any idea about the place – but about the region as a whole - could be added to the generalization strategy that TAP follows in its news coverage.

Nominalization:

In the corpus there are 24 headlines that are construed as a nominal structure. In all of them, there is a number of reported events that are exempt from any participants. ‘Arrest of two people’, ‘exchange of fire’, ‘general strike, protests in Siliana’ etc are examples of the absence of the transitivity tenets/components and therefore, the mystification of the participants and their roles.

Results:

The application of the transitivity analysis on the discourse of TAP in the case of its coverage to the news in the regions in Tunisia for the first three months of 2013 led to the following results:

- The dominance of the material process over other processes and consequently, the dominance of actor and participants roles over any other role. The range of goals is lexically related to crime and violence in most cases and to projects and financial progress in few cases. Most of these goals do not have actors and therefore, there is a mystification of the agents. The actors that are mentioned, however, are the government on the one hand with an occurrence frequency that does not exceed 4 major instances and the criminal and anonymous groups on the other hand.

-The relational process in this discourse serves as well to describe the state of the places where violent acts and crimes took place.

-The majority of verbs (69%) semantically stand, themselves, for the representation of aggression, destruction, transgression and chaos.

-As for the circumstantial structures, one can remark the abundance of spatial references versus the scarcity of temporal ones. Yet, the places refer in most headlines to the region as a whole and not to the specific location where most processes took place. Similarly, time references do not stand for fixed dates though the case needs precision in terms of time and place since it is a matter of crime tracking.

-The nominalization structures that prevail in the corpus (24/100) further intensify vagueness and mystification procedures that TAP follows in its editorial line in this case.

Conclusion:

In this study I elaborated on the function of language as a social practice in media discourse. I have made systematic analysis of news structures in Tap headlines on news of the regions in Tunisia, considering especially Halliday's transitivity system.

In line with my discussion, the analysis dealt with language in use, i.e. how the hidden and embedded meanings of this discourse are socially constructed, using Systematic Functional Linguistics in general and transitivity system in particular.

Since texts are the product of choices of linguistic system, I tried to shed light on the nature of ideology by examining these textual structures. Thus, identifying processes and the role of participants involved in those processes was the major concern of data analysis. The examples analyzed and discussed in the last section showed the way language can support a specific method of beliefs.

The Transitivity analysis also disclosed that there were patterns of mystification of agency or actor of the processes by using some strategies like passivization and nominalization. This idea goes with the belief that the government in Tunisia is responsible for the state of violence and the deterioration of the interior regions at all levels. The opposition, on the contrary, dramatizes the case at each time with an intention to nullify any governmental effort for the country's interest. Tap, as an important media, through its dramatization of the state in the regions of Tunisia proved to be biased and mainly to be politically dependent.

Another major implication of this study is related to what Fairclough (1989, p.4) said "a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relation, through focusing upon language" and therefore I would appeal to analyze media discourse critically so that we do not appear to be lay persons, unsuspecting and credulous in the community. In fact, this implication is a *personal* conscious-raising for readers in order to involve themselves actively in the process of discourse by trying to understand and unravel the text and consequently shape and produce their own beliefs.

I hope finally that this research will stimulate further researches in areas beyond media to all areas of text and talk to uncover ideological meanings in them because language awareness is one of the directions for the current life and also for future development.

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Appendices

Tunis Afrique Press TAP news headlines on regions in Tunisia (from January to March 2013)

Ras Jedir: Traffic resumes after shutdown

Published on Saturday, 30 March 2013 14:49

El Kef: Wanted terrorist arrested on Tunisian-Algerian border

Published on Friday, 29 March 2013 15:25

Tunisian-Turkish partnership day to explore investment opportunities

Published on Thursday, 28 March 2013 17:59

Tozeur hosts 35 foreign personalities as part of 'Jerid, Land of Opportunity' Forum

Published on Saturday, 23 March 2013 16:02

Sidi Bouzid: Search ongoing for armed group in Menzel Bouzaïane, Sidi Ali Ben Aoun Mountains

Published on Saturday, 23 March 2013 15:29

Spanish delegation visits Tataouine to establish solidarity-based associative network

Published on Saturday, 23 March 2013 15:13

One fisherman killed, another missing as trawler sinks off Chebba

Published on Thursday, 21 March 2013 15:43

Tunisian trader shot in knee and robbed by Libyan gang on border

Published on Thursday, 21 March 2013 15:32

Bodies of two fishermen recovered off Kerkennah

Published on Tuesday, 19 March 2013 15:26

El Kef: Clashes between security forces and armed group in Tajerouine

Published on Tuesday, 19 March 2013 12:35

Kasserine mountains events: Wanted suspect arrested

Published on Monday, 18 March 2013 19:05

Fishermen missing off Kerkennah: Fourth body recovered

Published on Saturday, 16 March 2013 19:10

Trawler and fishermen missing off Kerkennah: Third body recovered (Civil Protection)

Published on Tuesday, 12 March 2013 14:29

Trawler "la victoire" spotted and third body recovered

Published on Tuesday, 12 March 2013 12:41

Trawler and fishermen missing off Kerkennah: second body recovered

Published on Monday, 11 March 2013 19:23

Dhiba border city celebrates 2nd anniversary of Libyan Revolution

Published on Sunday, 10 March 2013 15:35

Trawler, fishermen missing off Kerkennah: First body found

Published on Saturday, 09 March 2013 15:21

Resumption of search for trawler and missing fishermen of Kerkennah Island

Published on Saturday, 09 March 2013 12:55

Tunisian Chemical Group in Médhila resumes activities

Published on Thursday, 07 March 2013 14:29

Kef: Arrest of fellow providing supplies to terrorist group

Published on Thursday, 07 March 2013 12:50

Wanted arms trafficker arrested by El Kef National Guard officers

- Published on Wednesday, 06 March 2013 15:33
Switzerland funds development projects in Medenine
Published on Tuesday, 05 March 2013 16:08
Bizerte: Large quantities of knives, clubs, incendiary bottles found in mosque
Published on Monday, 04 March 2013 19:15
Nephew of Hechmi Hamdi killed in Lassouda in Sidi Bouzid
Published on Sunday, 03 March 2013 15:20
Two suspects held in Medenine after discovery of equipment to set up camp, security sources report
Published on Saturday, 02 March 2013 08:13
GCT ammonium nitrate fertiliser unit resumes activities
Published on Friday, 01 March 2013 19:52
Le Kef: Large-scale combing campaign in search of alleged killer of Chokri Belaid
Published on Thursday, 28 February 2013 10:29
Tozeur: Multidisciplinary training centre inaugurated at El Hamma
Published on Wednesday, 27 February 2013 19:57
Sidi Bouzid: Policeman seriously injured by buckshot
Published on Wednesday, 27 February 2013 10:45
Security forces discover ammunition hidden in a van in Menzel Bouzelfa
Published on Tuesday, 26 February 2013 19:33
Sidi Bouzid incidents: Suspected shooter arrested in Nafta
Published on Tuesday, 26 February 2013 17:26
Kef: Arrest of two people holding 3 shotguns
Published on Friday, 22 February 2013 12:48
Sidi Bouzid: Police storm mosque where armed group took refuge
Published on Friday, 22 February 2013 09:47
Sidi Bouzid: hiding armed individuals besieged
Published on Thursday, 21 February 2013 19:56
Two people arrested in border area with Libya, ongoing efforts to secure their release
Published on Thursday, 21 February 2013 19:49
Sidi Bouzid: exchange of fire and car chase in Sebbala
Published on Thursday, 21 February 2013 19:23
Thirteen persons arrested in arms seizure in M'nihla
Published on Thursday, 21 February 2013 15:05
Kalashnikovs and RPG rockets seized in a house in Mnihla
Published on Thursday, 21 February 2013 08:30
Qatar Charity funds projects in Zaghuan
Published on Wednesday, 20 February 2013 16:50
Tozeur: slight drop in dates export
Published on Wednesday, 20 February 2013 16:35
Ras Jedir border post reopened
Published on Wednesday, 20 February 2013 12:42
Tribal clashes in Kebili leave 1 dead, 26 injured
Published on Tuesday, 19 February 2013 07:18
Re-opening of Dhiba-Wazen border crossing
Published on Monday, 18 February 2013 20:03
Ben Arous plays host to International Photography Exhibition

- Published on Saturday, 16 February 2013 16:29
Border guard accidentally wounded by gunshot
Published on Saturday, 16 February 2013 15:36
Production stops in Ain Ben Tartar oil field
Published on Friday, 15 February 2013 18:37
AfDB extends loan of more than 44 MTD to governorate of Gafsa
Published on Friday, 15 February 2013 18:28
Tunisian-Belgian pilot project to improve maternal health in Gafsa
Published on Friday, 15 February 2013 16:17
Libyan authorities close borders with Tunisia
Published on Thursday, 14 February 2013 15:14
Whale runs aground off Kerkennah coasts
Published on Wednesday, 13 February 2013 18:37
Preparations under way for closing Shusha refugee camp by late June 2013
Published on Wednesday, 13 February 2013 16:07
Two gunshot Tunisian victims in Libya taken to Ben Guerdane hospital
Published on Wednesday, 13 February 2013 15:36
Supporters of Ennahdha rally in Medenine to denounce violence and support legitimacy
Published on Sunday, 10 February 2013 19:15
National Guard thwarts smuggling of 15 tons of DAP, liqueurs
Published on Saturday, 09 February 2013 15:52
General strike in regions and symbolic funeral of martyr Chokri Belaid
Published on Friday, 08 February 2013 19:11
Regional and local Revolution Protection Leagues in Siliana announce disbandment
Published on Friday, 08 February 2013 13:42
Popular march in Jendouba to denounce assassination of Chokri Belaid
Published on Thursday, 07 February 2013 17:55
General strike, protests in Siliana
Published on Thursday, 07 February 2013 17:50
JICA donates medical equipments to Medenine and Tataouine hospitals
Published on Thursday, 07 February 2013 07:05
Protests erupt in regions after Chokri Belaid's assassination
Published on Wednesday, 06 February 2013 19:22
Medenine Regional Council, General Council of Hérault, sign co-operation agreement
Published on Monday, 04 February 2013 20:06
Dinosaur's tail vertebrae fossils discovered in Tataouine
Published on Monday, 04 February 2013 11:13
El Kef: Second social development project kicked off
Published on Friday, 01 February 2013 17:57
Intervention brigade in Gabes thwarts smuggling of 16.000 tons of phosphate
Published on Thursday, 31 January 2013 17:03
AFD funds project to support economic integration of marginalised youth in Medenine
Published on Wednesday, 30 January 2013 15:57
Libyan national arrested in Tataouine carrying firearm and ecstasy
Published on Wednesday, 30 January 2013 11:29
Kasserine: National Guard officer injured by three wanted individuals
Published on Tuesday, 29 January 2013 14:46

Tunisian-Libyan consultations in Médenine to speed up reopening of Ras Jédir border crossing

Published on Sunday, 27 January 2013 14:20

Libyan delegation to negotiate opening of Ras Jedir border crossing

Published on Friday, 25 January 2013 19:35

Gabes: Mausoleum of Sidi Ali Ben Salem set aflame

Published on Friday, 25 January 2013 15:12

Douz: Mausoleum of Sidi Ahmed Al Ghouth set ablaze

Published on Thursday, 24 January 2013 15:06

Eight tons of smuggled pasta products seized in Tataouine

Published on Wednesday, 23 January 2013 19:03

Transfer of one hundred refugees from Shusha camp to U.S.A.

Published on Wednesday, 23 January 2013 17:23

Mausoleum of Sidi Ahmed Ouerfelli in Akouda torched

Published on Wednesday, 23 January 2013 16:18

Ras Jedir border crossing still closed

Published on Tuesday, 22 January 2013 15:18

Traders from Ben Guerdane block Ras Jedir border crossing

Published on Monday, 21 January 2013 19:15

Two men who crossed illegally into Tunisia, arrested in Sakiet Sidi Youssef

Published on Sunday, 20 January 2013 18:55

Sfax: Resumption of clashes on Sunday between youths and police

Published on Sunday, 20 January 2013 14:28

Ras Jedir border crossing : Tunisian tradesmen's protest disturbs trade traffic

Published on Saturday, 19 January 2013 19:02

Clarifications on discovery of weapons hideout in Medenine

Published on Friday, 18 January 2013 17:10

Two Libyan nationals arrested after exchange of fire with border guards

Published on Friday, 18 January 2013 14:56

Important quantities of arms discovered in two warehouses in Medenine

Published on Thursday, 17 January 2013 16:02

Minor earth tremor in Sidi Bouzid

Published on Thursday, 17 January 2013 08:46

Clashes between protesters and security forces in Kef city

Published on Wednesday, 16 January 2013 15:31

General strike paralyzes economic and social life in Kef

Published on Wednesday, 16 January 2013 15:20

'We will work with Libya to re-open Ras Jedir border crossing' (Abdessalem)

Published on Tuesday, 15 January 2013 19:39

Libyan authorities free 60 Tunisian fishermen

Published on Tuesday, 15 January 2013 18:14

Tunisian citizen from Ben Guerdane shot dead by Libyan armed group

Published on Monday, 14 January 2013 17:34

Inhabitants of Ben Guerdane insist on police withdrawal and army deployment

Published on Saturday, 12 January 2013 14:10

Clashes resume between security forces and protesters in Ben Guerdane

Published on Friday, 11 January 2013 15:26

Calm restored in Ben Guerdane

Published on Friday, 11 January 2013 10:53

Ben Guerdane: police station torched, three injured

Published on Thursday, 10 January 2013 18:57

General strike in Ben Guerdane and violent clashes between protesters and security forces

Published on Thursday, 10 January 2013 18:46

Commercial traffic partly resumes at Ras Jedir border crossing

Published on Thursday, 10 January 2013 18:41

General strike announced for Thursday in Ben Guerdane delegation

Published on Wednesday, 09 January 2013 16:37

Illegal immigration attempt thwarted by Teboulba sea patrol

Published on Tuesday, 08 January 2013 18:04

Announcement of forthcoming re-opening of Ras Jedir border crossing did not calm down protest movement in Ben Guerdane

Published on Tuesday, 08 January 2013 17:16

Protests resume in Ben Guerdane over continued closing of Ras Jedir border post

Published on Sunday, 06 January 2013 17:03

Closing of Ras Jedir border post on Libyan side: Protests in Ben Guerdane

Published on Sunday, 06 January 2013 14:19

Redeyef: General strike to include mining basin victims among Revolution martyrs

Published on Thursday, 03 January 2013 17:43

Monastir: Illegal immigration attempt thwarted, six people arrested

Published on Thursday, 03 January 2013 15:36

Police arrests three brothers of Martyr Mohamed Amri in Thala

Published on Wednesday, 02 January 2013 19:52

Kebili: Pakistani ambassador learns about local experience in dates production

Published on Wednesday, 02 January 2013 15:46

Refocusing Musical Performances Adjudication in Nigerian Schools

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Abstract

Not much is considered by most musical performances adjudicators during competitions other than to select the best three groups and dismiss all other entrants into the competition with a wave of hand. Against this background, this duo examines in detail musical performances adjudications within the Nigerian context. In the course of this investigation it opined that while the musical awareness of donor agencies maybe limited, the onus is on the performances adjudicators to give technical advice to them and also design a blue print for a true and thorough assessment of performers because in getting to rehearse for a musical competition, the musicality of the entire competitors are usually biffed up. This in turn enhances musical proficiency in the region. Musically speaking, the era of “he who pays the piper calls the tune” is over because such trends are capable of asphyxiating musical craftsmanship.

Keywords: musical performance, musical competition, musical adjudication, musicality and musical sensitivity.

Introduction

The title of this paper first evolved as-Group D came first, A, second and H, third: Issues and counter issues in musical performances adjudication in Nigerian schools. While sharing ideas about the issues this paper intends to address the authors collectively resolved to have it read as it is currently. This is exactly the usual scenario in the adjudication of performances. However, we have cursorily made an immediate reference to this so as to guide its readers directly into the thrust of this presentation. Apart from teaching and conducting researches in areas of interest and specialty in the field of music, most Nigerian musicologists and music educators are organists, Choir leaders and music directors. There are many avenues in Nigeria for musical performances. This is so in that the Nigerian society was in the first case traditional before yielding itself to contemporary tendencies. Even at that, there is retention of selected traditional avenues of musical performances and this has enlarged the current frequency of performance adjudications in Nigerian communities. For Example, beyond town, district, local government, state and national competitions for schools, there are those occasioned by churches, distinguished personages, music enthusiasts, wealthy individuals, and other ancillary donor agencies. At the fore of such preparations and organizations music personnel's inputs are sought and relied on.

Some Preliminary Reflections

We consider it apt to present the remark of Albert Oikelome, an ethnomusicologist, conductor, singer and lecturer at the University of Lagos. On Tuesday March 13, 2012, Albert Oikelome, the music director of Best Spring Chorale, Lagos published what he called the 'Ten Commandments for choir leaders' on facebook, one of the globally patronized internet social networks and it read:

1. Thou shall be prepared for rehearsal.
2. Thou shall wear a happy face
3. Thou shall present thy choir well for any engagement
4. Thou shall know thy choristers by name
5. Thou shall challenge the musical knowledge of thy choir
6. Thou shall NOT allow any other responsibility during the rehearsal
7. Thou shall make full delegation when thou must be absent
8. Thou shall cultivate an ear that is hungry for more and more choral literature
9. Thou shall be sensitive to the personal problems of the Choristers
10. Thou shall dismiss at the correct time.

That these commandments were posted on Facebook and have attracted many likes and positive comments are indicative of the fact that the music scholar is being looked upon for directions and technical advice and expertise.

Early in time, Archibald (1965:1) remarked that:

An average choral conductor needs a well trained ear, ability to cope with full score, knowledge of orchestral instruments and orchestral routine, acquaintance with musical theory, form, harmony and counterpoint, acquaintance with the history of music and especially literature of music, the requirement of Piano forte playing and of singing,...sense of humour, enthusiastic leadership and ingenuity.

Without doubt, when one adds the thoughts of Oikelome to the expectations of Archibald, there is a tendency to feel that the A-B-C of Choir training, management and directing is already at our finger tips. However the end product of training is performance and performances can be held not solely for the sake of entertainment but to improve on the musical craftsmanship of the performers. This then takes us to musical competitions and adjudications.

What is a musical competition?

Put simply, competition means a contest for a prize or award. Musical competition is a public event designed to identify and award musical ensembles, soloists and musicologists (www.en.m.wikipedia.org)

Globally, festivals are organized by different nations among other things to showcase their culture and music remains a major part of it. Preparing to showcase ones musical culture goes with inconsiderable hours of rehearsals. Such preparations in turn raise every contestant's level of musicality. For example, while examining the scenario in East Africa, Barz (2004:40) remarked that:

... musical performances throughout East Africa often occurs within highly competitive events, constituting an important form of and contribution to popular entertainment that include song, duel, choir competitions, drumming and dance contests, sporting events, religious rituals and games. Though competitive music performance is certainly not particular to East Africa, the ability of competitive music making to be a fundamental community-shaping institution in these areas of African continent is truly significant.

From Barz's position, we see that competitions go beyond engendering the spirit of competitiveness to fundamental community-shaping.

In his personal account, Foley (2010) recounts:

When I was a student I looked with dread upon the fearsome weeks of the local music festival. I would prepare my pieces for months beforehand, work them up to a performable level, then walk in terror up to the piano and play my piece with varying degrees of success.

From the testimony of Foley, entering for competitions or festivals go with high degree of preparation which could span through months. And such preparations require each candidate to rehearse his/her pieces to performable level. This obviously involves setting targets and meeting them up.

Some Concerns on the Nature of Musical Competitions in Nigeria

In Nigeria, It is one umbrella ministry that is in charge of youths, sports and culture, under sports, football overshadows all others. Apart from overshadowing all other sporting activities, football remains the major concern of all. While other administrative organs have been put in place for the promotion of football, issues relating to youths and culture are perfunctorily implemented. However, there are some private companies, establishments and donor agencies who on their own have identified the neglect of certain aspects of our cultural heritage and are therefore struggling to promote it. This struggle has culminated to the organization of some contexts like *Naija Sings sponsored by Globacom, West African Idols by Pepsi and Etisalat, Peak Talent Hunt by Peak Milk (Friesland Campina WAPCO Nigeria Plc) and Star talent Hunt by Nigeria Breweries Plc.*

Put side by side, there is without doubt a wide gap or dichotomy which exists between music adjudication in schools and many other strands which may be secular or sacred in nature. Before drawing any further line of distinction, the opinion of Bessom *et al* (1980:264) is informative here, when they posit that:

The process of rehearsing school performance groups is often too confused with that of rehearsing professional organizations. In the world of professional music, the performance is the goal toward which all efforts are directed. In the school, on the other hand, the rehearsal itself is the centre of interest, the vehicle for learning, and the product of evaluation, whereas the public performance is more a resume of what has been accomplished in the real activity of the rehearsal hall.

About three and half decades ago, Bessom and his other researchers drew a distinguishing line between the process of rehearsing school performance groups and professional organizations. They opined further that it is often a misplaced priority which has muddled up the whole idea. Between then and now, we still do not find a clear cut distinction between these two divides. If the foundation is weak, nothing can stand. It is thought that these fundamentally wrong concepts are the major variables responsible for poor results.

Musical Activities in Government Public Schools Today

A random check of the musical activities in public Secondary Schools reveals that musical culture of the organization of concerts and competitions are almost extinct. While in the privately owned and missionary schools, they go beyond normal music classes to the organization of musical society, separate classes for musical instrument playing, none of such exists in most public schools. To further demean the essence of music in our Schools, at the Junior Secondary School level, it is not a major teaching subject. It is unfortunately just a strand of four subject component – Dance, Drama, Music and Fine Art (Cultural and Creative Art).

Composition of Adjudicators and Interests of Donors

In his sixteen ideas for first-time music festival adjudicators, Foley (2010) says: On the first day, arrive at the venue well ahead of time, sign what you need to sign before you start, learn the marking system that the festival uses, befriend your assistant, always keep a backup copy of all marks, organize your territories, determine the festival's stand on copyright, write clearly, speak clearly and accessibly, strike a balance between positive and negative critique, strike a balance between speaking to the class as a whole and each individual performer, know whom you are talking to, change the focus of your talks frequently, take a second look and make sure you have selected the right person for first place and then, thank everybody.

The expressions above are unique and fit perfectly into our next level of this discussion. Above all, the task of taking a second look and making sure you have selected the right person for first place in any contest is contingent on certain variables. Some harm is usually done 1. When one music specialist is sandwiched within two music enthusiasts.

2. When the assessment template is decided by the donor agencies and not the music specialist.

3. When the donor insists that a particular group should come first.

4. When the donor says since a particular group has consistently been emerging first annually, this time around the first position should go to the next in line.

These issues often weight down the good process of getting the best out of the contest. To be able to effectively perform the role of a good adjudicator, one must first ask self:

- a. What are the general aims of the exercise
- b. What are the aims of the donor or organizing agencies?

1. What are the general aims of the exercise

It is always proper to know the aim of any enterprise. When musical contests are organized, there ought to be a straight forward objective. For example, could the aim not be to enhance the general musicality of the school choirs in the community, to develop musical sensitivity, to enhance the repertoire of the choristers and to train them in the art of performing before large audiences? In the view of Besom et al (1980:265), "...our efforts in rehearsals should be directed toward the goals of both skillful musicianship and aesthetic musicality."

There is the need to stress that musical competition is not about the trophy but about the development of skills which will aid a move towards professionalism.

Counter Issues: what should be the role of the music educator with particular reference to musical adjudication as the musical torch bearer in the community. This is of course where the music educator should as a matter of community service and in an effort to stand for the

enhancement of musicality in the area initiate programmes and talk shows where the right norms would be inculcated into the community which obviously is made up of students, school dropouts, young adults, adults and elders who are music lovers at different degrees.

For example, while giving account of the musical adjudication exercises which take place in schools in the State of Texas, Floyd (2010) remarks that:

The purpose of this adjudication is not only to assign a division rating to a performance, but rather to provide a concise evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of each musical demonstration and offer recommendations for continued musical growth.

2. What are the aims of the donor or organizing agencies?

As a matter of fact, musical adjudication goes with selecting the best out of the lot and when selecting, discrimination comes in invariably. Early in time, this paper established the fact that adjudication of musical performances in a school setting is different from other forms and far more tasking. It looks beyond the immediate expectations of school managements, trophy donors, competition financiers and other variables to recommend that: The music educator who is always at the hub of the musical activities should be active in the design of the template for the assessment of performers, that music enthusiasts who do not know the mechanics of and the reason for musical competitions should not serve on the panel and that since the context is aimed at improving the musicality of the schools within a given locale, who gets the trophy is insignificant, hence good/ideal consolation prizes should be given to all the groups that entered into any given competition.

Conclusion

The thrust of this article has been to reappraise how musical performances could be adjudicated in Nigerian secondary schools. As a matter of fact, musical adjudication goes with selecting the best out of the lot and when selecting, discrimination comes in invariably. Early in time, this paper established the fact that adjudication of musical performances in a school setting is different from other forms and far more tasking. It looks beyond the immediate expectations of school managements, trophy donors, competition financiers and other variables to recommend that: The music educator who is always at the hub of the musical activities should be active in the design of the template for the assessment of performers, that music enthusiasts who do not know the mechanics of and the reason for musical competitions should not serve on the panel and that since the context is aimed at improving the musicality of the schools within a given locale, who gets the trophy is insignificant, hence good/ideal consolation prizes should be given to all the groups that entered into any given competition.

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Le one man show entre réécriture et adaptation : véritable défi de traduction

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Résumé

La traduction théâtrale a longtemps été négligée par les théoriciens par rapport aux autres textes littéraires vu la spécificité et la complexité de ce genre de traduction. Partagées entre le texte dramatique et la performance sur scène, les théories concernant la traduction du théâtre n'arrivent pas à se départager pour trouver la meilleure stratégie possible pour une traduction plausible. Ainsi la traduction du one man show représente un réel défi pour le traducteur qui devra choisir entre l'adaptation et la réécriture pour pouvoir reproduire un texte qui ferait rire et qui pourrait être mis en scène devant un autre public ayant une culture différente.

Mots clés: one man show, traduction théâtrale, culture, effet comique, texte dramatique, représentation sur scène.

Introduction

Dans un monde où les nouvelles technologies envahissent le quotidien avec tout le confort et la détente qui peuvent être proposés pour divertir, le théâtre, cet art millénaire, reste un moyen de divertissement encore très apprécié par un large public grâce à la magie de la scène et la relation exceptionnelle pleine de complicité qui existe entre les acteurs et le public.

La traduction du théâtre n'a pas toujours été à la une des études concernant la traduction littéraire, une absence déjà constaté par *Fabio Regattin* « ... beaucoup d'encre a été versé sur la traduction littéraire ou poétique, alors que la traduction pour la scène est restée dans l'ombre. ».⁽¹⁾ Bien que « les traducteurs n'aiment généralement guère parler « théorie ». Ils se conçoivent comme des intuitifs et des artisans »⁽²⁾ comme nous l'affirme *Antoine Berman* dans son article « *la traduction et ses discours* », les théoriciens de la traduction continuent à être divisé entre texte et représentation sur scène . Le théâtre reste un domaine de recherche très riche en traduction vu la diversité et la complexité non seulement de ses textes, mais aussi de la représentation théâtrale en elle-même.

Un type de spectacle théâtral très répondu et très apprécié par les amateurs de théâtre a attiré notre attention. Nous parlons du one man show, devenu un média de masse par excellence ces dernières décennies, il représente aussi, selon nous, un vrai défi pour le traducteur. Ce qui nous mène à poser plusieurs questions sur sa traduction :

- Quelles sont les stratégies que pourrait adopter le traducteur pour une traduction réussie de ce type texte et de spectacle théâtral ?
- Est-il possible de recréer le même effet comique dans une traduction du one man show ?
- Est-il possible de traduire un spectacle ayant des caractéristiques culturelles

pour un public appartenant à une culture différente ?

Le théâtre est un art plein de contraintes, une réalité que connaissent bien les hommes de la scène. Le one man show, peu couteux pour les producteurs du théâtre et très apprécié non seulement par le public mais aussi par les acteurs, attire de plus en plus. Seul sur scène, l'acteur n'a besoin ni de costumes (généralement habillé comme au quotidien) ni d'accessoires et rarement d'un décor spécifique, il écrit son texte, joue son personnage ou ses personnages sur scène, improvise, critique ou s'auto critique et surtout fait rire tout au long du spectacle, c'est ce qui a fait le succès du one man show. L'acteur fait son « *show* » en ayant recourt à plusieurs formes de comique, lui permettant ainsi de créer sa propre empreinte pour chacune de ses représentations sur scène.

1 - Regattin Fabio, *Théâtre et traduction : un aperçu du débat théorique*, L'Annuaire théâtral : revue québécoise d'études théâtrales, Numéro 36, automne 2004, p156. Disponible en ligne sur le site Erudit : <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/041584ar>

2- Berman Antoine, *La traduction et ses discours*, Meta : journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal, vol. 34, n° 4, 1989, p 672. Disponible en ligne sur le site Erudit : <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/002062ar>

La traduction du one man show représente pour le traducteur, non pas un seul défi, mais une multitude de défis réunis entre le texte et le spectacle. En effet, il se doit de traduire une pièce de théâtre, non seulement en gardant son effet comique mais aussi en respectant à la fois la spécificité de chaque acteur et les aspects culturels du spectacle. Mais avant tout, qu'entendons-nous par one man show – ou par one woman show pour ne pas exclure l'élément féminin ? « Spectacle de variétés où l'artiste est seul sur scène.. »⁽³⁾, C'est ainsi que le dictionnaire Larousse définit ce terme, soulignons d'abord que cette définition reste très vague car, elle nous projette vers diverses horizons plus ou moins liés les uns aux autres. De ce fait, un rappel de définitions s'impose pour être clair, car parler de one man show, selon nous, c'est souvent parler de sketch ou de stand up.

Christine Berrou différencie les deux spectacles : « La principale différence entre le sketch et le stand up réside donc dans le fait que le sketch comporte une situation imaginaire composée de gens imaginaires et d'un décor imaginaire. Le stand up, quant à lui, est une discipline minimaliste pratiquée par une personne qui ne joue aucun autre personnage que lui-même et s'adresse au public. Toutefois, ce « lui-même » est souvent caricaturé.»⁽⁴⁾, l'un étant un spectacle où l'acteur joue le rôle de plusieurs personnages imaginaires, c'est le sketch ; l'autre, le stand up où l'acteur, debout, ne fait que raconter sa propre vie, ses journées, les situations qu'il vit au quotidien d'une façon comique et, la plupart du temps, improvisé. *Christine Berrou* parle aussi d'un autre genre de one man show, que les acteurs pratiquent souvent sur scène: « entre l'un et l'autre, dans les faits, les choses ne sont pas aussi tranchées. S'il existe des spectacles uniquement composés de sketches et d'autres uniquement composés de stand up, la plupart d'entre eux mélangent largement ces deux formes d'humour. C'est le « sketch up ». Car entre les deux disciplines, il existe un dégradé infini de formes: un stand upper peut faire intervenir un personnage imaginaire, un sketch peut parfois laisser une part d'interactivité avec le public.»⁽⁵⁾ Ainsi, il est clair que le traducteur doit, avant tout, savoir reconnaître et distinguer entre les différents types de one man show avant de commencer de traduire. Une fois l'identification faite, question principale sur la stratégie à adopter pour traduire ce spectacle sans oublier que le traducteur doit faire face à deux problèmes majeurs : traduire le texte théâtral et traduire le comique qu'on y trouve.

1) Traduire le texte théâtral

Il n'est pas toujours évident ni courant de parler à un traducteur de one man show de théories de traduction théâtrale. C'est souvent devant une grande impasse que le traducteur aura à chercher le moyen qui lui permettra de traduire un texte qui ne ressemble pas aux autres textes, non pas parce qu'il est face à un texte de théâtre avec toute ses spécificités mais surtout parce qu'il est face à un acteur qui improvise et qui rajoute sa touche personnelle à son propre texte et à son spectacle, ce qui ne facilite pas toujours la tâche du traducteur.

Les théoriciens s'intéressent de plus en plus aux théories de traduction de théâtre, *Fabio Regattin* les regroupe en quatre catégories : les théories littéraires, les théories basées

3 - Larousse informatisé: <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/one-man-show/56033/synonyme>

4 - Berrou Christine, *Écrire un one man show et monter sur scène*, France , Groupe Eyrolles, 2012 , p13

5 - Ibidem, p 14

sur le texte dramatique, les théories basées sur le texte spectaculaire et les théories néolittéraires.⁽⁶⁾

A. les théories littéraires selon lesquelles le texte théâtral n'est pas aussi spécifique puisque on retrouve des aspects textuels semblables aux dialogues des romans, comme l'oralité et la caractérisation d'un personnage, ce qui mène les adeptes de ces théories à classer la traduction du texte théâtral comme une traduction purement littéraire.⁽⁷⁾

B. Les théories basées sur le texte dramatique prennent en considération les caractéristiques du texte théâtral. Les partisans de ces théories relèvent quelques aspects qui sont de véritables problèmes de traduction. Mis à part les didascalies, « indications données à un acteur par l'auteur sur son manuscrit »⁽⁸⁾, généralement sous forme de texte descriptif et prescriptif et qui ne représentent pas une réelle difficulté pour le traducteur, les répliques, bien au contraire, sont de véritables obstacles bien spécifiques à la traduction théâtrale. *Fabio Regattin* relève encore une fois deux aspects : « l'immédiateté du discours théâtral » et la « jouabilité » de ce texte. A l'inverse des autres textes littéraires qui peuvent être lu et relu plusieurs fois afin de comprendre leurs discours, le traducteur du texte théâtral doit, avant tout, comprendre qu'il est face à un texte qui va être joué et prononcé devant des spectateurs, dans un espace et un temps bien limité. De ce fait, il doit préserver cette dimension orale dans son texte, sans oublier, bien sur, d'adapter et de restituer les valeurs culturelles du texte source dans sa traduction.⁽⁹⁾

C. les théories basées sur le texte spectaculaire, inspirées des études sémiotiques sur le texte et le spectacle théâtral, ces théories favorisent la présentation sur scène puisque le texte n'est enfin de compte qu'un élément parmi d'autres, prenant en compte « la variété des signes qui interviennent dans le cours de la représentation »⁽¹⁰⁾. Les traducteurs, selon ces théories, doivent être en relation directe avec les metteurs en scène et les acteurs, c'est ce qu'affirme *Margaret Tomarchio* : « Il paraît donc essentiel que le traducteur soit présent, d'une part pour veiller à ce que la fidélité qu'il a recherchée dans sa traduction soit respectée, d'autre part pour réaliser en collaboration avec le metteur en scène et les acteurs, dans un climat de respect et de confiance mutuels, toutes les virtualités théâtrales du texte »⁽¹¹⁾. C'est parce que chaque geste, chaque mime, chaque décor, chaque son a sa signification, son propre sens et porte un certain discours dans la présentation théâtrale que le traducteur ne peut en aucun cas négliger. D'où l'importance d'un travail collectif entre lui et toute une équipe qui veillera à reproduire une autre représentation théâtrale dans une langue cible. Donc la traduction théâtrale n'est en fin de compte qu'une réécriture d'un texte théâtral dans la langue cible, ainsi la traduction réelle n'est accomplie qu'avec l'accomplissement de la

6 -Notons que *Fabio Regattin* à emprunté les termes « texte dramatique » (dramatic text) et « texte spectaculaire » (performance text) du sémioticiens anglais Keir Elam pour faire la distinction entre est le texte écrit et réalisation du texte dramatique sur scène. Pour plus de détails cf : *Regattin Fabio*, op cit, p 157

7 - cf : *Regattin Fabio*, op cit, p 158-159

8- Larousse en ligne : <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/didascalie/25370?Q=didascalie#25253>

9 - cf : *Regattin Fabio*, ibidem, p 159-161

10 - Ibidem, p 162

11- Margaret TOMARCHIO, Le théâtre en traduction: quelques réflexions sur le rôle du traducteur (Beckett, Pinter) Palimpsestes n°3, 1990,p 90 /cité par *Regattin Fabio*, ibidem, p162

représentation sur scène.⁽¹²⁾

D. *les théories néolittéraires* plus récentes, elles remettent en scène la classification de la traduction du texte théâtral comme traduction littéraire, tout en prenant en compte sa mise en scène ou sa multitude de mises en scène. Nous pouvons dire, donc, que ces théories néolittéraires ne sont en fin de compte qu'une fusion d'une multitude de théories qui rassemblent les trois précédentes catégories, c'est-à-dire traduire le texte théâtral avec les mêmes exigences d'une traduction littéraire, tout en respectant la spécificité de ce type de texte et bien sur veiller à ce qu'il y ait une collaboration entre le metteur en scène et le traducteur qui ne doit, en aucun cas, négliger les caractéristiques du texte source.⁽¹³⁾

Après ce petit aperçu théorique de la traduction du texte théâtral, nous nous rendons compte, encore une fois, de la difficulté de la tâche du traducteur du one man show, ce qui mène à une autre question: peut-on classer le one man show dans la catégorie de la traduction littéraire ?

Il est difficile de le classer ainsi, de part la simplicité de son discours, son oralité éminente et aussi l'improvisation des acteurs, que le texte du one man show est considéré comme « *un texte caméléon* » qui change de couleur de spectacle en spectacle sans vraiment changer, tout en gardant son côté comique. Ce dernier représente un autre défi pour le traducteur.

2) Traduire le comique:

Traduire de one man show c'est aussi traduire de comique sous ses différentes formes allant des plus simples au plus complexes. Ainsi, le traducteur doit franchir un deuxième obstacle, qui s'avère être, parfois, une véritable impasse. C'est parce que le comique appartient à la culture qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de le traduire et de préserver sa forme d'origine dans la langue cible, *Anne Leibold* évoque la question :

« La traduction de l'humour est un défi stimulant. Elle exige le décodage précis du discours humoristique dans son contexte original, le transfert de ce discours dans un environnement linguistique et culturel différent souvent disparates et sa reformulation dans une nouvelle énonciation qui recapture l'intention du message humoristique original avec succès et évoque dans la public cible une réponse agréable et ludique équivalente». ⁽¹⁴⁾

Il en découle qu'il est évident que le traducteur du one man show doit, avant tout, relever les répliques qui font rire et chercher leurs équivalents possibles dans la langue cible.

Traduire le one man show c'est avant tout une double opération : traduire le spectacle théâtral avec toute sa spécificité d'un côté et traduire le comique spécifique à chaque comédien de l'autre. Prenons comme exemple le one man show du célèbre humoriste algérien

12 - cf : *Regattin Fabio*, op cit, p 162-163

13 - cf : *ibidem*, p 163-164

14 -Nous traduisons : « The translation of humor is stimulating challenge. It requires the accurate decoding of humorous speech in its original context, the transfer of that speech in a different and often disparate linguistic and cultural environment and its reformulation in a new utterance which successfully recapture the intention of the original humorous message and evokes in the target audience an equivalent pleasurable and playful response» *Leibold Anne*, The translation of humor : who says it can't be done ?, méta V 34, N°1,1989, P109 Disponible en ligne sur le site Erudit : <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/003459ar>

Fellag⁽¹⁵⁾ « Djurdjurassique Bled » représenté sur scène en deux langues à savoir le français et l'arabe (dialectal algérien pour plus de précision) pour essayer de montrer quelques difficultés dont nous avons déjà évoqué.

Au début de son spectacle *Fellag* évoque une des spécificités du peuple algérien qui, selon le comédien, rate tout ce qu'il veut faire. Énoncé ainsi, cela ne fait sûrement pas rire en le lisant mais c'est sa présentation sur scène qui va créer l'effet comique :

« *Je ne sais pas pourquoi chez nous, en Algérie, aucune mayonnaise ne prend. Rien ne marche rien ne tient, rien ne dure ! Tout coule !* »⁽¹⁶⁾

Dans le début du même spectacle en arabe, le comédien traduira presque littéralement cet énoncé mais retrouve un léger changement de code et l'utilisation de jeu de mot réussi à garder pour garder l'effet comique.

« *ما رانيش عارف علاش! مارانيش عارف علاش! مارانيش عارف علاش في بلادنا في نزاير والو ما يحكم، والو ما يشد تم، في بلادنا même الكوكا كولا* »

Le comédien a changé la mayonnaise, sauce très célèbre dans la gastronomie française, par le « *Coca Cola* », boisson très appréciée par les algériens mais aussi une grande entreprise mondiale de boissons. Le comédien a su garder l'effet comique non pas par la présentation scénique de cet énoncé mais par le jeu de mots « *cola* » et « *coula* » qui veut dire couler en dialecte algérien.

Nous prenons un autre exemple que nous trouvons très intéressant et que le comédien n'a ni traduit ni même modifié dans le spectacle mais il a préféré garder l'énoncé tel qu'il est dans les deux spectacles. *Fellag* parle « *d'un titi algérien* », un homme bien habillé bien coiffé attendant son tour pour demander le visa dans une longue file d'attente. Bousculé, il se dispute avec un autre :

« Ah, ti me parles pas KOMÇA ! Tu ne sais pas qui je suis !!! » et le jeune lui a répondu : « Qui tu suis-je ? tu crois qu'il n'ya que toi qui suis-je ! nous somme tous des suis-je ? Moi aussi je suis- un suis-je, qu'est ce que tu crois-je ? »⁽¹⁷⁾

Notons, ici, que le comédien joue avec l'inversion du sujet et du verbe qui est la marque de l'interrogation pour créer un effet comique et continue cet énoncé en improvisant en dialecte algérien même dans le spectacle en langue française, sans doute pour marquer son identité algérienne, encore une fois, avec un jeu de mots pour continuer avec « les suis-je ».

⁽¹⁸⁾ « *الي راهو يطيب في ال merguez راهو يشويز (vechwizz) même* »

Pouvons-nous parler d'intraduisibilité du one man show dans ce cas là ? Le traducteur se trouvera sans doute devant une impasse dans un cas pareil, et que le comédien a préféré garder le même énoncé sans le traduire vu que les spectateurs algériens comprennent la langue française, mais quelle serait la bonne stratégie pour traduire cet énoncé dans un arabe

15- Mohamed Fellag est un célèbre comédien algérien d'expression française d'origine kabyle.

16 - fellag, Djurdjurassique Bled, France, éditions J.C Lattès, 1999, p 11

17 - Fellag, op cit, p 41.

18 - Nous le traduisons en français: « même celui qui cuisine les merguez est entrain de les faire griller » Notons que le jeu de mots et l'effet comique disparaît complètement

destiné à un public qui ne comprend pas la langue française ? Les exemples de la difficulté de la traduction du one man show ne manquent pas dans le spectacle de *fellag*, entre l'improvisation et les jeux de mots, les injures et l'utilisation de l'amazigh pour marquer son identité algérienne et berbère, le traducteur se trouvera devant un réel défi de traduction.

Conclusion

La traduction du one man show demande au traducteur, non seulement, une grande maîtrise de l'écriture dramaturge et de l'art du spectacle mais aussi d'avoir un grand sens de l'humour et une grande culture de la langue cible pour pouvoir recréer le même effet comique dans la langue dans laquelle il traduit. S'agit-il réellement d'une traduction ? la question reste ouverte, car traduire le one show, selon notre conviction, n'est pas seulement une traduction normale comme la traductions des autres textes littéraires et qu'elle est loin d'être seulement une adaptation. C'est avant tout, une réécriture d'un autre spectacle qui ressemble, dans son essence, au spectacle de la langue source, mais qui n'est, en fin de compte, qu'un nouveau one man show dans une autre langue et pour une culture différente.

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Anabaptized ‘moderate’: ‘moderate Islamists,’ American think tanks, and the roadmap to ‘the Jasmine Revolution’ and ‘the Arab Spring’

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Abstract

Since January 2011, the Tunisian uprisings and their aftermath have generated a spate of analyses and attempts to historicize what seemed to many in the academic circles elusive moments. In addition to chronicles, flows of books, anthologies, dispatches, and other edited mementos historicizing the uprisings have sought to embrace the complexity of what occurred and its ramifications. However, the majority of these insider and outsider accounts on the subject tend to corroborate to what has become a global romance of a ‘revolution without leaders-’ without philosophers, further tickling a lurking sense of “Tunisian exceptionalism.” Ironically, the spread of popular uprisings in neighboring countries turned what was (mis)taken for a Tunisian distinctive feature into a common pattern cutting across the region. Still, it has remained until now critically under-examined and unquestioned, which has, in my opinion, contributed to hamper realistic assessment and accurate reading of the Tunisian experience and its outcomes. This paper aims to question the myth of a “revolution without philosophers.” It attempts to examine one of the many missing elements of the 2011 scenario by delineating the profile of its overlooked omniscient “Philosophers” and tracing the broad outlines of the ideological apparatus informing the 2011 events and shaping their aftermath. First, it delves into the Western ideological roots of moderate Islamism.” Borrowing a Western lens, the paper tries to draw a portrait of the new “ruling elite”-the so-called “moderate Islamists,” US alternative “reliable interlocutors” to the falling “secular dictators,” and to depict the concomitant democracy promotion moral canopy on which the new strategic thinking rests. Second, it studies the broad terms of the compact made between these new strategic actors and US policy strategists and policy makers. Third, it will provide a sketch of the roadmap towards implementing the new strategic plans for the region as laid down by US think tanks and highlight the shaky foundations of the democratization project. The paper concludes with an assessment of the strategic project and demonstrates the shortsightedness of its philosophers and actors.

Keywords: Moderate Islam, Islam and Democracy, think tanks, Arab spring, leaderless Revolution.

Background

In December 2010, Tunisian citizens took to the streets following the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, a produce vendor from the south-central town of Sidi Bouzid. The ensuing protests over rampant corruption, lack of economic opportunity, and police violence spread across the impoverished south and moved northward before reaching the capital, Tunis. An explosive mix of socio-economic problems and widespread and deepening political grievances constituted a common causal thread that drove Tunisians to Avenue Habib Bourguiba on January 14th, 2011 to demand political liberties, basic freedoms, and dignity.

Despite the harsh persecution that the Islamists suffered under the Ben Ali regime, the uprisings were neither initiated, nor guided, nor were they primarily expressed in religious terms. The uprisings' brandished slogans were marked by the absence of Islamic ideology. Nor did they reflect alternative ideologies. On the whole they appeared post-ideological, civic, and universal in nature. The civic nature of the demonstrations and the un-Islamist leanings of most of the dramatic personae, including the predominantly uncovered Tunisian women, took the world in general and the West in particular by storm, challenging old paradigms and mindsets regarding the Middle East. They highlighted the inadequacy of received wisdoms about the Middle East that proceed from the premise of some sort of Arab or Muslim exceptionalism. The Tunisian uprisings de-sacralized the region, questioning the predominant role attributed to religion, where 'Islamic' is applied to every aspect of culture and society, including the immunity Muslim/Arab societies to waves of democratization, which have transformed other regions.

However, this de-sacralization process was short-lived. The return of Rached Ghannouchi, the spiritual leader of Ennahda, the largest Islamist movement in Tunisia, two weeks after the ouster of ben Ali, the way he was welcomed by his followers at the airport (chanting a song sung to welcome Prophet Mohammed to Medina), and the round-the-clock worldwide media coverage his return received were reminiscent of the return of the Khomeini from exile after the Iranian Revolution at almost the same time in 1979. However, the new Islamic leader, with his trimmed beard and Western suit (without a tie), was marketed to Tunisians and to the rest of the world as the harbinger of "moderate Islam," significantly marking the theoretical decline of one Islamist model -Iran's-(1) and the ascent of another-Turkey's. Ghannouchi, who claimed his ideas inspired the Turkish AKP, as well as an increasing number of Ennahda leaders, who used to be in exile or underground before January 14th, invaded the Tunisian public square overnight. They upheld the AKP as a useful model, claiming the civic nature of their party and boosting, as the most powerful and organized party, that they would prove that "Islam" and "democracy" are not antithetical.

A pattern seemed in the making across the region as Islamists came to power in all the neighboring countries that were swept by similar swift downfalls of their autocratic secular leaderships following popular mass demonstrations. Surprisingly, the West, the US in particular, welcomed the rise of Islamism in the region. Having for long observed a double standard in its relations with most Arab countries by turning a blind eye to internal repression, especially of

Islamists in the name of fighting US-led global war on terrorism, the Obama administration and Western governments and media lauded the rise of Islamists to power. Ghannouchi, the leader of the major Islamist party in Tunisia, who was considered for more than two decades as “a terrorist” by US authorities and denied entry visa to the US, was hailed as “a moderate Muslim.” His first visit to the US in November 2011, soon after his party’s electoral victory and 22 days before the first-Islamist led government was formed, was widely covered by US media and scholars, some of whom described it as “a sign of the times,” (Lynch, 2011) ushering in a new era in US relations with “moderate Islamists.” In geostrategic terms, the latter represent the “new credible interlocutors,” upon whom lies the historical mission of helping the US establish “genuine” democracies in the Muslim world. Yet, this and subsequent visits of Ghannouchi to the US, which speak volumes about the newly role assigned by traditional Western global players to the Islamists in the MENA region, went unnoticed by the Tunisian media and a political class traumatized and frustrated by the unexpected landslide victory of the Islamist deserters (expats by choice), who avoided fighting the dictatorship from within and through legal means for more than two decades.

Ghannouchi was in Washington in November 2011 at the invitation of Foreign Policy (2), after being named one of its Top 100 Global Thinkers. His books were written for the most part in Arabic, none of which had been translated into English before 2011. Most of them were written in the 80s, 90s, and early 2000 reflecting the same theocratic Islamist fundamentals of his godfathers. Certainly, he was not invited as one of the Islamist Ulamas who had broken new grounds in the stagnant Islamist tradition of Ijtihad/exegesis as this was the topic of none of the meetings he attended. He rather appeared at a wide range of think tanks, such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and met with a range of U.S. government officials, journalists, and policy analysts from the Brookings Institution, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, and the Center for Foreign Relations, all of which are American (pro-Israeli) think tanks whose main mission is to educate American politicians about the Middle East to influence their policies towards the promotion of US-Israeli interests in the region. On November 30th, 2011, Ghannouchi participated in a round table discussion at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP). The WINEP was founded in 1985 by Martin Indyk, a founder of a research institute inside AIPAC (the most influential Israeli Lobby known as the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee), a former (Jewish) ambassador of the USA in Israel before he became vice-president of the Brookings Institute. Indyk, himself would invite Gahnouchi to the Saban Center for Middle East Policy on May 31st, 2013 (3 months after the assassination of opposition leader Chokri Belaid) to give a talk about “Tunisian democracy” under “moderate” Islamism. The Saban Center, named after the Israeli-American Billionaire Haim Saban, is a research center that was set up by the Brookings Institution to study US role in the Middle East.

Following the foot ideological trails of the Top 100 thinkers who figured on the same list with his name, such as Barack Obama, Dick Cheney, Ben Shalom Bernanke, Condaleezza Rice, Christine Lagarde, Recep Erdogan, Bernard-Henry Levy, John McCain, and Meir Dagan (Head of the Mossad), Ghannouchi took the freedom to cherish the beginning of the fall of the

nation states and announce the impending fall of the monarchies in the Muslim world in 2012. With the benediction of the ventriloquists of the new World order and the project for the Greater Middle East and with the applause of the US centers of strategic studies, Ghannouchi, a pawn in a complex game, hailed the inevitable change in the political map of the MENA region in his speech at WINEP. Of course, Ghannouchi did not openly define the alternative form of governance that would rise on the wreck of post-world war I map drawn by the then rising empires. That was part of the secret deal between the “moderate Islamists” and the third millennium’s global powers that he thanked for “supporting the Arab Spring,” the kickoff leading up to the fulfillment of a promised new form of governance. However, this new form of governance did not remain secret for long. On the eve of Ghannouchi’s speech in Washington, his party’s prime minister-designate Hammadi Jebali, a close friend of John McCain (another Top 100 Thinker) and one of the engineers of the “moderate-Islamist”-American deal forged inside Tunisia in 2006 (as proven through Wikileaks (3) US embassy cables), declared at a cross-Islamist-spectrum popular meeting that “[w]e are in the sixth caliphate, God willing.” He expressed his staunch belief that Tunisia was headed for a form of Islamic governance that ended in 1924 with the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate. At long last, it seems that the global powers fulfilled the promise they had made to the Islamists at the heyday of the global recruitment campaign of the Jihadists (1980s) who fought on the side of the US and helped bring about the resounding defeat of the Soviet forces in 1989 and set a landmark towards the emergence of a unipolar world order in the early 1990s.

Jebali felt empowered by Ghannouchi’s visit to the US to pay the oath of allegiance to the superpower and to renew the terms of the compact that had been made in the previous decade between worldwide representatives of the Islamic trend, called “moderate Muslims,” and the US decision makers with the mediation of the pro-Israeli American think tanks. As will be analyzed later in this work, the latter had designed a well-knit road map to convince US decision makers to withdraw their support from the worn-out secular dictatorships and to rely on “moderate Islamists,” who they presented as America’s new “reliable interlocutors” who are willing to offer unconditioned support for the implementation of US pending strategic plans in the region as long as they secure US support to reach and remain in power. (4)

Congress’s standing ovation for the Tunisian people and Western governments’ unanimous acceptance of Islamist control of the state apparatuses in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya aside, the unanimous global adoption of the brand mark “moderate Islamists” to refer to this rising category of Islamists in academic circles, media outlets, and social networks casts a shadow of doubt on the spontaneity of the so-called “spontaneous leaderless revolution.” A Masternarrative was unfolding and it is only by deciphering the enigmatic concept “Moderate Islamists,” which refers to the chief beneficiaries of the whole process, rather than focusing on the identities of the actors who helped stage the scene that the plots and subplots of this Masternarrative can be unraveled. Unfortunately, the euphoria of a global public relations campaign orchestrated in the West to market the uniqueness of the elusive events of 2011 and their aftermath in the modern history of the MENA region, has mislead many Tunisian scholars and politicians across the non-Islamist ideological spectrum into the Western set-perspective

focusing on “the making of the ‘revolution’ rather than its makers. To atone for their failure to orchestrate a prerequisite intellectual “revolution” to help guide the unpredicted political one, Tunisian scholars have, for the most part, been vying to fill out academic gaps about “the making of the Revolution” by producing flows of works on such “revolutionary actors” as the poor, the youth, the cyber-activists, the women, the middle classes, etc., rather than the real makers of the “revolutions,” understandably a role they were supposed, but missed the opportunity, to play.(5) Against this background, the second part of this work will broach an alternative perspective by attempting to dissect the theoretical (historical, geopolitical, geostrategic, and intellectual) foundations of “moderate Islamism” as a Western ideological construct.

1-The “Moderate Islamist” construct and the Empire’s ideological arsenal -The historical and geopolitical roots

In April 2009, speaking at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies a few days before Obama’s first historic visit to Turkey, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan rejected attempts to call Turkey the representative of ‘moderate Islam.’ “It is unacceptable for us to agree with such a definition. Turkey has never been a country to represent such a concept. Moreover, Islam cannot be classified as moderate or not,” argued Erdoğan. (Guncelleme, 2009) Political rhetoric aside, the label was rejected because it was formulated by American policy makers to set off the rising tide of what they perceived as “radical Islamic movements.” This move started during Bill Clinton’s presidency but has reached a new ascendancy since 9/11, 2001.

The embers of Ground Zero hardly settled on 9/11 when a feverish search began throughout the US and the Muslim world for “moderate Muslims,” a minority of ‘good guys’ who would provide answers, condemn, and distance themselves from the violent acts of the opposite camp, the “Muslim extremists.” Two distinct categories of Muslims rapidly emerged: the “moderates” and “non-moderates.” The logic behind this categorization was reinforced by the two options the former US president George W. Bush gave for Muslims, “either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.” Since then, “Moderate Muslims” has been used as a label to designate Muslims who are ‘friendly’ with the US, and “non-moderate Muslims” as a designation for Muslims who oppose the West. As such, President Bush provided Westerners with a new standardized double-dimensional lens, which is slightly different from the one that Edward Said defined as “Orientalism.” (Said, 1978) While the contemporary version of the latter lumped up all Muslims in one category and presented them as “raging terrorists” bent on plotting to threaten the security of the US, the new lens -Neo-Orientalism- distinguishes a minority of “moderates” from the rest who are not.

Like Orientalism, ‘Neo-Orientalism’(6) must be analyzed within the historical, cultural, institutional, and geopolitical context in which it was constructed to provide the ideological frame that defines US new role in the world. Indeed, in their attempts to bolster the foundations of the post-Cold War world order embodied in considering the whole world as one country’s *imperium* led by the US, a corps of geopolitical strategists and liberal intellectuals have been bent on delineating the outlines of America’s new role in the world. To secure American strategic

interests in the Muslim world, contain Russian, Chinese, and Iranian influence under the cloak of US war on terrorism, and to enhance the religious identity of Israel as a Jewish state, so far surrounded by predominantly secular states, they felt the need to renew US former alliance with the Muslim world's Islamists (Jihadists).

Forged in the late 1980s, a successful alliance between the US and Islamic Jihadist groups (the Afghan Mujahideen) represented a milestone towards the dismemberment of the USSR and the emergence of "the new world order." However, such alliance floundered as the US invaded Iraq, built military bases in the region, and did not fulfill what Mamdani defined in *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim* as CIA / US promises to their Islamist allies, which consisted in helping them export the Islamic revolution of Afghanistan to the rest of the Muslim world. As Mamdani succinctly puts it,

The point was to integrate guerilla training with the teaching of Islam and thus create "Islamic guerillas"...The madrassahs not only opened their doors to Islamic radicals from around the world, but also taught that the Islamic revolution in Afghanistan would be but a precursor to revolution in other Muslim-majority countries. (Mamdani, 2004:136)

However, the US did not live up to its promises and continued to support secular dictators. With the return of victorious Afghan mujahideen to their home countries along with the unremitting flow of Gulf petro-dollar, Islamic revivalist movements started gaining ground in the Muslim World in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Islamists made significant electoral gains in Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria during that period. The latter plunged into civil war as the Algerian military annulled the elections, banned the Islamic Salvation Front which won the first round of elections in 1991 and arrested its members. Their counterparts in other Muslim countries, including Tunisia, faced the same fate.

Of these countries, Tunisia was the least to export mujahideen to Afghanistan even though leaders of the then radicalized Islamist spectrum, including Islamists from the city of Sidi Bouzid, played a key role in the recruitment campaign (Bergen, 2002). This was the case mainly because political Islam was an ideological transplant which had no socio-historical roots in the society. It was encouraged by the Bourguiba regime in the 1970s to contain a growing leftist movement, which was then perceived as an imminent threat to the regime. Yet, it turned into the most violent force threatening to destabilize the state. The movement's (to-date unamended) 1981 founding statements did by no means offer the Tunisian society a model for a democratic alternative to the Bourguiba regime. It embraced an ideological package blending Iranian revolutionism and Muslim Brotherhood extremist methods as reflected in R. Ghannouchi's declarations in 1979: "during this century [the fifteenth Muslim century, which was about to begin] Islam will go from defense to attack. It will reach new heights. It will be the century of the Islamic state." (Enhaili, 2010: 396) While the confrontation between the Bourguiba regime and the Islamists led to the downfall of Bourguiba who insisted on the execution of Ghannouchi in November 1987, the post-1989-elections confrontations, (7) which put an end to the honeymoon between the Islamists and the ben Ali regime came to an end with the defeat of the Islamist camp in 1992.

The geopolitical dynamics played a determinant role in defining the outcome of the conflict in favor of the secularist camp. As he denounced US invasion of (Iraq) and Saudi Arabia for allowing the US to deploy forces and establish military bases in the lands of Islam in 1990, Ghannouchi, leading the extremist side of an already variegated Islamist spectrum, (8) lost the logistic support of the US and the financial support of Saudi Arabia to establish the Islamic state he dreamt of. Mocking Ghannouchi's attempt to ingratiate himself with the then US Assistant Secretary of State to get a review of a denied visa application after the end of the First Gulf War, Martin Kramer, an American-Israeli scholar, sums up some of the key factors which brought about the tragic flaw of Ghannouchi and the floundering of the promised Islamist state project in an article titled "A U.S. Visa for an Islamic Extremist?" and published by *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* in June 1994. Kramer writes:

Ghannouchi also threatened the United States. Speaking in Khartoum during the crisis, he said, "There must be no doubt that we will strike anywhere against whoever strikes Iraq ... We must wage unceasing war against the Americans until they leave the land of Islam, or we will burn and destroy all their interests across the entire Islamic world... Muslim youth must be serious in their warning to the Americans that a blow to Iraq will be a license to strike American and Western interests throughout the Islamic world." [...] Assuming a valid distinction can be made between Islamists who are "extremist" and "reformist," Ghannouchi clearly belongs to the first category. (Kramer, 1994)

Ghannouchi's miscalculated anti-Westernism left the way open for ben Ali to court the West's support while setting the foundations of one of the most stifling police states in the region. This was not surprising as Ben Ali, who was more likely forced to provide a presidential car to drive Ghannouchi to the Algerian borders in 1992 to live in Western exile (rather than Tunisian jails), was aware that Al-nahda was part of a broader and more complex geopolitical game, the rules of which were set by players that "the victorious" ben Ali feared more than al-nahda. Indeed, since then, al-nahda became an offshore operation sustained by supporters in Europe and North America, where they would work their way back to power in 2011.

For more than a decade following the fall of the Soviet Union and the first Iraqi war, the US tried to maintain the status quo in the Muslim world by supporting authoritarian regimes on the belief that Islamist agenda is inimical to the West, and represents a threat to the stability of Israel. However, 9/11 changed some of the declared objectives of US foreign policy in the region. Drastic measures were taken by the Bush administration to challenge the status quo, sending alarming messages to Middle Eastern autocrats and spots of hope to the leadership of the Islamist movements who were waiting for changes in US attitude towards secular rulers to seize power. In February 2004, *Al Hayat*, a London-based Arabic newspaper published a White House draft titled "The Greater Middle East Initiative" aiming at democratizing the Middle East. The draft, which was meant to be presented at the G-8 meeting in June 2004, elicited angry responses from Arab leaders. As a result, it was amended into "The Broader Middle East Initiative," declaring G8 support for political, social, and economic reform in the region in the June 2004 summit (Weisman: 2004).

Subsequent reports were issued by governmental, non-governmental, and non-profit organizations in the West, drawing attention to freedom deficit and lack of political participation in the Middle East. These include, for instance, "Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa Report" (2005) by Freedom House and UNDP's "Arab Human Development Report 2004." These and similar reports revealed that mainly Islamists were denied the right to political participation in the Muslim world. This was not surprising in a post-9/11 context where secular autocrats, vying for US support for their regimes, passed anti-terrorism laws which targeted mainly Islamists (America's declared enemies) and run against international human rights standards.

Paradoxically, these violations gave a moral canopy and a declared objective- promoting democracy- to US projected geostrategic interests in the region. Washington's avowed objective was based on the less obvious premise that lack of democracy in the region was a contributing factor to terrorism and anti-Americanism, and that if full electoral democracy in the Middle East was to be promoted, it would inevitably bring Islamist groups in droves to power. This premise may sound post-Orientalist as it recognizes a possible compatibility between Islam and democracy. However, it perpetuates Orientalist reductive clichés, which have always tended to associate all phenomena in the Muslim world with the realm of Islam. It overestimates the role of Islamist groups in the democratization process and marginalizes other indigenous social and political actors who, upon close study of Middle Eastern societies, may by far be more qualified to put their countries on the path towards democratization than the Islamists. However, the expansionist dimension of America's version of Manifest Destiny for the 21st century, with its concomitant version of democratization, requires that the whole region be painted with the timeless Islamist brush, but with a new shade of "moderation."

The electoral victories of the Muslim Brotherhood at the Egyptian parliamentary elections of 2005 and of Hamas at the 2006 Palestinian elections, bringing back the memory the Islamist victory in Algeria in the 1990s, helped American strategic thinkers generalize a pattern throughout the region: a second Islamist revival. Upon observation, this revival, like the previous revival, was of America's own making. Indeed, the predominantly un-Islamist mood, which was reflected in the sympathy of the Muslim streets and mainstream Muslim clerics with the American people and their renunciation of Islamic extremism after 9/11, turned anti-American and, therefore, pro-Islamist following US invasion of Iraq in 2003. (B. Salem, 2010) This shift was reinforced by the numerous atrocities and humiliating sadistic human rights violation scandals (murder, rape, collective punishment) committed by US occupation forces against Iraqi civilians. These include the widely broadcast Abu Ghareeb jail scandal revelations (2004), and the Haditha (2005) and Falluja (2004) massacres.⁽⁹⁾ Notorious for their extreme use of force, these atrocities dominated international headlines. They fueled an enduring Iraqi and Arab distrust of the United States and of their secular America-backed regimes that were unable to hold the US accountable for what they perceived as a war on Islam and the Muslim world.

The Muslim publics, who could not see any rational link between the regime of Saddam Hussein and Islamic terrorism, came to perceive US unilateral invasion of Iraq as a colonial war

on Islam, a Crusade (as President Bush qualified it) aiming to tighten US firm grip on the natural resources of the region and to transplant Westernized, Israel-friendly secular regimes. Consequently, Bush's support for autocratic secular regimes, which was marketed as the most viable strategy to help stability reign in the post-Cold War context, was perceived by the increasingly anti-American Muslim streets as support for the agents of colonialism and Zionism and the enemies of Islam. As the anti-terrorism laws adopted by these regimes under US tutelage further stifled freedoms of expression and gathering in the region, as corruption deepened, and as the repercussions of the global economic crisis, which ruthlessly hit Muslim societies, compounded the frustration of Muslim streets and their anti-Western sentiments, the once 'unpopular' Islamist parties popped up as an attractive alternative by brandishing Islam as the solution. In countries, like Tunisia where Islamist parties were banned and where the country's Zaytouni Maliki Islam had kept aloof from politics, cyber-Islam and global satellite channels filled out the gap with alien, at times, extremist ideologies.

Turning to Islamism or forms of political Islam was in reality a coping strategy, a form of political romanticism which reflects a longing within wider sections of Muslim societies for an imagined pre-Islamic-fall world order which met the aspirations of Muslim societies fourteen centuries ago. It was an imaginary attempt to revive a timeless moral code which bolstered the Islamic golden age and to reproduce it in the 21st century as an antidote to the Muslim world's repeated West-inflicted frustrations and perennial decline. By being offered forms of political Islam, Muslim societies are brought to confound the original creed (Islam) with altogether different political creeds, with origins in the 19th century, tailor-made for colonial contexts (Dreyfuss, 2005). As such, while some Muslims and Muslim countries consider forms of political Islam heretical, in Muslim societies where political Islamist movements have firm social and historical grounding due to geostrategic proximity from Western-backed political Islamisms' custodian countries, Muslims, unaware of the historical context in which these movements appeared, tend to confuse the universal values of Islam with timely codes marketed to Muslim societies as the 'true' Islam. They have fallen either under the spell of US-partly forsaken Saudi Wahabi Muslim World League doctrines (which produced 9/11, al Qaeda, and the Taliban), or the competing doctrines of the US-supported, Qatar-sponsored Muslim Brotherhood's World League of Muslim Scientists (with Al Qaradawi and Ghannouchi as key figures). The popularity of the latter as an alternative brand of political Islam marketed for the Muslim streets rose with the rise of Qatar-based Al-jazeera satellite channel with its shocking coverage of US occupation of Iraq. Such correlation explains why polls taken by Western polling agencies to gauge the spread of US-stoked new religious revivalism in the past decade focused mainly on societies where political Islamist movements have firm social and historical grounding (Tunisia was almost always excluded) to come up with the generalization that Muslim societies prefer to be ruled by Islamist parties and according to 'sharia' (mistaken for timeless Islam) rather than by secular regimes and secular constitutions. John Esposito and Dalia Mojahed's analysis of the 6-year Gallup survey of the Muslim world epitomizes this trend supporting the cause of "moderate Islam" as a democratic alternative to secular dictatorships, (10) and helping define its broad outlines as the 21st century Western-backed version of political Islam that would preserve US strategic goals in the region.

The rise of an alternative Western-fed version of political Islamism in the Muslim world in the past decade was meant to leave the American administration with only one alternative option to the costly post-9/11 confrontationalist approach to Islamist movements and justify America's off-course attempts to consider ways to engage them and develop a policy on democratically elected Islamists. New strategic thinking was needed to help average Americans and hawkish confrontationalists in the Bush administration overcome what came to be known in strategic thinking as "the Islamist dilemma," i.e., how America can promote democracy in the region without risking bringing Islamists to power. This dilemma had crippled US strategic plans and was to be overcome. Accordingly, media and policy circles provided forums for concomitant debates, where post-9/11 discussions on whether Islam (rather than other factors) explains the freedom deficit and lack of democracy in the region gradually gave way to questions about whether Islam and/or which forms of Islam can co-exist with democracy.

Being important channels of hegemonic communication and consensus engineering (Herman, 2002), US media provided a forum for such debates. In a groundbreaking study examining media representation of the specific relationship between "Islam" and "democracy" in the American prestige press between 1985 and 2005, Smeeta Mishra found out that the coverage of 'Islam' and 'democracy' increased substantially after the 9/11 attacks, reaching a peak when US invaded Iraq in 2003. She argued that

knowledge about Islam and democracy was produced primarily in conflict situations when the world's greatest power came in contact with Middle Eastern countries in coercive capacities ... The nature of coverage with its focus on violence, barbaric punishments and conflict heightened the sense of fear and paranoia about the 'threat' of Islam and established the need to control it by Western intervention. However, it must also be noted that the second dominant leading sub-topic of overall coverage was about moderate Islam's compatibility with democracy. (Mishra, 2006:212)

These media debates were an adjunct to fierce and protracted academic debates about 'moderate Islam's' compatibility with 'democracy,' linking lack of democracy in the Muslim world to anti-Americanism and terrorism. These intellectual debates are worth studying.

-The intellectual and academic roots

The intellectual debate about "moderate Islamism" and its compatibility with democracy brought to the surface simmering conflicts between the confrontationalists and the accommodationists who had been competing for the attention of US policy makers for the past three decades. The former, led by Princeton scholar Bernard Lewis, Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington, and other scholars, kept on advocating the clash between Islam and the West and the incompatibility of Islam with democracy. This camp dominated the intellectual debate before and after 9/11. The supporters of the opposite camp, led by John Esposito, Robert Heffner, Noah Feldman, (11) and others, perceive the Islamic threat as a myth (Esposito, 1999), and kept on making distinctions between 'moderate Muslims' who want to come to power through democratic elections and what they consider an extremist minority who are undemocratic and espouse

violence. These accommodationists seem to have gradually dominated the scene after US costly invasion of Iraq in 2003.

The concept also created conflicting responses within Islamist circles. Some Scholars of Islam discarded it as contradictory to Islamic scripture as Islam is considered 'moderate' compared to other religions. They dismiss it as a Western construct. The main argument that runs across such works as 'Don't Call Me Moderate, Call Me Normal' by Ed Husain, 'Mystics, Modernists and Literalists' by Akbar Ahmed, and 'Don't Gloss over the Violent Texts' by Tawfik Hamid, for example, is that the designation 'moderate Islam' is simplistic and flawed as it is meant to differentiate a minority of Muslims as a category from 'radical Islam,' insinuating that real Islam-often perceived as radical- is intolerable, while Islam in moderation is tolerable. These and likeminded scholars consider that Western contribution should consist in helping promote a more nuanced and accurate understanding of Muslim societies.

However, while the opposite camp of American Muslim scholars recognized the limits of the category 'moderate Muslims,' they adopted it. Eager to have a say in shaping US foreign policy in the Middle East after 9/11 (B.H. Salem, 2010), they helped the accommodationist camp by contributing to define the concept from within. In fact, the decade that preceded the so-called 'Arab spring' witnessed the flow of streams of articles and volumes about "moderate Islam" in the United States, written mainly by American Muslim scholars or scholars of Islam in America who are associated with mainstream American Muslim organizations and research institutes and who were striving to make themselves heard to the foreign policy makers in the Bush administration after 9/11. Frustrated by their exclusion from the debate on US post-9/11 counterterrorism policy and the predominant influence that the pro-Israeli lobbies and think tanks have played in shaping the course of US relations with the Muslim world, they presented themselves as voices of moderation within the US (condemning terrorism and adhering to America's democratic values), and as an epitome of like-minded 'moderate Muslims' throughout the Muslim world who, unlike them, are unable to make the moderate voice of Islam heard because they live under secular dictatorships. At the core of their message, which gained momentum after the sheer failure of the Bush administration to bring democracy to the Iraqi people through an endless military occupation, (12) is the premise that if democracy is given a chance to bloom in the Middle East, 'moderate Muslim' voices will reverberate throughout the Middle East. They argued that their message of moderation would offer an alternative to extremist interpretations of Islam which, according to them, thrived under secular dictatorships that stifled voices of moderation in the Muslim world. Most of them had affiliations, leanings or sympathy with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt or one of its offshoots across the Muslim world.

Even though they recognize the limits of the category 'moderate Muslims,' American Muslim scholars contributed with varying degrees to define it and its distinctive features in tandem with American accommodationist scholars in an unremitting surge of articles. "Reflection on the 'Moderate Muslims' Debate" by Taha Jabir al-Alwani, and "Moderate Muslims: A Mainstream of Modernists, Islamists, Conservatives, and traditionalists" by John Esposito, and

, “Islamic Democracy and Moderate Muslims: The Straight path Runs Through the Middle East Khan, M. A. Muqtedar published in the same issue of the American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences in summer 2005 as well as *Debating Moderate Islam* (2007) by M. A. Muqtedar, and *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy* by Khaled Abou El Fadl (2004) not only represent samples in a flow of contributions to define “moderate Islam” but also to associate it with democracy by helping clarify the philosophical and theological compatibility between ‘Islam’ (in its moderate version) and ‘democracy’ from within.

Since the 1990s, Brotherhood Islamist groups in the US as well as across the Muslim world, which had developed as single-issue parties preoccupied with proselytizing and instituting sharia law, increasingly started focusing on democratic reform, publicly committing themselves to the alternation of power through elections and popular sovereignty. However, their ideas did not resonate within US decision making circles. This was not surprising as the 1990s did not represent the Muslim Brotherhood’s moment in US strategic thinking. The moment came after 9/11, 2001 as a battery of defense strategists and foreign policy analysts associated with a wide range of think tanks came to associate theory with policy and define a specific role for the Muslim Brotherhood branches, so-called ‘moderate Islamist groups,’ to help implement US strategic plans in the Muslim world. A survey of such plans is compelling to define the ideological roots of the so-called “spontaneous leaderless revolutions” and their distant philosophers.

2-The Architects of “the Arab Spring”: American Think Tanks, ‘Moderate Muslims,’ and democracy promotion

During the decade that preceded the advent of the so-called ‘Arab Spring,’ a battery of defense strategists and foreign policy analysts associated with a wide range of think tanks, including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institute, and the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy published streams of volumes on Islamist groups in the Middle East. They came to present ‘moderate Islamists’ as alternative credible interlocutors for the US. *Rethinking the Battle of Ideas: How the United States Can Help Muslim Moderates* (2008), *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East* (2005), *Building Moderate Muslim Networks* (2007), ‘The Muslim Middle East: Is there a Democratic Option?’ (2007), “The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood: Friend or Foe?” (2007), and “Strategies for Engaging Political Islam” (2010) represent drops in an unremitting flow of volumes published by American think tanks to help advance the accommodationist cause beyond defending the theological and philosophical arguments supporting the compatibility of Islam with democracy (see bibliography). They provided US policy makers with pragmatic and practical strategies on how to engage ‘moderate Muslims’ and expedite the implementation of US strategic plans in the region.

Most of these works tend to draw clear lines between the ‘moderate’ Islamist groups, embodied in the Muslim Brotherhood and its worldwide offshoots, and the extremist Jihadi groups, embodied in al Qaeda. Some of them, however, express varying degrees of faith in the

ability of the Islamists of the Muslim Brotherhood to embrace democratic values and acknowledge their inherently undemocratic nature. A case in point is Thomas R. McCabe, who argued in 'The Muslim Middle East: Is there a Democratic Option?' that 'American counterterrorism strategy defines as "moderate" or "mainstream" any Muslim who does not support the jihadi extremists, which sets the bar very low and does not consider the question of how widespread such support actually might be.' Accordingly, he considers that 'Moderate' Islamist groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, 'are moderate only in relative terms, are mostly antidemocratic, and are more correctly considered nonviolent enemies of the U.S.' As such, he warns US policy makers that a democratic opening in the Muslim Middle East 'is all too likely to bring to power profoundly antidemocratic groups that are virulently and possibly violently hostile to the U.S.' He recommended as a possible alternative strategy 'one stressing good government, with gradual democratization as societies decompress.' (McCabe, 2007:483)

Not totally dismissing these fears, it seems that at the core of most of these theories there is an unwavering belief that, the United States no longer had a choice. According to Leiken and Steven Brooke, if the United States is to cope with the Muslim revival while advancing key national interests,

policy makers must recognize its almost infinite variety of political (and apolitical) orientations. When it comes to the Muslim Brotherhood, the beginning of wisdom lies in differentiating it from radical Islam and recognizing the significant differences between national Brotherhood organizations. That diversity suggests Washington should adopt a case-by-case approach, letting the situation in each individual country determine when talking with--or even working with--the Brotherhood is feasible and appropriate. In the United States' often futile search for "moderate Muslims" with active community support--and at a moment when, isolated and suspect, Washington should be taking stock of its interests and capabilities in the Muslim world--a conversation with the Muslim Brotherhood makes strong strategic sense. (Leiken, 2007)

To advance its hegemonic ambitions in the region--strengthening its grip on Middle Eastern oil wealth and markets, extending its network of military bases and facilities, and redrawing the map of the region by establishing pipeline states on the wreck of the current nation states-- and to make good use of the Islamist revival stoked up by the fires of anti-Americanism fanned by its imperial policies in Iraq and its passionate attachment to Israel (to recruit Jihadists for its new wars), the US had to reinvent a moral canopy for its imperial policies in the region by brandishing a new version of the democratization mission. Consequently, it had to stop supporting secular dictatorships and look for 'moderate groups' within an almost infinite variety of political and apolitical Islamist orientations in the region. In this respect, Leiken and likeminded political strategists helped free US policymaking from the shackles of considering Islamist groups as an extremist monolith. As such, they removed a hurdle which had handicapped US policymakers and prevented them from implementing pending US strategic plans in the region.

As they singled out the Muslim Brotherhood as the only variation of political Islam in the Muslim world that is capable of helping bring Western democracy to the region, these scholars not only discarded the cacophony of non-Islamist voices emanating from the region, but also other variations of political Islam, (13) upon which the US (following the British precedent) had relied at the earlier stages of empire building in the region (Dreyfuss, 2005). These include the Wahabi-inspired Muslim World League which played a key role in financing Islamist groups in the Muslim world in the 1980s, helping furnish a global Jihadist army bringing about a cost-free historical victory for the US in the 1989 Afghan- USSR war. However, this brand of Islamism ended up being associated with terrorism and anti-Americanism in US collective memory after 9/11 as the majority of the hijackers were Saudi nationals. As such, by selecting the Muslim Brotherhood groups, which are subsumed under the umbrella of the recently established-Qatar sponsored pro-US World League of Islamic Social Scientists, whose rise to prominence since 9/11, 2001 has represented a real challenge to the Saudi authoritative role over sunni Islam in the Muslim World and to Saudi-US relations, these policy shapers tended to dispel American fears about the incompatibility of Islamists' religious commitments and Western democratic commitments for pluralism, peaceful political succession, women's rights; and about the kind of foreign policies such groups might pursue, especially with respect to the state of Israel.

Following perennial Orientalist approaches based on silencing cacophonous native populations and selecting one voice to speak on their behalf (Said, 1997), American strategic thinkers claimed that they had analyzed each national and local Islamist group independently and sought out those that were open to engagement. In 'The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood,' Leiken boosts that

Over the past year, we have met with dozens of Brotherhood leaders and activists from Egypt, France, Jordan, Spain, Syria, Tunisia, and the United Kingdom. In long and sometimes heated discussions, we explored the Brotherhood's stance on democracy and jihad, Israel and Iraq, the United States, and what sort of society the group seeks to create. The Brotherhood is a collection of national groups with differing outlooks, and the various factions disagree about how best to advance its mission. But all reject global jihad while embracing elections and other features of democracy. There is also a current within the Brotherhood willing to engage with the United States. In the past several decades, this current -- along with the realities of practical politics -- has pushed much of the Brotherhood toward moderation. (Leiken, 2007)

Accordingly, US strategic thinkers came to recognize that the Muslim Brotherhood presents a notable opportunity to advance US strategic plans in the region under the cloak of democratization and to reinvent US image in the Arab streets by creating seemingly anti-Western, yet US-friendly, new ruling elite. The protracted interviews conducted with the leaders of these movements in exile or in their countries rather than a deep review of recent Islamist literature to gauge the real depth of their ideological change gave these scholars confidence that in their pursuit of power, the strong pragmatic tendencies of 'mainstream' Brotherhood Islamist organizations across the Muslim world showed that they were willing to compromise their extremist ideology and make difficult choices (Krebs, 2008).

Thus, by anabaptizing a section of the political Islamist spectrum “moderate” on the eve of the so-called “Arab spring,” a new pact was made. It consisted in securing US assistance to a section of the (militant) Islamist spectrum to reach power through ‘democratic means’ in return for helping promote US strategic plans in the region under the cloak of democracy promotion. But how are these new ‘moderate Islamists’ going to temper the more extremist groups of the Islamist spectrum and their grassroots, whose main aim is to establish the Islamic Caliphate that fuses the post-colonial nation-state borders (a strategic aim they share with the US)? How are they going to neutralize the adverse secularist, nationalist, and leftist sections of the political spectrum and attract them to play the new democratic game according to the new rules set by the ventriloquists of the global order?

To help all ends meet, the architects of this strategic thinking got assurances from these ‘moderate Islamists,’ after decade-long interviews made throughout the Muslim world and the Islamic diasporas in the West, that they would abandon the old ideological package of the 1980s characterized theologically by universalism, monopoly of religious truth, exclusivism, and obligation; and politically by seizure of power through undemocratic means, such as infiltration of the state security and defense apparatuses, staging coups, and political assassinations. The interviewees, as clearly stated in most of their works, were also promised that if assisted by the US to reach power, which would only happen with US-induced fall of the secular dictatorships, the ‘moderate Islamists’ would embrace an alternative ideological package. This package consists in maintaining the civic aspect of the state, recognizing universal human rights (such as gender equality and freedom of worship), and acknowledging both politically and theologically pluralism, inclusion, and compromise in principles and practice (Rabasa, 2007). As such, the new package does not exclude acceptance of forms of shari’a / Islamic law. While it recognizes that shari’a is incompatible with democracy, it recommends that the ‘moderate Islamists’ should adopt non-sectarian sources of law by being selective and by choosing from Shari’a what may be compatible with democracy and incompatible with terrorism and use of illegitimate sources of violence. The new package’s definition “violence” is as hazy as that of its definition of the “sources of law.” The important thing, according to the advocates of the ‘moderate Islamist’ project is to define the ethical principles that regulate violence. In this respect they argue that ‘violence against civilians and suicide operations [understandably against Western and Israeli targets], ‘that is to say terrorism, is not legitimate. It is, however, legitimate to use violence defensively to protect Muslims against aggressors, [understandably Muslims of different sects]. They also consider that ‘legitimate violence must respect normative limits, such as using minimum force required, respecting the lives of non-combatants, and avoiding ambushes and assassinations.’ (Rabasa, 2007: 66-67)

This package, formulated by the RAND Corporation in *Building Moderate Muslim Networks* (2007), crowns a series of earlier studies conducted by the same institute in the aftermath of 9/11 2001, which acted as a catapult urging the American administration to change its strategies in the Middle East. These earlier studies, which include Cheryl Benard’s *Civil Democratic Islam* (2003) and Angel Rabasa et al., *The Muslim World After 9/11* (2004), were intended to gauge the ideological tendencies in the Muslim world to provide a ‘factual’ basis for

the ideological framework of this pact. This pact and the studies upon which it rests were presented to American decision makers as a yardstick to be used to sort out extremist groups (their declared adversaries, but needed pawns) from the moderate ones (their overt potential allies). They provide a moral canopy (a wrapping for US imperial plans in the region) that would be used to justify US seemingly ineluctable recognition of the post-2011 Islamist regimes under the cloak of accepting the status quo on the basis of which the new formula for 'democracy' and '(in)stability' promotion in the region are to be made. They also helped remove major ideological hurdles that are at the core of the American-Islamist dilemma: how to promote democracy in the Muslim world without risking bringing Islamists to power.

Having removed the major ideological hurdles constituting the American-Islamist dilemma, which had paralyzed American strategic plans in the MENA region, American centers of strategic studies provided American decision makers and organizations, such as NGOs attempting to organize support for "moderate Muslims," with a detailed strategic roadmap to guide the Middle East in a 'favorable' direction by playing to Muslim Brotherhood groups' pragmatism or what Rabasa called 'instincts' (Rabasa, 2007). They advised American decision makers to enter into strategic dialogue with the region's Islamist groups and parties. To facilitate this dialogue, works such *Building Moderate Muslim Networks* (2007) offered US policy makers a practical road map for 'moderate' network building in the Muslim world. Defining 'moderate Muslims as 'those who share the key dimensions of democratic culture,' the authors call upon the US government to engage 'moderate Muslims.' They bolstered their argument on three rather shaky Neo-Orientalist generalizations: 'First, that Islamists represent the only real mass-based alternative to authoritarian regimes in the Muslim world'; second, that branches of the Muslim Brotherhood 'have evolved to support pluralistic democracy, women's rights, etc.' and third, that Islamists are 'more likely to be successful in dissuading potential terrorists from committing violence [understandably in Israel and the US] than are mainstream clerics.' (Rabasa, 2007: 66-67-76)

Heeding T.E. Lawrence's advice to the British imperialists on the eve of the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire, (14) the authors cautioned American decision makers against the dangers of outside support of Muslim 'moderates' as an exceedingly sensitive matter in Islamic countries. Instead, they recommended that assistance (capacity-building programs) from international resources must rely on NGOs that have existing relationships in these countries to channel assistance and to engage America's new partners in the Middle East. A special role was attributed in this work to the Washington-based, US-funded Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy (CSID), which was founded as a non-profit organization by Muslim and non-Muslim academics, professionals, and activists in 1999, i.e., two years before September 11th, 2001. Their mission, as they define it on their website, is to study Islamic and democratic political thought and to merge them into a modern Islamic democratic discourse. It was one of the most sought after sources by the American media after 9/11 to act as a "voice of moderation" by denouncing the attacks and distancing them from the teaching of Islam. Soon it developed, along with other predominantly Egyptian Brotherhood Public relations committees, such as the Muslim Public

Affairs Council (MPAC modeled after the Israeli lobby AIPAC)), into staunch advocates of American Muslim engagement in American politics, acting, as Congressional lobbies courting US decision makers to engage them in shaping US foreign policy in the Middle East by presenting candidate for such influential pro-Israeli foreign policy institutions as the Middle East Forum.(B.H.Salem, 2010)

Overnight, a branch of the CSID was founded in Tunisia soon after January 14th within the precincts of the headquarters of Ennahda, Tunisia's "moderate Islamist" party. The CSID-Tunisia is headed by Tunisian-American Radwan Masmoudi, a former leading member of the 'Movement de Tendance Islamique' (the pre-1987 name of Ennahda) and stalwart advocate of its Islamization project. As the director of the CSID, he is well-connected to Islamist Brotherhood organizations worldwide. Since 2008, the CSID has been organizing workshops about 'Islam and democracy' and training 'Islamist activists' in Muslim majority countries, including Tunisia, with the cooperation of American NGO's and the help of few Tunisian human and civil rights organizations which managed to act independently from the government before January 14th. In Sofien ben Farhat's talkshow *Fasl Almaqal*, broadcast on *Attounsia TV* (on January 5th, 2013), Masmoudi also acknowledged that he had served as a go-between Tunisian Islamists, American politicians, and think tanks since 2004.

Since 2004, the CSID had also worked in tandem with US-funded Street Law, which is an organization that creates classroom and community programs to teach activists around the world about democracy and human rights, to develop materials and programs for NGO leaders in the Middle East to train Islamist activists on how to promote democracy in the region. They had distributed materials that link the concepts of democracy to Islamic principles to shatter Islamist grassroots' perception that democracy as a system is foreign to their own culture by pointing to ideas and historical traditions in Islam that support democratic principles, such as *shura* (consultative decision making). The Arabic-language text *Islam and Democracy: Towards Effective Citizenship* was developed in 2005 to teach Islamist grassroots audiences in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco. On February 1st 2006, the Street Law website boasted that Street Law and CSID had introduced the materials to NGOs, youth, and religious and community leaders in each of the participating Arab countries, and 'trained them in how to teach the materials in their communities. In the course of the next six months, these leaders will conduct classes with their constituencies, eventually reaching 2,000 people in each of the four countries.'"(15)

In countries, like Tunisia where freedom of Assembly was curtailed by an arsenal of repressive laws, the American embassy played an important facilitating role in promoting the culture of NGOism before and after the fall of the ben Ali regime. Not surprisingly, that soon after the fall of the ben Ali regime, "the High Commission for the Protection of the Objectives of the Revolution, Political Reform and Democratic Transition" approved a new decree-law number 88 on associations that was then promulgated by the acting president on September 24, 2011. The law, which is still operational in country that has been fighting a war on terrorism, eliminates the crime of "membership in" or "providing services to" an unrecognized organization. The removal

of this provision that had been used to imprison thousands of opposition party activists led to the emergence of more than 9 thousand new associations, most of which have leanings with Islamist parties or serve Islamist agendas. To give a free hand to these organizations to prosper and promote their Islamization project, Article 34 of Chapter Six of the decree law puts no restrictions on the financial resources or subject them to meticulous control. It rather allowed these organizations to accept both domestic and foreign donations, grants and wills. One of the short-term products of this ‘democracy promotion’ strategy is that under the auspices of America’s “moderate Islamists,” these associations have turned Tunisia into the first Muslim world exporter of male Jihadists and female sexual jihadists to the conflict areas, which are in the process of being reshaped into pipeline states in accordance with the empire’s “Project for the Greater Middle East.” It has also helped tighten the bond between arms trafficking, smuggling, illegal trade and terrorism.

These and other developments on the Tunisian stage that I explored in previous research works (B. H. Salem, 2014) expose the fallacies of democracy-promotion through the ‘moderate Islamist’ construct and their reversion to their radical agenda of the 1980s. However, such a backward move was by no means thrown in the realm of the unpredictable by the American centers of strategic studies that hatched the whole project. Indeed, arguments against engaging “moderate Islamists” were raised by some US strategic thinkers in some sort of monologue only to be discarded as a sideshow criticism. These include the absence of any guarantees that the so-called ‘moderate Islamists’ might revert to a more radical agendas once they come to power as was the case with the Islamists of Iran in 1979. They also referred to the fact that official recognition and support would enhance extremist Islamist agenda and credibility and enable them to proselytize more effectively in the community rather than dissuade potential Jihadists from committing potential acts of terrorism. Another counter argument was that building alliances with the Islamists and ignoring the liberal forces on the grounds that ‘moderate and liberal groups are organizationally weak and have been as yet unable to develop substantial constituencies,’ (Rabasa, 2007: 77) would simply perpetuate these weaknesses and would encourage the spread of extremist movements, with high costs on the societies. The 2007 Rand study provides the following blunt response to this very counterargument: “One presumption of this study,” the writers replied, “is that the primary weakness of these groups is organizational and that linking them together in robust networks would amplify their message, broaden their appeal, and enable them to compete more effectively with Islamist groups in the political marketplace.” (Rabasa, 2007: 77)

Accordingly, the assumption is that non-Islamist groups should remain divided and weak so that the Islamists can dominate the scene as the most organized political force in the region. As such, while recognizing the shadow of an impending religious dictatorship headed by a coalition between the Islamist ‘moderates’ and extremists, the authors did not show any attempt to develop a strategy to ward off such a disastrous scenario. On the contrary, they steadfastly wrapped up the issue by unabashedly emphasizing that “still capacity-building programs and resources are better directed at moderate and liberal Muslim organizations.” Yet in a footnote quoting Daniel Brumberg, the authors suggest what might pass as an unperceived strategy to help

launder the image of the Islamists as they promote their latent undemocratic agendas stealthily. In a Washington Quarterly article, scholar Daniel Brumberg (16) argues that uncritical engagement with Islamists in the cause of democracy ‘would strengthen illiberal Islamist forces, particularly in the absence of institutional reform that would prod mainstream Islamists to forge a democratic power-sharing accommodation with regime and with non-Islamist political forces.’ (Rabasa, 78) What can be inferred from this quotation is that in countries where institutional reform is possible, as has been the case in Tunisia, the divided non-Islamist political spectrum will simply supply the Islamists with an unremitting flow of temporary partners who would engage in coalition governments with the ‘moderate Islamists’ only to bear the brunt of the rise of terrorism and the concomitant economic decline, the rise of corruption, the deepening of social and economic injustices, and decline of state institutions due to ‘Islamist’ infiltration of the state apparatus. In this way, the non-Islamist spectrum contributes inadvertently to help create a fertile ground for the rise of the promised Islamic state by accepting to play a make-believe democratic game, the rules and outcomes of which are predetermined by external forces. Accordingly, in an Islamist friendly made-for-the-Muslim-world democracy, premeditated lack of equality of opportunity between competing parties in popular elections, electoral systems that give Islamic parties a number of parliamentary seats that is glaringly disproportional to the secured popular vote, lack of accountability for Islamist parties predestined to remain in power with alternating minor non-Islamist parties become democratic tools by these studies’ standards. Still, the studies recognize that this version of ‘democracy for the dummies’ might fail in some regions and succeed with varying degrees in others due to the regional varieties in which the various branches of the universal Muslim Brotherhood would operate.

The dice was cast and the advent of the Islamist era was hailed by the American centers of strategic studies and decision makers even before Obama’s election in 2008. In her speech at the American University in Cairo in June 2005, Condoleezza Rice referred to US President George W Bush’s second inaugural address, in which he said his aim was to help people find their democratic voice and not to impose a US-style government on them. ‘For 60 years, my country, the United States, pursued stability at the expense of democracy in this region, here in the Middle East, and we achieved neither,’ she told an audience that included government officials and academics in Cairo. ‘Throughout the Middle East the fear of free choices can no longer justify the denial of liberty. It is time to abandon the excuses that are made to avoid the hard work of democracy,’ (17) Ms Rice warned the ‘secular/nationalist’ dictators.

“Seeking a new beginning” between the US and the Muslim world has become a common theme running through President Obama’s statements since his election in 2008. Obama’s first trip overseas as a president was to Turkey. His speeches in Turkey (April 6th, 2009,) and then in Cairo (June 4th, 2009) carry Ms Rice’s logic further. At the core of his speeches was the idea that the US must atone for its past policies in the Muslim world. His speeches reflect a dramatic shift in the American Administrations’ relation with the then American-backed secular dictatorships as the president announced his unwavering commitment to all governments that reflect the will of the people. He also expressed his administration’s resolve to ‘respect the right of all peaceful and

law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them (implying the Islamists). And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments – provided they govern with respect for all their people.’ (18) In singling out Turkey as a “moderate Islamic” country, (19) he anabaptized “moderate Islam”/Universal Brotherhood political Islam in its ‘exemplary’ Turkish version as a panacea to America’s protracted “Islamist dilemma” and as a force that would give the new version of ‘democracy’ a chance to bloom in the region. The great experiment began early in 2011 as Arab publics took to the street in Tunisia and later on in neighboring countries to topple down the “secular dictators” who secured the continuity of post-world War II nation states, and as they soon went to the polls in Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt, and to no one’s surprise, Islamist parties came out on top in each case. Did all this happen spontaneously? Certainly, not.

Conclusion

Since January 2011, the Tunisian uprisings and their aftermath have generated a spate of analyses and attempts to historicize what seemed to many in the academic circles elusive moments. However, the majority of the accounts on the subject tend to corroborate to what has become a global romance of a ‘revolution without leaders-without philosophers.’ This work questions this myth by arguing that the events that happened in the MENA region in 2011 are part of a Masternarrative written in the American centers of strategic studies. This paper claims a ground for itself by focusing on the makers rather than the making of the so-called ‘revolutions.’ It delineates the profile of their overlooked omniscient ‘Philosophers,’ and traces the broad outlines of the ideological apparatus informing the 2011 events and shaping their aftermath. It sets off to analyze the Western ideological roots of the ‘moderate Islamist’ construct that was advanced as a ‘reliable alternative’ to the worn out secular dictatorships. This work also studied the broad terms of the compact made between these new strategic actors, US policy strategists, and policy makers and provided a sketch of the roadmap towards implementing the new strategic plans for the region as laid down by US think tanks.

Upon observation, this Neo-Orientalist strategic thinking is not founded on deep delving into the cultural, historical, and ideological diversities within Muslim civil societies. It rather reduces them into one of the relatively stagnant ideological variations of political Islam marketed by its Western and Middle Eastern demagogues as the embodiment of timeless Islam. With total disregard for the internal and external dynamics that have been reshaping inherently diverse Muslim societies and guiding their evolving aspirations, Western strategic thinkers stroke a deal with the Islamist expatriates and activists they interviewed in the past decade. They got assurances from them, and their representatives in American/ Western Muslim political action committees (PACs), that once they are assisted to seize power through elections, they would adjust their religious assumptions and ideologies and make them meet the requirements of Western democracy.

Both sides tended to ignore internal historical and cultural dynamisms within Muslim societies that had already helped some of them generate their own versions of “moderate Islam” that is not necessarily in line with the imported version of (political) Islam espoused by the

Universal Muslim Brotherhood, and their own version of democracy, which is not necessarily at variance with its Western counterpart, but bears the cultural and historical specificities of those civil societies. As demonstrated through previous research work I conducted about the Tunisian experience under ‘moderate Islamist’ rule between 2011 and 2014, (and as adversely confirmed through the Egyptian, Libyan and Syrian cases), the new recipe for democracy promotion, which is based on an exotic match between a transplanted version of political Islam and an American version of democracy ‘made for the Muslim world,’ cannot lead to any form of democratic transition in Muslim societies. Moves towards democratization are only possible where civil societies within respective Muslim countries have already developed internal mechanisms that would enable them to carve a democratic process of their own. The Tunisian experience with political Islam since 2011 has shown that the Islamist project has rather been founded on the attempt to eradicate the cultural and historical foundations upon which rests the civil society’s indigenous democratization project as reflected in the slogans of the 2011 uprisings (B.H.Salem, 2014). Yet through a distortive global public relations campaign, that invites deeper academic studies, the little gains made so far by the sponsors of the indigenous project aiming to set the country on the path of democratization through a desperate fight against the transplanted theocratic project of the Islamists have been unabashedly attributed to the ‘moderate Islamists’ to launder their undemocratic record.

Both the Islamists and their Western sponsors believe in the backwardness of the indigenous cultures of the target societies. No ordinary observer of American/Western Orientalist literature, film industry (Shaheen, 2001-2008), social history textbooks, and media reports on the region in the past decades will fail to notice how backward Muslim societies are perceived compared to the civilized West, which vindicates the West’s ‘civilizing mission.’ The Islamists also consider themselves invaders (fatihs), whose special mission is to spread the ‘true Islam’ amongst the heathen (indigenous population). This explains why in Tunisia, for example, the majority Islamist party and its Islamist orbit spared no effort to divide the society into ‘Muslims’ (those who are with them) and ‘infidels’ (those who are against their Islamist project) immediately after the fall of the secular regime. Rather than helping promote democratization projects that are in sync with the internal dynamics and aspirations of each Muslim society targeted by the so-called ‘Arab spring’, both the ‘moderate Islamists’ and their Western sponsors presented Muslim societies with a –then- ‘successful’ Turkish model, which was marketed as a telltale sign of a successful match between ‘Islam’ and ‘democracy’ and as an alternative to the Iranian model. This was done with total disregard for the cultural, historical, and geostrategic specificities of the Turkish context which helped create some sort of ‘Turkish miracle’ that is currently on the verge of falling apart under the heavy load of corruption charges brought against government and accusations of sponsorship of extremist Islamist groups in the current lands of Jihad in the region.

End Notes

- 1- Iran initially attempted to applaud the rebellions as an expression of popular opposition to secular tyrants, but it quickly transpired that protesters were not clamoring for an Iranian-style polity.
- 2- *Foreign Policy* is published by the Council on Foreign Relations whose counterpart in Britain is Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs). Both think tanks have as a main objective influencing and helping shape global decision-making and international relations. On November 26th, 2012, Chatham House followed suit and conferred its prize on Rached Ghannouchi and Moncef Marzouki.
- 3- According to a Wikileaks cable bearing the ID number 06TUNIS2298, a delegation of the American Embassy met with Hammadi Jebali in Sousse in 2006 to discuss the future of “moderate Islamists” as a viable alternative to the crumbling dictatorships. Among the arguments that were put forward by Jebali to convince the Americans to support the integration of “the moderate Islamists” in Tunisian politics is that the “younger generation of radical Islamists, who according to him are more radical than the old generation of “moderate Islamists” that he represents, refuse all forms of communication with “the dictator.” Therefore, “the moderates” were presented as the only political force that can communicate with the radicals to temper their radicalism and that is also willing to enter into dialogue with the dictatorship to negotiate modalities leading to their reintegration within the political texture of Tunisia. So powerful, it seems, was US support for the rise of Islamists to power that on July 23rd, 2006, the same Wikileaks source reported that nine members of the Islamist party Ennahda sent a letter to Ben Ali to express their willingness to build new bridges of dialogue with the regime and request the reintegration of the Islamists in the political life of the country. An ordinary observer of the Tunisian scene at that time will not fail to notice that the question of debate with the radicals, who were under full control under the secular regime, was groundless. So why did the US want an interlocutor with the radical Islamist groups? What is its strategic importance for the US? Certainly, the answers would not be provided by Wikileaks, nor by US centers of strategic studies, but can be inferred from the quick rise of Tunisia into the world’s first exporter of terrorists to the Syrian war thanks to the logistic support of the ruling “moderate Islamists,” and the benediction of a silent international community and the US that turned their backs to a crime against humanity.
- 4- A similar deal was made with the ben Ali regime in 1992 after the Islamists opposed US and Saudi military intervention in Iraq and sided with Saddam Hussein.
- 5- A case in point is the work edited by the Tunisian-American scholar Nouri Gana titled *The making of the Tunisian revolution: contexts, architects and prospects* (2013). The book includes contributions made, among others, by Monica Marks of the Brookings Institute and Moncef Marzouki-appointed director of the Tunisian Center of Strategic studies Tarek Kahlaoui. Moncef Marzouki, the former president of Tunisia under Islamist rule and one of the signatories of the famous letter sent to President Obama in May 2009 by global supporters of “moderate Islam,” including some Tunisian opposition leaders to ask him to support the rise of moderate Islamists to power, was introduced as one of the indirect contributors to this work. In one of the quoted statements attributed to Marzouki, he unabashedly asserted that what happened in Tunisia was not part of a Master narrative. The letter that was signed by a wide range of American Think tanks can be retrieved from the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy website at http://www.csionline.org/documents/pdf/Open_Letter_to_Pres_Obama_about_Democracy.pdf
- 6- I am using the concept “Neo-Orientalism” to refer to an upgraded version of American Orientalism. American Orientalism was born in the throes of the Iranian revolution and was associated with the rise of an unwanted Islamist model. The rise of the new US-sponsored Islamist model requires a new terminology. For US strategic thinkers, the rise of Islamists in Tunisia significantly marked the theoretical decline of one Islamist model -Iran’s- and the ascent of another-Turkey’s.

- 7- Major violent operations included the terrorist attack on the RCD office in Bab Souika in 1991 and the May 91 plot to topple the regime that was also masterminded by the Islamists.
- 8- These included Zeitouni-oriented Islamists, the Tunisianists, who founded the Progressive Islamist Group in 1982. They called for breaking all ties with the Muslim Brotherhood's heritage, which they considered outdated and out of tune with the Tunisian context. They advocated the need to create a societal project suited to the national character of the country rather than a political body aiming at taking power. The surge in Islamist militancy within the MTI was backed up by a cluster of radical salafi currents who favored using terrorism as a catalyst for popular uprisings to dismantle the civic state and build on its wrecks the Islamic state. These included mainly Al Islam Al Jihadi (Islamic Jihad, JI), Al Jabhat al Islamiya Al Tunisiyya (Tunisian Islamic front, FIT), and Hizb al Tahrir al-Islami (Islamic Liberation Parti, PLI).
- 9- In response to the killing of the four American contractors and the public display of their corpses, the US occupation forces wiped out the town, destroying houses, mosques, schools and clinics.
- 10- Esposito and Mogahed's *Who Speaks for Islam?* (2008) presents the findings of the Gallup Poll of the Muslim world, which is considered the first ever data-based analysis of the points of view of more than 90% of the global Muslim community between 2001 and 2007.
- 11- Eye witnesses reported in January 2014 that Feldman fled from the Tunisian NCA, escaping attacks from non-Islamist NCA members who noticed his presence in Bardo. This bespeaks a refusal of any form of Western tutelage.
- 12- US protracted military occupation of Iraq generated a spate of attacks on the Bush administration inside the US due to the rising economic and human costs of what had become perceived as an unjust war by US taxpayers.
- 13- On March 7th, 2014, Saudi Arabia, who defines itself as the custodian of universal Islam, declared the Muslim Brotherhood, its US-sponsored competitor, a terrorist organization. Since then, Ghannouchi, who once defined his party as a branch of the Brotherhood to get Western support to reach power, has been trying to deny all links with it. This attests to the shaky foundations of Western categorizations of Islamist groups and their unabated pragmatism.
- 14- "Do not try to do too much with your hands. Better the Arabs do it tolerably than that you do it perfectly. It is their war, and you are there to help them, not to win it for them. Actually, also, under the very odd conditions of Arabia, your practiced work will not be as good as, perhaps you think it is." Source: T.E. Lawrence. (8/20/1917). *Arab Bulletin*. Retrieved January 20, 2011 from www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_27_Articles_of_T.E._Lawrence.
- 15- Street Law. 'Teaching about Democracy in the Middle East.' Retrieved February 20, 2011 from http://www.streetlaw.org/en/newsroom/Article/23/Teaching_About_Democracy_in_the_Middle_East
- 16- Daniel Brumberg, "Islam Is Not the Solution (or the Problem)," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Winter 2005–2006.
- 17- 'Remarks at the American University in Cairo.' Retrieved February 6, 2012 from <http://2001-2009.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/48328.htm>
- 18- 'Remarks by the President at Cairo University, 6-4-09.' Retrieved September 2010 from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>
- 19- U.S Secretary of State Hillary Clinton had praised Turkey as 'a democratic country with a secular constitution' during her visit to Ankara in March 2009.

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Project KMMANLY: U.S. Intelligence and the Subversion of Media in Post-War Germany

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Abstract

This research explores the manner in which the Central Intelligence Agency orchestrated a black operation in West Germany in the early Cold War to enhance the national interests of the United States. At a time when the latter was openly condemning German military tradition, branches of United States intelligence were organizing a covert nationwide media campaign targeting pacifists and neutralists and all those opposed to the remilitarization of West Germany and its integration into a European military pact of defense. This article analyses how, through clandestine assets, the Central Intelligence Agency spent thousands of U.S. dollars to convince the German population of the necessity to rearm.

Keywords: West Germany, Central Intelligence Agency, KMMANLY, remilitarization.

Introduction

The start of the Cold War in 1947 and the creation of two antagonistic blocs dramatically altered world affairs, triggering new scopes and issues in the field of international relations.¹ The Berlin Crisis of 1948-1949 and the beginning of the Korean War in 1950 made the United States realize that an open conflict with the Soviet Union could start at any time and that, in order to gain momentum, the geostrategic balance in Europe had to be adjusted.

The end of World War Two had led to the defeat and demilitarization of Germany and the dismemberment of the country into four zones of occupation. In the years that followed, the Allies conducted various trials to punish the perpetrators of war crimes and implemented a denazification process to cleanse the German society from the remnants of the Nazi ideology and Prussian militarism. U.S. occupational policy was thus fully committed to the principle that Germany had to be kept down and that a German rearmament had to be prevented at all costs. This approach began to change at the end of the 1940's, however, as the Americans became convinced that, in order to mount an effective challenge to the Soviet Union, the contribution of the German people would be needed. Consequently, the United States started to orientate its foreign policy towards the reintegration of Germany into the international political scene. The union of the three zones occupied by the United States, the United Kingdom, and France in June 1948 was to prove the first step leading towards the assumption of power by an elected German government, which took place with the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in May 1949.

The establishment of West Germany paved the way for a general debate over the country's future role in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the place it should occupy in the defense of Western Europe.² The Treaty of Brussels signed in March 1948 by six countries of Western Europe had established a pact of mutual defense against any eventual Soviet aggression. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949 further expanded the system of collective defense and brought to the light the question of a German contribution. Opposing any German rearmament and the integration of the country into NATO, France proposed the creation in 1950 of a European Defense Community (EDC) that would serve as a replacement solution to a German entry into the Atlanticist organization.³ This alternative was highly encouraged by the United States, which sought by all means to influence the West German government to join the newly proposed EDC. While

¹ Although disagreements still exist over its precise beginning, most historians consider the Cold War to have started in 1947. While clarifying the official American stand, the Truman Doctrine and its containment policy, elaborated in the President's famous speech to Congress on March 12, 1947, sanctioned a situation that already existed in the intelligence field, where a fierce covert war was in full sway.

² For studies concerning the general issue of West German rearmament see Alaric Searle, *Wehrmacht Generals, West German Society, and the Debate on Rearmament, 1949-1959* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003) and David Clay Large, *Germans to the Front: West German Rearmament in the Adenauer Era* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

³ Known as the Plevien Plan after the name of the French President of the Council René Plevien, the proposal called for the establishment of a European Defense Community through the creation of a supranational European military body. Illustrating the French fears of a German rearmament, the plan envisioned the creation of German military units that would be placed under the control of the EDC, thus attempting to prevent the West German government from exerting control over the armed units to be raised.

the Americans knew that intense diplomatic efforts on the part of the Department of State would be needed to achieve such an aim, they also realized that covert mediums would also be necessary to convince the German population of the necessity to rearm.

Created in 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had received the task of conducting both intelligence and counterintelligence activities.⁴ Apart from being active in such fields as information-gathering, espionage, and counter-espionage, the agency also operated a whole range of clandestine activities, which included special operations, psychological and economic warfare, and subversion. The Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), a branch created in 1948 as a semi-autonomous organization inside the CIA, was charged with the implementation of projects and operations in such areas.

Targeting those segments of the German population which were most opposed to the entry of West Germany in the EDC, the CIA implemented in the period 1951-1952 a covert nationwide campaign to influence public opinion to support the remilitarization of the country.

The German Population and the Rearmament Issue

The end of the war in Europe had not only left Germany devastated and its economy in ruins but had also caused deep psychological wounds on the German population. The post-war trials had brought into light the extent of the Nazi crimes and had, together with the denazification process, convinced the German nation of the necessity to ban military designs and tools in order to prevent the resurgence of that militaristic spirit that had led to the actions perpetrated by the Nazis. This perception was encouraged in the period 1945-1947 by the official position of the Allies, who attempted to eradicate military tradition in the German society by passing a number of laws demilitarizing the armed forces and forbidding the establishment of military conscription. The measures implemented by the Allied Control Council in the immediate years following the war were adopted at a time in which the animosity between the West and the East had not yet transformed into outward hostility.⁵ The major events which took place at the end of the decade radically changed the position of the United States, which realized the necessity for the newly created West German Republic to adopt a firm stance against the Soviet Union and contribute to the defense of Western Europe. In American eyes, however, the German population was not fully convinced of the immediate threat posed by the Eastern Bloc and had to be influenced so that public opinion would rally around the idea of a West German entry into the EDC.⁶

⁴ U.S. intelligence was reorganized several times after WWII. The CIA, which continues to serve today as the only civilian and non-departmental intelligence organization of the United States, was created by the National Security Act of July 1947. For the tasks and prerogatives granted to the agency see National Security Act of 1947, in United States, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *Intelligence Community Legal Reference Book* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2012), 27.

⁵ Formed of the four Allied Commanders-in-Chief, the Allied Control Council was established in the middle of 1945 to serve as Germany's governing body as far as matters not pertaining to specific zones of occupation were concerned. The task of this four-body control council was to implement a denazification process and to supervise the disarmament and the demilitarization of the country.

⁶ This perception was shared by many in the Truman administration as illustrated by the words of U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson in a report to the National Security Council: "The truth is that the majority of Germans, and particularly the democratic elements we are supporting, do not today desire to see Germany have armed

In the years following the creation of the FRG, the intelligence branch of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the notorious Stasi, implemented a propaganda campaign assimilating West Germany to the Third Reich and denouncing the calls for remilitarization as an action aiming at reestablishing German militarism.⁷ The campaign orchestrated by the Russians and their East German allies against the FRG benefited from the belief held by various components of the West German civil society that Germany did not have to follow a path which had been taken by the Nazis during the Third Reich.⁸ Opposition to the entry of the FRG in the EDC was mostly represented by the Social Democratic Party (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* or SPD), the Communist Party of Germany (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* or KPD), veterans' associations, and the German Evangelical Church.⁹

Pacifist ideas were shared by many members of both the SPD and the KPD. The tradition of neutrality held by the German Socialists was deeply rooted in history and was one of the reasons behind the contempt that Hitler and his acolytes held them in. With many of its leaders having spent long years in concentration camps during the Nazi era, the SPD, even though committed to the Western alliance, was firmly attached to the strict demilitarization of Germany. Although it won only a small percentage of the vote in the 1949 Bundestag election, the reorganized KPD still possessed the strong propaganda tools it used to hold before its decimation by the Nazis after 1933 and pushed for the rejection by the German population of any idea of rearmament.

As remilitarization concerned first and foremost the former soldiers of the *Wehrmacht*, the German armed forces during the Third Reich, U.S. intelligence understood that any action aiming at changing the psychological state of the German nation had to pass through a well-organized campaign to influence the former members of both the *Wehrmacht* and the *Waffen-SS*.¹⁰ While naturally inclined to support the West against the Soviet Union, especially after the atrocities committed by the Red Army during the invasion of East Prussia in the beginning of 1945, many of the veterans nevertheless believed that the interests of Germany lay in a strict neutrality towards both West and East.¹¹ This opinion was shared by several former high-ranking officers of the *Wehrmacht* who perceived the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union as a struggle in which the German nation should not interfere.

forces. This is true of the rank and file of the German people, and not only of their elected spokesmen," in United States, Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950, Volume IV, Central and Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union, document 369, NSC 71/1, *Report to the National Security Council by the Secretary of State, July 3, 1950* (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1980).

⁷ In a countermove to the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949, the Soviets responded with the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, in October 1949.

⁸ Project Outline, Project KMMANLY, Operational, undated, in National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Record Group (RG) 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

⁹ NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY. Hereafter German and other non-English words, including military ranks, are italicized.

¹⁰ Created in 1939, the *Waffen-SS* served as the military branch of the Protective Squadron (*Schutzstaffel* or SS). Its members were considered by many as political soldiers in the service of the National Socialist ideology.

¹¹ During its march on Berlin, the Red Army behaved with a savagery seldom witnessed in history. Russian soldiers were encouraged in this course of action by Soviet propaganda, which considered that the German people had to pay the high price for the atrocities committed during the invasion of the Soviet Union. For an account of the events surrounding the invasion of East Prussia by the Red Army see Antony Beevor, *Berlin: The Downfall 1945* (London: Penguin, 2002).

This view is clearly illustrated by the words the former Chief of Staff of the OKH, Colonel General Heinz Guderian, held in August 1950 when he stated that, if possible, he would “rather raise the pistol to both the Americans and the Russians at the same time.”¹² Moreover, many officers were also more concerned with specific issues like the release of prisoners of war (POWs) and the grant of war pensions than in contributing to the common defense of Europe. Many veterans linked the rearmament issue to that of the release of German POWs from Allied prisons, an attitude that was unfavorably looked upon by the Americans because it was perceived as a selfish attempt to gain a tactical advantage whereas the urgent necessity to establish a firm stand against the Russians required that veterans momentarily put aside their own demands.

Religious circles and evangelical churches were also strong opponents of any rearmament of Germany, firmly believing that it was their role to protect Europe in general, and Germany in particular, from the calamity of war.

KMMANLY and the German Media

Receiving the cryptonym KMMANLY, the secret operation of the CIA to get rid of pacifism and neutralism in the West German society and to counter the propaganda efforts of the Russians and their allies was conducted under the cover of the German media. KMMANLY was launched at the end of February 1951, coming under the overall control of the CIA German Mission. The main purpose of the project was to “combat overt and covert opposition to West German integration into the defense of Europe by initiating appropriate action against the chief sources of dissension.”¹³ Operations in the field were supervised by the CIA Frankfurt office. In its campaign, the OPC adopted at the same time grey and black propaganda methods, grey for the SPD and the evangelical churches, black for both Communist and rightist groups.¹⁴ As stated in a report, the OPC used a whole set of tools:

- (1) Messages addressed to the western German population, especially to leaders and members of the SPD and Evangelical Church circles, purporting to come from groups within the GDR and appealing to them not to fall prey to Communist trickery, at the same time reminding them that a strong Federal Republic is the best guarantee of eventual freedom for eastern Germany,
- (2) Posters and leaflets carrying messages concerning the Soviet threat and the need for European cooperation, endorsed by existing indigenous groups or individuals, ...
- (4) Pamphlets discussing the straight issues involved ...
- (5) Public opinion polls weighted with leading questions devised to upset the current polls which are being weighted in an unfriendly direction,
- (6) Additional measures—for instance, influencing individual editors, planting news stories, supporting existing dissenters in target

¹² Headquarters Region V, 66th CIC Detachment, Organizational Summary Report, September 14, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740, quoted in Richard Breitman and Norman J.W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, U.S. Intelligence, and the Cold War* (Washington D.C.: National Archives, 2010), 57. The *Oberkommando des Heeres* (OKH) was the Supreme Command of the German Army (land forces) during the Third Reich.

¹³ Project Outline, Project KMMANLY, Operational, undated, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

¹⁴ While grey propaganda is usually disseminated through information whose author or origin cannot be ascertained, black propaganda is used to spread information which purports to come from the opposing side while in fact originating from your own ranks.

groups, subsidizing meetings and activities of bona fide groups devoted to the same purpose—should be added as occasion arises.¹⁵

The main propaganda efforts were directed through newspapers and other written mediums. The chief press organ used in the project was the German Soldiers' Newspaper (*Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* or DSZ), the official publication of the League for the Protection of former German Soldiers (*Schutzbund Ehemaliger Deutscher Soldaten* or BDS). The latter, a veterans' association formed by former soldiers of the *Wehrmacht*, included thousands of members and was very popular in military circles because it defended the right of soldiers for equal pension, the release of POWs in Allied prisons, and the rehabilitation of several officers of the *Wehrmacht* and the *Waffen-SS*.¹⁶ The DSZ appeared on a weekly basis, in both West Germany and Austria.

The CIA managed to conceal its support to the editorial board of the DSZ by making the newspaper appear as anti-American and pro-German. The anti-American sentiment was mostly perceived in the persistent demand for an equality of rights between West Germany and the United States. Appealing to the feelings of thousands of Germans who still had relatives detained as POWs in Soviet camps, the newspaper published letters from prisoners recalling their anguish and their love for their mother country. Moreover, long lists containing names of POWs were included to remind the German population that thousands of soldiers were still detained in the Soviet Union. In the issue of August 30, 1951, at the request of the OPC, the newspaper included an article on the fate of German POWs in Soviet camps.¹⁷ In the issue of December 13, 1951, emphasis was laid on the fact that 1,300,000 German soldiers who had been active in the Eastern Front were still missing.¹⁸ In the next issues, the editors persistently brought to light the question of German POWs, complying with the demands of the OPC.

The fact of insisting on the prisoners was a very subtle psychological move since the German people had been intoxicated for years during the Third Reich on the fate of all those desperate enough to fall into Russian hands. The Nazis had been clear on what awaited the German prisoners, either the gulags in Siberia or rude prison cells in Moscow or its surroundings. The infamous Lubyanka prison in the Russian capital, run by first the NKVD and then the MGB, was assimilated in the German collective psyche to scenes of torture and utmost bestiality.¹⁹ The CIA was thus touching a raw nerve. Various other propaganda articles were published, targeting the Politburo and the Soviet armed forces. Stalin's cult of personality, for instance, was mocked and vilipended in the issue of December 20, 1951.²⁰ In

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Initially the press organ of the BDS, the *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* later became the official organ of the Association of German Soldiers (*Verband Deutscher Soldaten* or VDS), an umbrella veterans' organization created in September 1951 from various major and minor veterans' associations.

¹⁷ Monthly Project Status Report, October 1951, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

¹⁸ Monthly Project Status Report, January 1952, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

¹⁹ The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (*Narodnyy Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del* or NKVD) was Stalin's secret police. The Ministry of State Security (*Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti* or MGB) served as the intelligence organization of the Soviet Union.

²⁰ Ibid.

October 1951, the newspaper averaged around 34,000 copies per issue and had around 2,750 subscribers.²¹ In January 1952, a special issue was published in 10,000 copies. Its success led to the creation of the DSZ 'Edition B', which appeared on a monthly basis in around 10,000 copies and targeted the members of the *Verband Deutscher Soldaten*.²² Continuing to attract strong support, the main edition of the DSZ appeared in around 33,000 copies in February 1952, while the number of issues of 'Edition B' rose to 30,000 a month around March 1952.²³ In the middle of the same year, under OPC instructions, and taking as an advantage the number of sales and subscribers, the DSZ began to print special propaganda posters, distributing them in West Germany and West Berlin. The first of these posters was entitled "Self-Protection against Soviet Aggression."²⁴

After first using the DSZ the CIA decided to finance two other organs, namely the Military Science Review, or *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, and the European Defense Newsletter, or *Europäische Wehr-Korrespondenz*, to further influence the former officers of the *Wehrmacht* on the need for Germany to rearm and to contribute to the common fight against the Soviet Union. Like the DSZ, these other press organs used in Project KMMANLY also attracted much interest. A monthly publication, the *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau* appeared initially in 3000 copies per issue. The number quickly rose to 5000 copies. Financial support was provided by the OPC to print and distribute around 20,000 advertising pamphlets in January 1952.²⁵ The number of editions of the *Europäische Wehr-Korrespondenz* reached 5000 copies per issue. While the number of its subscribers increased, many of its articles were reprinted in several West German newspapers.²⁶

Brochures were issued by the CIA sponsored Association for Defense Science, or *Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde*, founded in January 1952, and formed by former officers of the *Wehrmacht*. The CIA propaganda efforts appeared in the *Mitteilungen Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde*, the bi-monthly newsletter of the association. The *Mitteilungen Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde* was printed in 1000 copies per issue after its creation in the beginning of 1952, with the number quickly rising to 1,500 under the impetus of the OPC.²⁷ Individual study groups of the *Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde* also published special brochures that counted around 30,000 copies per issue.²⁸ The business manager of the *Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde*, Dr. Wilhelm Classen, was a professor of philosophy and a former member of the *Abwehr* and of the propaganda staff of the OKW who was placed at the head of the association by the OPC.²⁹ He succeeded in shaping "its policies, publications and activities according to OPC

²¹ NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

²² See footnote 15.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Monthly Project Status Report, July 1952, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

²⁵ NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ NARA, Entry ZZ-18, box 20, Wilhelm Classen Name File. The Supreme Command of the *Wehrmacht*, or *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* (OKW), was the body formed of General Staff Officers that exercised full command over the German armed forces during WWII. Its intelligence branch, the *Abwehr*, was the most important intelligence organization of the Third Reich.

instructions.”³⁰ Classen was under complete control of the CIA as demonstrated by a report of his handlers: “When his personal views or policies have conflicted with our own, he has accepted the course laid down by us.”³¹

Along with the financial support provided to press organs and veterans’ groups, the OPC distributed black letters, leaflets, and handbills through obscure sub-groups that were included in the project. Thus, 153, 000 propaganda handbills targeting the Eastern Bloc were printed by one of these groups in 1951 only.³²

KMMANLY, Nazis, and Rightist Groups

The main press organ used by the CIA in KMMANLY, the DSZ, was created by a small group of former Nazis. The idea of a newspaper for German soldiers originated in the prison camp of Garmisch-Partenkirchen where a former member of the NSDAP, Helmut Damerau, and a former colonel of the *Wehrmacht*, Heinrich Detloff von Kalben, were detained.³³ They were later joined in their project by *SS-Obergruppenführer* Felix Steiner and *SS-Standartenführer* Joachim Ruoff.³⁴ The initial capital was provided by Damerau, who distributed the newspaper through *Schild-Verlag*, the publishing house he created in 1950.³⁵

The first issue of the DSZ appeared on June 6, 1951. Like mentioned by historian T.H. Tetens, the DSZ never acknowledged the crimes of the Nazis nor showed the slightest sign of condemnation of the actions of the *Wehrmacht* and the *Waffen-SS*.³⁶ The main issues the newspaper was concerned with were the release of war criminals, the defense of German military honor, and the necessity to reinstate the country in its past greatness. It did not conceal its admiration of the military achievements of both the *Wehrmacht* and the *Waffen-SS*. Some of the articles published were so controversial that the Allies in Austria did not hesitate to ban the distribution of the newspaper. In a letter to the Austrian Chancellor, the representatives of the Allied Control Council stated: “The Allied Council has studied the recent issues of the German newspaper ‘Deutsche Soldatenzeitung’ and considers that its contents are contrary to the principles of the Control Agreement. It therefore decides that the future distribution and sale of this particular newspaper should be prohibited in Austria.”³⁷ Thus, the CIA financed a press organ at the same time that it was banned by the United States in Austria.

Interest on the part of the CIA for various German veterans’ groups increased during the implementation of Project KMMANLY. The agency believed that these groups could be:

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

³³ Der Spiegel, “Deutsche National-Zeitung: Sprachrohr des Volkes,” Issue 11/1963. The National Socialist German Workers’ Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* or NSDAP), the Nazi Party, remained in power from Hitler’s accession to the position of Reichschancellor of Germany to his suicide in 1945.

³⁴ The ranks provided before the names of officers or officials of the SS and *Waffen-SS* are the highest attained by the end of WWII.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ T.H. Tetens, *The New Germany and the Old Nazis* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), 115.

³⁷ Allied Commission for Austria, Gazette, Volumes 74-97, 4. *The German Newspaper “Deutsche Soldatenzeitung,”* Vienna, 16 May 1952 (Austria: Allied Commission for Austria, 1952), xcvi.

(a) induced actively to support Germany's participation in Western defense; (b) encouraged to influence German ex-soldiers and German public opinion in general in favor of democratic ideals and objectives and of the aims of U.S. foreign policy; (c) used for resistance and stay-behind operations, whether directly or as recruiting grounds, in line with general OPC plans and operations in this field.³⁸

Most of the veterans' associations were rightist groups whose leaders had occupied eminent positions in the Nazi apparatus during the war. Many of them were eager to work with the Americans against the Russians. Felix Steiner, the former commander in chief of the 5th SS Panzer Division 'Wiking' and a leading officer of the *Waffen-SS*, tried for years to get the support of the U.S. in his efforts to establish a front against Communism. Heading the veterans' association *Schutzbund Deutscher Soldaten* in 1950, Steiner had rallied around him former high-ranking officers of the *Waffen-SS*, convinced that only a firm stance would prevent the Russians from pouring into West Germany. He was firmly committed to the establishment of a paramilitary organization that would help fight the Soviet Union in case of invasion. According to him: "...the Germans must create an underground selection and recruiting organization which is apart from national or occupation authorities, but which must be tolerated by them and empowered to operate generally in accordance with its own viewpoints."³⁹ The CIA envisaged the recruitment of Steiner in the beginning of 1951 but ultimately backed off in fear of the negative publicity that would follow if it was found out that U.S. intelligence was cooperating with such an individual.⁴⁰ An active member of the *Gesellschaft für Wehrkunde*, Steiner collaborated in the edition of its newsletter but was forced to cease all activities inside the association because of his "obnoxious SS background."⁴¹

Colonel General Johannes Friessner, who acted during the war as Commander in Chief of Army Group North and Commander in Chief of Army Group South Ukraine, was in 1951 the head of the *Verband Deutscher Soldaten*. There is not the single doubt that by financing his press organ, the DSZ, the CIA contributed to the expansion of his ideas as well as of those of the military circles coalescing around former eminent members of the *Wehrmacht*. Friessner's views on some aspects of WWII are illustrated by the claims he made at a press conference in September 1951, that Poland had started the world conflict and that the officers who instigated the July 20, 1944, putsch against Hitler were traitors.⁴²

Several Nazis were involved very early in the staff and editorial board of the DSZ. The editor in chief, A. W. Uhlig, and his colleague in the editorial staff, Dr. Hans W. Hagen, had both worked during the war in the Propaganda Ministry of Joseph Goebbels.⁴³ Lothar Greil, a former *SS-Untersturmführer* in the *Waffen-SS*, served as the circulation manager of the

³⁸ Monthly Project Status Report, November 1951, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

³⁹ Secret, 18 April 1951, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, box 126, Felix Steiner Name File.

⁴⁰ Secret, 18 April 1951, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, box 126, Felix Steiner Name File.

⁴¹ NARA, Entry ZZ-18, box 20, Wilhelm Classen Name File.

⁴² Searle, 151. The July 20, 1944, coup against Hitler, in which several officers were implicated, nearly succeeded in reversing the Nazi regime.

⁴³ Tetens, 115.

newspaper in February 1952.⁴⁴ In the middle of the same year, he was serving in the staff at Munich.⁴⁵ Greil was a very close assistant of Erich Kernmeyer, himself a former *SS-Sturmbannführer*, who had acted during the war as the press assistant of Joseph Bürckel, the *Gauleiter* of *Gau Westmark*.⁴⁶ A right wing extremist who later became very active in several rightist political parties, Kernmeyer became in July-August 1952 the correspondent of the newspaper in Austria, replacing the notorious *SS-Sturmbannführer* Wilhelm Höttl.⁴⁷ The latter, who had served as Deputy Head of the department of the SD in charge of southeast European affairs, had been involved in several reprehensible actions during the war.⁴⁸ He was nevertheless hired by the Counter Intelligence Corps in 1947 and used in intelligence operations targeting East European countries.⁴⁹

The termination of Project KMMANLY in December 1952 almost proved fatal to the DSZ, as the CIA ceased its financial coverage. Survival only came after that the West German government ultimately accepted to take over. In 1958, Dr. Gerhard Frey, a publisher with far-right connections, bought 50% of the shares of *Schild-Verlag*. He acquired complete control over the editorial board of the DSZ in 1960, when he acquired the remaining 50%. Renamed several times, the DSZ became the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* in 1968 and adopted a clear far-right stance.

The Impact and Results of Project KMMANLY

As shown by the continuous increase in the number of issues published by the newspapers involved in the project, the black operation conducted by the CIA was essential in changing the stance of some components of the German population towards the rearmament issue. The covert campaign undertaken by U.S. intelligence, coupled with the intense diplomatic pressure exerted on the Adenauer government by the American administration, ultimately led the West German authorities to envisage joining a West European force of defense. The success of the propaganda efforts undertaken by the United States is illustrated by the fact that no significant opposition was displayed when the West German Republic signed the Treaty of Paris on May 27, 1952, formally establishing the EDC. The latter provided for the remilitarization of the FRG through its contribution to the common defense of Europe with a dozen divisions. Accordingly, Project KMMANLY was terminated at the end of 1952. Even though the EDC never materialized due to the rejection of the Treaty of Paris by the French National Assembly in August 30, 1954, the failed plan paved the way for the assumption of full sovereignty by the West German government in 1955. In the same year, the *Bundeswehr*, the German Federal Armed Forces, was created and West Germany was allowed to join NATO.

⁴⁴ NARA, RG-263, Entry ZZ-18, box 44, Lothar Greil Name File.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ The *Gauleiters*, or leaders of the large NSDAP regions called *Gaue*, acted after 1933 as undisputed rulers in the regions they controlled.

⁴⁷ Memorandum, Subject: CC-2 Interrogation Resume, 30 January 1953, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, box 14, Anton Boehm Name File.

⁴⁸ See NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, box 1-6, Wilhelm Höttl Name File. The Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst* or SD) initially served as the intelligence branch of the NSDAP before evolving into the main civilian intelligence organization of the Third Reich.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Part of U.S. intelligence, the Counter Intelligence Corps had as a broad mission to conduct activities related to counter-espionage, counter-sabotage, and counter-subversion.

As one of the main objectives of Project KMMANLY was to “prepare the German people for active resistance to Communist forces in the event of occupation and/or annexation of western Germany,”⁵⁰ the operation should be closely related to other covert projects operated during the same period by the CIA in Germany. The propaganda campaign orchestrated by the agency was undertaken in parallel with covert paramilitary activities which aimed at organizing the intended resistance following an eventual Soviet invasion. In Project KIBITZ, the CIA established in all of West Germany clandestine units that included signals and communications specialists and trained paramilitary agents which would activate only after the entry of Soviet soldiers.⁵¹ Tons of weapons and other equipment were buried in various secret locations only known to the German agents involved and their American handlers.⁵² The creation of stay-behind programs such as KIBITZ and PASTIME was considered essential by the CIA in order to confront the threat posed by the Eastern Bloc.⁵³ Together with these projects, KMMANLY provides a clear insight into the general activities of U.S. intelligence in Germany in the immediate post-war period.

Conclusion

This article has shown how the CIA used newspapers and other press organs to target specific segments of the German population in order to instill beliefs that were intimately linked to the ideology of the West.

KMMANLY demonstrates that, contrary to the belief prevailing amongst Western public opinion, the United States was capable of conducting large scale propaganda campaigns that had nothing to envy to those of the Communist Soviet Union. For a long period, much stress has been put on the Russians for their capacity to orchestrate propaganda campaigns and to use the media for ideological purposes. Cold War historians have underestimated the role played by the United States in the psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and its attempts to convince people in the West of the wicked and pernicious nature of the Communist ideology.

KMMANLY illustrates the methods used by intelligence services to interfere into the internal affairs of foreign countries. The implications of the project point to the difficulty of recognizing propaganda originating from a foreign government when it is disguised under the cover of local media. The dangers stemming from the attempts of foreign governments to influence public opinions in other countries are here evident.

⁵⁰ Project Outline, Project KMMANLY, Operational, undated, in NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 41, Subject File KMMANLY.

⁵¹ See NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 40-41, Subject File KIBITZ.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ For the stay-behind operations conducted by U.S. intelligence in the FRG see NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 40-41, Subject File KIBITZ; and NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, box 54, Subject File PASTIME.

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Evaluation of the Current Situation of Smart Mobility in Metropolis of Mashhad

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Abstract

This paper studies and determines the current situation of Mashhad mobility through using the global criteria so that it can do a comparison between Mashhad and other cities which have some population similarities. The method of study is the Arthur D. Little's survey which measured the socially smart mobility criteria upon the 84 cities all over the world. These measures for each of the criteria have the best and the worst value based on the expressed statistics by the world cities. Accordingly, , for each city one weight score of percent has been determined.

In the present study, the information related to the smart mobility criteria of Mashhad has first been collected and then through providing an average mathematical relationship based on the minimum and maximum recorded by the 84 global cities the weight score of Mashhad was determined equal to 45% and finally Mashhad's score was compared. The result was that the gained score for Mashhad in comparison to global cities has a suitable position and some attractiveness upon the use of the public transportation. However, the driving method of the drivers was inappropriate, and due to that reason the statistics of the accidents resulted in death is high. On the other hand, the amount of CO₂ and PM₁₀ are much more than the standard level and threatens seriously with some dangers such different cancer types, heart crises, respiratory and nervous diseases and also environmental problems.

Keywords: current situation, Smart Mobility, Weight Average, Arthur D. Little's Criteria, Environmental Problems.

Introduction

During the last twenty years, the concept of smart city indicated that the relationship between information and technology can be used in city activities like application development and competitive stage so that to find new ways to eliminate social poverty and deprivation and secure the safety of the environment (Harimi et al., 2010). The idea of smart city originated from the integration of modern technologies to have an active role in city environment. This would lead to improvement of life quality and functions in the city environment; it also creates new opportunities in the cities with regard to innovation and creativity. So the statement “smart city has many faces” got famous (Sameti, 2010).

However, the concept of a Smart city goes way beyond the transactional relationships between citizen and service provider. It is essentially enabling and encouraging the citizen to become a more active and participative member of the community, for example, providing feedback on the quality of services or the state of roads, adopting a more sustainable and healthy lifestyle, volunteering for social activities or supporting minority groups. Furthermore, citizens need employment and “Smart Cities” are often attractive locations to live, work and visit (Dept. for business innovation & skills, 2013).

Therefore in the first steps, the idea of the smart city was in the direction of the social wealth improvement of the cities. Thus it results in increasing the capabilities of people and society. Based on this model, and through the help of the ICT infrastructure, people as the fundamental element of social capital are able to take into consideration their personal, service and social issues. Their capabilities include electronic voting in elections and bettering their life quality and the relationships with governmental organizations. These issues have been cited in the studies of many researchers (Winter, 2011; Cruick Shank, 2011; Deakin, 2011; Leydesdorff, 2011; Allwinkle, 2011; Mahizhnan, 1999).

With the onset of the 21th century, many countries like Austria, Denmark, and Germany started making smart their cities. In 2007, R. Giffinger from the Vienna University, through cooperating with Edinburgh University identified six characteristics as a strategy for further elaboration of smart cities in European Union. These characteristics are: Economy, People, Governance, Mobility, Environment and Living. These characteristics form the framework for the indicators and the assessment of a city’s performance as smart city (Giffinger et al., 2007).

Smart city is a kind of a city which is based on Information Technology, and tries to transform of life quality and activities accordingly. It can respond to the citizens’ necessities through planning, designing, development and renewing in order to enhance locality space, preserve of natural and cultural resources. Moreover, it distributes wealth equally, increases the ecological safety standards and improves the long-term and short-term life quality. This can be attained by developing and promoting urban transportation, employment, and accommodation. Some definitions of the smart city have been cited in Table 1.

Table.1 Smart City definitions by academic literature

Definition	Reference
A city that monitors and integrates conditions of all of its critical infrastructures, including roads, bridges, tunnels, rail/subways, airports, seaports, communications, water, power, even major buildings, can better optimize its resources, plan its preventive maintenance activities, and monitor security aspects while maximizing services to its citizens.	Hall, 2000
A smart community initiative becomes an integrated approach to helping entire communities go on-line to connect local governments, schools, businesses, citizens, and health and social services in order to create specific services to address local objectives and to help advance collective skills and capacities.	Coe, et al.,2001
A Smart City or region is one that capitalizes on the opportunities presented by Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in promoting its prosperity and influence.	Odendaal,2003
A smart environment is an environment that is able to acquire and apply knowledge about its inhabitants and their surroundings in order to adapt to the inhabitants and meet the goals of comfort and efficiency.	Marsa-Maestre et al., 2008
The Smart City provides new instrumentation that enables observation of urban systems at a micro-level.	Harrison and Donnelly,2011
“Smart Cities” would be metropolitan areas with a large share of the adult population with a college degree.	Winters,2011
The concept of the Smart City of which there are many initiatives, projects and demonstrators, is generally underpinned by one or more ambient systems parts that require a mediation process to deliver The interconnectedness required by an ambient system.	Gui and Roantree,2012
a city that is managed by a network and which supplies its citizens with services and content via the Network using both fixed and mobile Smart City infrastructure, based on high-performance ICT.	Lee et al.,2013

Source: Mosannenzadeh and Vettorato, 2014.

Context and research methodology

According to the studies of Giffinger et al. (2007), smart city has six dimensions. In this study, the smart mobility issue is taken into consideration. The aim of study is to determine the current situation of smart mobility in Mashhad metropolis by the usage of Arthur D. Little

assessment criteria in urban mobility and comparing the total score of Mashhad by 10 similar cities in the world.

The smart mobility can be understood as every kind of transportation inside the city. With the help of information and communication technology (ICT) facilitation of issues related to servicing, everyday life, and the relationships among people will result. Advantages of the smart mobility inside the city are as followings:

- Smart Transportation Systems,
- Reducing the traffic knots through simplifying the city routes,
- Creating cultures such as using the new motor vehicles like sunny cars, electric motorcycles, and public transportation vehicles (Bargh-Hormoz, 2013).

Consequently, the smart mobility is about changing the ways which reduce the destructive and negative effects of the mobility upon the environment and society by the provision of various solutions and alternative approaches to business sector, economy and people's need for daily mobility.

Review the current situation of Mashhad

Iran is not away from this global urban change. Therefore, reviewing and analyzing the smart mobility is an undeniable and unavoidable requirement, especially in Mashhad city with a population of 2984491 people (DPDMM, 2014). The city's infrastructure is very incoherent. It has culture difference, habitudes and customs that increase the complexity of city environment. This is the strongest reason behind the growth of studies related to the smart mobility so that to be able to reduce the challenges, and give more comfort to the citizens who live in this city.

Arthur D. Little Institute has determined some criteria for smart mobility inside the cities (Table. 2) based on the outcomes of relevant studies. It determined a weight score for each of these criteria, in a way that the total weight scores of all criteria is equal to 100. Accordingly, Arthur D. Little measured the situation of the smart mobility in 84 cities (Arthur D. Little, 2014).

Table. 2: Assessment Criteria of Arthur D. Little Urban Mobility

o.	Criteria	Weight	o.	Criteria	Weight
	Financial attractiveness of public transport	4	1	Initiatives of public sector	6
	Share of public transport in modal split	6	2	Transport related CO2 emissions	4
	Share of zero-emission modes in modal split	6	3	NO2 concentration	4
	Roads density	4	4	PM10 concentration	4
	Cycle path network density	6	5	Traffic related fatalities	6
	Urban agglomeration density	2	6	Increase of share public transport in modal split	6
	Smart card penetration	6	7	Increase of share of zero-emission modes	6
	Bike sharing performance	6	8	Mean travel time to work	6
	Car sharing performance	6	9	Density of vehicles registered	6
0	Public transport frequency	6		Total	100

Source: Arthur D. Little, 2014.

These criteria formed the basis of measuring current situation of Mashhad city. Through referring to the statistics of relevant organizations, the field data were collected to calculate the amount of each these criteria. In Table 3, the definitions of each of those criteria and the statistical amounts of Mashhad have been stated.

Tab. 3: Definitions of Criteria and Method of Calculate for Mashhad Metropolis

o.	Criteria	Definitions and Calculates	Reference s
	Financial attractiveness of public transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratio between the price of a 5 km journey with private means of transport and the price of a 5 km journey with public transport within the agglomeration area. • The cost of each trip = entrance average + meter average (based on the 200 meters), average delay (on the basis of minute) • The cost of trip with motorized individual transport + fuel usage average every 5 kilometers (the average is 10 liters in each 100 kilometers) + cost of depreciation every one kilometer (based on the average 0.01 \$) <p>Calculating the cost of public transport= 0.368 \$ Calculating private means= 0.25 \$</p> <p>$0.368 / 0.25 = 1.5$</p>	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014; DPDMM, 2014.
	Share of public transport in modal split	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of the total number of person trips which are made with public transport in the last available measurement. • According to the transportation statistics book (2014), this percent was equal to 43.43% . 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.
	Share of zero-emission modes in modal split	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of the total number of person trips which are made by bicycle and walking in the last available Measurement. • This amount is 4% percent according to the current statistics of Mashhad. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.
	Roads density	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratio between the total road length in an urban agglomeration and the urbanized surface area. • The length of urbanized surface area in Mashhad= 695 kilometers • Traffic regions level= 285.7 square kilometers <p>$695\text{km} \div 285.7 \text{ km}^2 = 2.43$</p>	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.
	Cycle path network density	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratio between the total length of cycle lanes and cycle paths in an urban 	Arthur D. Little, 2014;

		<p>agglomeration and the urbanized surface area of this urban agglomeration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The urbanized surface area in Mashhad: 695 kilometers Traffic regions level: 285.5 square kilometers $10 \text{ km} \div 285.7 \text{ km}^2 = \mathbf{0.035}$	<p>Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.</p>
	Urban agglomeration density	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ratio between the population of an urban agglomeration and its urbanized surface area. The regions level is considered the same as 285.7 According to Mashhad transportation statistics, Agglomeration density is equal to 91.5 persons per Hectare. 	<p>Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.</p>
	Smart card penetration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ratio between the total number of transit smart cards in circulation in an urban agglomeration area and the population of this area. The number of the smart cards (Man Cards) to use in bus and subway in Mashhad is equal to 3200000 pieces according to the last statistics. $3200000 \div 3000000 = \mathbf{1.066}$	<p>Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.</p>
	Bike sharing performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ratio between the total number of bikes in bike sharing systems in an urban agglomeration area and the population of this area. At present, the number of shared bike is equal to 3000 bicycles according to the statistics of the public bicycle system. $3000 \div 3 = \mathbf{1000}$	<p>Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad public bicycling system, 2015.</p>
	Car sharing performance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ratio between the total number of cars in car sharing systems in an urban agglomeration area and the population of this area. This system is not available in Mashhad. 	<p>Arthur D. Little, 2014. Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.</p>
0	Public transport frequency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frequency of the busiest public transport line in an urban agglomeration. The busiest public transportation vehicle was considered bus, and the frequency average of arriving to station is equal to 15 minutes during the rush hours. 	<p>Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.</p>

		$(7 * 60) / 15 = 28$	
1	Initiatives of public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative evaluation of strategy and actions of public sector with regard to urban mobility along 5 dimensions: General sustainability and restrictions; Alternative engines; Multimodality; Infrastructure; Incentives. • Based on the current routine in these designs, we should consider a grade between 0 up to 10 which after interviewing with authoritative experts the Mashhad grade is considered 3.7. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014;
2	Transport related CO2 emissions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratio between the total amount of carbon dioxide emitted by the agglomeration area p.a. as a consequence of its transport activities and its population. • According to the receipt statistics from the related organizations, the average of these pollutants is 1950 kilograms for each citizen, per year. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; KRMOEP, 2014; DPDMM, 2014; Shokohian and Ghazinejad, 2010.
3	NO2 concentration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual arithmetic average of the daily concentrations of NO2 recorded at all monitoring stations within the agglomeration area. • The average of pollutant amount is 24 micrograms per square meters. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; KRMOEP, 2014; Shokohian and Ghazinejad, 2010.
4	PM10 concentration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual arithmetic average of the daily concentrations of PM10 recorded at all monitoring stations within the agglomeration area. • According to statistics, this amount is equal to 73.7 micrograms per square meters. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; KRMOEP, 2014; DPDMM, 2014; Shokohian and Ghazinejad, 2010.
5	Traffic related fatalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of deaths related to transport i.e. an annual number of people killed as a result of transport accidents that occurred in an urban agglomeration area p.a. • The rate of traffic fatalities in 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.

		Mashhad was equal to 356 people based on the last transportation statistics. $356 \div 3 = 118.7$ person per million people	
6	Increase of share public transport in modal split	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of the percentage of the total people trips which are made daily by public transport in the last available measurement compared to its share in the last but one measurement. • According to the collected questionnaires of experts, increase up to 20% is possible. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.
7	Increase of share of zero-emission modes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of the percentage of the total people trips which are made daily by bicycle and walking in the last available measurement compared to its share in the last but one measurement. • According to comparing the two last statistics, this amount can be increased up to the 15 percent. 	KRMMOE P, 2014; Mashhad transportation statistics book, 2014.
8	Mean travel time to work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total number of minutes that it usually takes the person to get from home to work each day during the reference week. • According to the questions asked from the experts, this time amount is equal to 40 minutes. 	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad Transportation statistics book, 2014.
9	Density of vehicles registered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The ratio between the total numbers of passenger motorized vehicles (incl. cars, motorcycles, taxis) within the urban agglomeration and its population. • The numbers of these vehicles during a day is recorded up to 2504649 vehicles. $2504649 \div 3000000 = \mathbf{0.83}$	Arthur D. Little, 2014; Mashhad Transportation statistics book, 2014.

Source: Research studies based on Arthur D. Little Urban Mobility 2.0.

The next step is calculating weight score averages. In this study, according to the Best Value and the Worst Value models, in each of the 19 criteria identified by Arthur D. Little's study, Linear Interpolation Relationship was used.

Linear interpolation has been used since antiquity for filling the gaps in tables, often with astronomical data. It is believed that it was used by Babylonian astronomers and mathematicians in Seleucid Mesopotamia (last three centuries BC), and by the Greek astronomer and mathematician, Hipparchus (2nd century BC). A description of linear interpolation can be found in the *Almagest* (2nd century AD) by Ptolemy. Linear interpolation is often used to approximate

a value of some function using two known values of that function at other points, or used to fill the gaps in a table. Suppose that one has a table listing the population of some country in 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000, and that one wanted to estimate the population in 1994, Linear interpolation is an easy way to do this.

If the two known points are given by the coordinates (x_0, y_0) and (x_1, y_1) , the linear interpolate is the straight line between these points. For a value x in the interval (x_0, x_1) , the value y along the straight line is given from the equation1 (Meijering, 2002).

$$\text{Equation 1: } \frac{y - y_0}{x - x_0} = \frac{y_1 - y_0}{x_1 - x_0}$$

This equation is rewritten again based on the values obtained for the worst and the best value in Arthur D. Little study of 84 cities (2014) for the equation (2) and (3) :

$$\text{Equation 2: } \frac{\text{Worst.Wheight} - \text{Best.Wheight}}{\text{Worst} - \text{Best}} = \frac{\text{Mashhad.Wheight} - \text{Best.Wheight}}{\text{Mashhad} - \text{Best}}$$

And finally:

$$\text{Equation 3: } \frac{R_W - R_B}{W - B} = \frac{R_X - R_B}{X - B}$$

According to the resultant statistics from field studies, in Equation 3, X is the calculated number for Mashhad and R_x is weight score that regarding each criterion is calculable. In Table 4 the best value (B) and the worst value (W) for every type of the 19 criteria are observable. Also, in order to avoid excessive decimal numbers, R_W value of 1 is considered.

Now by the help of minimum and maximum amounts of Table 4, and calculated weights for Mashhad in tab. 3 and by using equation 3, we find the weight scores for each criterion and earn the overall score for Mashhad. This gained overall score for the Mashhad Metropolis in comparison to 15 selected cities is observable in Table 5.

Table 4: Best and Worst Values of 84 Worldwide Cities

Criteria	Worst Value	Best Value	Criteria	Worst Value	Best Value of 84
1-Financial attractiveness of public transport	.7	.2	11-Initiatives of public sector	3	10
2-Share of public transport in modal split	%	4%	12-Transport related CO2 emissions	390	5
3-Share of zero-emission modes in modal split	%	5%	13-NO2 concentration	6	12
4-Roads density	12.6	0.1	14-PM10 concentration	200	11
5-Cycle path network density	0	4678	15-Traffic related fatalities	193	4
6-Urban agglomeration density	0.7	17.8	16-Increase of share public transport in modal split	-53%	+186%
7-Smart card penetration	0	3.1	17-Increase of share of zero-emission modes	-61%	+148%
8-Bike sharing performance	0	2384	18-Mean travel time to work	62.1	18.4
9-Car sharing performance	0	1312	19-Density of vehicles registered	0.69	0.03
10-Public transport frequency	32	512			

Source: Arthur D. Little FUM 2.0, 2014.

Table 5: Overall Score and Population of Compared Cities

No.	City/Population(Million people)	Overall Score	Compare Mashhad with
1	Los Angeles / 3.8	38.1	+6.9
2	Toronto / 2.6	44.4	+0.6
3	Buenos Aires / 3	42.4	+2.6
4	Caracas / 2.2	40.1	+4.9
5	Berlin / 3.5	51.7	-6.7
6	Madrid / 3.2	50.3	-5.3
7	Rome / 2.8	40.9	+4.1
8	Addis Ababa / 3.4	36.5	+8.5
9	Baghdad / 4.2	28.6	+16.4
10	Dubai / 2.5	40.6	+4.4
11	Melbourne / 4	41.9	+3.1
12	Osaka / 2.7	38.5	+7.5
13	Singapore / 3.5	55.6	-10.6
14	Bangalore / 4.3	38.9	+6.1
15	Lahore / 5.2	33.1	+11.9
16	Mashhad / 3	45	

Source: Arthur D. Little, 2014; Wikipedia, 2015.

Results and Discussions

As it is expressed above, the overall determined score of Mashhad is equal to 45, which is inappropriate weight score. But if we refer to the Arthur D. Little study regarding the mobility in the 84 world cities, it is observed that the most privileged score of 58.2 belonged to Hong Kong, and therefore, comparatively, the weight score of Mashhad is considered an ideal weight score. It is very acceptable in comparison to many other world cities. To know why smart cities in regard to mobility or other smart components have not evolved yet, we refer to the European Parliament Report :

“Almost 2/3 of the sample European smart cities are in the stage of planning and testing (Pilot Testing)..., most cities under the process of testing which focus upon the energy goals of the year 2020” (European Parliament, 2014).

Therefore, no city of the European cities has reached the final stage of implementation. So achieving low scores doesn't seem too much unreasonable. But in other parts of the world, especially in countries which do not have not any planning and visions to create a smart city is not an easy task. Obtaining the low weight score is an indicator of the lack of planning and lack of correct understanding of the future situations and interrelations of the world and future cities.

Mashhad city has some specific situations. This city has had a plan from 2004 to become an electronic city which was arranged by Mashhad Municipality. But this plan was not implemented due to some reasons. However there are different plans and suggestions for Mashhad to become electronic and smart city. During the last 5 years, the municipality has done many activities for making Mashhad a smart city (DPDMM, 2014), and these activities continue. Relevant infrastructures also have been provided for this issue, such as ICT infrastructures like: increase of availability to internet, high-speed internet, Wi-Fi and so on.

In the field of smart mobility, applications are designed for the smart city of Mashhad.

But the main problem in the municipality organization to implement the smart mobility is excessive and exclusive reliance just on the ICT experts. Unfortunately, the advices of humanities scholars and experts have not been given major role, and due to this reason the approach largely technical; social problems and needs took less attention.

After calculating the overall weight score based on Arthur D. Little mobility criteria (2014), for determining the current situation in smart mobility of Mashhad, the score should be compared with some other cities in order to be able to judge the current situation of Mashhad. For this reason, it was necessary to select the cities which have similarities with Mashhad and then do the comparison. Mashhad city has 3 million fixed population (Mashhad-statistics, 2014), which it is not a very exact foundation, because this city, because of pilgrimage and tourist characteristics, have 20 millions pilgrims and tourists yearly. On the other hand, about one million people live in sidelines of Mashhad and they use the welfare and official facilities of this city. These are the reasons why Mashhad has a floating population. Therefore, the cities which were selected for comparison with Mashhad have populations between 2.5 and up to 5.2 million people. Among the 84 cities studied by Arthur D. Little, 15 cities similar to Mashhad were selected. The results of the comparison are as follows:

As a whole, the weight score of Mashhad is in the fourth rank and after the three cities of Berlin, Madrid, and Singapore. It also has a weight score equal to Toronto. In the weight score of Mashhad metropolis, financial attractiveness of public transport and share of public transport in modal split (1st and 2nd criteria) is located in a suitable status and the smart cards' penetration (7th criterion) is also high, because 3200000 smart cards related to transportation has been issued in this city (Transportation Statistics Book, 2014). But the Share of zero-emission modes in modal split (3rd criterion) is very low, because the citizens, in spite of the suitable number of bike sharing (8th criterion), limitation of cycle path network (5th criterion) and the high risk of bicycling due to the high numbers of traffic related fatalities (15th criterion) use bicycles and walk less in their daily trips. Thus we can't be very hopeful about increasing the share of zero-emission modes (17th criterion) in Mashhad. Also, 15 percent improvement prediction for the next 10 years is very little progress.

The road density (4th criterion) is high. Thus, considering the high numbers of roads and pathways, the frequency of the most public used vehicle, namely buses (10th criterion) to reach

the stations, is about 15 minutes in urban routes and sub-routes. That is an acceptable time. However, the density of vehicles registered (19th criterion) is high, and therefore passengers don't wait much time to get on these transportation vehicles.

The other point which is related to the road density and their high traffic is the fact that there isn't any car sharing system (9th criterion) available in Mashhad. Also there is no planning to implement this car sharing system because, on one hand, it increases the traffic, and requires new parking spaces of these cars which are a real problem in Mashhad. On the other hand, because of the lack of suitable parking places for personal cars, motorcycles, and bicycles in Mashhad metropolis, especially in the central core of this city, traffic jam is always in the increase. This would produce more transportation disorder and weather pollution.

The mean travel time to work (18th criterion) has been calculated 40 minutes for Mashhad. Compared to the Worst Value, that is 62.1 minutes and the Best Value that is 18.4 minutes, it isn't a favorable time. But taking the traffic difficulties in account, such time is considered acceptable.

Concerning weather pollutants caused by the traffic namely CO₂, NO₂, and PM₁₀; the results yielded are as following:

The amount of transport-related CO₂ emissions (12th criterion) for each citizen is 1950 kilograms yearly, namely about 2 tons every year which it is a very grievous number. The worst value in the Arthur D. Little study (2014) was recorded equal to 7390 kilograms, however it is related to the few numbers of cities (maybe one or two cities) and it can't be a generality. But given the difficulty of controlling CO₂ emissions globally, the gained weight score for Mashhad compared to other cities is on average amount. However, it remains an inappropriate the amount.

Authors believe that according to Province Main Office of Environmental Preservation reports, the amount of transport-related CO₂ emissions in Mashhad is very high. It causes many environmental and health problems. Among the most important health problems, as a result of high mass of CO₂, are heart, cordial, and nervous diseases, respiratory and lung problems and also various types of cancer (KRMOEP, 2014).

Another criterion related to the weather pollutants due to the traffic is the NO₂ concentration (13th criterion). The standard amount of NO₂ is 21 mcg/m³; in Mashhad weather is measured about 24 mcg/m³. Compared to the worst and best values gained for the cities studied by Arthur D. Little (2014), Mashhad weight score is acceptable.

According to Lahsaizade (2014), NO₂ results into irritating of lungs. Short-time contact with the NO₂ pollutant causes coughing and functional disorder of lungs and long-time contact with NO₂ increases the likelihood to suffer from respiratory infections and leads to structural changes in lungs. Nitrate and NO₂ ingredients also result in disordering of sight, and nitrogen sedimentation leads to acidity of ground, lagoon and marine systems (Lahsaizade, 2014).

The current nitrate in atmosphere in the form of acidity products emits ingredients that sediment as acidity rain, fog, snow, or other ingredients.

The last studied pollutant is the PM10 concentration (14th criterion). The suspended ingredients are little than 10 micron which can be produced from the ignition of cars' fuel, industrial and power plant processes, wood fireplaces, Shumen, agronomical and forestry activities, routes dusts, and conflagrations, and jungles(Lahsaizade, 2014).

The yearly reported average for these pollutants in Mashhad is equal to 73 mcg/m³, which its normal amount is 20 mcg/m³ (KRMOEP, 2014). It can be concluded that the density of these ingredients in Mashhad is very high.

Suspended ingredients affect the respiratory and immune systems of body and intensify the respiratory, heart and cordial illnesses. The size of these ingredients is the main reason of lowering the sight ability and they have damaging effects on herbage ecosystems (KRMOEP, 2014; Lahsaizade, 2014).

Conclusions

Based on the findings of this research, we can conclude that, the gained weight score of Mashhad regarding the smart mobility was about 45% percent and compared to the cities located in the population range of Mashhad it is almost a favorable score. But it cannot be indicative of many problems due to increasing mobility. In spite of suitability of public mobility system in Mashhad and the lowness of wait time of citizens to get on the public vehicles, some factors such as high density of Mashhad city are causing trouble. The city, being a good tourist place, high number of public and personal cars roams in this city. The inefficient use of new electronic and technological tools does not reduce inside trips, and the lack of smart system for guiding and directing citizens inside the city contributed to such traffic jam. Finally, the lack of correct understanding of the smart mobility by the city managers causes the absence of strategic planning related to smart-making and smart mobility in Mashhad.

On the other hand the pollution created by the traffic and aimless mobility inside the city increased the emission of CO₂ mass for every citizen to reach nearly 3 tons yearly which is likely to cause health and ecological catastrophes. The PM10 density, which is three times more than the standard amount, also causes contributes to this catastrophe. Therefore, the only way to avoid this catastrophe is using the intelligence regarding mobility in order to be able to reduce the inside trips and take out gradually some of the polluting cars from the transportation system to reduce slightly the pollution and traffic problems.

Acknowledgement and disclaimer

Many resources used in this article were in English but they were translated into Persian by researchers during the last year to be used in this article. Sometimes, due to non-availability of the main text, they were translated from Persian to English again, and because of this, it is likely that they have word differences with their main text. But we have regarded trusteeship and authors' names are cited completely in all places.

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From Quest to Rebellion: A Comparison of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o 'S *Matigari*

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Abstract

*This paper discusses George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Matigari*. By having their main characters search for freedom and happiness in the oppressive social and political circumstances of their respective societies, the two authors manifest the same views against human oppression. A further analysis of Orwell and Ngugi's backgrounds also indicates that these writers are committed humanists, who are concerned with the welfare of human society. Also, from a comparative perspective, the paper thus shows common themes between British literature and African literature.*

Keywords: Orwell, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, oppression, rebellion, freedom, humanism.

From a traditional comparative perspective, this paper is to be seen as a discussion of the “relationships between two literatures” (Wellek and Warren, 36) because it deals with texts and authors coming from two different cultural horizons. George Orwell is from England and Ngugi wa Thiongo from Kenya. Orwell lived during the first part of the twentieth century and published *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1949. Ngugi wa Thiongo is still alive. His novel *Matigari* was published in 1987. So this comparative work will deal with novels that although culturally and temporally distant, share the same pivotal themes of the quest of freedom and happiness that in the two texts result in a rebellion.

Quest and rebellion are classical themes that can be found in various literary genres across time and space. A quest results from a lack and from a certain dissatisfaction. A person starts a quest because he/she experiences a sense of incompleteness that can be fulfilled only by the object of the quest or an equivalent substitute. So someone can set out on a quest for material or psychological reasons or both, the one being able to trigger the other. Characters who embark on a quest can do so either by pure abstract idealism, without being prompted by any outside pressure, or as in most cases due to a frustration caused by a certain social or political order. These characters consequently decide either to leave the contexts where that order prevails or simply try to subvert it by rebelling. Winston Smith in Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and Matigari in Ngugi’s *Matigari* are not comfortable with the social conditions of their existence and thus embark on a quest for a certain truth, a quest that ends up in a rebellion.

The ultimate objective of this paper is to show that Orwell and Ngugi are humanists. It will identify the fundamental features shared by the two authors and highlight their unflagging desire to rekindle the values of humanism through their literary works. As mentioned above, the main characters of the two novels start a quest that later transforms itself into a rebellion against the socio-political systems that rule them. To start with, what are the contexts of Winston and Matigari’s quests and subsequent rebellions?

I. Contexts of the Quest

I.1 Oppression in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

The action in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is set in Oceania, a totalitarian state where the government controls both the minds and the bodies of its citizens, in other words, their entire lives. People are under permanent surveillance. Inside their homes are telescreens which are electronic devices that receive and transmit both sounds and images and can never be turned off. Through them and with the helicopters that constantly hover over people’s roofs, the citizens’ movements are monitored, which engenders in them a sense of permanent fear. In the streets and every landing of stairwells in buildings, omnipresent posters whose caption reads “Big Brother is watching you” show the face of Big Brother, the god-like leader whose eyes actually seem to scrutinize their viewers’ souls, thus asserting his power on them.

The state also exerts its power on the citizens through information control. The Ministry of Truth conditions the information made available to people. In the state of Oceania, the news is never true. Actually it always consists of counter truths released to bamboozle the

citizens. This practice enables the government never to be in contradiction with itself, or helps them to match past contradictions with current policies. That is why in Oceania the past can mutate. It can be altered. This principle concerns ordinary measures such as economic and social facts as well as historical events. For instance, the period of the revolution which brought Ingsoc (the ruling party) to power was rewritten to make the current leader Big Brother its only hero. This is in fact the job of Winston the main character of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* who works in the Records Department of the Ministry of Truth. He “corrects” and rectifies documents, for the party says that “who controls the past controls the future” (284).

The ruling single party also controls its people through early indoctrination of children. For the party to be able to control people totally, it will indoctrinate them from the outset. The children of the Parsons’ family, Winston’s neighbors, are members of the party’s children Youth League and Spies that according to Winston has transformed them into little tiger cubs. They recognize in Winston a thought criminal when he goes to help their mother unclog her kitchen sink. Mr. Parsons is even proud of his daughter for catching a spy:

D’you know what that little girl of mine did last Saturday, when her troop was on a hike out Berkhamsted way? She got two other girls to go with her, slipped off from the hike and spent the whole afternoon following a strange man. They kept on his tail for two hours, right through the woods, and then, when they got into Amersham, handed him over to the patrols. (66)

The party also imposes on the citizens of Oceania an intellectual discipline called “doublethink.” It is a form of mental exercise whose goal is to believe two contradictory truths at the same time. Since the control of the past also implies the control of everybody else’s memory and perception of reality, people must then lose the habit of recognizing the contradiction between what seems to be and what they think has been. So to abolish in people the principles that oppose the party’s grasp of the collective thought, each and everyone must cultivate from their early childhood that subtle mental technique called “doublethink.” So doublethink is the peaceful coexistence of these two kinds of knowledge. The citizens must then know that the past is modifiable and must be convinced that the official truth of the moment is the only one that has been. The party is even in the midst of creating a new language, Newspeak, in order to restrict the thought range of the citizens and thus guarantee their political orthodoxy. Syme, a philologist working on that project tells Winston:

Don’t you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thought crime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. (60)

The above is the socio-political context that Winston, the book’s main character does not understand and will try to subvert later. In Ngugi’s novel, the main character goes through the same experience.

I.2 Oppression in *Matigari*

In Ngugi’s *Matigari*, Matigari, a former guerilla freedom fighter has just come out of the forest and starts a search for what he calls his family. “I am now looking for my people,

my daughters, my sons, my in-laws, my wives..." (38). He is searching for them to find out what has become of them during all the time he was absent, and above all what their situation is after the war. During this quest Matigari notices that his fight for independence and for people's freedom and welfare has yielded no positive result. The novel describes a society actually full of ills that crumbles under economic exploitation, poverty, corruption and physical violence. The following tableaux are indicative of the condition of society at large. Guthera, a bar woman and prostitute tells Matigari:

Today there is no corner of the land where you will not find women looking for something with which to quell the hunger of their children and husbands. Most of the women are casual labourers in the tea, coffee and sisal plantations. If you want to know where to begin your search, go the plantations. Go and rescue those; don't worry about us, for we lost our souls in these bars a long time ago. (39)

What the woman is telling Matigari is actually a confirmation of what he had seen earlier, children rummaging in a garbage yard:

The children raced the tractor to the garbage yard, a huge hole fenced around with barbed wire, while others sat on branches of trees nearby. Hawks hovered dangerously in the sky. A pack of stray dogs walked about, sniffing here and there at the rubbish. Two men stood at the only entrance to the yard, arranging the children into a queue....The driver tipped the rubbish in three heaps. No sooner had he finished than the dogs, the vultures and the children went scrambling for the heaps of rubbish. He now understood what was going on. Each child had to pay a fee to enter. A ticket to enable them to fight it out with dogs, vultures, rats, all sorts of scavengers and vermin, for pieces of string, patches of cloth, odd bits of leather, rotten tomatoes, sugarcane chaff, banana peels, bones...anything ! (11)

Matigari watches the same woman being brutalized by the police and their dogs because although she is a prostitute, she refuses to give in to their advances.

A crowd of people stood near Guthera, watching the policemen unleash terror on the woman. She was kneeling on the ground. The dog would leap towards her; but each time its muzzle came close to her eyes, the policeman who held the lead restrained it. Guthera's wrapper lay on the ground. Each time she stood up to retreat, the dog jumped at her, barking and growling as though it smelled blood. Some people laughed seeming to find the spectacle highly entertaining. (30)

So when he comes out of the forest, Matigari thus finds out that his world is upside down and thinks that it needs to be corrected. Matigari will begin with a quest: the search for truth and justice, like Winston in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

II. The Quest for Truth Justice and subsequent Rebellion

II.1 Winston's Quest in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

Confronted with an oppressive system that seems absurd to him, Winston starts a quest which is driven by one question, a question summarized in the following statement: "I understand how, but I do not understand why?" (91). In fact, the primary objective of Winston's quest will be to get rid of the conditioned man of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. It will be a quest of the "self." Winston is looking for the sense of subjectivity, the quintessential condition of personal existence that the state of Oceania is denying.

Winston's search for subjectivity is materialized by the act of writing. He writes: "Down with Big Brother" many times (21) and opens a diary where he plans to note down his daily experiences. The act of writing, a first step in Winston's quest of the self can already be seen as an act of self-deliverance because the goal of this act is not necessarily to make himself understood or to communicate, but to help him keep his sanity. Winston wants to free himself from the alienation imposed on him by the totalitarian system of Ingsoc, the political philosophy that informs the State's behavior.

Since the government controls the official past of the country, Winston's quest also takes him through an investigation of the proletarians' quarter where he hopes to discover the vestiges of the real historical past. He goes through the little streets and enjoys their smells. He visits old churches and listens to old songs on the lips of the proles (proletarians). The survival of all these elements, Winston believes, will perpetuate the old civilization that the political system of Oceania is trying to suppress with its ideology.

Winston's dreams can also be inscribed in his quest for humanity. When for example he dreams about his mother, Winston experiences a sense of tragedy, the tragedy that precisely presided over the demise of his mother, and which does not exist in the current society of Oceania:

Tragedy, he perceived, belonged to the ancient time, to a time when there was still privacy, love and friendship and when the members of a family stood by one another without knowing the reason. His mother's memory tore at his heart because she had died loving him, when he was too young and selfish to love her in return. (35)

So dreaming is also for Winston a form of self-reinvention, a form of resistance to the alienation of the system of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. This quest for humanity will drive Winston to a genuine move to action, to a real rebellion.

Winston's move to action manifests itself through a love relationship with a girl called Julia. When Winston and Julia meet in private for the first time, it is in the country. There, Winston is overwhelmed by the richness of the landscape, a landscape with trees, a stream with fish in it, and a bird singing a gorgeous melody. The act of love performed by Winston and Julia in those surroundings is a symbolically powerful one, because it thus fulfills earlier dimensions of Winston's quest. Effectively this is the meaning given by the narrator to his sexual encounter with Julia:

The animal instinct, the simple undifferentiated desire that was the force that would tear the party to pieces. He pressed her down against the grass, among the fallen bluebells. Their embrace had been a battle, the climax a victory. It was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act. (144-145)

Then both of them get bold enough to rent a room in the proletarians' quarter and treat themselves to other real pleasures of natural life such as drinking real coffee, eating real chocolate and Winston watching Julia dress up like women used to do in the past with high heeled shoes and make up. The protagonist himself thus summarizes his moves:

The first step had been a secret, involuntary thought, the second had moved from thoughts to words, and now from words to action. (184)

Winston's action moves a step higher when he is lured into a brotherhood by O'Brien, a prominent party member, allegedly in order to work against the party and resist its hegemony. Winston is made to believe that one day there will be a mass uprising that will overthrow the Party. In front of O'Brien Winston takes an oath in which he pledges his allegiance to an alleged underground rebellion:

'You are prepared to give your lives'

'Yes'

You are prepared to commit murder?

'Yes' (...)

'You are prepared to cheat, to forge, to blackmail, to corrupt the minds of children, to distribute habit-forming drugs, to encourage prostitution, to disseminate venereal diseases-to do anything which is likely to cause demoralization and weaken the power of the party?'

'Yes'

'If for example, it would somehow serve our interests to throw sulphuric acid in a child's face – are you prepared to do that?'

'Yes'. (199-200)

But this encounter with O'Brien is just a trap into which Winston falls. There is no such thing as an underground rebellion in the country. The system is so tight, the grip of the Party over the military, the economy, the press and the minds of people is so total that nothing of the sort happens. So Winston's attitude has just become an act of defiance that has attracted the attention of the Thought Police. He is arrested, tortured inside the Ministry of Love and is made to love the system and Big Brother before his inevitable "vaporization," the eventual fate of the party's enemies.

Thus, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Winston's quest and rebellion are crushed. In Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Matigari*, the hero at the beginning follows the same course as Winston. The society he lives in does not make sense to him.

II 2. Matigari's quest in *Matigari*

When he comes out of the forest, Matigari first looks for those he calls his "people." In fact he thinks that people's living conditions should be better than before independence. But Matigari notices that their situation has not changed and that the society is eroded by many ills. He then sets out for a more difficult and somewhat abstract quest: that of truth and justice. This quest comes from the fact that the country is going through what Ngugi himself has called the paradox of history (241) and which Matigari redefines as the fact of "reaping where one has not sowed" (46).

He asked himself over and over again: In what corner of the earth, of this earth are truth and justice hiding? For how long shall my children continue wandering, homeless naked and hungry, over this earth? And who shall wipe away the tears from the faces of all the women dispossessed on this earth? (88)

During Matigari's quest for truth and justice, he goes around saying "Where can one find truth and justice in this country?" (77). And in his discussion with people, he tells them what he means by truth:

How can I let John Boy, a messenger, and the settler-the whole breed of parasites-grab the house that I built with my own hands? How can I let him keep the home for which I shed my blood? How can my wealth remain in the hands of the whole breed of them—who-reap-where-they-never sowed and their black messengers? (88)

Like Winston's, Matigari's quest becomes a rebellion when the state starts running its oppressive machine in the face of his growing popularity. In fact, he has become a legend overnight and people are looking for him everywhere. They want to see him and know him. So the government says: "He is a very dangerous person, and he has very dangerous intentions in his head" (124). Matigari is thus arrested, tried and condemned to be taken to a mental hospital. There he makes the decision to remove the belt of peace he had worn earlier to put on the belt of war. He realizes that

One could not defeat the enemy with words alone. One had to have the right words; But these words had to be strengthened by the force of arms. In the pursuit of truth and justice one had to be armed with armed words. (131) ... Words of truth and justice fully backed by armed power, will certainly drive the enemy out. When right and might are on the same side, what enemy can hold out? (138-139)

When he escapes from the prison due to some mysterious help (in fact Guthera bribes some guards with sex), Matigari starts applying his new philosophy by going to the house of John Boy, a member of the new ruling class and blowing it up along with his Mercedes in defiance of an army of soldiers and policemen. A crowd of supporters standing nearby is heard singing:

Everything that belongs to these slaves must burn! Yes, everything that belongs to these slaves must burn!! Their coffee must burn! Yes their coffee must burn! Their tea must burn! Yes their tea must burn! (167)

Then Matigari, Guthera and her young friend Muriuki run to the bush followed by policemen and their dogs. With Guthera on his back, he jumps in the river that separates them from the tree under which he had hidden his weapons. Thus, although Matigari has not toppled the system, he has won a symbolic victory through the blows he has given to the people who represent it: John Boy and Williams the son of an ex-settler.

Matigari's quest, although not immediately fruitful, is nonetheless full of promises. Muriuki, the boy who goes to retrieve Matigari's weapons represents another generation who will take up arms again and continue the search for truth and justice that the Mau Mau fighters had started. But Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* does not end on such an optimistic note. In contrast to Matigari, Winston is defeated by the totalitarian system. He is beaten while Matigari escapes defiant and promising to continue the fight.

III. Orwell and Ngugi as Humanists

Humanism being a general concern for the welfare of humanity, I call humanists people who in their endeavors take that welfare as a goal. George Orwell and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o are both humanists in the sense that they are both political writers whose commitment approaches militancy. Besides, Orwell clearly states that serious writers should show a moral commitment by not only participating in political movements, but also by addressing political themes in their work (Bounds, 87). Most of Orwell's and Ngugi's works deal with socio-political issues in a crucial way. In that regard, critic Gorgui Dieng writes that this kind of writers are primarily humanists:

[Un] humanisme qui trouve son fondement dans le souci permanent de traiter des souffrances de l'homme, souffrances engendrées, le plus souvent par l'action négative des hommes politiques peu soucieux du bien-être de ceux qu'ils gouvernent. (38)

[A] humanism based on the authors' primary concern which is to address human suffering, a suffering often caused by the negative action of politicians indifferent to the welfare of the people they rule] ¹

Orwell is well known for his first novel *Animal Farm*, an allegorical parable in which he satirizes dictatorship and power abuse, and of which *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a sequel. In his writings, be they fiction or essays and also in his real life, Orwell has always shown a concern not only with the fate of the masses, but above all with the freedom of the individual. For example in *Shooting an Elephant* (1936) an essay he wrote about his work conditions as a policeman in Burma, Orwell says explicitly:

I had...made up my mind that imperialism was an evil thing. And the sooner I chucked up my job and got out it the better. Theoretically (...) I was for the Burmese and all against their oppressors, the British. As for the job I was doing, I hated it more bitterly than I can perhaps make it clear. In a job like that you see the dirty work of Empire at close quarters. (266)

Orwell remained so faithful to his belief that N.R. Sawant thus summarizes the writer's life as a novelist:

He used his talent against injustice and totalitarianism and toiled his whole life and career for the emancipation of the down trodden (...). He aspired for common decency embedded in Democratic and Ethical Socialism. (21)

The above facts and reasons are why in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, Orwell's character Winston Smith tries to resist Ingsoc. But the reason why he fails or is ultimately defeated not only shows Orwell's pessimism, but indicates that Orwell wanted his book to be a warning about the future of humanity.

Ngugi has also written many novels, plays and essays that illustrate his political militancy and his humanism. His first novel *Weep not Child* (1964) is a criticism of colonialism which has dispossessed people from their land. *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), Ngugi's second novel, set during Kenya's struggle for independence, also shows the writer's nationalism and hatred of imperialism. In the same vein, Ngugi wrote *Petals of Blood* (1977),

¹ My translation

a novel against capitalism. In its background is the Mau Mau guerillas' fight for independence. Like Orwell, Ngugi was a political activist, which made him go to prison or into exile for many years. *Matigari* is another narrative about Ngugi's battle against political systems that oppress the masses through exploitation and care nothing about their welfare. What Ngugi is clearly suggesting here is the continuation of the struggle, as *Matigari* the character is doing not only with words, but also with arms. In an essay titled "Moving the Centre" Ngugi actually says:

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been degraded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led us to our being oppressed, exploited, disregarded. Now we want a revolution, a revolution which brings to an end our weakness so that we are never again exploited, oppressed and humiliated. (in Dieng, (74)

Like Orwell, Ngugi does not subscribe to the art for art fashion. Focusing on Africa the Kenyan writer further states that "unless we African writers embrace such a vision- a vision anchored in the struggles of the people, we shall succumb to self despair, cynicism and individualism, or else we become mesmerized by superficial bourgeois progress..." (Ezenwa-Ohaeto, 64)

Orwell and Ngugi are thus writers whose political awareness and commitment are apparent in their writings, and particularly in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Matigari*. But one could wonder why the protagonists of the two novels have different fates. Why is Winston defeated when *Matigari* escapes defiant and promising to continue the struggle? After the two World Wars which caused a terrible manslaughter allegedly in the name of the defense of freedom and liberty, the world was divided into two entrenched camps. This situation started what was referred to as the cold war. This cold war unfortunately did not guarantee human freedom either. Freedom restricting measures were taken on each side in order to protect themselves, which implied infringement on human rights. In that sense, I think Orwell wanted his novel to be a warning to the world. The pathos that pervades the novel is meant to arouse people's emotions about the fate of the individual and humanity as a whole in the face of new totalitarianisms. So *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a deliberate act of pessimism. On the contrary *Matigari* is more optimistic. *Matigari* in a way ridicules? The state. He succeeds in escaping from police custody and a mental hospital, as well as destroys the house and the car of John Boy before disappearing into the forest. Ngugi is thus still in the mode of the Mau Mau's historical victory over the British colonists. He probably thinks that if the fighters are today as determined as they were during the first fight for independence, they will succeed in getting rid of imperialism and its stooges.

Conclusion

This comparative study of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Matigari* has shown that George Orwell and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, although culturally different, have one major preoccupation in common: the fate of the welfare and the freedom of the masses. Orwell has experienced the two major wars that humanity has waged against itself, and Ngugi has essentially been marked by the war of liberation that his people fought against the British. These experiences are surely the foundation of both authors' commitment. Orwell's book was not a prediction or a prophecy *per se*. But since it was set in the future, we can ask ourselves if Winston would have embarked on such a quest had he been a man of our time. In other words, would

Winston feel stifled as he is in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, due to a lack of freedom? Today, the progress of technology has actually made the people of the world freer in the sense that they can communicate more easily than in the past. But overall, freedom is not an absolute given. The surveillance of ordinary citizens is the main activity of the police in some big countries for the sake of security. The news is controlled by governments. In many countries, public opinion is influenced by official lies or by rewritten history. Governments have become Big Brothers. Also, with the rise of religious extremism, the world is drifting further away from freedom.

Today, Africa, the continent where Ngugi's *Matigari* is set, is still the object of neo-colonial coveting after many decades of independence. The socio-economic and political woes of certain countries can be frankly attributed to the grip of neo-colonial powers. As shown above, the themes developed in both novels are still very relevant. Human beings are still not entirely free. On the contrary, the contemporary world lives more and more under the threat of all sorts of extremisms, all of which endanger human freedom and democracy. Under such circumstances, one could quote N.R. Sawant's view of Orwell, which *mutatis mutandis* could also be applied to Ngugi:

Orwell had remained a dazzling star and a peaceful volcanic voice against injustice and trampling down of human values in any form and any age. So he has remained an everlasting fountain source of inspiration to posterity who desires to keep alive the flame of liberty, equality, fraternity and good human values. He is again eulogized as a "decent man," as a "saint" and as the "conscience of his generation" (29)

Orwell and Ngugi both want to influence society in the sense that people can model their lives upon the lives of their heroes. This comparative example shows that human beings whatever their origins have the same fundamental existential or spiritual needs that often surface through their art, religion and their political and social actions (Brunel & Al, 15).

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The Culture of Patriarchy in John Steinbeck's: *The Grapes of Wrath*

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Abstract

The Grapes of Wrath, published in 1939, is a masterpiece in American literature written by the notorious American author John Steinbeck. The novel is about the journey of a family of migrant workers the Joads during the Great Depression. The family leaves Oklahoma and goes to California in order to improve its social conditions, utterly degraded after the outcome of the economic crisis and the Dust Bowl, a natural phenomenon that weakened agriculture. The present paper seeks to show the decline of patriarchy, in favor of matriarchy throughout the storyline. Indeed, the reader is flabbergasted to notice the way in which Steinbeck dispossesses Tom Joad Senior, from his lifetime role as the head of the family, in favor of a powerful Ma Joad, a strong and confident woman. Moreover, in the beginning of the novel, we identify Tom Joad Junior as being the hero of the literary work; however, his sister Rose of Sharon ends up endorsing the role of heroine. In fact, the work of fiction ends up on her heroic act of breastfeeding a total stranger in order to save his life from a slow and torturing death.

Keywords: patriarchal, matriarchal, identity, dust bowl, Great Depression.

Introduction

John Steinbeck's masterpiece *The Grapes of Wrath* was highly criticized and even banned according to Karolides Nicholas. The American author, Maxwell Geismar is one of those who did not appreciate *The Grapes of Wrath* and this is evident when he refers to Steinbeck in his book entitled *Writers in Crisis: The American Novel, 1925-1940* and where we find such statements: "Lacking the art of 'The Pastures of Heaven' and the realism of 'In Dubious Battle,' marking, as it also does, a return to Steinbeck's glamor, theatrics, and simplicity of view after the conflicts of his earlier proletarian novel, thus sentimentalized, often distorted, 'The Grapes of Wrath' is not at all Steinbeck's best novel." (265) Personally, I disagree with such comments and think that nowadays, no scholar could deny *The Grapes of Wrath's* importance in American literature and its legacy throughout the world.

The novel recounts the journey of the Joads, a family from Oklahoma compelled to go to California where they hope to improve their critical situation during the Great Depression. In their quest to restart their lives from zero and construct a brighter future for them and coming generations, the family is weakened. There are many characters in the novel; however in order to show the decline of men's authority especially father's one, I make a distinction between male and female characters. I show how gradually Steinbeck's fictional male characters lose their supremacy to strong female characters.

Thus, in this present paper I start by defining patriarchy and show the way Grampa and Tom Joad Senior exercise their authorities over the other members of their family especially in the beginning of the novel. However, throughout the narration, we discover that a whole nation is suffering due to a general critical economic situation, worsen with a natural phenomenon the Dust Bowl. This situation subverts men's, positions, who are destabilized to the point of losing their supremacy in their families. This transition of power from men to women shows that basically we move from a patriarchal system to a matriarchal one in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* during the Great Depression.

I. Patriarchy's Supremacy

First of all, we need to define Patriarchy before proving its collapse. Patriarchy is a term which means that the father is naturally the leader of his family. Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick provide the following definition in their *Key Concepts*:

The term 'patriarchy' literally means the 'rule of the father'. It has been adopted by the majority of feminist theorists to refer to the way in which societies are structured through male domination over, and oppression of, women. Patriarchy therefore refers to the ways in which material and symbolic resources (including income, wealth and power) are unequally distributed between men and women, through such social institutions as the family, sexuality, the state, the economy, culture and language. (269-270)

The term has been adopted mainly by feminists such as Bell Hooks who identifies patriarchy as being: “a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence.” (1) She provides this definition in her essay *Understanding Patriarchy* which is devoted to her understanding of this term.

In her essay, Hooks recounts how much she suffered from this patriarchal thinking, and unravels a traumatic event that marked her at an early stage of her life at the age of three or four year old, when her father beat her savagely because she dared to play marbles with her brother. Generally, marbles are associated to boys' games and girls are not allowed to play such games. Those ideas are commonly imposed by society and people who transgress those codes are not accepted in their environment.

Thus, Hooks discovered at an early stage that she must not neglect her father's authority for her own safety. Therefore, in order to exercise his power over his daughter the father used violence in order to be obeyed. Hooks also explains that it is not acceptable for a man to be docile if he wants to be well integrated in society and she gives the example of her husband who was pushed to change under social pressure. Hence, from its birth a baby is first of all classified either as a boy or a girl depending on its genital organs, from that moment the baby boy is conditioned to be a future virile, strong brave and violent man, while on the other hand the little girl learns to become a subordinated woman who must obey her father and her husband's authority. Women's main role is to take care of their families by cooking, tidying their houses, nurturing their children if they have any etc. So, we notice that men are predestined by society to rule and women to obey. In this sense male characters probably dominate female characters in *The Grapes of Wrath*. In order to confirm this male's supremacy let us discover John Steinbeck's fictional family and its characters, focusing first on males.

The Joads is a family composed of grandparents, parents and children. The first male character we are introduced to is Tom Joad Junior. He has just left Mc Alester's prison where he spent three or four years for homicide. He explains to the truck driver who gives him a lift, that he killed a man in self-defense. Thus, it is an act of violence that led Tom Joad to lose years of his youth imprisoned.

Then, the second male character we are introduced to, through Tom Joad's discussion with the truck driver is his father Old Tom Joad who is described as being financially stable being a cropper who possesses a forty acres ranch in Oklahoma. This signifies that the protagonists' father has a certain power because he possesses a ranch. So far, no reference is done about his mother.

The following important male character in *The Grapes of Wrath* is a preacher, Jim Casy

who starts by admitting to Tom Joad that he sinned because he had sexual relationships with women. Thus, the first important hint about women concerns sexuality and it lowers women's position Jim Casy tells Tom Joad that: "A girl was just a girl. You could fuck 'em an' leave 'em. It was nothin' to you. But to me they was holy vessels. I was savin' their souls. An' here with all that responsibility on me I'd just get 'em frothin' with the Holy Sperit, an' then I'd take 'em out an' screw 'em". (25)

Here, the preacher admits that he took advantage of his professional position as God's messenger on earth in order to have sexual intercourses with women who meant absolutely nothing to him. However, He thinks that on the other hand he brought to those women an enriching experience because he considers himself beyond the others as a spiritual representative. Donald Pizer explains in his *Twentieth Century American literary Naturalism* that this crudity of speech between Tom and Casy is an attempt by Steinbeck to naturalize those fictional characters, or as he says: "Tom and Casy share at the opening of the novel, anecdotes which establish their shrewdness, openness, and understanding in a context of crudity and occasional bestiality. But even this texture of animality in their lives helps establish their naturalness." (68)

However, despite Casy's defaults, Steinbeck makes of him an important spiritual character superior to other characters. Jim Casy's supremacy lays in the fact that he is a preacher and that he exercises power on his community. The French theorist Michel Foucault coins this power emanating from religion "pastoral power". According to him, Christianity is linked to new ethical codes that gave power to pastors whom role is to: "assure individual salvation in the next world", sacrifice themselves for the others and make people confess their secrets. A pastor is a preacher and we see that Jim Casy has this pastoral power; we can even go beyond since we can even compare him to the prophet Jesus Christ. The first common point between Jesus Christ and Jim Casy are the initials. Moreover, at the end of his life it is said that Jesus Christ sacrificed his life for his people. Jim Casy will end up dying for the sake of destitute migrant workers and his death will end up his power.

Among the other male characters of the family we have Noah and Aleck, Tom Joad's brothers. Uncle John a drunkard who lost his wife and feels responsible for her death. Grampa, Tom Joads grandfather and the young Connie Rivers who is Tom Joad's brother in law, married to his sister Rose of Sharon.

The first think that we remark is the fact that male characters outnumber female characters, the most important one being Ma Joad, Rose of Sharon and Granma'. Let us focus on two characters, Gampa and Old Tom Joad because they are fathers, thus the leaders of their respective families.

As mentioned previously, most civilizations follow patriarchy in which the father rules his family. The father is the decision maker and he is the one who provides his family with all necessary things to its survival. What about Grampa and Old Tom Joad, are they still at the head of their families when a whole nation is suffering from the outcomes of The Great Depression?

Grampa is an old man who spent all of his life in Oklahoma and he is really against leaving his place despite the bad conditions that are facing the Joads who had to deal with two main problems, the dust bowl, a natural phenomenon that creates a dusty hostile setting and the economic crisis. Grampa's name is William James Joad. He decides in the beginning of the novel to stay in his hometown, and he explains the reasons behind such a decision to his family by telling them that he does not want to leave because that is where he belongs: "This here's my country. I b'long here. An' I don't give a goddamn if they's oranges an' grapes crowdin' a fella outa a bed even. I ain't a-goin'. This country ain't no good, but it's my country. No, you all go ahead. I'll jus' stay right here where I b'long." (113)

Despite his insistence, the old man was taken by force with them along the road to their way to California, a place in which he did not believe in. Unfortunately, Tom Joad's Grandfather will never reach California "the Promised Land" because he dies en route of a fatal stroke. It is important to note Grampa's importance in the plot line; thanks to this character Steinbeck shows that when a man becomes old he loses his authority and becomes powerless. Grampa is represented as a stubborn old character that spent all of his life in his hometown and when he is deprived from it, he ends up dying. And this is very symbolic in the sense that when someone is well rooted in a place it is very difficult uprooting him without drawbacks, this idea is reinforced in the following quotation from *The Grapes of Wrath*: "An' Grampa didn' die tonight. He died the minute you took 'im off the place." (147) Thus, death for Steinbeck is not only the physical death but also the spiritual one.

Before dying Grampa became very fragile and weak and even made something unusual to a man which is to cry: "Without warning Grampa began to cry. His Chin wavered and his old lips tightened over his mouth and he sobbed hoarsely." (136-137)

This statement announces the imminent end of Grampa's authority. Traditionally, it is the son who carries on the path of his father; however it is Granma who is momentarily put forward in the narration. After her husband's death, we have the impression that she becomes the leader or at the head of her family for a while: "Granma moved with dignity and held her head high. She walked for the family and held her head straight for the family." (139)

Her position gives the impression that all of a sudden she gains power. Despite the tragic death of her husband, she is not desperate on the contrary her attitude inspires toughness and strength. Thus, we have the impression that instead of her son Tom Joad, Granma is given importance after her husband's death. What about Old Tom Joad?

In the beginning of the novel, he is a character who has a good position because thanks to the information that we learn from his son, we are introduced to a farmer who owns a ranch. However, unlike what the reader expects, we discover a dispossessed man who lost everything to banks: "Pa borrowed money from the bank, and now the bank wants the land. The land company

– that’s the bank when it has land – wants tractors, not families on the land.” (152)

He is at the head of a large family composed of a wife, Ma Joad and six children, Tom Joad Junior, Aleck, Noah, Rose of Sharon, Ruthie who is just twelve-year-old and Winfield the last child of the family is ten-year-old. His family’s situation is not unique, plenty of people were harmed during that dim period and this is evident in the intercalary chapters in which we understand that Steinbeck wants to generalize the situation of those Okies seeking a work at California. In the commencement, Old Tom Joad is the one who guides his family and makes decisions. His son, Tom Joad needs his instructions to act. For instance, Tom Joad junior agreed with his father to drug his grandfather in order to take him despite his will to California. Thus so far Old Tom Joad is the one making the decisions in his family.

Other important decisions were taken by the men of the family such as leaving Oklahoma to California. Old Tom Joad is the one who announced to his son that they were leaving despite his mother’s resentment who was afraid to lose her son. The father also took the decision to welcome his son to join them throughout this journey. Thus, in the beginning of the novel we have powerful men who take important decisions concerning their families. One must not forget that this supremacy of men over women has existed for ages and reinforced by religions. In monolithic religions such as Christianity or Islam, for instance, it is believed that Eve the first woman was created thanks to Adam’s rib. Thus, religiously speaking men are privileged over women. This power in the hands of men is explained primarily by the physical differences between men and women. Men are believed to be stronger and are inherently violent. According to Howard Levant power is only possible through violence. However, power had also led to human beings ruin, World War One is one of the examples of the impact of power on humanity which was about to be annihilated. Accordingly, power has also drawbacks and among them, destruction.

During the Great Depression, small farmers found themselves weak in front of powerful financial institutions. The economic crisis result is the impoverishment of a whole nation and a great part of the victims are Okies. Those people lost their properties, their wealth, their dignity and men lost their power and ended up insignificant towards the end of the novel.

In his book *A Companion to The Grapes of Wrath*, Warren French quotes Steinbeck’s *Their Blood Is Strong*:

The father is vaguely aware that there is a culture of hookworm in the mud along the river bank. He knows the children will get it on their bare feet. But he hasn’t the will nor the energy to resist. Too many things have happened to him. This is the lower class of the camp. This is what the man in the tent will be in six months; what the man in the paper house has washed down and his children have sickened or died, after the loss of dignity and spirit have cut him down to a kind of sub-humanity. (63)

The man described in the previous quotation is in one of those squatting camps in which found themselves living migrant workers. We strikingly notice that Steinbeck declassifies those poor Okies who become part of a kind of under category. However, men seem to be weaker than women and it is because of those weaknesses that men lost their supremacy and women took their families responsibilities. Men are disconcerted when they have to face difficulties in their lives. And when they get old, they are even more fragile. On the contrary, we will see that aged women become wiser and stronger. Thus, the next part proves that we moved from a patriarchal to a matriarchal system in *The Grapes of Wrath*.

II. Matriarchy's New Authority

After showing that the Joads' male characters are the one ruling their family in the beginning of the novel, I will prove in this part that this authority is going to gradually decline in favor of women who turn to be stronger facing difficult times. Thus we have the impression that we move from a patriarchal system to a matriarchal one.

If patriarchy means the rule of the father we deduce that matriarchy means the rule of the mother. Before asserting that we move from patriarchy to matriarchy I will start by showing how female characters evolved throughout the novel. This means that female characters are not the same in the first chapters and at the end of the novel. They move from an inferior position to a superior one. In the sense that in the beginning of the novel at Oklahoma they are attributed tasks such as cooking in the kitchen or washing clothes, but in California there is a clear change, women start to work in fields as men and contribute in providing money to spend on their families' exactly as men. There are three main female characters in the novel, Granma, Ma Joad and her daughter Rose of Sharon. I will mainly focus on the two last because Granma dies short after her husband's death, when the family finally reached California.

We are introduced to Ma Joad in the eighth chapter. Old Tom Joad says that she is preparing breakfast, thus she is firstly located in the kitchen: "She'll yell breakfast in a minute. I heard her slap the salt pork in the pan a good time ago." (75) Her husband does not announce her son's arrival, he just tells her that two strangers want to join them for breakfast and she accepts generously to welcome them. So far, she fits the way women are stereotyped. Women must above all spend hours in their kitchens cooking for their families. Moreover, women must be nice and obedient to their husbands who are the one who are supposed to make the decisions.

Physically, the emphasis is not done on Ma Joad's beauty, she is just a woman whom body underwent changes due to childbearing. Tom describes her thus: "Ma was heavy, but not fat; thick with child-bearing and work. [...] Her hazel eyes seemed to have experienced all possible tragedy and to have mounted pain and suffering like steps into a high calm and a superhuman understanding. She seemed to know, to accept, to welcome her position, the citadel of the family, the strong place that could not be taken." (76)

Accordingly, Ma Joad is a woman who already has her importance in her family. We could imagine the kind of tasks she does and that are the reason behind her son's admiration. She is a woman who does her best for the sake and the well-being of her family. That is why she is above all, praised for her motherhood. Among her activities, she has to wash dirty clothes and this also have to do with domestic chores in chapter ten: "she filled up her bucket with hot water from the stove, and she put in dirty clothes and began punching them down into the soapy water." (93) In this same chapter, the family still did not reach California and men's authority is still evident since Ma waits for her son to speak before she does:

Ma looked to Tom to speak, because he was a man, but Tom did not speak. She let him have the chance that was his right, and then she said, "Why, we'd be proud to have you. 'Course I can't say right now; Pa says all the men'll talk tonight and figger when we gonna start. I guess maybe we better not say till all the men come. John an' Pa an' Noah an' Tom an' Grampa an' Al an' Connie, they're gonna figger soon's they get back. But if they's room I'm pretty sure we'll be proud to have ya." (95-96)

From this passage we understand many meaningful things; on the one hand, men have the priority to express themselves. Women allow themselves to talk only if men had finished to say what they wanted it to say.

On the other hand, decisions are made by men as mentioned beforehand because Ma cannot allow Jim Casy to travel with them without the permission of the family's men. However, personally she does not mind the presence of the preacher as well as her mother Granma who thinks that it would be interesting to bring him with them because he makes awesome religious sermons.

Ma Joad is successful in convincing the rest of the group to accept Casy and again it is clear that her son venerates her and highlights her importance among her family: "Ma was powerful in the group." (105)

The Joads decide to slaughter a pig before they leave Oklahoma. The preacher wants to help Ma Joad salting the pig; she stops him by telling him that there are works that must be done by women and others by men. Casy convinces her that there are no differences in the dialogue that occurred between them:

The preacher stepped beside her. "Leave me salt down this meat," he said. "I can do it. There's other stuff for you to do." She stopped her work then and inspected him oddly, as though he suggested a curious thing. And her hands were crusted with salt, pink with fluid from the fresh pork. "It's women's work," she said finally. "It's all work," the preacher replied. "They's too much of it to split it up to men's or women's work. You got stuff to do. Leave me salt the meat." (109)

It is clear that Ma Joad is flabbergasted by Casy's insistence on doing a woman's job as she says. However, thanks to Casy's reply it is clear that John Steinbeck is in favor of equality between

men and women. It is probably for her the first time that a man wants to share with her a task destined to women. Thus, Casy does something which is unfathomable for a man to do during the thirties. From that moment, we feel that there are changes in Ma Joad's attitude. And those changes are clear in Chapter sixteen when she refuses firmly to leave the place where they are:

Ma stepped in front of him. "I ain't a-gonna go." "What you mean, you ain't gonna go? You got to go. You got to look after the family." Pa was amazed at the revolt. Ma stepped to the touring car and reached in on the floor of the back seat. She brought out a jack handle and balanced it in her hand easily. "I ain't a-gonna go," she said. "I tell you, you got to go. We made up our mind." And now Ma's mouth set hard. She said softly, "On'y way you gonna get me to go is whup me." (169)

Ma Joads' act is unusual and it is probably the first time in her life that she takes a firm decision and defends her idea such way. She gained power like men do, by acting violently. She threatened her husband with a jack and she did so for the sake of her family's unity, which is very important to her; In his study of John Steinbeck's *The grapes of Wrath* Warren French explains Ma's reaction as follows: "When Ma threatens Pa with the jack-handle to prevent the party's splitting up, she acts to preserve the integrity of the family." (103) Pa Joad thinks that his wife is nuts before surrendering. We could assert that it is from that moment that the patriarch lost his supremacy and the matriarch, Ma Joad took his place as the head of her family and this is confirmed by the narrator: "The eyes of the whole family shifted back to Ma. She was the power. She had taken control." (70)

At the end of the novel, Ma Joad is going to transmit her power to her daughter Rose of Sharon. Let us first show how Rose of Sharon also known as Rosasharn Tom Joad's sister, moves from being a delicate young pregnant woman to a highly symbolic heroic character. When we are first introduced to her, we learn that she is married to a young man of nineteen-year-old Connie Rivers and that she is about to have a baby, being pregnant. As her mother, her main tasks are to cook and help her mother: "Ma and Rose of Sharon washed up the dishes and piled them on the table." (106)

And like her mother she also washes clothes: "Rose of Sharon brought out all the clothes the family possessed: the overalls, the thick-soled shoes, the rubber boots, the worn best suits, the sweaters and sheepskin coats. And she packed these tightly into a wooden box and got into the box and tramped them down. (108)

In the twentieth Chapter her husband cowardly leaves her in order to realize his dreams by himself. This act underlines this character's selfishness. Being afraid of his future responsibilities towards the coming baby and in times of hardship, this young future father decided to escape his duties in order to live his life freely without any bounds. It is clear that he lost any authority on his family by acting this way and Rose of Sharon must face all of a sudden a stressful situation and becomes responsible of the future of the baby she is carrying in her wombs. Rose of Sharon's baby does not survive; if Steinbeck stopped his novel after the baby's death it would be

meaningless. The unborn child symbolizes the victims of the Dust Bowl, the Okies who died starving in a city abundant with fruits and vegetables. His mother failed to protect her child however thanks to her milk, she breastfeeds a man dying in a cave. Thus, Rose of Sharon ends up very powerful, since Steinbeck gives her the power of saving lives.

Conclusion

All in all, in the beginning of the novel men are the ones who lead their families however throughout the journey that the Joads undertook, men lost gradually their position and at the end they are insignificant. Jim Casy is killed; Tom Joad hides himself because he killed Casy's killer. In the final scene Ma Joad and Rose of Sharon are the only characters that remain. They symbolize the ultimate hope for humanity. If we resume women's strength it is in relation with their compassion and the love they share with the rest of their families. Ma Joad and Rose of Sharon suffered a lot in their lives. Women tend to sacrifice themselves for the welfare of their families. However, Steinbeck goes beyond this idea and showed that the only spark of hope he sees in humanity lies in women. Thus the final scene of the novel is highly symbolic. Rose of Sharon saves the life of a starving man in a cave breastfeeding him. By ending his novel this way Steinbeck highlights the importance of women in order to save humanity. Women have the power to reconstruct what have been deconstructed, to save what is about to fade, to survive the worst crisis ever. Despite, their supposed weaknesses, Steinbeck gives as the impression that the sole survivors of the treacherous adventures of the Joads are those two female characters. Subsequently, it is logical to conclude that there is a clear shift from patriarchy to matriarchy in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*.

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The Impact of Poverty on Individual Identity in John Steinbeck's: *The Grapes of Wrath*

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Abstract

John Steinbeck's novel: The Grapes of Wrath is a novel where a family "the Joad" is compelled to leave Oklahoma, a city touched by the Great Depression of the thirties and destroyed by a natural phenomenon known as the: Dust Bowl. Those fictional characters sought to fulfill their dreams by going to California, the supposedly rich earth that would provide them a secure and cozy shelter. Instead of that, those immigrants found themselves living in precarious conditions, dispossessed and unable to satisfy quintessential needs such as eating or even sleeping in suitable houses. I will show that during hard times, human beings connect together and the individual's self-identity is transformed into group solidarity. The only way to succeed to overcome everyday life's difficulties is the union of people who unite their efforts to obtain what they long for: "if we all get jobs an' all work-maybe we can get one of them little white houses." (The Grapes of Wrath: 93) Here we see Karl Marx's influence on John Steinbeck's novel; a single person cannot achieve his goal by himself, the endeavors must be united because for him unity makes strength. What about the individual's identity as an independent being? I will show that John Steinbeck draws a pessimistic image of people struggling with their bad conditions alone. In most cases, those lonely persons are doomed to die or stay forever in their extremely poor conditions. Hence, it is important and even compulsory to be part of a family or group in order to exist. In any group there must be leaders who would guide the tribe. When someone is destitute and alone, he lacks the means that could help him to overcome life's difficulties and assert his singularity.

Keywords: class struggle, identity, Great Depression, dust bowl, capitalism, migration.

Introduction

The Grapes of Wrath by John Ernst Steinbeck (1902-1968) is one of American literature's greatest novels. It was first published in The United States in 1939 and Steinbeck was awarded with the Pulitzer Prize and a noble prize in 1962 for writing such an outstanding fiction. The novel is set during the harsh economic period of the thirties and its main concern is sociological because the story is about the difficult path undertaken by citizens from Oklahoma, called pejoratively: "The Okies" to find a better life in California, after losing everything they possessed in their native town. The focus is made on a family: the Joads who were compelled to leave their farm as many other families in the same situation. Throughout the narration we discover the misery in which lived those poor migrant. In the present paper, I will start by presenting this harsh period known as the great depression which engendered numerous poor families on American soils. Secondly, I will deal with what is known as the dust bowl, a natural phenomenon that ravaged and destroyed crops, pushing small farmers to lose all their possessions and pushing them to migrate in bad conditions with the dream of ameliorating their critical situations. Afterwards, I will show the consequences of being destitute and badly off, on one's identity, distinguishing individual identity from group identity.

I) Poverty during the thirties in John Steinbeck's: *The Grapes of Wrath*

A) The Great Depression

During the thirties, The United States of America had to face its worst economic crisis which is what we call: the Great Depression. It is defined by Christina D. Romer as being an economic crisis that lasted about ten years, from 1929 to 1939. The starting point of this unfathomable crisis is the United States of America and it spread like wildfire in industrialized countries such as France, United Kingdom etc.:

Although the Depression originated in the United States, it resulted in drastic declines in output, severe unemployment, and acute deflation in almost every country of the globe. But its social and cultural effects were no less staggering, especially in the United States, where the Great Depression ranks second only to the Civil War as the gravest crisis in American history.

Deflation is when consumerism drops drastically obliging industrial producers to decrease their prices in order to sell their goods. These drops of prices with a badly managed economic policy engendered the stock market crash of October 1929, also known as "Black Thursday." Hence, fewer profits were made by companies that ended up in most cases indebted, leading them to bankruptcy.

Banks were not trusted anymore and people started to hate those financial institutions, a resentment which is mentioned in *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Small farmers are the most penalized by this capitalist system which Steinbeck metaphorically compares to a monster: "But the monster's sick. Something's happened to the

monster.” (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 34) Through this remark Steinbeck denounces the collapse of an entire system. Banks are the enemies and for Steinbeck those institutions, the rotten fruit of capitalist system must die. Banks are personified and Oklahoma’s citizens fantasize on killing them: “Maybe we can kill banks.” (35)

The great depression led to a decrease of employment, it was very hard to find a job. Small farmers were the most penalized by this crisis because they lost almost everything they possessed:

“The little farmers watched debt creep upon them like the tide. They sprayed the trees and sold no crop, they pruned and grafted and sold no crop, they pruned and grafted and could not pick the crop. And the men of knowledge have worked, have considered, and the fruit is nothing on the ground, and the decaying mash in the wine vat is poisoning the air. And taste the wine-no grape flavor at all, just sulphur and tannic acid and alcohol. (GW: 384)

Even nature was not mild with them and worsens their situation. The earth dried and crops were spoiled. This is what is commonly known as the dust bowl.

B) The Dust Bowl

Oklahoma City which is the initial setting of *The Grapes of Wrath* is one of the American States concerned by what is called the Dust Bowl. The main characteristic of this phenomenon is dryness and a hostile setting. An interesting website devoted to topics related to “Farming in the 1930’s” gives us an idea about it:

The Dust Bowl got its name after Black Sunday, April 14, 1935. More and more dust storms had been blowing up in the years leading up to that day. In 1932, 14 dust storms were recorded on the Plains. In 1933, there were 38 storms. By 1934, it was estimated that 100 million acres of farmland had lost all or most of the topsoil to the winds. By April 1935, there had been weeks of dust storms, but the cloud that appeared on the horizon that Sunday was the worst.

From the first pages of the novel we are introduced to a gloomy atmosphere, where people find it difficult to breathe. It is clear that characters evolving in Oklahoma are suffering from this arid and hostile atmosphere: “Men and women huddled in their houses, and they tied handkerchiefs over their noses when they went out, and wore goggles to protect their eyes.” (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 3)

Oklahoma is described as a desert, a hell on earth. Nature is angry and this is obvious through the description of this dusty setting in many passages in the novel: “a cloud of dust boiled up.” (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 16); “The sun was hot, and no wind stirred the sifted dust.” (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 17) So nature becomes harmful, the sun burns reminiscent of God’s punishments. The reader can hardly imagine human beings living in such conditions. And that is confirmed, when the main character of the novel Tom Joad is in his way to his home after being imprisoned for killing a man during a fight. In his route, he meets an old man, Jim Casy a former preacher who foreshadows that Tom is not going to find his family because most people left Oklahoma to California which is characterized by a fertile and

abundant earth: Casy: "Somepin's happening. I went up an' I looked, an' the houses is all empty, an' the lan' is empty, an' this whole country is empty." (101)

Casey's prophecy turns to be true and it is a deserted house that Tom finds out.

In the neighborhood, he meets Muley who explains to him that the town is empty city because of the dust bowl that destroyed families financially letting them no other options than leaving Oklahoma in order to have a brighter future:

"Oh! They talked pretty about it. You know what kinda years we been havin'. Dust comin' up an' spoilin' ever'thing so a man didn't get enough crop to plug up an ant's ass. An' ever'body got bills at the grocery. You know how it is. Well, the folks that owns the lan' says, 'We can't afford to keep no tenants.' An' they says, 'The share a tenant gets is just' the margin a profit we can't afford to lose.' An' they says, 'The share a tenant gets is jus' the margin a profit we can't afford to lose.' An they says, 'If we putt all our lan' in one piece we can jus' hardly make her pay.' So they tractored all the tenants off a the lan' All 'cept me, an' by God I ain't goin'. Tommy, you know me. You knowed me all your life." (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 50)

Thus, Muley has been abandoned by his wife and children who left him to satisfy their quintessential needs: "My wife an' the kids an' her brother all took an' went to California. They wasn't nothin' to eat. They wasn't as mad as me, so they went. They wasn't nothin' to eat here. (51) Muley lives in such harsh conditions that he is obliged to eat animals he catches and this is reminiscent of primitive men: "For a while I et frogs an' squirrels an' prairie dogs sometimes." (51) Tom Joad and Casy carry on their way to find Tom's family who are at Uncle John's house preparing them to go to California. A family composed of grandparents, parents and their children: "In the late afternoon the truck came back, bumping and rattling through the dust, and there was a layer of dust in the bed, and the hood was covered with dust, and the headlights were obscured with a red flour." (102). The family finally reaches California, the land of their dreams where they are confronted to poverty, famine and very poor conditions of living. Even children found themselves obliged to work with their parents in the field. The dream is transformed into a nightmare; California's inhabitants did not accept those migrant workers who are perceived as a threat on their nation. The Joads ended up living in different camps like gypsies.

II) Consequences of being destitute on one's Identity

While the Joads headed to California, they left behind them Muley. He resisted the temptation of going to this Eden like or Promised Land, California with his peers but as a consequence we feel that this character is dehumanized, he is transformed into a kind of beast who would eat anything he finds in order to survive. The reader imagines a tragic end for this homeless and penniless character. For Steinbeck, people need to unite their strength in order to survive and overcome the encountered difficulties and in this we see Karl Marx's influence on his writings. Poverty arouses people's anger who rebel against the system organizing strikes to protest against the government, the capitalist system, the police etc.:

"in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage. (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 385)

But it is not that kind of complicity that Steinbeck celebrates in his novels but it is beyond that. There are two kinds of unions but the one that encourages Steinbeck is solidarity. People must share what they have in their possession even if it is scarce. It is a pity for Steinbeck that children starve to death while producers destroy the surplus of their productions in order to make profit: “There is a crime here that goes beyond denunciation. There is sorrow here that weeping cannot symbolize. There is a failure here that topples all our success. The fertile earth, the straight tree rows, the sturdy trunks, and the ripe fruit. And children dying of pellagra must die because a profit cannot be taken from an orange. And coroners must fill in certificate – died of malnutrition – because the food must rot, must be forced to rot.” (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 385)

Agriculture became during the thirties a real industry which must be productive and valuable. Those who are unable to follow that tendency lost their holdings to banks that thanks to their wealth could use modern tools to make profitable the lands they took from families such as the Joads.

Chapter five of *The Grapes of Wrath* is about the appropriation by banks of the small farmers’ lands. Machines were brought to transform the soil; they are compared to invading animals:

THE TRACTORS came over the roads and into the fields, great crawlers moving like insects, having the incredible strength of insects. They crawled over the ground, laying the track and rolling on it and picking it up. Diesel tractors, puttering while they stood idle; they thundered when they moved, and then settled down to a droning roar. Snubnosed monsters, raising the dust and sticking their snouts into it, straight down the country, across the country, through fences, through dooryards, in and out of gullies in straight lines. (36)

There is the impression that those machines are living creatures who are assaulting, harming the earth. Paradoxically, the driver of the tractor is dehumanized: “The man sitting in the iron seat did not look like a man.” (37) We have the feeling that the man driving the machine is controlled by it:

A twitch at the controls could swerve the cat, but the driver’s hands could not twitch because the monster that built the tractors, the monster that sent the tractor out, had somehow got into the driver’s hands, into his brain and muscle, had goggled him and muzzled him – goggled his mind, muzzled his speech, goggled his perception, muzzled his protest. (37)

He is dispossessed of his identity, being described as a robot mechanically applying what he has been ordered to do. He is evicting from their homes people from his own community without any mercy or compassion. This tractor driver has a family that he has to take care of; hence he is obliged to put aside his feelings and become heartless in order to fulfil the job he is assigned to do. Joe Davis’s son is paid 3\$ per day for his work and that is all which matters for him. The driver is like a man who has sold his soul to the devil. He does not feel for those people: “But the machine man, driving a dead tractor on land he does not know and love, understands only chemistry; and he is contemptuous of the land and of himself. When the corrugated iron doors are shut, he goes home, and his home is not the land.” (126)

While the driver becomes an object, banks are personified in *The Grapes of Wrath* by Okies. Banks are personified and people want to get rid of them: "Maybe we can kill banks." (35)

Hence, the capitalist system is a one which pushes people to individualism. Everybody thinks about his own interests. We can take the example of the Californian owners who profited from the dust bowl to have cheap manual labour. Since they pay low salaries to their employees, it is clear that they do so to make more personal profits. Loek Halman, highly inspired by Bellah, introduces individualism in his article: "Individualism in individualized society" Results from the European Values Surveys". He gives as evidence two kinds of individualism; the first one is utilitarian:

This variant stresses personal interest, material success, personal responsibility, accomplishment, property, work, earning and saving money. Furthermore, this individualism advocates the Darwinistic stance that only the best and the strongest can survive. Solidarity is thus not encouraged by this form of individualism, for everybody should take care of himself, and each individual is personally responsible for his acts. (1)

In this case, people's aim in life is to increase their benefits and focus on their "self-interest". As already mentioned, the Californian farmers abused the immigrant population coming from Oklahoma for instance. Numerous pamphlets were distributed, promising the destitute Okies good opportunities of work. Since many people applied for the jobs they were offering, those farmers acted selfishly with those people they hired. In *The Grapes of Wrath* we are even more shocked by such individualistic behaviour because even children as mentioned previously and old people are obliged to work in those farms in harsh conditions. Those poor people are not even able to satisfy primary needs such as eating in order to survive. Children are unable to control themselves when they see food and are described as savage animals. They are fed with fried dough which is not really beneficial to their growth. The dramatic consequence of this utilitarian individualism is of course the tragic death of many children and adults when everyone thought only about himself.

There is another kind of individualism which is known as expressive or "qualitative" (Schnabel: 1983):

This form of individualism refers to individual autonomy, creativity and the uniqueness of the individual. Originality and self-realization are important features of this form of individualism (Elchardus and Heyvaert, 1991) which is associated with pleasure, passion, authenticity, hedonism, and intense expressions of personal feelings. Both forms of individualism are aptly summarized by Bellah et al. as follows: "one is moral, ultimately grounded in religion, according to which life is sacred and each person is unique, irreplaceable, and priceless; the other is rational and utilitarian, in which the social good is whatever best satisfies the preferences of individual actors" (Bellah et al., 1992: 114-115).

Rose of Sharon, Tom Joad's sister gives birth to a still born baby who never breathed. Steinbeck wants to use this unborn baby to denounce the horror of such a system where human beings live like cattle in awful conditions. Rose of Sharon lost her baby because of the bad conditions she is living in: "On a newspaper lay a blue shriveled little mummy. "Never breathed," said Mrs. Wainwright softly. Never was alive." (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 489)

Rose of Sharon's pregnancy was doomed to have such tragic issue, because the woman did not even have suitable clothes to warm her: "The girl shivered violently." (*The Grapes Of Wrath*: 476). Instead of burying the corpse of Rose of Sharon's deceased baby, her Uncle John decides to throw him, and by this act, he denounces the despair those people are living in:

"Go down an' tell 'em. Go down in the street an' rot an' tell 'em that way. That's the way you can talk. Don't even know if you was a boy or a girl. Ain't gonna find out. Go on down now, an' lay in the street. Maybe they'll know then." He guided the box gently out into the current and let it go." (*The Grapes of Wrath*: 494)

However, Steinbeck does not end his fiction on such a pessimistic tone, because he uses Rose of Sharon to show that even in despair there is hope.

Rose of Sharon loosened one side of the blanket and bared her breast. "You got to," she said. She squirmed closer and pulled his head close. "There!" she said. "There." Her hand moved behind his head and supported it. Her fingers moved gently in her hair. She looked up and across the barn, and her lips came together and smiled mysteriously." (*The Grapes Of Wrath*: 502)

This is a great act of generosity; Rose of Sharon gives her own milk to breastfeed an anonymous man she finds out in a dry place. The young man is starving to death but with her gesture we believe that his life is spared and hope is revived thanks to this unity:

Conclusion

To conclude, during the thirties poverty was induced after several crises that the United States had to face which are the great depression and the dust bowl. Many families found themselves destitute however something evolved in those people's behavior. They moved from an individualistic prospective to a group identity. Poverty's aftermath on those migrant country people is to bind together, ending up, forming a single unity to improve their human condition and to face every day life's difficulties. People's only hope of preserving their dignity is to unite. Unity makes people's strength, it is better to be part of a group instead of facing lonely a harsh world.

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The “Criminal Other” and the “Exorcism of Evil” in Fay Weldon’s *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil*

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Abstract

Fay Weldon in The Life and Loves of a She Devil uses crime as a consequence of madness in order to show the condition of modern individual living in the capitalist patriarchal society to break the long debated concept of the ‘silent Other’ who is ‘different.’ Madness as a metaphor stands for destructiveness, greed and vulnerability. It is the mass psychology that shapes the individual’s behavior. The collective unconscious prevents the individual to be powerful and to protest, because others behave similarly fearing gossip and scandal. From this viewpoint The Life and Loves of a She-Devil will be analyzed as it presents female characters whose madness lead to crime (visible & invisible). The aim of this study is to deal with the concept of madness and crime together with the concepts of feminism in the light of the anti-psychiatrist R.D. Laing’s view of madness and try to deconstruct the concepts of “madness,” “beauty,” “success,” “love,” “silence,” “violence,” “crime” and “victim” in the patriarchal capitalist society and thereby to “Exorcise the Evil” residing in the society by making the “Criminal Other” visible.

Keywords: Madness, Crime, Feminism, R.D. Laing, The Criminal Other.

“The cure of the madman, is in the reason of the other –his own reason of the other– his own reason being but the very truth of his madness”

Michel Foucault

Introduction

Fay Weldon in *The Life and Loves of a She Devil* uses crime as a consequence of madness in order to show the condition of modern individual living in the capitalist patriarchal society to break the long debated concept of the ‘silent Other’ who is ‘different.’ Madness as a metaphor stands for destructiveness, greed and vulnerability. The individual, who cannot deal with the imposed ideas and images from the culture tries to internalize them. These contradicting images causing conflicts gradually fragment the self. The individual being maddened and being unable to achieve the lost unity between the self and the body fails to adapt to the society and becomes an outcast. The capitalistic progress based system, which encourages competition and success, puts pressure on the individual and causes impotency. This impotency related to all fields of life makes the individual suffer from inferiority complex, which brings rage and enmity. Ruth in *The life and Loves of a She-Devil* hates the famous and “beautiful” writer Mary Fisher who lives in The High Tower and tells lies. To overcome rage and enmity the individual turns to violence, because her/his experience of the environment is violent. The environment causes suffering and pain to which the character responds by committing crime (other –oriented violence). Ironically, invisible crimes are committed by “respectable” pillars of society. Laing (1967) asserts, in the society the individual is educated by the so-called “normal” man to lose herself/himself and to become absurd (28). Human beings act out of love and hatred, combined for defense and they attack or take pleasure in each other’s company. People are induced to want all the same things, hate the same things (95-96). It is the mass psychology that shapes the individual’s behavior. The collective unconscious prevents the individual to be powerful and to protest, because others behave similarly fearing gossip and scandal. Gossip directs the flow of individual’s character. Each person thinks what the other thinks. Each person, however, is the other to the other and denies any bond with others (78-84).

From this viewpoint *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* will be analyzed as it presents female characters whose madness lead to crime (visible & invisible). As Shosona Felman asserts (1975) , Mental Health is masculine and it means adjustment. For a woman to be healthy she must ‘adjust’ to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex even though these kinds of behavior are generally regarded as less socially desirable. The social role assigned to the woman is that of serving an image, a woman is a daughter, a mother and a wife. In short, madness in man or in woman is the acting out of the devalued female role or the total or partial rejection of one’s sex-role archetype (6).

The aim of this study is to deal with the concept of madness and crime together with the concepts of feminism in the light of the anti-psychiatrist R.D. Laing’s view of madness and try to deconstruct the concepts of “madness,” “beauty,” “success,” “love,” “silence,” “violence,” “crime” and “victim” in the patriarchal capitalist society as mentioned by Fay Weldon in an interview with Mara Reisman (2008):

I suppose how to preserve a culture in a sea of cynicism and consumerism. How to fight the general impoverishment of people's lives - . . . Where once you thought that men were to blame for women's misery, it is really hard nowadays to blame men or to see women as victims. I mean, women are victims of globalization and consumerism, forms of capitalism, forms of Gramsciism. And they're their own victims. But I don't think that men are in the position to victimize women. I mean, I'm sure they would if they could, but they really can't. (43-44)

Felman in her article "Woman and Madness" (1975), too, emphasizes the need to deconstruct the binaries of Western culture as suggested by Irigaray, a psychoanalyst, who adopts a traditional feminist critique of the male-centered orientation and of the anti-feminine bias of psychoanalytical theory and bases her idea on Derrida, who tried to deconstruct Western metaphysics (Nietzschean and Heideggerian critiques of traditional philosophy based on 'logocentricism' (dominance on logos over writing) (7). As again emphasized by Felman, Phyllis Chessler's definition of madness is different. According to Chessler, madness is not to be romanticized or confused with political or cultural revolution. Depressed and terrified women are not about to seize the means of production. Far from being contestation "mental illness" is a request for help, a manifestation of cultural impotence and political castration. On the other hand, for Irigaray, the help-seeking position is a part of female conditioning (7). Ruth's pleas for help will remain unreturned because of her indifferent environment, therefore she is forced to take action in the novel and transformed in a Devil. As she is unwilling to take action and preferred to keep passive, Ruth had to be turned into a Devil, to be able to cope with the criminally insane and the staff, as the institution functions as a microcosm of the society. This transformation will empower her and enable her to take the 'unwanted' job after being left by her indifferent husband, at The Lucas Hill Hospital, a prison for the criminally insane in *The Life and Loves of a She- Devil* (1983):

There is always a living to be earned doing the work that others prefer not to do. Employment can generally be found looking after other people's children, caring for the insane, or guarding imprisoned criminals, cleaning public rest rooms, laying out the dead, or making bed at cheap hotels. (125)

When the girl at the unemployed office talks about and laughs at the inmates of the institution, Ruth gets angry:

"People like that are to be pitied, not blamed, and certainly not laughed at," said Ruth, and the girl immediately and nervously rang the hospital and made an appointment. (127)

Ruth uses the word to be "pitied," but unfortunately the society is the cause of this suffering and pain. The process of exclusion and 'Othering' of such people and those who are serving them as staff (who are also excluded people) at these excluded institutions are criticized:

For the most part, staff worked here whom no one else would employ. They were too fat or too thin or too stupid or too vicious or too black or too white or for one reason or another would simply never look good in any front office anywhere. (128)

The present is valorized, as everything revolve around concepts like "God," "Truth," "Being," "Reason," dichotomous oppositions dominate the Western philosophical thought. There is the subtle mechanism of hierarchization; Presence/ Absence, Being/ Nothingness, Truth/ Error, Same /Other and Identity/ Difference. As Felman asserts (1975), all negativity is suppressed (8); the woman as the negative of man, black man as the negative of white man. Actually, nobody cares about such people and there is the use of violence (brutality), as the superintendent did not inquire too closely into Vesta Rose's (Ruth's false name/ identity) past experience in *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* (1983):

She seemed strong, capable, and clean, and was likely to be less dangerous or disturbed than the inmates, many of whom were murderers or arsonists or given to public acts of gross indecency. Arsonists here were the most feared: sex offenders the most hated. Some inmates, of course, were there by mistake or had inwisely, or had unwisely pleaded insanity at their trials, and so were now incarcerated for an indefinite time, or until they could prove their insanity, which in Lucas Hill Hospital was a difficult thing to do. (128)

Weldon ironically portrays the reality of crime in the United States of America as mentioned by Reisman (2008):

Politicians and organized crime play a definite role often exposed in the U.S. A. By the press and official inquiries. Cases of policemen several forms of extortion (44).

Such excellent fathers, husbands or sons, respectable pillars of society, competent professionals, excellent civil servants, entrenched defenders of criminal law, religion and morals turns out to be criminals and not all with faulty personality development commit crimes (147). Therefore, Ruth seduces such representatives one by one and lastly convinces the judge to find Bobbo guilty.

Fay Weldon's obsessive theme "Beauty" in *The Loves and Lives of a She-Devil* is another factor of primal role in slipping into madness, because "beauty" as the critic and writer Joyce Carol Oates also recurrently writes about in her works and also confirms in an interview with Leif Sjoberg (1982) is a cultural ideal and often a cultural prejudice. It cannot exist in the abstract, it has only meaning within the human imagination like Einstein and Spinoza claims (Milazzo 112) and Ruth is obsessed with her body. Her husband Bobbo, too, is obsessed by the idea of beauty and judges not only his wife but also his children Nichola and Andy according to their appearances. On the other hand, her children Andy and Nichola, too, think Ruth is mad:

Nicola, Andy and Ruth consumed their food sitting in front of the television. So little groups eat, women and children, when the world falls apart. . . . Nichola and Andy rolled their eyes and looked to heaven. They thought she was mad. Their father had said often enough. "Your mother's mad," he'd say.

Being labeled 'mad' and 'bad' by her family Ruth gradually slips into madness and refuses to be silent and wants to be 'successful.' 'Success' is another troublesome concept like 'Beauty' that are embodied in Mary Fisher.

Crime & Violence: Success & Silence

The capitalistic (European/Western idea of progress, and The American Dream) as asserted by Friedman (1978) is based on the big American Dream, which for the American critic and writer Joyce Carol Oates is a false dream of conquest, control and ownership (Creighton 107). It is an impossible dream of overcoming mutability (Creighton 117). The setting of the novel is a city somewhere in America and it creates its own monsters like Ruth, a She-Devil. These 'bad' and 'mad' characters try to cope with the invisible violence of the "illusionary dreams" of conquest and progress. There is the need for "suffering pain" and the need for "uniting under sisterhood" in order to alter the violent environment, which is only possible by creating a community that operates with love. Ironically, these characters create their 'own illusions' hence there is the difficulty to achieve such a community based on 'authentic love' and 'relationships' and many of the crimes are committed in the name of Love.

Love & Dreams

Mary Fisher and Bobbo talk a lot about love in *The Life and Loves of A She-Devil*, Bobbo is a man stereotype and he is in-between two women the dark Ruth (a biblical figure, ironically, who represents friendship, family and God's plan) and The White Mary (the Virgin Mary):

"Be Patient," he says, "I don't intend to leave you. It's just that I am in love with her and at the moment must act accordingly, "Love, he says! Love! Bobbo talks a lot about love. Mary Fisher writes about nothing but love. All you need is love. Good women, love their husbands. But I love, compared to hate, is pallid emotion. Fidgety and troublesome, and making misery. (12)

He is committing one of the many invisible crimes that are committed by the groups called family, society and institutions under the masquerade that is called "love." The so called "religious love," "family love," "animal love," "nature love" and so on. It functions collectively, as also mentioned by the existential psychiatrist R. D. Laing. In Laingian manner Fay Weldon makes the word prostituting as "love" visible in the criminal acts of Ruth and and wants it to be mapped and decentered. Bobbo is abnormal, the sexual relationship with Ruth gives him a feeling of exceptionality, because he has always been fascinated with sibling incest, although Ruth is not Bobbo's real sister (his parents consider her daughter-like). As affirmed by Felman (1975):

"The *sine qua non* of 'feminine' identity in patriarchal society is the violation of the incest taboo, The initial and continued 'preference' for Daddy, and approved falling in love and/ or marrying of powerful father figures" (6). A woman is a daughter, a mother and a wife. "Madness' in man or in woman is the acting out of the devalued female role or the total or partial rejection of one's sex-role archetype "

The idea that Ruth is doing something forbidden excites Bobbo (it is the idea of incest) and Ruth is fascinated just by the idea that a man is willing to make love with her. Although they do not love each other they are forced into marriage. When Ruth gets pregnant Brenda and Angus arrange a marriage for Ruth and Bobbo. The consequence of this accidental marriage is two unwanted children in this 'imaginary' home the "Eden Grove," which is, ironically, a false Eden. Bobbo in his childhood did not receive maternal love and therefore he is unable to love his children and his wife. Actually, Ruth does not love Bobbo, but she "supposes" she loves her husband, "because this is the way married women do" (14). Instead, it is "lust" that drives her forward when she loses Bobbo and nothing can stop her.

"Lust is all hard hammer blows, cracking and splitting. Love is a slippery, velvety cloak to hide in. Lust is real and love is the stuff of dreams, and dreams are what we are made of." (Weldon 103).

All dreamers are susceptible to "the erecting of gigantic paranoid-delusion systems that are self-enclosed and self-destructive. They are self-destructive because they presume, that the human ego is the supreme form of consciousness in the universe," they fail to see the other side of the coin and exclude other ideas and belief systems. This is the non-rational side of personality (Creighton 109). To show this self-destructiveness Weldon uses the theme of crime as a consequence of madness. 'Imperialism' (capitalism) is one of these systems and self-destructive Ruth's only aim becomes to possess Mary Fisher's High Tower, who lives there with her husband Bobbo and writes about the nature of love, and sees no reason why everyone should not be happy:

Why should she think about us? We are powerless, and poor, and have no importance. We are not even included in everyone. . . . Sometimes in the night I scream so loud I wake the neighbors. Nothing ever wakes the children. . . . In the end I sucked energy out of the earth. I went into the garden and turned the soil with fork, and power moved into my toes and up my stubborn calves and rested in my she-devil loins: an urge and an irritation. It said there must now be an end to stop waiting: the time for action has come (55-56).

Ironically, the neighbors are disinterested in Ruth's life. Houses become prisons. The High Tower of Mary Fisher has also to be turned into a prison, a coffin for Mary Fisher as she causes pain and suffering to "All" by her writing. She, too, has to experience pain. In her panopticon, which is a concept of Foucault, the center of power and surveillance has to be changed. There should be a shift of power. It should be turned into a prison by the new empowered Ruth, who takes action by putting her own house into fire. She sends her two children to their father, who started to live in the High Tower with his lover Mary Fisher. Ruth's mission is to create chaos, so that Bobbo should be driven out of the "Tower." Soon seeking escape from the troublesome life caused by the children, Bobbo starts to sleep in his office leaving the "successful" Mary Fisher behind, because the journey from the Tower to his office is exhausting:

Mary Fisher lives in the High Tower. She loves it *there*. Was there ever a more enchanting address? High Tower, the Old Lighthouse, World's End? When Mary Fisher bought the place five years ago it was a ruin. Now it is the outer and visible sign of her achievement. She loves the way the evening sun stretches across the sea onto the old stone and makes everything a warm soft pinky yellow. . . . It is dangerous to love houses, to put your trust in buildings. (73)

The individuals are self-destructing, because they presume that the human ego is the supreme form of consciousness in the universe." They fail to notice the different side of the coin and exclude other ideas and belief systems (Crieghton 109), like Mary Fisher (Ruth as mentioned before) and Bobbo in *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil*. This is the non-rational side of the personality. To show the self-destructiveness, crime as a consequence of madness is used. By showing the non-rational side of the personality in portraying the plight of the individual like Ruth in *The Life and Loves of a She- Devil*, Weldon challenges the capitalistic patriarchal society and its dichotomies.

Weldon by giving voice to the "silenced" tries to make the unheard voice of the "different other" heard. In this capitalistic system, not only the objects, but also the human body and soul are bought and sold as commodities. The aspiring spirit becomes easily corrupted by materialism. Success is defined as the acquisition of wealth, possession and position. Mary Fisher starts to lose control. Power is unstable. Ruth married Bobbo for his position and family (as opposed to Bobbo's father's opinions of Bobbo, who said Bobbo would never marry Ruth, because she has neither possessions nor position in the society). Bobbo desired Mary Fisher, because she was the embodiment of "beauty," "power" and "success," but he gradually got tired of her. So, Weldon writes about the violent patriarchal society that lacks trust and women are sold and bought in the name of marriage and categorized as beautiful or ugly. Ironically, Mary Fisher, who seems to be an expert of love is not capable of real love as she, too, is bereft of motherly love when Ruth drives the Mother of Mary Fisher from the institution in a tricky way and by this way Ruth forces Mary to bring her mother into the "Tower" to care for her, ironically Mary, too, suffered from lack of motherly love and care:

It's hard to love a mother who has never loved you. Nevertheless, Mary Fisher, presented with her duty, did not avoid it. She tried. (120)

And when Mary writes her next novel *Ace of Angels* in a three month space her publishers become unhappy, because of its gritty reality and the lack of the driving simplicity of her earlier work. So, they for the first time started to speculate about the "age-less" Mary Fisher's age (120), which actually did not matter for Bobbo at all as she is 'seemingly' young and beautiful. For Bobbo she was forty, but for her mother she was fifty. In short all of Weldon's characters like Bobbo, Mary and Ruth are lonely, pathetic and suffering people who search for love, accomplishment, power and success. They are mostly doomed to fail like Ruth, which makes them commit crimes as they are unhappy and their end is tragic.

The capitalistic society is evil and prevents genuine human relationships. Bobbo in *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil* has to marry the homeless Ruth, the secretary (and unofficial maid) of his father, who was invited to serve and help Bobbo's mother in their house. The invisible break between the self and community is presented through the portrayal of abnormal and mad people. Bobbo, the husband of Ruth is an abnormal character. Lying and deceiving his whole family he runs off with the popular writer Mary Fisher. For Ruth, it is a serious crime and has to be punished. Ruth, putting the house into fire, destroys the whole cosmos. Ruth, too, was unwanted by her mother and step-father, she is forced to live with father and mother 'substitutes.' The "homeless" Ruth is dismissed by her mother, because her stepfather does not have a room for her (as he needs place for "his train"). Her indifferent mother choosing "the husband" rejects the daughter. So, Bobbo's family becomes a substitute, but unfortunately, they too, use and abuse "her talent" for the household. Ruth is a symbol of 'distorted feminine viewpoint' and suffers 'self-caused pain.' She is the embodiment of psychologically tormented women who will attack all kinds of patriarchal institutions. Weldon's call is for women to take responsibility and thus makes Ruth starts working at a mental institution many women reject. Women should work on behalf of 'mad' and 'bad' women who are excluded from the patriarchal society as emphasized by Phylis Chesler in an interview with Cole (1995):

On behalf of women who had never been helped, but who had, in fact, been further abused by the mental health professions: punitively labelled, overtly tranquilized, sexually seduced while in treatment, hospitalized against their will, given shock therapy, lobotomized, and deeply disliked as too "aggressive," "promiscuous," "depressed," "ugly," "old," "disgusting" or "incurable." Maybe AWP could set up an alternative to a mental hospital with the money, "I said, or a shelter for runaway wives." The audience laughed at me. Loudly. Nervously. Some of my two thousand colleagues made jokes about my "penis envy." Some looked embarrassed, others relived. Obviously, I was "crazy." (Cole, Rotblume, Chesler 3)

In *The Life and Loves of a She-Devil*, Fay Weldon attacks the mentality of women, who are self-enslaved. Ruth endlessly serves Bobbo's whole family (a foster child in the patriarchal system), her husband, the two children, the dog, cat and the hamster and his parents. She runs the whole household (of the huge mansion with its 'garden') in a false Eden. She keeps the whole world together, except the indifferent husband, who believes in "open marriage" and does not believe in loyalty. In his viewpoint there is no reason to be jealous. Ruth, too, should have a life on her own (she should experiment with sex). As he is loved and admired by many women for his smart appearance and position, he believes himself superior. Similarly, Ruth, too, admires him for his "appearance" and thinks he is superior and she is inferior. She is too tall, too fat and ugly like an old dog:

I am six feet two inches tall, which is fine for a man but not for a woman. I am as dark as Mary Fisher is fair, and has one of those jutting jaws which tall, dark women often have, and eyes sunk rather far back into my face, and a hooked nose. My shoulders are broad and bony and my hips broad and fleshy, and muscles in my legs are well developed. My arms, I swear, are too short for my body. My nature and my looks do not agree. I was unlucky, you might think, in the great Lucky Dip that is woman's life. (11)

Until the collapse of her marriage, Ruth's inferiority complex and her distorted viewpoint lead to her insistence on being together with the 'imaginary husband,' who is an "image." Despite her different understanding of marriage, she wants to keep Bobbo. Although Bobbo is the wrong candidate for marriage, Ruth believes he is too good for her, admires and worships him and is thankful that he stays with her. A coincidental marriage ruins the life of all. Her attempt is a matter of 'occupying' or 'finding' a space in the society. Ironically, Ruth occupied his place (his room) rented to her by Bobbo's mother, Bobbo did not want to lose his room (his domain) upon arrival from university and creeping into her bed possessed both the room and the body of Ruth. Metaphorically, Bobbo's parent's love toward Ruth is symbolic of "patriarchal love for women." Ruth being in desperate need of a family lets herself be used and abused not only by Bobbo, but also by the whole family and gradually slips into madness. Finally, when she is deserted by her husband, she takes on the role of the Devil, as her husband Bobbo used to call her. Now, she is ready to destroy the whole world to take revenge and to show the real Evil to the whole world. Obsessed by the idea of controlling the whole world she wants to possess Mary Fisher's High Tower (the symbol of power), who is the icon of "female beauty" and "talent" as a famous and beautiful romance writer, and her husband's sole 'joy of life.' For Ruth it becomes a matter of conquest and occupation.

By empowering her with evil powers Weldon makes Ruth commit crimes and take the control over from Bobbo and Mary Fisher. Mary Fisher, who controls and manipulates the whole reading public with her lies, with the romances she created to keep the high tower is now to be conquered:

Mary Fisher lives in the High Tower. She loves it there. Was there ever a more enchanting address? High Tower, the Old Lighthouse, World's End? When Mary Fisher bought the place five years ago it was a ruin: Now it is the outer and visible sign of her best achievement. She loves the way the evening sun stretches across the sea onto the old stone and makes everything a warm soft pinky yellow. Who needs rose-tinted glasses when reality is so cozy? It can be done, you see. Mary Fisher has done it. (73)

The High Tower is a (Bentham's) panopticon (a concept by Foucault, asserting that all relations are power relations and knowledge is power), a space that is used for the surveillance and control in prison systems:

In Bentham's design of the Panopticon, the occupants of the central tower take up positions of surveillance vis-à-vis each of the inmates (and indeed, of one another)...Foucault describes such techniques as: ... always meticulous, often minute techniques, but they defined a certain mode of detailed political investment of the body, a "new micro-physics of power" (that) had constantly reached out ever broader domains, as if ... intended to cover the entire social body. (Taylor 60)

Ironically, invisible crimes are committed by abnormal parents, teachers, politicians, doctors, lawyers, artists, writers and other representatives of the system, but they remain invisible whereas visible crimes are punished and subjected to surveillance and prisons serve these invisible powers. In this way, Fay Weldon wants to make the invisible crimes visible and to exorcise the evil prevalent in society and its discourses. She wants to deconstruct the

patriarchal language of the 'Devil,' an image created by men. Mary, as the beautiful and desired woman is the 'Criminal Other' of Ruth. She is a 'Real Devil' serving for men disguised in "beauty" and "success, «and covering her crimes with her abilities of writing, she remains invisible. Actually, Mary deceives her whole reading public by telling them lies, she steals another woman's husband and family. She also abandoned her own mother into a nursing home refusing to connect her. She also uses and abuses her male Latino servant Garcia (who is 'willing' to serve her white and superior 'master' wherever necessary and whatever cost) sexually as well as spiritually. Ironically, Bobbo, who controlled Mary Fisher's finances is now controlled by the 'She-Devil' Ruth. She step by step enters into the domain of Mary Fisher.

"Good": Violence & Institutions

She one by one contemplates the so-called 'good' spaces (institutions), which the 'bad' Ruth was kept off during the isolation years of her marriage. By taking on a false identity and in disguise she takes on several jobs. In the old people's home she finds Mary Fisher's mother and persuades her to go to Mary's house. Knowing that Bobbo has never been careful about his own finances Ruth plays with him cat and mouse and he is finally accused of speculation and put into custody with the help of a sadistic judge, who likes to torture his own wife and women sexually as he is convinced by the transformed Ruth (by her sexual talent) that Bobbo is guilty. She manages to transform Bobbo's whole money into her own account in the banks of Switzerland and thus deepening Mary Fisher's misery. Trying to be "good," ironically, Mary Fisher creates her own downfall; in addition to the two children deserted by Ruth she now has an unbearable and incontinent mother. Possessing both knowledge and money Ruth has now the power to take the control over her enemy Mary's life and also the life of the others. She also experiments with sex having relationship with the judge, with the priest with a woman and a man and healing (his) "the eye" and thereby, metaphorically, healing herself, men and the patriarchal viewpoint of society. Ruth ends up 'seemingly' the winner as Mary dies of cancer, and she gets her husband back and possesses both the High Tower and the manservant Garcia as a strange parody of Mary Fisher. Ruth is happy in her High Tower now. Thus Ruth functions to show the evil side of the so-called respectable, successful pillars of the society, who are in possession of respect, status, power and money. Although, she has the powers of the sorcerers she may use for good or bad, she uses her power for the bad. Ironically, in a similar way she wasted her intelligence and talents for subservience in the past in the name of patriarchal goals.

Having an indifferent family, being an unwanted child and being rejected by her own mother she can be considered a victim, but ironically her insistence on false ideas and illusions about marriage and family created her own hubris.

Giving and taking bribery, working outlawry and every kinds of abuse are natural outcomes of the false rules, norms and ideals of the viewpoint of patriarchal capitalist society that also operates academically, as Ruth obtains General Education, English and Mathematic Education Diplomas for a certain amount of money. She can now possess the whole world with her power even Garcia the former manservant of Mary. Garcia reports Ruth about the life and happenings in the "High Tower."

In order to cover the madness of the larger crowd the individual, who rejects to act according to the prescribed roles in society, is labeled mad or bad and confined in mental institutions or between the walls of their own 'homes.' Ruth is self-confined in her body and

therefore later becomes confined in her room by others and gradually slips into madness (obsessed with power and feelings of revenge), ironically, by starting work at a psychiatric hospital Ruth follows the path of Mary Fisher, both Ruth and Mary are stereotypes showing the two sides of the coin of femininity and are both doomed to fail, because it is madness and crime is a natural consequence. The mad persons are even rejected by their own parents and family members; ironically, Ruth finds a position at a psychiatric institution. Visible crimes are punished severely, whereas invisible crimes are committed by the family members and will continue to be committed in the society. Ruth's mission is to punish these unnoticed and invisible crimes and make them visible. Parents reject the children like Bobbo, who feels himself responsible for the children, but does not feel any guilt for the things that happened to them. Children reject the elderly (Mary abandons her Mother) and Ruth's children never wake up when the suffering Ruth screams at nights in pain.

Animals, too, are killed and subjected to extinction. When the house is burnt down by Ruth and the children ask what will happen to their domestic animals, Ruth, ironically says, the neighbors will take care of them as they "love" animals very much. Unfortunately, nobody cares about what happens to Ruth, her children and their animals. Animal abuse is criticized as Ruth kept several animals, although there was some discrepancy between them and the animals in the house. Ruth, as a stereotype of ugly femininity insists on her gender roles.

Ruth as the double of Mary Fisher dreams and is transformed into a She -Devil as Bobbo called her (as for Laing calling names is another form of violence). Unlike Mary Fisher, as Oates expresses, the formal artist is the one who arranges his dreams into a shape that can be experienced by other people. Art is an expression of the human soul (Milosz 107) and art is not to be understood but to be experienced (Milazzo 160). Ruth as a Devil is to be experienced.

The violence these characters commit is to be experienced like a piece of art only Mary Fisher is capable of creation as Cixous and Clement affirm in their article "Newly Born Woman" are seen "as imaginary group", but unfortunately as she is telling lies her art is of no use, and she has to be destroyed by her binary the 'ugly other' by Ruth a woman in a man's body in a so called "womanly manner" as Bobbo associates her with Devil going back to the idea of "Original Sin." and turns history back to start over again. Weldon by transforming her creative powers onto Ruth empowers Ruth for creativity (Weldon 7-9).

Disguising herself as 'being good' Mary Fisher is the embodiment of the false "illusionary system" as she is contributing to the continuation of the system that is built on lies and on illusions as the novel opens, "Mary Fisher lives in a High Tower, on the edge of the sea: she writes a great deal about love about the nature of love. She tells lies" (1).

Mary Fisher is self- created and has created a Third Space for a new existence near the Sea in a High Tower being in-between relations. High Tower is a symbol of her crimes and violence she commits in the name of love (stealing one's husband). So that, the "Tower" can be seen as a light house standing for the discourses of imperialism, capitalism and its contemporary form globalism (which is Schizophrenia itself) according to Frederic Jameson and there are a number of symptoms that he associates with the postmodern condition:

Jameson is highly critical of our current historical situation; indeed, he paints rather a dystopic picture of the present, which he associates, in particular, with a loss of our connection to history. What we are left with is a fascination with the present.

According to Jameson, postmodernity has transformed the historical past into a series of emptied-out stylizations (what Jameson terms as pastiche) that can be commodified and consumed. (<https://.cla.purdue.edu>)

With the speculation about Mary Fisher's age done by the publishing houses, Weldon hints at the theories and debates of literary discussions between the modernists, postmodernists and feminists theories of literary criticism and the attacks on her own nature of writing and wide criticism.

1. the weakening of historicity. Jameson sees our "historical deafness" (xi) as one of the symptoms of our age. Postmodern theory itself is a desperate attempt to make sense of the age but in a way that refuses the traditional forms of understanding (narrative, history, the reality obscured by ideology). Jameson calls for the return of history. As Jameson (following Lacan) explains, the schizophrenic suffers from a "breakdown of the signifying chain" in his/her use of language until "the schizophrenic is reduced to an experience of pure material signifiers, or, in other words, a series of pure and unrelated presents in time" The loss of historicity, according to Jameson, most resembles such a schizophrenic position.

2) a breakdown of the distinction between "high" and "low" culture. As Jameson puts it, the various forms of postmodernism "have, in fact, been fascinated precisely by this whole 'degraded' landscape of schlock and kitsch, of TV series and Reader's Digest culture, of advertising and motels, of the late show and the grade-B Hollywood film, of so-called paraliterature, with its airport paperback categories of the gothic and the romance, the popular biography, the murder mystery, and the science fiction or fantasy novel: materials they no longer simply 'quote,' as a Joyce or a Mahler might have done, but incorporate into their very substance."

3) "a new depthlessness, which finds its prolongation both in contemporary 'theory' and in a whole new culture of the image or the simulacrum." This depthlessness is, of course, supported by point # 5. The depthlessness manifests itself through literal flatness (two dimensional screens, flat skyscrapers full of reflecting windows) and qualitative superficiality. In theory, it manifests itself through the postmodern rejection of the belief that one can ever fully move beyond the surface appearances of ideology or "false consciousness" to some deeper truth; we are left instead with "multiple surfaces." One result is "that our daily life, our psychic experience, our cultural languages, are today dominated by categories of space rather than by categories of time, as in the preceding period of high modernism."

4) "the waning of affect" and "a whole new type of emotional ground tone—what I will call 'intensities'—which can best be grasped by a return to older theories of the sublime." The general depthlessness and affectlessness of postmodern culture is countered by outrageous claims for extreme moments of intense emotion, which Jameson aligns with schizophrenia and a culture of (drug) addiction. With the loss of historicity, the present is experienced by the schizophrenic subject "with heightened intensity, bearing a mysterious charge of affect" which can be "described in the negative terms of anxiety and loss of reality, but which one could just as well imagine in the positive terms of euphoria, a high, an intoxicatory or hallucinogenic intensity."

5) a whole new technology (computers, digital culture, etc.), though Jameson insists on seeing such technology as "itself a figure for a whole new economic world system." Such technologies are more concerned with *reproduction* rather than with the industrial production of material goods. (<https://.cla.purdue.edu>)

Weldon, too, is attacked like Mary Fisher as a prolific, popular and money earning writer, who, too, is self-created as mentioned by Blymiller (2007):

Although her public voice became recognized in the 1970s, Weldon's place in British culture remained in question, and because of her postmodern approach to nearly everything, is likely to remain a focus of discussion (38) . . . Despite the publication of a darkly comic novel about binge eating—not then a construct common in public discourse—she seemed so conventional

that, in 1971, she was invited onto David Frost's television program to counter feminists protesting the Miss World Contest as a flesh market. She created a scandal by affirming their claims. In 2003, Weldon created another scandal for "hellfire feminist revisionism" as an "ex-raver whose hot flushes have put an end to hot sex" because she views recreational sex for women as a negative effect of contraceptive availability (Burchill). "It [contraception] cheapened sex. We have had the magic taken away from us. Sex has become practical and rather horrible" (qtd. in Press Association Limited). Even though by 2003 Weldon had been recognized by some as "a national treasure" (Rurhmund), she remains "a genuine iconoclast and connoisseur of hypocrisy" (Powers). And she appeals to the mass media audiences. (38-39)

Weldon seems to show all the symptoms of schizophrenia that are mentioned by Jameson. And Weldon uses madness as a metaphor showing the real condition of the society that in turn induces madness and entraps individuals. Weldon turns "inferiority complex" suffering character Ruth into a character with bloated ego (like Mary and Bobbo) who tries to control the world as this attitude attaches itself to the American Dream of aspiration and self-actualization. People are made to believe in the big illusion created by the politicians via ideologies as emphasized by Blymiller (2007).

She is also criticized for blurring the margin between high and popular culture, understanding that binary opposition oversimplifies mass culture.(10) ... She openly admits writing for money ... Shunning academia, Weldon embraces her works' resistance to traditional modes of literary criticism just as early in her career she resisted canonization by academia and so on... (43)

By destroying Bobbo, Weldon, symbolically, destroys this "success oriented" (a subject of debate) insatiable consumerist patriarchal capitalistic ways of thinking as a suffering writer (too much criticism).

I cause Bobbo as much misery as he ever caused me, and more. I try not to, but somehow it is not a matter of male and female after all; it never was merely of power" (240)

For Weldon, the fundamental inequity is economic, yet interestingly, she notes in a 1991 interview that "given economic equality, women are as likely to behave just as badly as men" (MacKay 86) as emphasized by James Sexton (http://sexton.disted.camosun.bc.ca/engl286/weldon_essay.htm).

Metaphorically, The Tower is the Third World waiting to be conquered by Ruth who wants to taste power as Weldon's own experience, who grew up in New Zealand can be paralleled. It is like the The Third Space like all the colonies that is awaiting its colonizers:

In short, Weldon satirizes the systematic reification discernible in the western world which has confused comfort with civilisation. The patriarchal capitalist system reduces not just housewives like Ruth to commodities, but also the aged, like Mrs. Fisher, the less productive salesman like Mr. Tufton, and the sincere cleric like Father Ferguson, who eventually pleases his superiors by acceding to the wishes of land developers who want to demolish his inner-city church, thereby increasing the church's wealth. As Ruth says on the first page of the novel, referring to Mary Fisher's wealth: "...wherever you go it is the same to those who hath...shall be given, and to those who hath not ...even that which they have shall be taken away." As Eleanor Darcy says in *Darcy's Utopia*, "the problem lies with distribution, not production" (38) as again also asserted by Sexton.

(http://sexton.disted.camosun.bc.ca/engl286/weldon_essay.htm).

In such a system all are corrupted by power play their role as asserted by R. D. Laing (1967):

There is little conjunction of truth and social “reality” around us are pseudo events, to which we adjust with a false consciousness adapted to see these events as true and real, and even as beautiful. In the society of men truth resides now less in what things are than in what they are not. Our social reality is so ugly if seen in the light of exiled truth, and beauty is almost no longer possible if it is not a lie. We live in a moment where change is so speeded up that we begin to see the present only when it is already disappearing. . . We are all murderers and prostitutes. No matter to what culture, society, class, nation, we belong no matter how normal, moral, or mature we take our selves to be. Humanity is estranged from its authentic possibilities. This basic vision prevents us from taking any unequivocal view of sanity of common sense, or of the madness of the so-called madman. . . At all events we are bemused crazed creatures, strangers to our true selves, to one another, and to the spiritual and material world—mad, even, from an ideal standpoint we can glimpse but not adapt. (11-13)

Liang’s view of madness can be considered as the summary of Weldon’s view of society her characters madness a withdrawal from society –is not only because of adoption problems. The struggle with family and culture and their failure in accepting the designated roles will lead them to become outcasts and the fear make them submit. And the consequence will be cyclic quest for autonomy and the individuals can neither depart nor accept their environment totally. The only alternative and escape possibility can be violent forms of crime as it becomes a “Third Space” to assert oneself (the production of the criminal, the gang leader etc.). By presenting the Devil Ruth with her deeds, Weldon makes the hidden “Criminal Other” visible. Her body as a space becomes “a tool” and will enable the entrance and study of all the other interconnected spaces (invasion and later occupation) as the colonizer and colonized. Ruth becomes an example of the hybrid identity, half Mary, half Ruth, half Devil and all the false identities she takes on, she is an example of non-fixed identity that cannot be categorized and identified her body becomes a playground. Her relationships are also in-between (bi-sexual).

The Third Space & Art

Homi Bhabha calls the “liminal” space between the two World or cultures of the colonizer and colonized as the “Third Space of enunciation” (Bhabha, 54). Entering the “Third Space” shows the potentiality of constructing a non-fixed identity, it generates a new sense of identity that maybe “almost the same, *but not quite*” (123) thus Mary Fisher’s discourses can be changed by different discourses. Bhabha, uses the Freudian term, “the *unheimlich*” (14) which means the ‘Unhomeliness,’ to suggest that what is involved in the construction of hybrid identity is an “estranging sense of the relocation of home and the world—the unhomeliness—that is the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations” (13). Being surrounded by this unhomeliness, the world will be “soundless,” and “disorganized” for these hybrid individuals. Such a hybridity takes place as a result of cultural diversity, which keeps the different under control and gaze in an alien territory.

As a stereotypical hybrid character (homeless) Ruth’s other Mary’s art is not true art. Art should be used as a tool for the betterment of the human condition. The characters that are defined mad are actually not mad. In their so-called madness they are aware of their difference from the mass. The mass is manipulated by invisible hands and this must be made visible. The wish is to awaken people as the artist is aware of her/his own creation and inner power to control future with her/his own creation (Mary is unable of), pain is the source for creation. The artist should boldly face pain without escape. The artist looks at history, norms, traditions questions them and is open to change and is ready to destroy the old that is the

prerequisite for the new creation (Eyüpoğlu, 70-124), therefore Mary Fisher is to be destroyed by Ruth her Other.

Pain & Guilt

Mary has to suffer pain as she gives for the “different others” pain. She must die and her downfall is triggered by Ruth so that she starts to feel guilt:

Mary Fisher lives in the High Tower and considers the nature of guilt, and responsibility. She weeps a great deal. It is a long time since she has gone to bed with a man. She loves God, since there is no one else to love, and attributes to Him such qualities as Father Ferguson maintains he has. She would love Father Ferguson, too, but he is a priest..., it has not occurred to her that he has a sexual nature. She approaches God through him, ... Old Mrs. Fisher rises up from her bed from time to time and shrinks, “ Get that black crow out of here. Priests bring bad luck. As if bad luck had not been surging all around Mary Fisher like the waves of the sea around the tower ever since Bobbo left his wife to live with her. (227)

These characters like Ruth in their madness create images and give them meaning. They begin to live in their dream world. As Erich Fromm suggests the mad person is in a constant dream situation, whereas the normal person dreams while sleeping. Since dream is essential to life it is an important concept in this novel. In an interview with Zimmerman (1970) the American critic and writer Joyce Carol Oates emphasizes the importance of dreams as follows:

We all dream scientists tell us if we don't dream we go mad—and of course we aDreamers again—All are dreamers, novelists and filmmakers and poets. Some of us have more energy to carry these dreams over from night. (Milazzo 15)

Ruth takes on the role to destroy Mary Fisher. She no longer accepts the gender roles assigned on her thus ignore to be a member of the mass and refuses her part in this collective madness, thus she is no longer human but a She-Devil. A monster created by the society. She is an unusual character showing the ills of the society and should not be measured by the usual conformist standards.

She reflects the existentialist view of R.D. Laing. In order to understand the concept of madness and crime or suicide as a consequence of madness the anti-Freudian psychologist's definition of madness must be understood. Laing suggests (1967) , in the society, the individual is educated by the so called “normal “ man to lose herself/ himself and to become absurd (28). Human beings act out of love and hatred for defense and they attack or take pleasure in each other's company. People are induced to want all the same things, hate the same things and feel the same things (95-96). It is the mass psychology that shapes the individual's behavior.

The collective unconscious prevents the individual to be powerful and to protest, because others behave similarly fearing gossip and scandal. Bobbo tries to keep Ruth in control (by humiliating and degrading her and by telling her bad names). At the dinner parties when his parents come to visit them he pretends that their marriage is perfect to prevent gossip.

Madness & Experience

As Laing (1967) continues each person thinks what the other thinks. Each person, however, is the other to the other and denies any internal bond with others (78-84). There appears to be no freedom for the distressed individual. In case of being unfaithful there is the

threat of violence (94), which is in the form of being labeled as evil or mad and to label someone as being mad is to cover the distorted relationships between the members in society and family. Laing thus avoids using the terms, as ill or psychologically distorted, because he considers madness as a form of personality.

As affirmed by Lupack (1951), insanity is the state of health in a mad world: it is the false self completely adjusted to social reality (13). The distinction between conformity and nonconformity, sanity and insanity is unclear. Madness is the struggle for liberation from false attitudes and values, an encounter with primary feelings and impulses that constitute a possibility for the emergence of the "true self" hidden from the false outer being, whose function is adjustment to the demands of society and family (5). Social obligations and norms shape these individuals behaviors. Bobbo accepts to marry Ruth, because he impregnated her (social norms) it was not his own choice. Ruth has to be "good" and endlessly serve patriarchal society to satisfy its needs, if she is not pretty.

Madness, as defined in *The Politics of Experience* (1967), for Laing is not a breakdown. Through madness a person regenerates, it is potentially a liberation and renewal as well as enslavement and existentialist death. Since the experience of the individual is destroyed, her/ his behavior becomes destructive she/ he acts according to the way she sees things because she/he feels insecure. When the ultimate basis of the present world is in question, the individual takes on roles. Since each see the fragment of the whole situation differently, their reactions are different. Schizophrenia is only one way of these reactions. (131,133-133) the mad person's reality cannot be ignored (25) as Erich Fromm confirms the only reality for the mad person is her/his reality, which is presented in her/his dreams. Therefore, the person acts according to her/his own experience.

Experience, as Laing explains in the *Politics of Experience*, is distinguished in different ways; inner outer, real and unreal, full and empty, meaningful, futile, private, and public and shared. Terms make distinction in time and between past and present, here and now, then and there. The type of experience is also categorized by modality: namely, memory, imagination, dreamy, waking perception and so on (35). Mad people are only persons who do not draw the inner/outer, real/unreal, me/not me, private public lines which are thought to be healthy, right and normal (34). Ruth in *The Life and Loves of A She Devil* is so obsessed with beauty that she feels so ugly and becomes a joke when she tries to be turned into Mary Fisher after having spent millions of dollars for the plastic surgery, which Weldon criticizes.

As stated by Yannick (1990), puberty is the time when girls are thrown from the world of innocence and protection into the world of responsibility and sociability (50). Abandoned children and orphans are more likely to commit crime. Ruth's mother in *The Life and loves of a She-Devil* did not want Ruth and called her little-duckling and failed to provide to be a model as a right mother figure and provide motherly love:

My mother was pretty enough, and ashamed of me. I could see it in her eyes. I was her eldest child. „The image of your father,“ she'd say.... „Little ugly duckling,“ my mother said to me once, almost weeping, smoothing my wiry hair. „What are we to do with you? What's to become of you?“ I think perhaps she would have loved me, if she could. But ugly and discordant things revolted her: she couldn't help it. (13)

As Ussher (1991) agrees, with Sedgewick, the society prefers to keep mad people in the mental hospitals and the psychiatric institutions to make profit. Therefore madness is

maintained by the concerted action of society and the psychiatric institutions. The psychiatrists offer a therapy only to dull the pain and this dulls everything else. For Ussher, the mad people would rather face the pain, and the society should face its role in the creation and maintenance of madness. As it stands now the blind lead the blind and no one attempts to address issues outside the current line of thinking and everything stays the same (Ussher 240). Therapy is oppressive, whether it is in the form of physical intervention, or the “talking cure.” In both cases the expert is the one with power (Ussher 241). Cixous, too, affirms in *Newly Born Woman* the techniques to cure Hysteria are “making ill in order to cure,” Laughing, being gay, being sad, Being Convulsed-or no longer so, being sad, being indifferent: everything is the mark of the devil ... (14,15, 16,17). Weldon deconstructs madness and illness via Ruth and makes her experience hysteria, making her laugh and experience homosexuality. Metaphorically and ironically for sisterhood and compassion;

The destiny that society traditionally offers women is marriage.... Marriage is reference by which the single woman is defined, whether she is frustrated by, disgusted at, or even indifferent to this institution. Thus we must continue this study by analyzing marriage. (The Second Sex, 451).

Signs of women’s possessed body, “The girls are not released, the demons are: the girls bound ... bound by the symptom just as the sourcerers and possessed are bound by material cord... “Women clearly become the theatre of the body” and patriarchal society the director. (10, 11). Unfortunately, the daughter of Ruth is the copy of her mother and if she is not awakened the vicious cycle will continue endlessly.

Now, Ruth makes fun of Bobbo as an enormously sexy man with large muscles and an attitude for style (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/>). Weldon alludes to the myth of Bauba (the Pun on the name Bobbo) the Greek Goddess of laughter. She made Demeter laugh, the goddess of harvest – by lifting her skirt up. Demeter was very upset after her daughter Persophoni was abducted by Hades (<http://www.goddessgift.com/>). Weldon has created a new myth by making Bauba (Ruth) laugh. Weldon writes out of the body as Cixous suggests, but they while celebrating the female body criticize the space it occupies, in locating the body to make the soul speak, because as Edward Said says man and woman can rewrite the history by self-knowledge which is the first obligation of human being.

Said says that the origin of current American policies can be seen in the past. All powers aspiring for global domination have done the same things. There is always the appeal to power and national interest in running the affairs of ‘lesser peoples’, and the same destructive zeal when the going goes rough. America made the same mistake in Vietnam and Middle East. The worst part of the whole exercise has been the collaboration of intellectuals, artists and journalists with these practices. Said hopes that a history of imperial adventure rendered in cultural terms might serve some deterrent purpose. (<https://neoenglish.wordpress.com/>)

Weldon describes problematic nature of self-knowledge and the clash between psychoanalysis and the individual in an interview with Joanna Zylinka in “Science and Witchcraft: An Interview with Fay Weldon,” as follows:

It changes. I wrote that before I developed my great aversion to therapy, realising that self-knowledge can go too far. Knowledge of the self is rather different from the knowledge the therapist gives you. It is really a voyage of self-discovery. The passage from innocence to knowledge is the way you pass from believing yourself to be good and nice, to discovering that you are not. I am always astonished at how you can take a girl of between 17 and 24 to look after your baby, and she will mould herself into your household, and will be terribly nice and sweet, but as soon as she gets older, she begins to have her own temperament and

becomes her own person. As soon as she stops being a girl and becomes a woman, she's ready to go off and form her own household somewhere else, and is critical of yours. Learning, through the writer's eyes, what both yourself and other people are like, seems to me to be the point of fiction. Whereas in therapy you are allegedly learning by yourself, you are in fact discovering what the therapist thinks, and you are handing over this particular narrative of your life to somebody else, who will follow that narrative through according to their training or predilections. (114)

And as Bhabha describes the colonized and colonizer world as hybrid like the United States of America and Great Britain are all bound to the sea and are The Third Spaces. As Heidegger states, "The boundary is not that which something stops but, ... from which something begins its presencing (Bhabha 2006):

Cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other. [...] The reason a cultural text or system of meaning cannot be sufficient unto itself is that the act of cultural enunciation – the place of utterance – is crossed by the difference of writing. It is this difference in the process of language that is crucial to the production of meaning and ensures, at the same time, that meaning is never simply mimetic and transparent. (36)

Men and women can understand the other as equal. And Bhabha calls for:

a vision of the future is the belief that we must not merely change the narratives of our histories, but transform our sense of what it means to live, to be, in other times and different spaces, both human and historical. (367)

Conclusion

If Ruth refuses to be "mad" than she is "bad" as she is called both by her husband Bobbo obsessed by the idea she wants to occupy the space the High Tower from where she can take control over all the patriarchal power to start over again by contemplating whatever cost it is. She wants revenge and destroy Mary Fisher with all the associated ideas:

"I want revenge. I want power. I want money. I want to be loved and not to love in return"
(Weldon 43).

Fay Weldon attacks the institutionalized psychology that has nothing to say about what women are really like, what they need and what they want as also mentioned by Naomi Weisstein (1968) psychology is against women with its distorted facts, omitted problems and perpetuated pseudoscientific data relevant to women.' The British Psychological Society (BPS) in the UK and The American Association APA in the USA- regulate the content of the discipline and are attacked as stated by Stanley (1997) in *Knowing Feminism: On Academic Borders, Territories and Tribes*:

These bodies validate undergraduate and postgraduate courses, gatekeep the most prestigious academic journals, operate a professional registration scheme for psychologists ('chartering' in the UK), determine the criteria for judgements of mental health and 'illness' (APA diagnostic and Statistical Manual). Feminist psychologists' challenges to and attempts to transform psychology inevitably determined by, and constructed in opposition to, these institutional structures of the discipline (98). Phylis Chesler challenged APA demanding 'one million dollars 'in reparation'' for those women who had, instead, been further abused by them. (98)

Although challenging psychology feminism came short in changing the perspective toward women they are still under male gaze as women love to be (Ruth uses all her powers to be like

the admired Mary). Weldon emphasizes the importance of writing in the interview with Reisman (2008), as she writes and stresses the need to write about both men and women and how to preserve a culture:

... in a sea of cynicism and consumerism. How to fight the general impoverishment of people's lives the breakdown of family relationships. How to keep people talking to one another - having conversations with one another. How to keep generations talking to one another, because they don't really. How to fight the isolation of people. More and more people live alone, which suits consumerism. The whole trend is towards single person households. People do not live together, except amongst the people who are too poor to be able to live separately. How to keep the country from being blown up by its enemies. These are the issues, and where novels come in, I don't know. The novel fit when the world was a very calm, quiet place ruled by hypocrites, and lack of understanding and lack of empathy were what the novelist or artist had to fight by shocking their audiences. But no longer; that's all changed. Now you have to build society up. (43)

By putting "Eden Grove" into fire Weldon refuses to accept a male morality that involves sacrifice, danger, risk, all kinds of things, as Ruth ends up after all the self-induced suffering and pain possessing the High Tower but does not know how to go on with her artificial created self, being a parody and becoming a lie herself. The sickening female morality is represented by Mary and her Double Ruth that "seems to lie in being nice to other people" this feminized society is hypocritical, prudish and dangerous.

I don't think that men are worse than women or women are worse than men at all. I think they find themselves in different situations because society pushes them one way or another and it is much, much easier for men to behave badly and everyone behaves as badly as they can get away with.

The whole world suffers, mainly women, children and nature and it is up to the individual to start over again and look for the ways to improve the human condition for a better world as Weldon gives her readers the opportunity to think and respond as she says in the interview with Reisman (2008):

Yes, and it's a large task. As the / Ching says, "It is no small task starting the world again from the beginning." (44)

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La culture matérielle de la maison dans la pensée anthropologique: parcours théorique d'un concept transdisciplinaire

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Résumé

Cet article fait état des différentes approches sur la maison (approche naturaliste et déterministe, approche fonctionnaliste, approche culturelle multi-causale, approche symbolique et ses différents courants; approche de la matérialité de l'objet) pour revisiter les multiples facettes et enjeux théoriques entourant la culture matérielle de la maison. Ces approches sont issues d'une variété de disciplines des sciences sociales et humaines (anthropologie, archéologie, sociologie histoire, etc.) qui s'ignorent le plus souvent les unes des autres. Ce faisant, il ne s'agit pas d'un simple exercice d'érudition. Le but est plutôt de mettre en relief les différents points de vue développés sur la maison, de les regrouper et même d'en dégager des sous-thèses pertinentes pour guider les nouvelles recherches et réflexions sur la maison et l'objet. L'article puise également chez les auteurs qui ont développé des théories originales sur la structuration de la société et sur les rapports entre sociétés et matérialité. Je fais notamment référence à la théorie de la pratique du sociologue français Pierre Bourdieu, plus particulièrement son concept d'habitus, à la notion d'agency de l'art de l'anthropologue britannique Alfred Gell, et à l'approche de l'action sociale de l'objet de Daniel Miller, anthropologue et archéologue britannique des sociétés contemporaines. Ces théories permettent d'orienter les futures recherches vers la démonstration du statut d'agent de la maison et de l'objet, lesquels ont un cycle de vie qui vient en écho à l'itinéraire de ses occupants. Elles permettent de démontrer la matérialité de l'objet comme élément constitutif des relations sociales.

Mots-clés : Maison, approche naturaliste, approche fonctionnaliste, approche symbolique, approche structuraliste, objectivation, agency de l'objet.

Introduction

Depuis la parution de l'ouvrage fondateur d'Amos Rapoport en 1969 sous le titre *House form and culture*, il est aujourd'hui admis que la forme de la culture matérielle, bien que contrainte par des exigences environnementales et fonctionnelles, sert surtout d'un moyen de communication d'informations et de construction identitaire. L'idée pionnière de Rapoport de faire ressortir la configuration et la transformation de l'architecture du déterminisme physique et technologique a stimulé la réflexion d'un grand nombre de chercheurs désireux de comprendre la signification de l'environnement bâti dans lequel vivent et travaillent les populations au quotidien. Les questions posées sont entre autres: pourquoi y a-t-il des différences dans les formes bâties? Quelle est la nature de ces différences et quels en sont les facteurs explicatifs? De nombreux chercheurs relevant des disciplines scientifiques comme l'anthropologie, l'histoire, la géographie, l'histoire de l'art, et l'archéologie se sont impliquées dans les débats sur ces questions.

À partir des années 1980, la récente théorie sociale de l'objet a opéré une révolution épistémologique en réévaluant le rôle de la maison au-delà de la simple réflexion passive des cultures pour la considérer comme un lieu actif, structurant mais aussi structuré, par des systèmes de production et de reproduction de la culture (Chétima, 2015; Olsen 2003; Miller, 1987; Csikszentmihalyi et Rochberg-Halton, 1981). Des études seront réalisées à partir des différents contextes temporels et spatiaux pour montrer que les objets, notamment la maison, ne sont pas passifs, mais qu'ils sont activement utilisés par les individus dans la création, le maintien et l'affirmation de leurs identités sociales et individuelles (Olsen, 2006: 91). Cet article identifie ainsi l'histoire et les contributions des diverses perspectives théoriques pour revisiter les multiples facettes et enjeux entourant la culture matérielle de la maison. Autrement dit, il s'agit d'explorer la documentation pertinente pour, d'une part, définir les grands axes de recherche en termes de problèmes et d'approches théoriques, et d'autre part, favoriser un dialogue interdisciplinaire entre chercheurs appartenant à diverses disciplines s'intéressant à l'étude de la maison et de la culture matérielle.

I. Les premières études sur la maison

L'examen de l'environnement bâti trouve son origine dans les premières théories du déterminisme environnemental, et dans les traditions ethnographiques. Le déterminisme environnemental est un point de vue qui met l'accent sur l'effet direct de l'environnement physique sur la maison, en ignorant ou en sous-estimant d'autres facteurs (contexte historique, spécificités culturelles, organisation sociale, etc.). En revanche, le fonctionnalisme en architecture est un focus sur la forme bâtie suivant l'usage qui lui est affectée. Ces deux approches, quoiqu'opposées, ont favorisé une analyse évolutionniste de l'habitat; la première mettant l'accent sur l'évolution des techniques, et la seconde sur l'adaptation de l'habitat aux besoins. L'opposition théorique entre naturalistes et fonctionnalistes alimente les débats sur l'architecture jusqu'au début des années 1970, période marquée par les travaux novateurs d'Amos Rapoport sur le rapport entre la maison et la culture. Cette section retrace ainsi l'évolution de ces différentes

approches dont: 1. L'approche dite naturaliste ou géographique qui accorde l'importance aux considérations environnementales et technologiques pour expliquer les variations dans les formes de la maison ; 2. Les approches ethnographiques qui lient les formes bâties à l'organisation sociale et mettent l'accent sur l'aspect fonctionnaliste de la maison; 3. La théorie culturelle multicausale d'Amos Rapoport qui est une critique des théories du déterminisme environnemental et des approches fonctionnalistes de la maison.

1. Approche naturaliste : du déterminisme environnemental au déterminisme technologique

L'approche naturaliste est l'une des vieilles explications fournies pour comprendre les variations dans la forme, la construction et l'orientation de la maison. Pour les tenants de cette approche, les considérations environnementales, telles que définies par la disponibilité des matériaux de construction, les techniques de construction, les sites et les conditions climatiques, représentent l'élément le plus important dans le façonnement d'une architecture vernaculaire (Blier, 2006 : 238). La nature fournirait non seulement les matériaux nécessaires pour la construction, mais indiquerait à l'habitant la façon de concevoir sa maison. En se basant sur les facteurs influençant le choix des types des maisons au Soudan, David Lee (1969) soutient que les différences architecturales sont le reflet des variations climatiques. Il fait remarquer qu'au sud du Soudan, les formes des maisons sont rondes en raison des fortes pluies, alors que dans la partie septentrionale, les maisons épousent une forme plutôt rectiligne en raison des conditions climatiques arides.

La théorie du déterminisme environnemental a davantage consisté en l'accumulation des données (croquis, photographies, relevés d'habitation, etc.) qui se limite, le plus souvent, au stade de l'inventaire (Padenou et Barrué-Pastor, 2006 : 32). Elle cherche également à expliquer les caractéristiques physiques de la maison, y compris sa forme extérieure, le plan intérieur, la décoration, les éléments de construction spécifiques (portes, fenêtres, toitures), l'emplacement sur le site, etc., en démontrant l'influence des facteurs environnementaux. Cependant, derrière cette approche naturaliste se profile le plus souvent une théorie évolutionniste primaire, attribuant le prétendu progrès de l'habitat soit à un peuple supérieur, en général occidental, soit au développement naturel des besoins au fil du temps, correspondant lui-même au progrès de l'histoire et à l'augmentation des richesses (Ruegg, 2011 : 117). Les théories du déterminisme environnemental ont dès lors conduit à des classifications architecturales dans lesquelles certaines architectures sont situées en haut de l'échelle et d'autres en bas (Calvet, 1975).

Par exemple, dans la deuxième section de leur ouvrage, Amman et Garnier (1889) font remarquer que la race blanche est la première à perfectionner son habitation. Ils consacrent la dernière section à la catégorie de ce qu'ils appellent *civilisations isolées*. Dans ce groupe sont cataloguées entre autres, les habitations japonaises et chinoises, les maisons des Esquimaux, l'architecture de l'Amérique précolombienne (des Mayas, des Incas et des Aztèques) et les habitations des Africains. Une autre classification réalisée par Julius Glück (1959) situe, tout en bas de l'échelle, l'architecture africaine représentée par une habitation pygmée. Selon Julius Glück, cette habitation n'appartient pas au monde de l'architecture. Il s'agirait plutôt d'une

préforme, d'*Ur-architektur*, en raison de sa construction rudimentaire. De ces différentes classifications, il ressort qu'il est difficile d'aboutir à une hiérarchisation architecturale dans laquelle certaines habitations se trouveraient en haut et d'autres en bas (Roux, 1976 : 12). Chaque architecture ne peut en effet revêtir sa véritable signification que replacée dans le contexte culturel et social de son émergence. Qu'elle soit monumentale ou petite, bâtie en matériaux importés ou en matériaux locaux, qu'elle soit d'origine occidentale, chinoise, japonaise ou africaine, elle porte toujours inscrite en elle l'affirmation de multiples facettes de la vie sociale et culturelle du peuple qui l'a mise en place. Elle est aussi bien un besoin qu'une valeur sociale, politique et religieuse.

Puis a lieu un déplacement théorique de la maison vue sous l'angle du déterminisme environnemental vers la maison étudiée d'un point de vue technologique. L'un des pionniers de l'étude de la technologie relative à l'habitat est André Leroi-Gourhan avec son ouvrage *Milieu et technique* (1973) [1945] devenu un classique. Dans son étude des formes d'habitats universels et des techniques qui s'y expriment, Leroi-Gourhan (1973) [1945] produit des schémas comparatifs pour l'ensemble de la planète. Sur cette base, il avance l'idée d'une logique du développement du plan à partir d'une cellule primitive qui aurait réuni un toit, un foyer et un lit ; ceux-ci constituant les besoins primaires élémentaires (Leroi-Gourhan, 1973 : 268). Pour appuyer sa théorie, cet auteur se base sur les plans monocellulaires de la maison familiale et sur les plans pluricellulaires des maisons communautaires chez les Indiens d'Amérique. André Leroi-Gourhan observe que les maisons communautaires sont composées d'un foyer central commun autour duquel viennent se loger les familles séparées par de légères cloisons. Dans la maison familiale par contre, la technique consiste, soit à cloisonner plus ou moins fermement l'espace, soit à construire autant de maisons qu'il y a de fonctions (Leroi-Gourhan, 1973 : 269). Cependant, André Leroi-Gourhan postule que cette différence entre plan monocellulaire et maisons communautaires, si elle répond à des besoins précis, fait surtout appel à la technique pour comprendre leurs formes et leurs dimensions.

Il faut reconnaître à Leroi-Gourhan, par rapport aux premières théories du déterminisme environnemental, le mérite de distinguer très nettement les hommes et leurs technologies. Sa mise en perspective spatiale ou géographique de l'évolution technique présente l'avantage de complexifier une vision purement chronologique, abstraite et uniforme à travers laquelle les chercheurs classiques cernaient la maison. Cependant, la perspective technologique reste encore trop étroite pour comprendre la maison, même si elle a constitué un point de départ important pour les études architecturales. Elle est aussi générale que descriptive, et beaucoup trop limitée pour rendre compte, de manière significative, des différences entre les formes de la maison dans leur épaisseur culturelle.

2. Traditions ethnographiques et théories fonctionnalistes de la maison

L'idée que la maison et l'organisation sociale s'accommodent et s'expriment l'une dans l'autre trouve son origine dans les premières théories fonctionnelles de Lewis Morgan (2003) [1881], et de Franz Boas (1964) [1888]. En tant que manifestation de la culture, la maison a été

considérée comme une médiane permettant à un groupe de s'adapter et de se maintenir avec succès au sein de son environnement social. En plus de fournir un abri contre les éléments de la nature, Boas (1964) [1888] affirme que les formes bâties reflètent les cultures qui les ont produites. Ces approches ethnographiques, élaborées à l'issue des travaux de terrain, se sont davantage inscrites dans la tradition fonctionnaliste. En tant que telles, elles expliquent la finalité des formes construites en se référant à leur rôle dans le maintien de la société en tant qu'un groupe particulier et différent des autres. Elles décryptent leur rôle dans l'expression de l'organisation sociale, de la structure sociale, de la cosmologie, etc.

En 1881, Lewis Morgan exprimait déjà ce lien intime entre une maison et son occupant. Sur la base des études qu'il a réalisées chez les Indiens de Mexico, de Yucatan et du Guatemala, cet auteur soutient en effet que le principe social « trouve son expression dans l'architecture et prédétermine son caractère» (2003 : 105). Avant d'arriver à cette conclusion, Lewis Morgan a identifié différents types de comportements sociaux et différentes coutumes susceptibles d'expliquer la forme des maisons. Dans son ouvrage *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigine* (2003) [1881], il observe que les formes des maisons indiennes ont été conçues pour répondre à un besoin social. Cette remarque l'amène à conclure que les groupes humains construisent leurs maisons pour correspondre à des besoins comportementaux précis et à des exigences fonctionnelles. La tradition structuro-fonctionnaliste se poursuivra avec les idées de Durkheim et de Mauss sur l'environnement bâti en tant que partie intégrante et symbolique de l'ordre social.

En se concentrant sur la question plus large de l'organisation spatiale, Émile Durkheim et Marcel Mauss (1963) considèrent l'environnement bâti comme intimement lié à la vie sociale. Contrairement à Morgan (2003) [1881], Durkheim et Mauss (1963) voient dans l'environnement bâti, non pas seulement un produit des représentations collectives fondées sur des formes sociales, mais aussi un modèle pour reproduire les formes sociales elles-mêmes. Alors que Morgan met l'accent sur les caractéristiques de l'organisation sociale pour répondre aux problèmes de l'environnement bâti, Durkheim et Mauss soulignent les aspects cognitifs de ladite organisation sociale.

Dans un volume devenu classique et consacré aux Esquimaux, Marcel Mauss et Henri Beauchat (1979) fournissent une interprétation dynamique de l'habitat et se proposent d'observer « la manière dont la forme matérielle des groupements humains, c'est-à-dire la nature et la composition de leur substrat, affecte les différents modes de l'activité collective (Mauss et Beauchat, 1979). Ils décrivent les variations de la maison comme une forme essentielle à l'adaptation de la société des Esquimaux, à la fois, aux changements climatiques annuels et aux changements sociaux. Si les maisons varient en termes de matériaux, de technologie et de forme, Marcel Mauss (1968) estime que les changements les plus importants sont ceux en termes de taille et d'organisation sociale. Ainsi, quoique l'adaptation à l'environnement soit importante, l'intérêt essentiel de Marcel Mauss était de savoir pourquoi la maison d'hiver, contrairement à la tente d'été, était communautaire – et donc plus grande – et abritait plusieurs familles. Cette observation lui permet de lire la morphologie sociale du groupe dans la maison d'hiver.

Par ailleurs, il remarque aussi que la répartition de l'espace par famille est égalitaire, et donc, non proportionnelle au nombre de ses membres. Marcel Mauss trouve ici un argument d'ordre sociologique pour montrer que la distribution de l'espace ne se fait pas toujours en tenant compte de la surface disponible. Pour cet auteur, la maison communautaire d'hiver est la preuve du caractère non purement environnemental et technologique de l'habitat. Mauss (1968) rejette comme explication la conservation de la chaleur, la diffusion de la technologie et les exigences des activités de chasse collectives. Il soutient plutôt que la grandeur de la maison d'hiver était nécessaire pour répondre au rituel collectif qui se tenait pendant les mois d'hiver. En outre, il remarque que les Eskimos n'habitent pas tous dans des régions froides et que, d'autres peuples, dans les mêmes régions, vivent toute l'année sous des tentes beaucoup moins efficaces contre le froid que celles des Eskimos.

Mauss se distingue donc de la perspective limitée du déterminisme environnemental et technologique en signalant le risque qu'il y a d'expliquer la maison par des variables environnementales sans regarder d'autres facteurs, notamment sociaux. La perspective de Marcel Mauss est infiniment plus riche que celles des premiers chercheurs géographes, architectes et ethnographes à la recherche d'originalité et d'antériorité ou de foyers de diffusion des styles de construction. Son analyse permet en effet de confronter l'habitat à la double causalité environnementale et socioculturelle. La vie sociale oriente les formes architecturales plus que les seules conditions climatiques, même lorsque celles-ci sont rudes, une avenue qui sera plus tard théorisée par l'architecte américain Amos Rapoport (1969). Mauss ne nie pour autant pas les influences du climat, du site et des matériaux de construction disponibles, mais il trouve dans la vie sociale des Eskimos les principales raisons de la dispersion et de la concentration de leur habitat. La pratique de la chasse et de la pêche ainsi que la recherche de la chaleur influent sur les formes des établissements eskimos, mais seulement en partie, estime Marcel Mauss (1968); la plus grande influence étant celle des pratiques sociales.

Au demeurant, les études ethnographiques de la maison ont contribué à la compréhension de la façon dont les systèmes sociaux agissent sur les formes bâties. Cependant, malgré la richesse empirique des données recueillies sur le terrain, une grande partie du travail ethnographique est restée fragmentaire en théorie. Les descriptions de la forme, de l'utilisation et de la signification de la maison seront plus tard récupérées par d'autres chercheurs qui disposent des éléments suffisants pour proposer des explications. C'est par exemple le cas d'Amos Rapoport qui, s'inscrivant dans la mouvance de l'anthropologie culturaliste, comble les lacunes théoriques des ethnographes (Morgan, Boas, Mauss et Durkheim en l'occurrence) en faisant valoir le primat des facteurs *invisibles*, notamment celui des contextes historiques et culturels, dans la compréhension de la maison.

3. Amos Rapoport et la théorie « culturelle multicausale » de la maison

Si l'idée exprimée par Marcel Mauss sur l'importance de la double causalité (environnementale et sociale) ouvre la voie à une nouvelle avenue dans la recherche architecturale, c'est surtout Amos Rapoport qui contribue à sa refondation théorique. Son œuvre

la plus connue, *House form and culture* (1969), est un ouvrage concis, mais globalement comparatif qui rejette les simples explications déterministes en faveur d'une approche « culturelle » multi-causale et holistique (1980, 1973, 1969). L'auteur critique l'approche naturaliste et géographique de la maison en lui reprochant de réduire l'analyse à des classifications morphologiques et à l'évolution technologique. Rapoport réfute tour à tour les explications à partir du climat, des matériaux, de la technique, du site et de l'économie qu'il juge insuffisantes pour comprendre les différentes formes architecturales (1972 : 58). Ce faisant, il invite à considérer la complexité des interactions et ne parle plus de *facteurs déterminants* pour désigner les éléments environnementaux. Il milite au contraire pour la définition de la maison en tant qu'expression d'un rapport entre milieu humain (culture) et milieu physique (nature) (Rapoport, 1973 :8). Il accorde dès lors la primauté aux forces socioculturelles et voit la maison comme un phénomène d'abord culturel avant d'être influencée par des facteurs géographiques et techniques.

Il parvient à cette conclusion sur le primat de la diversité culturelle sur les facteurs écologiques dans une étude des contrastes entre les formes des maisons des Pueblo et des Navajo pourtant vivants dans une même aire géographique (1969). Il découvre que dans ces deux communautés, les éléments invisibles (symboles, rites, relations sociales, etc.) sont de loin les plus importants dans la détermination de la forme d'une maison. Amos Rapoport soutient que c'est le style de vie d'un groupe, défini comme l'intégration de tous les aspects culturels, spirituels et sociaux, qui explique le mieux les variations dans la forme de la maison (1969 : 47). La maison devient ainsi une catégorie analytique, un instrument actif capable d'avancer des informations anthropologiques sur la nature des rapports sociaux, et surtout sur l'identité des individus qui l'habitent. Rapoport considère dès lors comme *primaires* les forces socio-culturelles, et comme *modifiantes* les forces dues aux conditions climatiques, aux méthodes de constructions et aux matériaux disponibles (1972 :83).

Par ailleurs, Amos Rapoport remet en cause l'idée fonctionnaliste des ethnographes (Morgan, Boas en l'occurrence) même si ceux-ci admettent l'importance des facteurs sociaux dans l'explication des faits architecturaux. Ce qui est déterminant, selon Rapoport, c'est le type de réponse que l'on apporte aux besoins, et non pas les besoins eux-mêmes (1972 :82). Certes, les diverses sociétés donnent une réponse précise à des besoins (loger, manger, dormir, habiter etc.) lorsqu'elles construisent une maison. Cependant, ces fonctions de base sont souvent ignorées au profit des choix initialement considérés comme *non fonctionnels*, soutient Amos Rapoport (1972). Toutes ces considérations amènent finalement Amos Rapoport à écarter l'utilisation du mot *maison* (*the house*) et à plaider pour le concept de *foyer* (*home*) en tant que nouveau paradigme épistémologique. *Home* permet de cerner la relation significative qui existe entre l'homme et son environnement bâti ; une relation dans laquelle l'homme devient un actant social, agissant de manière indépendante des contraintes naturelles (Rapoport, 1995). En tant que lieu d'organisation sociale, psychologique, culturelle et physique, *home* permet dès lors de contenir les différentes significations de la maison.

À l'intérieur de ce nouveau paradigme où *house* (maison en tant que structure physique) devient *home* (maison en tant que structure sociale), Amos Rapoport parachève sa critique du

déterminisme physique et technologique, et situe l'étude de la maison plutôt dans le champ de la culture. La culture étant un domaine vaste, Rapoport suggère de la séquencer en des sous-domaines pour atteindre la sphère basique des activités à partir de laquelle il devient facile d'étudier la maison en tant qu'entité culturelle. Ses œuvres postérieures (2000 ; 1995 ; 1990 ; 1989) s'attèlent à comprendre la manière dont la culture génère la forme bâtie et la façon dont le sens de la maison est transmis sous forme de communication non verbale. Quoiqu'architecte de formation, Amos Rapoport s'oriente ainsi vers l'anthropologie symbolique et vers les théories de l'herméneutique pour analyser la maison en tant qu'indicatrice du statut social des individus au sein de leurs communautés d'appartenance. Malgré son regard vers l'anthropologie symbolique, cet auteur insiste toujours sur le fait qu'il ne cherche pas à prouver l'action exclusive des forces socio-culturelles dans la création de la maison, mais plutôt sa primauté (Rapoport, 1972 :83). Autrement dit, il milite en faveur de l'idée qu'il y a toujours plusieurs forces combinées qui opèrent : certaines sont des facteurs primaires (culture) et d'autres des facteurs modifiants (climat).

En s'inspirant des travaux d'Amos Rapoport, Susan Kent (2000 ; 1990) postule que les individus ne sont plus des simples marionnettes de leur environnement physique. Ils disposent au contraire des ressources culturelles et symboliques qui leur permettent de manipuler la maison pour répondre à leurs besoins sociaux (Kent, 1990). Sans rejeter l'importance des éléments physiques, Susan Kent considère la structure physique de la maison comme un simple instrument de médiation des relations entre l'homme et son environnement. Aussitôt cette médiation faite, l'auteure estime que « tout le reste est culturel » (Kent, 2000 : 267). La maison chez Kent n'existe donc pas indépendamment de la volonté humaine ; elle est un produit de l'esprit humain. Elle devient un processus de création et de compréhension des formes d'habitation et d'appartenance. Susan Kent (1990) note enfin que la maison varie en importance selon les caractéristiques sociodémographiques, les modes de vie, la situation socio-économique et les diverses autres activités relevant d'autres domaines, une conclusion qui rappelle une fois encore les travaux d'Amos Rapoport.

Plus que Kent, celui qui est connu comme le pionnier des recherches en sémiotique et en anthropologie symbolique est l'universitaire Umberto Eco. Toujours se situant dans la lignée de Rapoport, cet auteur développe une théorie complète de la sémiotique appliquée aux phénomènes architecturaux. Dans son livre, *A Theory of Semiotics* (1976), Umberto Eco définit l'architecture comme un système d'objets produits et d'espaces circonscrits qui communiquent une pluralité des fonctions sur la base des systèmes de conventions (codes). Cet aspect communicatif prédomine, selon Eco, sur l'aspect fonctionnel et utilitariste de l'architecture, et le précède. De ce point de vue, il conclut que les fonctions signifiées de la maison ne sont pas nécessairement des référents. Elles ne sont pas forcément des fonctions qui peuvent être effectuées, ou qui ont été effectuées. Eco postule qu'il existe dans certaines sociétés des unités d'habitation qui n'ont jamais été utilisées, mais leur rôle dans la communication du statut social du propriétaire est important. Dans cette avenue, les fonctions signifiées de la maison sont avant tout des unités culturelles, avant d'être des actes concrets. Autrement dit, la maison est fondamentalement un signifiant, dans le sens saussurien du terme, qui dénote un sens (un signifié) (Eco, 1980; 1976). Un tel système de pensée va donner lieu à la prolifération des études sur la symbolique de la maison, dont la

principale caractéristique est l'accent mis sur la maison en tant qu'image auto-représentationnelle et projective des identités sociales.

II. Approches symboliques ou l'architecture en tant qu'image auto-représentationnelle et projective

Les approches symboliques interprètent l'environnement bâti comme un système des symboles, et comme une expression culturellement partagée des structures et des processus mentaux. Elles s'interrogent sur la signification des formes construites et la façon dont elles signifient et expriment un sens. En mettant le focus sur l'environnement bâti, de nombreux théoriciens de l'approche symbolique considèrent la maison comme un moyen tangible pour la description et l'explication des caractéristiques souvent intangibles du processus d'expression culturelle. En tant qu'expression de la culture, la maison joue un rôle de communication et de véhicule de sens entre les groupes, et entre les individus au sein d'un même groupe, et ceci à différents niveaux (Chétima, 2015; 2010). Les explications symboliques reposent souvent sur la démonstration de la façon dont l'environnement bâti correspond à des conceptions idéales de la vie sociale, politique et religieuse d'un peuple donné. Dans ce sens, les attributs physiques de la maison se bornent à l'imitation et à la représentation des divers aspects, conscients et inconscients, de la vie sociale (Chétima, 2011; Lawrence et Low, 1990).

Dans l'ensemble, les approches symboliques intègrent dans leurs analyses la sphère domestique et non domestique de la maison, et quelquefois aussi, les sites de constructions et l'ordonnement des villages. Elles se déclinent en plusieurs formes, entre autres : 1. les approches métaphoriques qui s'intéressent aux fonctions anthropomorphiques et mnémoniques de la maison ; 2. les approches structuralistes qui sont fortement influencées par la théorie linguistique de Saussure.

1. Approche de la métaphore : l'architecture en tant que « portrait symbolique »

Les théories de la métaphore ont été utilisées par un certain nombre de chercheurs pour étudier l'architecture comme un système de significations symboliquement codées. Les métaphores permettent de passer de l'abstrait et du rudimentaire au concret et au facilement saisissable. C'est à travers des métaphores que les humains se représentent le monde et créent de l'ordre dans le cosmos. Les théories de la métaphore appliquées à la maison sont les mieux représentées par les travaux de James Fernandez (1988 ; 1977), qui affirme la primauté de la métaphore comme une expression culturelle. En tant que telle, la métaphore permet de décoder et de comprendre le sens exprimé par l'environnement bâti. Le célèbre ouvrage de James Fernandez sur les Fang (1977) est une illustration parfaite de la puissance métaphorique de l'architecture. Cette monographie commence par une vision globale des Fang et de la manière dont leur architecture est représentée dans l'espace. Ensuite, Fernandez tente de relier la cosmologie, le mythe, la structure sociale, et l'architecture du village à travers un système de significations culturelles. À partir de là, il développe sa notion d'« espace de qualité » composé d'axes de

continuum entre les oppositions bipolaires de sens, et démontre finalement comment la métaphore est, à la fois, interprétative et stratégique (Fernandez, 1986).

Les théories de la métaphore ont également été utilisées par un certain nombre de chercheurs pour explorer l'architecture en tant que système des symboles. L'une des meilleures réflexions dans ce sens vient de Suzanne Blier (1987) qui retrace le symbolisme métaphorique des maisons et des structures des villages batammaliba à partir de leurs significations cosmologiques et sociales, mais également à partir de leurs significations corporelles. L'environnement bâti pour les Batammaliba représente toutes les facettes de la vie personnelle, sociale et culturelle, et possède sa propre trajectoire de vie elle-même. La métaphore fournit ainsi un moyen pour commander l'expérience, et l'architecture est une métaphore au sens large du terme (Blier, 1987). Un exemple similaire de la puissance métaphorique de l'architecture vient de la plume d'Alexander Moore (1981) qui lie la forme architecturale des Cuna à la structure sociale de leur société. Pour les Cuna, l'architecture traditionnelle exprime dans le langage métaphorique, la réplique symbolique de toutes leurs structures politique et sociale.

Un autre groupe de chercheurs s'appuie sur des éléments d'analyse métaphorique pour relier le cosmos avec la maison. C'est le cas par exemple de Marcel Griaule (1954), qui, à travers ses analyses de l'architecture dogon, décrit comment l'organisation territoriale représente la forme d'une graine, qui est un symbole central dans la mythologie dogon. Cet auteur montre que la structure du village est anthropomorphique, et s'étend du nord au sud comme un corps d'homme sur le dos. Cette structuration des villages dogon découle de leur conception de l'univers, de la ville et de l'homme, qu'ils considèrent comme identiques. On retrouve le même ordonnancement dans les villes sao étudiées par Masudi Alabi Fassassi (1997). Ici la ville est considérée comme le rabattement du monde sur le plan terrestre avec l'homme pour pôle central. En conséquence, « la ville est un monde dans un monde ». Dans le même ordre d'extrapolation, « l'homme est un monde dans la ville ayant pour centre son organe géniteur » (Fassassi, 1997 : 33).

De son côté, Joseph Rykwert met en évidence le principe de la représentation symbolique du monde en étudiant la maison comme une reproduction parfaite de l'univers. Les indigènes australiens qu'il étudie pour fonder sa théorie, considèrent la maison comme une métaphore de la voie lactée ; lieu du séjour éternel des ancêtres (Rykwert, 1976). L'exemple donné par Mircea Eliade (1983) sur la maison des Sioux est également significatif. L'auteur rapporte que les Sioux voient la maison comme un modèle réduit de l'univers. Son toit symbolise la coupole céleste, le plancher représente la terre, les quatre parois indiquent les quatre directions de l'espace cosmique. La construction de la maison est elle-même déterminée par un triple symbolisme: les quatre portes, les quatre fenêtres et les quatre couleurs, signifiant les quatre points cardinaux. Construire une maison tient donc compte de la représentation que se font les Sioux du cosmos ; la maison devenant une image simplifiée du monde (Eliade, 1983 : 66).

Si la maison est un modèle réduit de l'univers, le corps humain est lui-même un modèle réduit de la maison selon le même principe de correspondance entre macrocosme et microcosme. En s'appuyant sur l'exemple de la maison traditionnelle mongole, Mircea Eliade rend compte des

significations métaphoriques que les populations attachent au toit en tant qu'accès vers l'au-delà. Les urnes funéraires mongoles sont en effet pourvues d'un trou dans le toit pour permettre à l'âme du défunt de s'échapper et de rejoindre l'au-delà (Eliade, 1983 : 72-73). De la même manière, le corps humain possède au sommet de son crâne un lieu par lequel il entre en contact avec le divin. D'autres auteurs utilisent la métaphore du corps pour montrer la correspondance interculturelle entre l'architecture religieuse et les diverses parties du corps humain (Carsten et Hugh-Jones, 1995 ; Johnson, 1988). Le focus est mis sur l'alignement du corps dans l'espace comme ayant une importance religieuse et cosmologique. Toutes ces études permettent d'examiner la nature idéologique de l'architecture à la fois comme une métaphore cosmologique et corporelle.

L'utilisation de la métaphore dans l'analyse symbolique de la maison est l'une des approches architecturales les plus complètes et les plus réussies. Sa principale force est d'allier l'imagination de l'autochtone qui pense et qui crée la métaphore et celle du chercheur qui l'analyse (Lawrence et Low, 1990 : 473). Cependant, certains adeptes de la métaphore vont progressivement éloigner la maison de sa dimension matérielle pour l'étudier essentiellement en tant que signe (Bachelard, 2004 [1957], Barthes, 1993; Geertz, 1983). Pour Clifford Geertz (1983) par exemple, les individus ne sont plus esclaves de leur environnement bâti, mais plutôt des significations culturelles qu'ils ont eux-mêmes créées. Il souligne que l'habitat humain ne peut être compris et lu qu'à l'intérieur du paradigme culturel dans lequel l'homme agit et existe. Dans ce contexte, la passivité du sujet par rapport à la nature, mise en cause par Amos Rapoport (1973), donne place à une autre passivité, issue cette fois-ci d'un rapport de soumission au web culturel. L'anthropologie symbolique de Clifford Geertz renoue dès lors avec la séparation entre la nature et la culture qui avait cours jusqu'aux travaux révolutionnaires d'Amos Rapoport. Cela conduit à la marginalisation voire à l'absence de la dimension matérielle de la maison, dans la mesure où celle-ci n'existe finalement qu'en tant que symbole (Bachelard, 2004). Les approches structuralistes représenteront le premier pas vers la conciliation du matériel et de l'immatériel.

2. Approches structuralistes ou la maison comme objectivation des relations sociales

Lorsque Claude Lévi-Strauss (1982) introduit la notion de « maison » dans les études de la parenté, il s'agissait avant tout de répondre à un problème posé par la théorie des groupes de filiation. La notion était destinée à appréhender les groupes sociaux qui, tout en se présentant morphologiquement comme des clans ou des lignages, échappaient à la grille classificatoire traditionnelle ; leur mode de recrutement n'étant ni unilinéaire, ni bilinéaire, ni strictement indifférencié, ni même contraint à la seule filiation, voire à la parenté généalogique en tant que telle (voir Hamberger, 2010 : 7). Reprenant les idées de Franz Boas, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1982) développe alors l'idée que les sociétés qui tracent leur descendance à travers les deux lignes maternelle et paternelle sont organisées autour de la maison. Dans ces systèmes indifférenciés, les individus peuvent être membres de plusieurs groupes sociaux et basés sur la parenté en même temps.

Ainsi, plutôt que de définir la maison par un quelconque substrat matériel ou immatériel, Lévi-Strauss postule qu'il faudrait la considérer comme l'hypostase d'une relation entre les clans antagonistes, dont elle réconcilie les oppositions sous l'apparence de l'unité retrouvée (Moisa, 2010). La maison se constitue ainsi « à l'intersection des perspectives antithétiques » (McKinnon, 1995 : 170-188 ; Lévi-Strauss, 1979 : 190). Cette nouvelle réalité révèle le pouvoir de la maison, sa capacité active de conciliation des conflits au sein du couple, en devenant « une arme utilisée contre le désordre » (Lévi-Strauss, 1983). Non seulement la maison reprend et dissimule le langage de la parenté, elle résout surtout plusieurs problèmes causés par des intérêts antagonistes entre les deux lignées paternelle et maternelle (Lévi-Strauss, 1983).

Par ailleurs, Claude Lévi-Strauss avance que les populations s'organisent, non pas seulement autour de la maison en tant que propriété physique qui les contient, mais davantage autour des titres, des propriétés et de l'héritage. Lévi-Strauss définit la maison dans ce contexte comme :

une personne morale titulaire d'un patrimoine constitué, à la fois, de la richesse matérielle et non matérielle, qui se perpétue grâce à la transmission de son nom, de ses biens et de ses titres sur une ligne réelle et imaginaire, considérée comme légitime aussi longtemps que cette continuité puisse s'exprimer dans la langue de la parenté ou d'affinité et, le plus souvent, les deux à la fois (1982: 174).

Ces biens matériels et immatériels sont transmis d'une génération à l'autre à travers la ligne de sang ou à travers une filiation fictive ; les règles strictes de la relation étant moins importantes dans les « sociétés à maison » que la continuité de la maison elle-même et de ses biens. De cette façon, les « sociétés à maison » peuvent retracer leur ascendance à des personnes spécifiques, mythiques ou réelles, qui ont fondé la maison d'origine dans un endroit spécifique. Les maisons ont peut-être changé d'emplacement, mais les membres conservent la mémoire partagée de cette origine (Lévi-Strauss, 2004 [1979]: 164-165).

Cette approche lévi-straussienne est centrale pour la compréhension de la dynamique de la maison. Elle permet de voir les changements qui interviennent dans les formes de la maison dans l'espace, mais surtout dans le temps, d'une génération à l'autre, d'une temporalité à une autre (Bretell, 1999). Comme elle est destinée à durer dans le temps, c'est-à-dire à être partagée et à être utilisée par plusieurs générations, la maison devient essentiellement un lieu d'investissement considérable dans la reproduction biologique, économique et culturelle de la famille (Moisa, 2010). Les faits matériels et immatériels, la durabilité, la permanence et la localisation de la maison conditionnent alors les stratégies familiales et inversement. Cette réciprocité entre longévité de la maison et continuité de la famille amène Donna Birdwell-Pheasant et Denise Lawrence-Zuniga à postuler qu'« investir matériellement et émotionnellement dans la maison signifie investir dans la famille et dans sa continuité (Birdwell-Pheasant et Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999 : 12-15).

Grâce à son concept de *société à maison*, Lévi-Strauss explore en outre le rapport entre les caractéristiques physiques de la maison et le rôle que celle-ci véhicule en tant que symbole. Ses travaux représenteront le premier pas vers une conciliation du matériel et de l'immatériel dans

l'anthropologie symbolique de la maison. On remarque cependant que la notion de « maison » dans l'approche Lévi-straussienne ne figure qu'au sens métaphorique. Lévi-Strauss ne l'a jamais considérée comme une véritable structure spatiale (Hamberger, 2010) ; chose qui lui a valu de nombreux critiques. Cette absence de l'architecture dans le modèle Lévi-straussien sera le point de départ de son renouvellement par un groupe de chercheurs réunis autour de Janet Carsten et Stephen Hugh-Jones (1995), dont le programme consistait en un sens à remettre sur pied la notion de *maison*. Leurs recherches posent les fondements d'une nouvelle série d'études qui dépasse la vision de Lévi-Strauss et qui considèrent la maison, non seulement, comme résultat d'une fusion des principes opposés, mais comme lieu de leur articulation (McKinnon, 1995 : 188).

Bien que Lévi-Strauss ne dise pas clairement que les *sociétés à maison* sont des sociétés hiérarchisées, tous les exemples qu'il utilise, et la définition même de la *société à maison* qu'il offre font référence à une organisation sociale hiérarchique (Gillespie, 2000 : 8 et 49). La complexité des stratégies par le biais de la maison pour accumuler la richesse, le statut, le pouvoir ou la propriété que souligne Lévi-Strauss, ne peut entrer que dans un ordre hiérarchique ou dans un système égalitaire déjà subvertie (Lévi-Strauss, 1987 : 152). Dans cette avenue, la maison apparaît comme un véhicule pour la naturalisation des différences de rang (Gillespie, 2000 ; Waterson, 1995; Hugh-Jones, 1995; McKinnon, 1995). À partir des années 1980, le concept de *société à maison* sera d'ailleurs récupéré par d'autres auteurs structuralistes pour expliquer le rapport entre la maison et la hiérarchie. Dans une recherche conduite en Asie du Sud-Est, Charles Macdonald associe explicitement la maison en tant que personne morale à la hiérarchie : « Plus la société est hiérarchique, plus le placement du roi est haut dans son palais, plus les critères de Lévi-Strauss se vérifient; la maison fonctionnant en tant qu'unité résidentielle, économique, rituelle et politique » (Macdonald, 1987 :7-8).

Si l'approche structuraliste représente l'approche théorique la plus cohérente développée sur la symbolique de la maison, de nombreuses critiques lui sont faites, aussi bien de l'intérieur que de l'extérieur du champ anthropologique (Lawrence et Law, 1990 :467). Pierre Bourdieu objecte par exemple que les analyses des oppositions contradictoires, tout en prétendant révéler une signification culturelle, peuvent conduire les chercheurs à imposer leur propre ordre sur le matériel ethnographique (1980, 1977). Pierre Bourdieu critique également la vision statique et synchronique de la culture par les approches structuralistes, et le fait qu'elles ne tiennent pas compte du changement social historique (1977). À la suite de Pierre Bourdieu, Ian Hodder (1982: 8) critique le structuralisme, entre autres, pour l'absence d'une théorie de la pratique, pour le rôle limité de l'individu, pour l'absence d'un modèle adéquat de changement, et pour le problème de la vérification. En outre, les approches structuralistes, en dépit du rapprochement entre le matériel et l'immatériel, entre l'objet et le social, offrent une définition encore limitée de la maison, vue comme un reflet passif et symbolique des relations sociales.

Cette définition de la maison comme un *miroir* sera d'ailleurs contestée par Ian Hodder (1982), dans le cadre de son étude sur le rapport entre la culture matérielle et l'ethnicité. Cet auteur remarque que l'objet joue des rôles actifs et pluriels au sein d'une même société, et ceci, à des échelles différentes. Dans le royaume lozi par exemple, les populations établissent et

maintiennent les frontières ethniques par l'usage symbolique de la poterie. Dans le même temps, les mêmes pots sont manipulés pour justifier les tensions familiales au sein des ménages lozi, grâce à des types particuliers de décoration figurant sur les pots. Ian Hodder fait valoir que, plutôt que de refléter les cultures (comme un passif sous-produit de la vie sociale), la variabilité dans les aspects symboliques de la poterie est activement et réellement utilisée dans la vie sociale. Il conclut que la signification de l'objet dépend de la façon dont il est utilisé dans le cadre des stratégies et des idéologies de groupes particuliers. Un objet donné peut être utilisé pour « souligner ou pour refuser, pour maintenir ou pour perturber les distinctions ethniques ou les réseaux de circulation de l'information » (Hodder, 1982: 85). La culture matérielle n'est donc pas un reflet inerte du comportement humain, mais davantage une pratique sociale active et constitutive de l'ordre social.

Ian Hodder affirme enfin que les approches symboliques et structuralistes n'ont pas suffisamment théorisé la culture matérielle. Il note qu'il y a eu très peu de considérations sur la sociabilité des maisons, sur leur *meaningfulness*, et sur la façon dont elles transforment les personnes par leurs imbrications multiples dans les régimes de valeur. Comme le souligne Lynn Meskell avec perspicacité, « c'est seulement par l'accent mis sur les significations sociales de l'objet que nous pouvons saisir les multiples façons dont la maison prolonge l'être social » (Meskell, 2004:28). Ces considérations sur l'action sociale de l'objet seront au centre de nouvelles études anthropologiques et historiques (Appadurai, 1986) et au sein d'un groupe interdisciplinaire réuni sous la coupole de l'archéologie post-processuelle.

III. « Ces maisons que nous faisons et qui nous font » : archéologie post-processuelle et nouvelles perspectives pour l'étude de la maison

L'un des développements les plus passionnants de l'anthropologie contemporaine est le regain d'intérêt pour les études de la culture matérielle. De manière significative, l'archéologie post-processuelle a joué un rôle clé dans le développement des théories sociales de l'objet. Elle réintroduit les objets au cœur de l'analyse des phénomènes sociaux et culturels, en tentant de dépasser la vision statique par laquelle les théories fonctionnalistes et structuralistes les appréhendaient. Les études dans le domaine soutiennent que les sujets et les objets ne sont pas des domaines séparés, mais sont co-constitutifs les uns des autres. Comme l'affirme Tilley : « les formes matérielles ne sont pas simplement le reflet préexistant des distinctions sociales, des ensembles d'idées ou des systèmes symboliques. Elles sont plutôt le moyen par lequel ces valeurs, ces idées et ces distinctions sociales sont constamment reproduites, légitimées, ou transformées » (Tilley, 2006: 61). À travers la fabrication et l'utilisation, l'échange et l'interaction avec les objets, les gens se font eux-mêmes. Parmi les promoteurs de ce domaine d'étude, de nature interdisciplinaire, je cite entre autres Victor Buchli, Christopher Tilley, Daniel Miller ou encore Ian Hodder. La plupart d'entre eux ont enseigné à la *Cambridge University* et à l'*University College of London* (UCL); deux institutions qui deviendront d'ailleurs les principaux centres de production et de diffusion des études contemporaines de la culture matérielle.

Ce fut d'abord à Cambridge que le projet d'élaboration de la nouvelle réflexion sur la culture matérielle a débuté, grâce aux travaux d'Ian Hodder et de ses étudiants. Ces derniers développent une nouvelle archéologie contextuelle (*new contextual archeology*) en revisitant la notion de Bourdieu d'*habitus* (Hodder, 1986; 1982). Par la suite, le projet sera poursuivi et porté à son optimum avec le départ de Daniel Miller de la Cambridge vers l'UCL. Archéologue de formation, Daniel Miller s'oriente désormais vers l'anthropologie et élabore en compagnie de ses étudiants un modèle d'étude de la culture matérielle, qu'ils inscrivent à l'intérieur de l'anthropologie de la consommation (*anthropology of consumption*), en utilisant la notion de *structuration* d'Antony Giddens (1984). Grâce à ce concept, Daniel Miller présente un modèle de la dualité de la structure, impliquant une relation mutuellement constitutive entre « agent » et « structure » (Giddens, 1984). Si l'archéologue Ian Hodder s'oriente davantage et l'anthropologue Daniel Miller vers Anthony Giddens, tous deux ont favorisé l'émergence de l'archéologie postprocessuelle dont le but assigné est l'exploration de la relation entre les mondes culturel et matériel.

1. l'Archéologie postprocessuelle et la notion de pratique et d'objectivation

Une première perspective théorique au cœur de leur réflexion est l'accent mis sur la pratique plutôt que sur la connaissance discursive. Ce point de vue découle de la théorie de la pratique de l'anthropologue et sociologue français Pierre Bourdieu. En alliant le marxisme, le structuralisme et la phénoménologie, sa théorie de la pratique a eu en effet une grande influence dans les études contemporaines de la culture matérielle. Son concept le plus célèbre, élaboré dans *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Bourdieu, 1972) est un remaniement de l'idée d'*habitus*, introduite dans les sciences sociales par Marcel Mauss. Pierre Bourdieu définit l'*habitus* comme un système de «dispositions durables, transposables» (1977: 72), un « schème de pensée et des perceptions corporelles, d'appréciations et d'action » et comme un « principe générateur d'improvisations réglementées » (1977: 78). À bien des égards, l'*habitus* met en rapport les notions d'habitude (comportements acquis par la pratique routinière) et de l'habitat, dans la mesure où c'est à travers l'intériorisation de l'environnement physique et social que les gens sont socialisés.

Du point de vue de la culture matérielle, l'exemple classique de l'*habitus* de Pierre Bourdieu est son analyse de la maison kabyle (1970). L'article se lit d'abord comme une analyse structuraliste classique, dans lequel l'organisation spatiale de la maison reproduit (et parfois inverse) une série d'oppositions symboliques de genre qui structurent la cosmologie kabyle. Cependant, Bourdieu montre que cette structure est malléable et contingente selon les mouvements et les perspectives de l'évolution des Kabyles eux-mêmes. Il constate que les significations ne sont pas strictement déterminées par la théorie, mais sont générées par les gens à travers leurs pratiques quotidiennes, c'est-à-dire à travers leurs habitudes. Bourdieu explore la façon dont les modes de pensée et d'action des Kabyles ont été inculqués à travers la «pédagogie implicite» de l'*habitus*. Tout comme les Kabyles façonnent leurs maisons, affirme Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 72), de la même façon ils sont façonnés par leurs maisons. Ce processus qu'il appelle *objectivation* a induit des conséquences inédites pour l'étude de la maison. En effet, en se servant de ce concept, des auteurs comme Christopher Tilley (2006) et Daniel Miller (1987) tente

de dépasser le dualisme qui prévalait dans la pensée empiriste moderne et qui appréhendait les individus et les objets comme deux entités différentes et opposées (Tilley 2006 : 61).

En reprenant la notion de pratique de Pierre Bourdieu (1980), Christopher Tilley (2006) développe sa propre notion d'*objectivation*, qu'il définit comme un processus par lequel l'idée d'un individu ou d'un groupe d'individus se concrétise dans une forme matérielle. Cet auteur remet à son tour en question le rationalisme de Descartes selon lequel l'esprit domine toujours la matière et que la forme matérielle est prédéfinie mentalement avant d'être effectuée concrètement. Plutôt que de précéder la forme, Tilley estime que l'idée se construit en même temps qu'elle, dans un va-et-vient continu entre l'abstraction de la pensée et la matérialité de l'objet (2006 ; 1994). Daniel Miller (2005 ; 2001 ; 1998 ; 1987) pousse plus loin l'idée de Tilley en suggérant que le processus dialectique entre abstraction de la pensée et matérialité de l'objet ne se limite pas uniquement au moment de sa construction, mais se poursuit à travers les différents usages que l'on fera par la suite de l'objet (Miller, 1987).

En partant de ce postulat, Daniel Miller propose que l'*objectivation* soit au fondement d'une théorie dialectique de la culture. Il fusionne dès lors les dualités sujet/objet et individu/société en soulignant que les deux couples d'oppositions sont autant constitutifs de la culture que constitués par elle. Miller ne considère donc pas l'*objectivation* comme une simple réflexion théorique, ou comme un simple processus de signification. Il soutient plutôt que «l'*objectivation* est une affirmation de la nature non réductrice de la culture en tant que processus» (Miller, 1987: 33). Tout comme Pierre Bourdieu, Daniel Miller met l'*objectivation* en rapport avec la praxis – entendue comme stratégies matérielles - plutôt que de la définir comme un processus d'auto-aliénation comme dans le principe hégélien. Il consacre ainsi l'importance de l'objet d'une part, en tant que forme matérielle continuellement expérimentée à travers les pratiques, et d'autre part, en tant que forme à travers laquelle nous expérimentons continuellement notre propre ordre culturel (Miller, 1987 : 105).

À partir des idées de Roland Barthes (2001 ; 1993 ; 1983) sur le texte, et de Foucault (1984 ; 1975) sur la relation entre pouvoir et savoir, Daniel Miller écarte ainsi l'usage de l'objet comme un symbole des réalités humaines et milite pour son autonomie. Alors que le symbole se limite à un rôle d'évocation qui dépend du contexte d'interprétation, l'artéfact, lui, est une entité réelle et palpable qui joue un rôle essentiel dans la reproduction sociale (Miller, 1987 : 107). Pareil au texte, l'objet, une fois créé, subit un processus d'*objectivation*, c'est-à-dire de mise à distance avec son constructeur et de multiplication de son sens en fonction des multiples usages dans lesquels il est engagé (Moisa, 2010).

En appliquant les résultats des travaux de Christopher Tilley et de Daniel Miller à l'habitat, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi et Eugen Rochmerg-Halton considèrent la maison et les objets domestiques comme des «agents de socialisation» (Csikszentmihalyi et Rochmerg-Halton, 1981 : 50-52) ; et comme des véritables *agency*. Désormais, ce n'est plus l'homme qui réagit toujours sur l'habitat, mais c'est l'habitat lui-même qui acquiert la force nécessaire de faire de lui un *actant* (Propp, 1970). Dans la même veine, Chang-Kwo Tan considère la maison comme ayant une valeur d'*agency*, car « elle réagit et modifie ses propriétaires » (Tan, 2001 : 170). Le concept

d'*agency* attribue, dès lors, à la maison le statut d'*agent*, dans la mesure où elle est capable d'influencer et d'orienter le comportement de ses occupants (Hoskins, 2006 :74). Cette réciprocité dynamique entre individus et maisons amène Christopher Tilley à finalement considérer l'objet comme « un site multiple pour l'inscription et la négociation des relations sociales, du pouvoir et des dynamiques sociales » (2002 :28). Dans ce sens, il propose d'étudier l'objet en tenant compte de l'interaction dialectique et récursive entre les personnes et les objets, car « autant les personnes font et utilisent les objets, autant les objets font les personnes» (Tilley, 2006 : 4).

2. l'Archéologie post-processuelle et la notion d'*agency* de la culture matérielle

Une deuxième approche théorique qui domine les études contemporaines de la culture matérielle est la notion de *matérialité*. Selon Christopher Tilley, « la matérialité fait partie intégrante de la culture et il y a des dimensions de l'existence sociale qui ne peuvent pas être comprises sans elle » (2006 : 1). Dans un travail qu'il consacre à l'analyse des symboliques sociales du canoë wala au Vanuatu, Tilley remarque que les Wala ont investi, inscrit et incorporé des propriétés sensorielles à leurs canoës en y sculptant des organes comme des oreilles, des bouches et des moustaches, et en dotant la poupe et la proue de ces embarcations d'organes féminins ou masculins (2002 : 53). Pour cet auteur, « le pouvoir de cette imagerie réside dans ses références aux qualités tactiles et sensuelles ainsi que dans ses références au corps humain » (Tilley, 2002 : 25). Ainsi, le canoë et son usage deviennent un vrai véhicule du pouvoir, mais surtout révèlent les relations sociales qu'ils créent, notamment la relation entre l'homme et la femme. Le pouvoir de l'homme par rapport à celui de la femme est généré par l'imagerie ouverte du canoë, et la distinction entre le haut et le bas (Tilley, 2002 : 51). Plus qu'un simple symbole, le canoë devient alors un médium pour exprimer les contacts sociaux, un *agent* qui possède la force de « dire ce dont on ne peut pas dire ou écrire » (Tilley, 2002 : 28 ; 1991). Ces observations amènent Christopher Tilley à conclure que «les formes matérielles ne sont pas simplement le reflet préexistant des distinctions sociales, des ensembles d'idées ou des systèmes symboliques. Elles constituent une des caractéristiques qui définissent l'être humain » (2006: 61). Miller et Tilley s'appuient sur l'analogie de la culture matérielle avec le langage pour affirmer une telle importance : «être humain c'est de parler; être humain c'est aussi de fabriquer et d'utiliser les objets » (Miller et Tilley 1996: 5).

Ce principe a également été développé par Daniel Miller à travers ses ouvrages *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1987) et *Materiality* (2005). Dans ces deux ouvrages, Miller tente de comprendre en quoi le monde matériel participe à l'organisation du monde social. Écrits à une époque où le structuralisme était le modèle théorique dominant dans les études des maisons, les ouvrages de Miller ouvrent la voie à la réflexion sur les objets en tant que phénomènes culturels significatifs et dotés d'une autonomie propre. Plutôt que d'être simplement l'expression de profonds mécanismes sociologiques, Miller présente la maison et les objets domestiques comme les moyens par lesquels la culture vient affecter les sujets (Miller, 1998 ; 1994). Autrement dit, pour Daniel Miller, si les individus fabriquent des objets, ils sont également à leur tour *fabriqués* par ces mêmes objets. À travers ses concepts théoriques, Miller parvient ainsi à transcender la séparation binaire entre les sujets et les objets, entre le matériel et

l'immatériel jusqu'alors au fondement de la définition symbolique et structuraliste de la maison (Miller, 1987 : 12). À sa place, il propose d'étudier la manière dont les relations sociales sont créées à travers la manipulation des objets. Cette réhabilitation de l'objet oblige de passer au-delà des frontières de l'espace bâti, car l'espace le plus peuplé d'objets est le domestique (Moisa, 2010 ; Miller, 1987).

Les implications de ces recherches stimulantes sont nombreuses. Elles montrent comment la matérialité de l'objet est fondamentale (plutôt que complémentaire) à la constitution des relations sociales. Comme l'affirme Christopher Tilley (2006: 61), elle n'est pas un sous-ensemble, une partie ou un domaine de quelque chose qui est plus grand, plus large ou plus significatif, mais elle y est constitutive. Ce postulat lui permet de critiquer la séparation du matériel et de l'immatériel, et invite à l'exploration de la manière dont les deux sont unis dans une étroite interaction, l'un se construisant par rapport à l'autre.

En outre, les travaux de Daniel Miller (2011 ; 2005 ; 1998 ; 1995 ; 1987) tentent de mettre à jour les cadres culturels, philosophiques et normatifs qui structurent l'organisation de la maison, des objets domestiques, mais aussi des objets moins reconnus que sont les marchandises anonymes. Ainsi, malgré sa *banalité* et son *insignifiance*, l'objet est important, non parce qu'il est visible, mais parce qu'on ne le « voit » pas (Miller, 2005b; 1987). La culture matérielle n'existe pas à travers notre corps ou notre conscience, proclame Miller, mais elle est un environnement extérieur qui nous provoque et qui nous transforme. En prenant appui sur l'exemple précis de la maison, il souligne que sa longévité temporelle peut la rendre active, indépendamment de l'action des gens qui l'occupent (Miller, 2001 : 119). Dans cette avenue, Miller propose qu'au lieu de toujours mettre l'accent sur ce que les individus font avec l'objet, il devient nécessaire de montrer « comment les objets que les individus font, font les individus » (Miller, 2005b : 38), car l'objet « joue un rôle essentiel dans la reproduction sociale » (Miller, 1987 : 107), et dans la structuration du comportement humain (Miller, 2005b : 5).

Au demeurant, les études de Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Christopher Tilley et Daniel Miller élargissent la notion de la maison en tant que signe et témoin de la vie de l'individu qui l'habite ; idée déjà présente chez Amos Rapoport (1972) et chez d'autres adeptes de l'anthropologie symbolique. Tout en admettant cette notion, Tilley et Miller avancent cependant que dans le rapport homme-environnement bâti, la maison n'a pas un statut passif, mais plutôt actif. La passivité de la maison par rapport à l'homme, idée dominante chez Rapoport, cède par conséquent la place à l'*agency* de la maison qui, de par sa longévité, peut à son tour l'emporter sur l'homme (Miller, 2001). En outre, la maison n'est pas saisie en tant qu'entité statique et systématique, comme l'a étudié la tradition symbolique, mais en tant qu'entité dynamique et plurielle ; une idée qui sera reprise et développée par les théoriciens de l'histoire sociale dans leur approche du pouvoir de changement de la maison.

3. Vie sociale des objets *versus* vie sociale des personnes

La troisième approche au cœur de la réflexion des post-processualistes est l'histoire sociale des objets laquelle décline en «biographies culturelles» et en «cycle de vie » des objets

(Appadurai, 1986: 34). L'approche de la biographie culturelle est l'analyse de la trajectoire de vie des objets spécifiques qui sont souvent échangés entre les peuples. En revanche, l'approche de l'histoire sociale se réfère à une gamme d'objets dont les significations varient sur le long terme. Selon Arjun Appadurai (1986), ces deux formes d'identité d'objets sont liées, dans la mesure où c'est l'histoire sociale qui détermine les biographies culturelles de ces objets. L'un des promoteurs de l'approche biographique est Igor Kopytoff (1986). En développant la notion de ce qu'il appelle « carrière objectale », cet auteur considère les objets comme possédant une vie sociale similairement à celle des individus. L'approche biographique suit ainsi analogiquement le principe du récit de vie ; un récit dans lequel l'« objet devient plutôt le sujet et le principe organisateur de la narration » (Riggins, 1994 :2). L'analyse de la trajectoire de vie est d'une grande utilité pour la compréhension des valeurs sociales, ancrées dans un groupe à une période donnée. Elle permet de dévoiler les constructions sociales qui interviennent dans la relation entretenue par les individus avec leurs maisons (Chétima, 2016).

L'analyse d'Arjun Appadurai est aussi, de ce point de vue, très éloquente, voire complémentaire, puisqu'il considère également l'objet comme ayant une vie et une valeur sociale. L'ouvrage collectif *The Social Life of Things: Commodities, Cultural Perspective* sous sa direction avait pour but de définir «une nouvelle perspective sur la circulation des objets dans la vie sociale» (Appadurai, 1986: 1) et de démontrer que la valeur d'un objet est créée à travers les réseaux sociaux, culturels et politiques dans lequel son échange a lieu (Appadurai, 1986: 3). Autrement dit, en même temps que les objets évoluent à travers des contextes d'échanges différents, et souvent changeants, ils acquièrent des identités, des usages et des valeurs différentes. Dans cette avenue, Appadurai affirme que «les objets matériels, tout comme les personnes, ont une existence sociale» (1986: 3).

L'approche de la trajectoire de vie et de la vie sociale des objets a été très utilisée au sein des chercheurs africanistes, notamment par Melchisedek Chétima (2016), Dominique Malaquais (2002), Labelle Prussin (1995) et Suzanne Blier (1987 ; 1983). Blier compare les maisons batammaliba à des humaines, à qui on peut parler et qui possèdent leurs propres biographies qu'il est possible de reconstituer. Pour les Batammaliba, rapporte Suzanne Blier, la maison une fois complétée, est assimilée à un bébé qui vient de naître (Blier, 1983 : 373). Au cours de son cycle de vie, elle est en mesure de grandir, de respirer et de se déplacer. Avec des soins appropriés, les maisons, tels les humains, peuvent avoir une espérance de vie pouvant atteindre 56 ans (ou dix cycles d'initiation). À cet âge, tels les humains, elles sont appelées à « mourir pour donner naissance à une autre, construite avec le tissu de la vieille » (Blier, 1983 : 373). La maison et le corps peuvent, dans ce sens, être considérés comme le prolongement l'une de l'autre.

En partant de l'analyse faite par Suzanne Blier, Dominique Malaquais (1994) s'est penchée sur le cycle de vie de la concession chez les Bamiléké en rapport avec la quête du statut social. Elle s'est surtout intéressée au rapport entre l'élargissement de ce que les Bamiléké appellent *estomac de la maison* et la montée d'un individu dans la hiérarchie sociale. Dans l'imaginaire bamiléké, l'estomac représente la partie du corps où débute la reconnaissance sociale. Il est le lieu des premiers rites subis par un individu, et demeure l'objet d'autres rites tout au long de sa vie » (Malaquais, 1994 : 24). De même que la croissance d'une personne est la

preuve que son « estomac a grandi », la demeure d'un individu s'élargit au fur et à mesure que celui-ci monte dans la hiérarchie sociale (Malaquais, 1994 : 25). Ainsi, en même temps que s'amorce la quête du statut social, s'enclenche également le processus architectural marqué au tout début par la construction d'une simple structure. Avec le temps et au fur et à mesure que son occupant monte dans la hiérarchie, « cette construction si modeste, deviendra le noyau d'un édifice beaucoup plus vaste et complexe » (Malaquais, 2002 : 205). Par la suite, tel un organisme humain qui croit et se multiplie, la maison donne naissance à d'autres maisons avant de disparaître avec le temps. Au cours de sa trajectoire de vie, elle subit, dès lors, toute une série de « métamorphoses dont chacune est le reflet d'un changement de statut de son possesseur » (Malaquais, 2002 : 213). L'anthropomorphisme bamiléké s'apparente à celui que l'on trouve chez dans les monts Mandara, notamment chez les Podokwo et Muktele étudiés par Melchisedek Chétima (2016). Comme les Bamiléké, les Podokwo et les Muktele traitent distinctement la maison en qualifiant certaines de ses parties par des dénominatifs humains. En partant des symboles associés au ventre humain chez les Podokwo et les Muktele, Chétima démontre que la maison, notamment ce que les populations appellent le « ventre de la maison », et la famille sont mutuellement constitutives et évoluent en tandem. La maison doit son élargissement au nombre croissant des individus qui y habitent et qui exercent de ce fait leur *agency* pour agrandir l'espace domestique de façon à contenir les nouveaux membres et le surplus des récoltes. Le nombre croissant d'individus est en retour attribué au pouvoir protecteur du ventre de la maison qui exercerait un pouvoir surnaturel sur les esprits maléfiques susceptibles de nuire à l'équilibre familial (Chétima 2016; 2015). Cet entrelacement entre maison et famille rappelle la notion de « double structuration » (Giddens 1989, 1984), laquelle met l'accent sur la manière dont des entités distinctes s'incrustent l'une dans l'autre. La maison devient ainsi un facteur central dans la formation et la reproduction sociale, économique et même morale de la famille biologique. C'est pour cela qu'en tant que lieu de vie et d'identité, le ventre de la maison est la partie de la maison la plus malléable, car c'est son incessante modification qui détermine le regard que les Mura, les Muktele et les Podokwo portent sur l'occupant.

En introduisant la vie sociale des objets dans le lexique anthropologique et historique, les travaux d'Appadurai sont vite devenus des références dans les études de l'histoire sociale de l'objet. La contribution la plus importante de cet auteur est cependant d'ordre méthodologique. Dans son introduction au volume qu'il a dirigé, Appadurai fait valoir que, pour comprendre la circulation historique des objets, « nous devons suivre les objets eux-mêmes, dans la mesure où leurs significations sont inscrites dans leurs formes, leurs usages, et leurs trajectoires » (Appadurai, 1986: 5). En plaçant les objets matériels au centre de son étude ethnographique, Arjun Appadurai rend impossible de les ignorer dans la vie sociale et culturelle au sens large¹. Selon lui, on ne peut saisir les objets qu'en les suivant par-delà les frontières géographiques, historiques et socio-politiques qu'ils ont traversées. C'est en tenant compte de ce principe qu'il introduit la dimension historique à l'étude des artefacts, les révélant comme des entités dynamiques processuelles, enchevêtrées dans des réseaux historiques et interculturels.

IV. Perspectives d'avenir pour les recherches sur la maison

Compte tenu des acquis des recherches sur l'action sociale des objets menées pour la plupart par des archéologues, il paraît important d'en tenir compte pour les travaux futurs sur la maison et sur l'identité. Pour cela, il serait profitable de situer les analyses à l'interstice de l'approche de Pierre Bourdieu sur la pratique et de celle de Christopher Tilley et Daniel Miller sur l'action sociale de l'objet. Ce positionnement épistémologique permettra de corriger les faiblesses inhérentes à ces deux approches et d'analyser l'interaction dynamique entre les individus et leurs maisons, de façon à intégrer, à la fois, les dimensions symboliques, matérielles et contextuelles de l'architecture. Si Bourdieu prête davantage attention au symbolisme de la maison en tant qu'objectivation des relations de genre, Tilley et Miller s'attachent davantage à sa dimension matérielle et aux variables contextuelles qu'ils considèrent comme indispensables pour toute analyse symbolique (Miller et Tilley, 2011 ; Miller, 1987). Ce qui rapproche les deux est leur postulat selon lequel la maison ne peut pas révéler sa portée sociale et identitaire en dehors des pratiques sociales dans lesquelles elle est impliquée ; idée que je reprends d'ailleurs comme fil d'Ariane pour mon étude sur la maison et l'identité dans les monts Mandara.

S'orienter vers la théorie de Bourdieu de la pratique s'avère important en raison de sa capacité à concilier la dichotomie épistémologique induite par les deux courants anthropologiques que sont le culturalisme-symbolique et le structuralisme. Contrairement aux auteurs appartenant à ces deux courants, Pierre Bourdieu souligne que la maison ne peut pas être pensée en dehors de la pratique. Son analyse de la maison kabyle lui fournit le cadre dans lequel il met l'accent sur la dimension spatiale et symbolique de l'action. Par ce fait, Bourdieu apporte une contribution significative à la compréhension théorique des interactions humaines avec l'environnement bâti. En faisant appel aux travaux de Pierre Bourdieu, on pourrait intégrer les acquis de sa théorie de la pratique, de façon à prendre en compte les histoires de vie des individus, leurs choix et leurs expériences au fil du temps. Cependant, il est important de ne pas se limiter aux théories de Bourdieu, car elles sont parfois elles-mêmes critiquées pour leur manque d'attention aux spécificités matérielles et pour l'absence de la dynamique historique. Dans l'analyse de la maison kabyle, laquelle lui a d'ailleurs permis d'élaborer son concept d'*habitus*, Pierre Bourdieu semble en effet s'enfermer dans des signifiés symboliques premiers, négligeant parfois la capacité de la maison de forme et de sens à changer au cours de sa trajectoire de vie, et à jouer un rôle différent en tant que symbole. Autrement dit, la « vision statique et synchronique de la culture », chassée par Pierre Bourdieu avec véhémence par la grande porte, semble parfois se réintroduire subrepticement par la fenêtre.

En réévaluant la place du matériel dans les systèmes symboliques, l'approche de l'archéologie post-processuelle - dont Tilley et Miller se positionnent comme des promoteurs - permet d'éviter le piège d'une étude essentiellement centrée sur la recherche des « signes » qui a prévalu dans les études symboliques et structuralistes de la maison, y compris chez Bourdieu. En utilisant la métaphore du texte, les théoriciens de l'archéologie post-processuelle « lisent » et décryptent le sens codé de la maison en l'examinant dans son contexte historique, et en tenant compte de sa matérialité (Miller, 2005 ; Tilley, 2002 ; Hodder et Hutson, 1986). Cependant, même si les auteurs de l'archéologie post-processuelle prétendent s'ouvrir à la dimension

symbolique dans leurs analyses de l'espace domestique, on remarque qu'ils se limitent généralement à la dimension matérielle de l'objet (sa fabrication, sa manipulation, sa consommation, etc.) en montrant le pouvoir que cela exerce sur les individus. Daniel Miller (2005) écarte d'ailleurs l'usage de l'objet en tant que symbole, en considérant essentiellement sa matérialité. Un positionnement théorique à l'interface de la théorie de Bourdieu de la pratique et des théories de l'archéologie post-processuelle sur l'action sociale, permet donc, à la fois, de tirer profit des acquis de chacune des deux approches et de combler en même temps leurs impuissances. Cette nouvelle perspective autorise, comme nous l'avons souligné, la remise en question de la dichotomie objectif/subjectif par l'identification de la maison comme médiatrice entre le monde physique et les pratiques, réflexion ouverte par Bourdieu en 1970 dans son analyse sur la maison kabyle. Elle autorise par ailleurs de situer les analyses de la maison à l'intérieur et à travers un certain nombre de contextes spécifiques, chemin lancé par Daniel Miller, Christopher Tiller et Ian Hodder dans leurs études sur la culture matérielle. En effet, la maison étant avant tout significative pour les gens qui l'ont construite, modifiée et occupée, comprendre sa signification symbolique exige de tenir compte à la fois de la pratique et des contextes culturels et historique dans lesquels les actions et les expériences des individus prennent forme.

Conclusion

Au total, le regain d'intérêt pour la maison et l'objet a donné lieu à plusieurs types d'approches de la maison. Traditionnellement étudiée par les géographes, les ethno-architectes et les anthropologues, l'étude de la maison attire aujourd'hui de nombreux adeptes parmi lesquels figurent des archéologues, des ethnologues, des historiens ou encore des sociologues. L'architecture constitue dès lors un phénomène extrêmement composite dont l'étude ne saurait se réduire aux matériaux et aux techniques de construction. Elle fonctionne comme un «fait social total», et comme un lieu d'intersection de multiples logiques (techniques, environnementales, sociales, culturelles et historiques). Par ailleurs, elle ne se contente pas de refléter le statut social, il est l'un des termes des relations sociales. Elle ne se limite pas à être un symbole, elle a aussi la capacité d'agir sur le monde social. Elle peut être support de mémoire, d'émotions, d'affectivité (Garabuau-Moussaoui et Desjeux, 2000 : 11). La relation à la maison peut en outre être révélatrice de relations de positionnement, de placement des uns par rapport aux autres au sein d'une communauté donnée. En tant que telle, la maison sert de médiatrice permettant à l'individu, d'une part, d'intégrer dans la société, et d'autre part, de rendre visible cette place. En cela, les maisons participent bien à la construction de la société, même s'il est vrai que c'est la société qui les a construites au départ. Par ailleurs, ce vaste parcours théorique témoigne de la nécessité de l'interdisciplinarité dans les études portées vers la maison et ses rapports avec l'identité.

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Identity-Crisis in Adrienne Kennedy's *Funnyhouse of a Negro*: A Celebration of Sarah's Loss and Fragmentation

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Abstract

Sarah's 'identity-crisis' lies in her complete loss of her self-control generated mainly by her inability to acquire a unified identity. Sarah's fragmentation into four selves is significant for it shows that her self-division is meant to display the war she is going through as a brown-skinned character. She is deeply torn between an abhorred reality of having affinities with blacks and adored illusion of possessing similarity with whites. 'Negro' Sarah is living a crisis manifested in a state of chaos that replicates her feelings of uncertainty and disorder. The division of Sarah into four Sarahs, each representing another facet of the same character is experienced as nightmarish dreams which left traces of total loss and fear in her deepest psyche.

Keywords: identity-crisis, fragmentation, chaos, loss, psychoanalysis, selves, disorder, black, white.

During the 1960s, there was a great concern in the African-American Literature about issues of “the consciousness and identity of black Americans” (Cuddon 88). As far as the theater is concerned, black playwrights became more radical and tended to separate themselves from the white American theater¹ and were mainly interested in establishing links with the African ancestor to construct the black identity. Being a female black playwright, to undermine and to work outside the reality of the male-dominated black theater, Adrienne Kennedy² with her one-act play, “ventured into the uncharted territory of the theater as well as the mind” (Sollar 2). Her experimental play *Funnyhouse of a Negro*³ hovers over the experience of being a mulatto, provoking the perplexity of having bi-racial affinities with both blacks and whites, Kennedy delves into the innermost depth of her protagonist’s psyche and voices the inmost turmoil and disorder stemming from the “identity-crisis” that Sarah undergoes. Indeed, this play is a highly regarded piece of drama owing to its myriad readings. It can lend itself to postcolonial, feminist, postmodernist, or even psychoanalytical interpretations. In fact, approaching the play from the latter perspective, the first aim of this paper is, therefore, to scrutinize Sarah’s loss and fragmentation and then to exhibit the different representations of the self while questioning their motivations in the play.

Before handling the issue of Sarah’s disorder as the main theme in *Funnyhouse*, it is of a paramount importance to define this very expression. Identity-crisis was first used during the Second World War for a specific clinical purpose in the Mt. Zion Veteran’s Rehabilitation clinic, to describe “a loss of a sense of personal sameness⁴ and historical continuity” amidst the attestants of the war (Erikson 17). Identifying an analogous disturbance among the adolescents, psychologists used the same term to describe “a normative identity crisis to the age of adolescence and young adulthood” (Erikson 17). Accordingly, ‘Identity-crisis’ can be defined as a sense of bewilderment due to a war within the psyche that diminishes the central control over the self. Erikson considers it the most crucial conflict human beings experience.

In the light of this, Sarah’s identity-crisis lies in her complete loss of her self-control generated mainly by her inability to acquire a unified identity. Thus, by contrast to D. W. Winnicott who argues that “the other people provide the stability of our self-identity [...]”, Lacan suggests that “we are never going to get a stable image” (qtd. in Sarup 14-15). In this very context, Sarah’s splitting up into four selves is significant for it shows that her self-division is meant to display the conflict she is going through as a brown-skinned character. She is deeply torn between an abhorred reality of having affinities with blacks and adored illusion of possessing similarity with whites. Negro Sarah is living a crisis manifested in a state of loss that replicates her feelings of uncertainty and confusion. Yet, these feelings are quickly transformed into dreams, which have a crucial function as far as the crisis is concerned. This fragmentary process is usually connected with dreams in which Freud

¹ During the 1960s, the black theater movement became progressively more radical and there was an interesting tendency among black playwrights to dissociate themselves from the white American theater and put on performance for black audiences only. (Cuddon 88)

² Adrienne Kennedy was born Adrienne Lita Hawkins in Pittsburgh on September 13, 1931. She graduated from Ohio State University with a degree in education. She started writing during the 1960s. Among her famous works *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1964), *The Owl Answers* (1965) and many other plays and novels.

³ Hereafter will be referred to as *Funnyhouse*.

⁴ Each sense of identity involves sameness. For instance, “[a]n individual’s psychological identity is the same as certain personality traits”. (Heslep 1)

remarks “[t]he personality may be split-when for instance, the dreamer’s own knowledge is divided between two [or more] persons” (qtd. in Cuddon 335). The division of Sarah into four *Sarahs*, each representing another facet of the same character is experienced as nightmarish dreams which left traces of total loss and fear in the deepest psyche of Sarah.

Perhaps, the dreamlike atmosphere dominates all the spaces of the play from the very beginning till the end. The first didascalia introduces Sarah’s room as “[t]he center of the stage, allowing the rest of [it] as the places of her selves” (*Funnyhouse* 1). It makes the reader / audience feel that he / she is inside the character’s mind, which seems to be the center that acts as a progenitor of Sarah’s fantasies – the four antithetical selves. Indeed, as the somnambulist is introduced, the play proves to be “a Freudian dream” (Scanlan 96). The play unfolds with “A WOMAN dressed in a white nightgown walks across the stage carrying before her a bald head [...] [and a]s she moves, she gives the effect of one in a dream” (*Funnyhouse* 2). The same woman is depicted as an outlandish figure coming from a gothic romance, and displaying “all the paraphernalia of fear” (Hennessy 325). This shocking shape, walking on the stage, appears to insinuate that the dream is, rather, a nightmare. Therefore, when this figure is allowed to talk, the reader / audience is informed that she is Sarah’s mother. This shows the fact that the mother is the source of the protagonist’s crisis and disorder since she (the mother) is the first figure presented in the play. She represents, according to Freud, the realm of “unfulfilled infantile wishes displaced onto [a] figure” (qtd. in Chassegut-Smirgel 77) in Sarah’s nightmare. The mother, as a source of confidence in oneself and in the world, has not offered her daughter the love and affection that any child needs to grow self-confident because “this forms the very basis in the child for a component of the sense of identity which will later combine a sense of being ‘all right’, of being oneself” (Erikson 103).

Sarah is, however, in a ceaseless search for the mother-figure whom she misses all the time, “dream[ing] of a day when her mother smile[s] at her” (*Funnyhouse* 14). She is in need to a maternal love that her mother has never given her and that she tries to compensate for through the other four selves. Seeing her as an idol, Sarah has not been given the opportunity to appreciate the father, therefore the ‘Electra’ stage, as part of the identity construction of little girls, has been absent during the protagonist’s childhood. In fact, as Robert Scanlan puts it, “the opening scene, which is set out of the sexual history of Western women awaiting the arrival of the male who [...] is entitled to conjugal rights” (97). The one who is expected, however, is Sarah’s father, neither the husband nor the lover.

Actually, Kennedy makes use of the Freudian idea of the ‘Oedipus Complex’ to construct one’s selfhood. In other words, the playwright links Sarah’s sense of bewilderment and fear about her identity to the ‘Oedipus Complex’. During the construction of the self, the child meets “the father’s law” that separates him / her from the mother. In the context of identity formation, Jacques Lacan figures out that the child has to go through three stages before shaping his / her character:

At first, the child [...] wishes, perhaps unconsciously, to be the complement of what is lacking in [the mother]: the phallus. In the second stage, the father intervenes; he deprives the child of the object of desire and deprives the mother of the phallic object. The child encounters the law of the father. The third stage is that of identification with the father. The father reinstates the phallus as the object of the mother’s desire and no

longer as the child-complement to what is lacking in her. There is, then, a symbolic castration: the father castrates the child by separating it from its mother [and consequently], this is the debt of which must be paid if one is to become completely one's self. (qtd. in Sarup 10)

In other words, the father affects Sarah's very conception of her being and estranges her from herself, the people and the world. He intervenes before she was "born". Here Kennedy means by "born" not the physical birth but the confrontation of Sarah with the other; that's to say, it means the separation of Sarah from her mother. Before being aware of herself and the world around her, Sarah lives in tune with her mother; then the father intervenes and prevents the little Sarah from the object of desire. This separation is what Lacan calls castration which is "the uncanny separation or division of self from nature or of subject from signifier, or of part from whole" (Wilber 168). In short, castration highlights an interior division of the self that reflects another division between self and Other, self and world. It is exactly this splitting that causes Sarah's loss and fragmentation.

Sarah's dividedness goes even further when we see her experiencing a state of self-loathing and negation as it is assumed by Lacan "negativity is the negation of identity" (qtd. in Sarup 23). Her state of being is "characterized by a situational neurosis [...] a constant effort to run away from [her] own individuality, to annihilate [her] own person" (Fanon 40). Sarah is really suffering from what Fanon calls a "psycho-existential complex" (40). This negativity results in a sense of disorder, confusion and loss about her identity. In *Funnyhouse*, Negro Sarah shows her self-loathing when she cries out: "I want to possess no moral value, particularly value as to my being. I want not to be" (5). That is, she reified herself into 'self-objectification' which is as Fanon puts it "the source of the alleged black 'inferiority complex'" (110), a complex that has to do with what Fanon so aptly calls the "epidermalization" of social inferiority (110). Sarah's repetition deeply mirrors moments of hallucination in which she is fallen apart. The latter are the result of the act of castration the protagonist undergoes. This repetition results in fragmentation and loss. Instances of this repetition can be perceived in the Duchess's utterance as in the statements: "He is an African who lives in the jungle. He is an African who has always lived in the jungle" (*Funnyhouse* 9).

In this very perspective, using the Lacanian "mirror stage" is crucially functional in shaping Sarah's disorder. In fact, the recurrent application of the mirror is not accidental, but it is made emblematic to further symbolize Sarah's crisis of being. A sentence such as "In the mirror I saw that, although my hair remained on both sides, clearly on the crown and at my temples my scalp was bare" (*Funnyhouse* 10) does no more than to inculcate in the reader's / audience's mind that "stage" through which the protagonist goes and also keeps another suffering inside the psyche that would cause a kind of total loss and schizophrenic bewilderment. The "mirror stage", Lacan maintains, "is a moment of alienation, since to know oneself – through an external image is to be defined through self alienation" (qtd. in Sarup 27). Thus, self-alienation is also another outcome of Sarah's fragmentation and confusion. This moment of estrangement occurring during the "mirror stage" is followed by an "ambivalent relationship to that reflection. The subject loves the coherent identity, which the mirror provides. However, because the image remains external to it, it also hates that image" (27). In this context, we find that Sarah keeps ambivalent feelings every time she looks into the mirror; this ambivalence represents her state of confusion, turmoil and crisis.

Yet, what we have in the play is a feeling of self-loathing, a hatred for all black people and heritage. Sarah, therefore, has internalized the compact majority's abhorrence towards her group identity. She tries not to be associated with the black community in order not to be linked with the negative identity. Her constant fear of being associated with blacks urges her to deny any connection with the father. She never even allows him to embrace her for fear of rape, since she has internalized, as Curb maintains, "the distortion fabricated by phobic white racists to imagine that the darker the man, the more likely he is to rape, and the lighter the woman, the more likely to be victim" ("(Hetero)Sexual Terrors" 145). That she does not want to get close to her father demonstrates that Sarah does not hanker after embracing "the race she inherited from him" because she fears being "'infected' and 'diseased' by [her] racial heritage" (Scanlan 102).

However, despite her attempts to get rid of her blackness, Sarah is aware that she is bound to her father since she confesses that she is "tied to the black Negro" (*Funnyhouse* 4). She inherited from him her "one defect [:] a head of frizzy hair unmistakably Negro kinky hair" (6). This consciousness, together with a feeling of guilt towards the father for not accepting his emotions, and for looking his racial ancestor down, drives Sarah to identify with other selves: Patrice Emery Lumumba, a revolutionary African nationalist leader, who is known for his "'positive neutralism' which he defined as a return to African values and a rejection of any important ideology" (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 13). Lumumba epitomizes, therefore, Black Nationalism in America which advocates a revert to African roots. He is depicted in *Funnyhouse of a Negro* as the zeal of Sarah's father to "heal the misery of the black man" (19). Thus he "takes on the responsibility for the blackness in her blood, [...] standing as the progenitor of the racial strain (deformity) that made her [...] black" (Scanlan 101). He is a revolutionary figure who "want[s] the black man to rise from colonialism" (*Funnyhouse* 15). However, he is also the source of her torments and disorder for he has "diseased [her] birth" (4), obliging her to inherit his blackness and his "negative identity" as part of a minority group. Sarah's identification with this figure comes to highlight her ambivalent feeling towards her black heritage. In him, "Sarah combines [both] her aggressions and her affections toward her African heritage" (Barnett 378).

Another self Sarah identifies with is Jesus, a "hunchback, yellow-skinned dwarf" figure (*Funnyhouse* 7). The latter admits that he "[has] tried to escape being black" and that he "now [...] know[s] that [his] father is a black man," not God (19). Nevertheless, that Jesus is hunchback dwarf shows that Sarah considers blackness as the cause of that deformity although she chooses to identify with a black Jesus not a white one. For this reason, Jesus hates Lumumba, the father figure, and wants to kill him: "I am going to Africa and kill this black man named Patrice Lumumba. Why? Because all my life I believe my holly father to be God, but now I know that my father is a black man" (19).

As a matter of fact, Sarah's selves seem to be emblematic figures who symbolize the opposition of the two conflicting cultures in the protagonist's identity, bringing about her inability to reconcile the fantasies that her neurotic mind has created; hence her identity-crisis. But if Lumumba remains a symbol of resistance to the Eurocentric view, Queen Victoria and Duchess of Hapsburg are the token of white imperialist design towards the blacks. As such, these latter figures are other discrepant representations within Sarah's fanciful realm. They are, indeed, the emblematic incarnation of the empire whose hegemony is "erected upon the

foundation of racism” (Wintson 246). These royal figures resent blacks and allow only whites in their “royal world where everything and everyone is white and there are no unfortunate black ones. For [...] black is evil and has been from the beginning” (*Funnyhouse* 5).

Accordingly, the reality that Sarah identifies with these antagonistic figures anticipates her failure and disappointment to end the war within her. Patrice Lumumba, Jesus, Queen Victoria and Duchess of Hapsburg will never be reconciled – for they represent that relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed – that Sarah, therefore, will never build a unified identity. So none of Sarah’s selves offers us an essential black or white identity. They are all mere masks aimed at “producing a partial vision of the colonizer’s presence” (Bhabha 129). Later, these masquerades are fallen to show nothing except the lie and allusion the protagonist is clinging to. In her second monologue, Sarah utters, “I clung loyally to the lie of relationships, again and again seeking to establish a connection between my characters. Jesus is Victoria’s son [...] A loving relationship exists between myself and Queen Victoria, a love between myself and Jesus but they are lies” (*Funnyhouse* 7).

In fact, Kennedy is best known for the recurrent use of fragmentation in most of her works. As argued by Kolin, Kennedy’s characters are fragmented geographically, genetically and racially (60). This is made obvious when we read that Clara, in *The Owl Answers*, has an unusual long name. Thus, she is “Clara Passmore who is the VIRGIN MARY who is the BASTARD who is the OWL” (25). The playwright even epitomizes her name to a merely third personal pronoun “SHE” (25). Furthermore, Clara lives in different places. The opening of the didascalia tells us that “*The scene is a New York subway is the Tower of London is a Harlem hotel room is St. Peter’s the scene is shaped like a subway car*” (26). Clara’s crisis of location and psychological fragmentation echo Sarah’s disconnectedness with her inner self. In *Funnyhouse*, Sarah suffers from dismemberment and identity bewilderment.

To crown all, we can conclude that the protagonist of *Funnyhouse* experiences a war within herself between the mighty forces which imbue her with feelings of guilt and despair. The playwright, hence, creates psychic images in which Sarah experiences a crisis of identity as she is caught between conflicting discourses – manifested mainly by a multiplicity of selves – all of which reflect the aggressive struggle between whiteness and blackness within and outside Sarah’s self. In the end, Sarah’s existential quest to acquire a unified identity seems impossible and all the various actions of her selves – to save her from her black father – have failed and led her to self-destruction and suicide. She reckons that a tormented life without a distinct identity is not worth living.

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Resolving the Crisis of Development in Africa

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Abstract

The most important problem facing African countries, especially, those in South of Sahara, is the problem of Development. This problem has remained intractable because development strategists and governments of African countries have only focused on external factors that affect African development. Governments of African countries have been using Western prescriptions like liberalisation, privatisation and the transference of investment from industrialised countries in their attempts to resolve the crisis. However, there are internal issues that are responsible for the failure of African governments to deliver the promise of development. Using the conceptual analytic method, this paper attempts to explore internal issues such as corruption, insecurity and ethnic conflicts, dishonesty, disobedience to laws and disregard for the opinion of experts. It is argued that these issues bother on the loss of certain African cultural values and lack of social responsibility on the part of those in government. The paper suggests that the reappropriation of African values of community, cooperation, reciprocity, brotherhood embedded in the South African concept of Ubuntu provides a framework for resolving the crisis of development rocking Africa. The relevance of this framework lies in the fact that, although borrowing from East and West in terms of development models has the propensity to nurture African development. The sustenance of the acquired development will be undermined if adequate attention is not paid to the values that can sustain it. And since these values are ethical in nature, we argue that development requires sense of ethics. It is the sense of the ethical that propels the individual to cultivate a sense of social responsibility that can help in the African development crisis.

Keywords: Development, Indigenous Values, Cooperation, Ethics, Ubuntu.

Introduction

It seems like the most important problem facing Africa now is the crisis of development, that is, the failure of African states to develop even after over 50 years of their independence. Over the years, Africa has been battling with the problem of high rate of poverty, lack of basic needs and infrastructural facilities, high rate of mortality, political instability, insecurity of lives and property and corruption. This is more problematic given the fact that there is abundant mineral and human resources and the fact that development has been on the agenda of the government of African states since independence to the extent that development seems to be the single, most obsessive agenda. It is hard to find any regime in post-independent Africa that has not set itself to achieve development objectives.

The notion of development we are working with is the one which sees development as the sustained elevation or transformation of an entire society and social system towards better and more humane life or, summarily, the good life. This notion of development embodies the core values of sustenance, self-esteem and freedom; and implies the improvement and uplifting of the quality of life of people to the extent that they are able attain their potentials, build and acquire self-confidence and manage to live lives of reasonable accomplishment and dignity. This shows that development involves both the material and non-material dimensions.

The Problem of African Development: Internal Issues

Some of the time, the crisis of development in Africa is blamed on the heritage of colonialism, but as Prah (2011) argues, Africans should take the responsibility for its woes since they have supposedly been in control of their own affairs since the end of the colonial era. However, he agrees that everything happening in Africa is not entirely under the control of Africans. He remarks that African governments do not control the prices of the commodities that are sold in global markets, nor do they have any real say in the setting of the prices at which commodities are bought from the developed world. Despite the endless propaganda trumpeted from the West about free markets, the reality for Africans is that most Western markets for the items, largely agricultural, which are produced cheaply and easily, are closed (Prah, 2011). In other words, there are global dynamics that tend to circumvent the development process in Africa. The implication of this remark is that the current development problem in Africa is a result of the combination of both internal and external forces. This is corroborated by Andreason who remarks that:

Implicit in all these arguments is the notion that African attempts at development have failed on a comprehensive range of issues, and on all ideological and political fronts. Negative influences of both external and domestic actors have undermined post-independence political systems and consequently also the possibilities for sustained economic development and democratization. Where genuine efforts have been made to promote development, by African governments themselves and in partnership with helpful international partners, they have in the face of the enormous obstacles created by social and political instability, patronage, authoritarianism and corruption fallen hopelessly short of what is needed (2010:79).

Our focus here will be on the internal issues and factors that have hindered the development of African nations. The reason is that we want to open the eyes of the African

leaders and masses to policy choices that place African themselves at the centre of their own development rather than focusing on the policy options that the West has to make.

Apart from the problems of colonialism and globalisation which have contributed to the problem of African development, another important problem is that of the prevalent value system in the continent. The values of any given society provide insight into how the attitudes and actions of individuals within that society affect development endeavours. Umez, in reference to Nigeria, remarks that the value system that contributed to her underdevelopment is the one that glorifies and endorses corrupt and illegal means as necessary, normal and sufficient means to ends (2000:53). The prevalent values include: embezzlement of public funds, a free-rider mentality, dishonesty, disobedience to laws and disregard for the opinion of experts. These values, according to Umez produce at the general level, a corrupt and inept leadership, which ultimately misappropriate public funds, thereby creating the problem of development.

The magnitude of corruption in most African countries is terrific and disheartening. Corruption by political leaders has been identified as one of the major causes of poverty, and the failure in the development of developing countries, particularly in Africa. The incidence of corruption remains one of the greatest challenges of democracy in the continent as virtually all democratic experiments are associated with reports of hyper-corrupt practices (Okafor 2004: 98). The embezzlement of public funds by unscrupulous and ineffective leaders of most African countries leads to poverty, high debts and other socio-economic associated problems in these countries. For instance, focusing exclusively on the top leadership, Transparency International estimates that Mobutu in Zaire and Abacha in Nigeria may have embezzled up to US \$5 billion each (Azmi, 2005). According to Global Witness (Cited in Azmi, 2005), several current leaders in Africa are plundering their own treasuries. Among them are Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who it says keeps large sum in bank accounts abroad, and Equatorial Guinean President Teodoro Obiang, who calls oil revenues a 'state secret'. The Mwai Kibaki government in Kenya, which ousted President Arap Moi in an election in 2003, is investigating embezzlement to the tune of \$1billion by former officials, the notorious 'African Big Man' the late President G. Eyadema of Togo was very corrupt.

Campbell (2004) observes that Billions of pounds, enough to pay for the entire primary health and education needs of the world's developing countries are being siphoned off through offshore companies and tax havens. Aid organisations are alarmed that money which should be used for building the infrastructure of the poorest countries is being hidden in the havens by corrupt politicians and multinational companies exploiting tax loopholes (Campbell, 2004). In 1999, *The Economist* estimates that African leaders had \$20bn in Swiss bank accounts alone, twice the amount that Sub-Saharan Africa spends on servicing debts (cited in Azmi, 2005).

The call for good governance which is a call for responsible government where there is transparency, accountability, and equitable distribution of resources (Amuwo, 2002) is recognition of the failure of values that can sustain economic development. We may have state where there is high *per capita* income but in which the riches of the nation is in the hands of few. These few are people who circumvent equitable distribution of resources and who can make governance difficult for the leadership if the nation by occasioning tangled

web of conflict, mismanagement. Speaking to the ZANU-PF Central Committee in Harare in 2004, Zimbabwe's president Robert Mugabe lashed out at those who subvert the cause of economic transformation and indigenization in an effort to enrich themselves. He said:

We have seen the effects of corruption and how it erodes and collapses [people's] welfare because of ill-gotten affluence. We have all seen how riches that come easily through devious ways translate into arrogant flamboyance and wastefulness ... [W]e thought these men were leading business luminaries of our country! They have cheated us and deserve their punishment ... Some have sought to defeat [the government's anticorruption] campaign by pleading the cause of indigenization. Let them remember that indigenization does not, and shall never, mean empowering crooks who cut business corners and thrive on dirty deals. Certainly, it does not mean putting your shameless indigenous finger into the national till. (Mugabe, 2004)

Another problem that has contributed to the development crisis in Africa is that the countries of Africa are a volatile mix of insecurity and conflict (Ikejiaku, 2009:16). This problem has been destabilising the peace of the continent. Analysing African peace and security, Solomon and Wart say that

Territorial disputes, armed conflict, civil wars, violence and the collapse of governments and ultimately the state have come to represent the greatest challenges to peace, security and stability. On the African continent, these threats have been much more pronounced and indeed have taken on a scale, intensity and frequency that have defied even the imagination of the greatest science fiction (2005: 4).

The issue is that whenever and wherever there is conflict, the development of the society is usually undermined because in the process, especially if it leads to war, human life which constitutes the human resource and capital for development, property and social infrastructures that have been acquired over the years are destroyed. For example, between 1998 and 2002, some four million people died in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Report of the Commission for Africa (RCA), 2005: 107). Besides, once conflict occurs, scarce resources are inevitably diverted to the purchase of military equipment at the expense of socio-economic development. While many factors contribute to creating conflicts, our claim is that African conflicts are mainly as a result of the loss of the humanness and communal spirit that define African culture.

The problems examined above can be said to result from what Andreason refers to as some kind of alienations central to human existence in late modernity. He called them the alienation of man from nature and from one another (Andreason, 2010). The latter which concerns us most is said to be symptomatic of liberalism and social Darwinism which run counter to communitarian understanding of human nature which is embodied in the traditional African philosophy of *Ubuntu*. The alienation has led to what Mbeki refers to as rapacious and venal individualism which can only be resolved by a rediscovery of African identity and the building of African society that is new, not only in its economic arrangements, but also in terms of the value it upholds, namely, the *Ubuntu* value system (Mbeki, 2007:16-17). This supposition does not entail that economic development is not important, but that its sustenance within the African society requires a kind of philosophy that values cooperation, reciprocity and community development.

A *communal* effort at reinventing societal goals and aspirations by distinguishing novel considerations of development from previous scholarly work based on narrow assumptions of growth and accumulation is necessary for any fundamental socio-economic transformation to occur. A political economy approach alone does not allow for this reinventing; hence, the need for a conscious engagement with some core African values. This is part of envisioning a type of modernity and development. Modern development concerns deal with the issues of institutions, politics and economics and how they can be integrated in the development process, but fail to engage in any meaningful way with greater social debates on how human beings may aspire to a different kind of god life from the one prescribed by conventional development.

***Ubuntu* for African Development**

African cultural values can contribute to African development and world consciousness. However, people in the West have misunderstood Africa for some reasons and that is why African values are being run down and Western values, in terms of socio-cultural, economics and politics, are being foisted on African people with the belief that such Western values constitute the best option in any thought about the way forward for African development. The first reason for this misunderstanding is that traditional African culture is inaccessible because most of it is oral rather than written and lived rather than being formalised and communicated in books or journals. For this reason, it is difficult to learn it from a distance. The second reason is that many African leaders betrayed the philosophical and humanitarian principles on which African culture is based. This betrayal seems to have led to the perception that nothing good can come out of Africa. The third reason is that people in the West, according to Nussbaum, for whatever reason, receive negative, limited information through the media; images of ethnic wars, dictatorship, famine, and AIDS predominate (2003: 21). The upshot of this is that the potential contribution of African cultural values is often not paid attention to.

Africans also have not helped themselves in the promotion of African values and using the values to validate their (Africans) potentials. In Anyanwu's perspective, most experts and professionals in Nigeria do not have self-confidence in their beliefs, ideas, and activities unless they are endorsed by the European mind and, therefore, have not been able to make any cultural impact on their societies to prove their relevance (1983: 61). The significance of this point is that it reiterates the need for Africans to work within their own frame of mind and conceptions of reality. This is not to say that we have to do so romantically. There are aspects of our culture that may not enhance development. Neither does it also imply cultural insularity. Africans are free to borrow and adapt whatever they think in useful in other cultures.

Ubuntu is an underlying social philosophy of African culture. It is African worldview that talks of the collective consciousness of the people of Africa. This collective consciousness is manifested in the African people's behaviour, expression and ideology in which values such as the universal brotherhood of Africans sharing and treating other people as human beings are concretised (Khoza, cited in Prinsloo, 2000: 276). It can be regarded as the capacity in African culture to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interest of building and maintaining community. The basic point of departure

for *Ubuntu* is the view of man as a social being. Most *Ubuntu* thinkers formulate their views in terms of "a person is a person through other persons" (Makhudu, 1993) or "I am, because you are". This point of departure qualifies human dignity in terms of which people are to be treated. In essence, *Ubuntu* addresses human interconnectedness, common humanity and the responsibility to each other that flows from this perceived interconnection. As a philosophy, *Ubuntu* is borne out of the fundamental belief that community strength come from community support, and that dignity and identity are achieved through mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment (Swanson, 2007: 53-54).

One of the high points of Ubuntu is a selfless spirit of living for the betterment of a person's environment and society by using all the talents he/she has and not resting easy knowing that there are others that are in need. This is based on the understanding that any good (or evil) we do to another person or people, we are doing to ourselves. This puts the obligation to support others on everyone so that in whatever position or capacity one finds himself, he thinks not only of himself but also of the other members of his society. The culture of dictatorial governmental tendencies, embezzlement, ethnic intolerance which has led to wanton killings in ethnic conflicts and wars are signs indicating that the average African has lost touch with the *Ubuntu* tradition. No nation can truly develop or have competitive edge in the global market when these bad elements of culture are prevalent.

Let us consider the issue of ethnic conflict of which Nigeria, Sudan, Congo, Rwanda and Somalia, to mention a few, have been victims. The efforts and money that would have been used in the development of these nations have been channelled to rebuilding. Apart from these, the nations have been unattractive to foreign investment which would have been part of what would have helped these nations in developing, at least, economically. Global capital which is used in foreign investments always looks for conducive environment where there is cheap labour and relative peace.

Ubuntu finds expression in Senghor's epistemology. When he says, "I feel the other, I dance the other, and therefore I am," Senghor is talking of a very cultural experience of *Ubuntu*. That experience contests Rene Descartes' cogito ergo sum. Senghor can be said to be referring to the strong interdependence of all existence, including human beings. A person is a person through other persons. He is saying that the humanity of one is inextricably caught-up or bound-up in the humanity of the other. That is, we do not come fully formed into the world; we need other human beings in order to be human. Desmond Tutu of South Africa describes *Ubuntu* in this way:

Africans have this thing called *UBUNTU* . . . the essence of being human. It is part of the gift that Africans will give the world. It embraces hospitality, caring about others, willing to go the extra mile for the sake of others. We believe a person is person through another person that my humanity is caught up, bound up and inextricable in yours. When I dehumanize you I inexorably dehumanize myself. The solitary individual is a contradiction in terms and, therefore, you seek to work for the common good because your humanity comes into its own community, in belonging (199: 22).

The sociality which is constitutive of the African conception of man feature prominently in Hiedegger's analysis of man. Man is a being-in-the-world as well as a being-with-others. In

the analysis of being, therefore, for Heidegger, it is impossible to understand it except as inhabiting a world it necessarily shares with others and his relationship with other beings who are co-inhabitants in the same world (Mulhall, 1996: 64). The others are important in the analysis of the being of other because, except those provided by nature, what he works with is produced by others and what he produces is destined for other. That is where he earns his living. It is noteworthy that Heidegger is not claiming that *Dasein* cannot be alone, isolated from all human company; whether or not that is the case is a purely existential question, having to do with a particular individual in a particular time and place. The claim that the Being of *Dasein* is Being-with is an ontological claim; it identifies an existential characteristic of *Dasein* which holds regardless of whether an Other is present. It therefore shows that aloneness or extreme individualism is a defiant mode of being. This seems to be the philosophy of *Ubuntu*. However, it should be noted that the being-with-other analysis provided by Heidegger does not imply a positive relationship between the individuals which is implied in the *Ubuntu* paradigm. Heidegger only makes an ontological and existential claim. Explaining Heidegger's position Mulhall writes:

Dasein's Being-with-Others as solicitude is an ontological claim: it does not deny that Dasein can be and often is indifferent or hostile to the well-being of others, but rather brings out the ontological underpinning of all specific existential relations to one's fellow human beings, whether they be caring or aggressive (1996: 66).

Ubuntu is also an idea that projects a notion of transcendence, eliciting a borderless meaning yet encouraging and promoting mutual understanding between peoples, even though they come from different cultures. This is very important in the understanding of this cultural value. Africans see the interconnectedness as not only between the African but as extending to people of all cultures. So, the fellow-feeling among Africans is extended to other people in the world. This is a holistic conception of humanity. From the *Ubuntu* perspective there is no "Other" that is opposed to us that needs to be exploited. This is a challenge to the politics of otherness that is played by the West against the rest of the world. The African does not paint others any colour in other to assert his/her own colour.

Clearly, the emergence of *Ubuntu* is fundamental in the system through which a particular human community relates with itself and with other communities worldwide. In this context, it is seen as the quintessence of community and communality. Community and communality play an essential role in human consciousness and relationships. Community literally means togetherness, of existence; with oneness or unity; existing together as one. The idea of community basically involves a group of human beings. It entails that human beings commune with one another, sharing the same goals and aspirations in life. It encourages cooperation in various activities that are beneficial and meaningful to human existence and its sustainability. Cooperation enlivens the spirit of unity and harmony in human relationships.

Aside from community, *Ubuntu* also gives birth to communality. Communality entails a shared experience of any human activity. This communality brings out the idea of *Ubuntu* as universal. Communality literally aims for the common, public good of human beings. *Ubuntu* is communal in the sense that it elicits unselfish, collective responsibility as against the selfish, irresponsible individuality that some thinkers, scientists or even cultures have been trying to perpetuate. But the idea of *Ubuntu* is non-discriminating. Paradoxically,

discrimination has been part and parcel of many African citizens. This can be explained with reference to the influence of Western values. Unfortunately, discrimination seems to be subtly practiced by mostly unknown human individuals trying to dominate the world. The African continent has not escaped from this form of oppression. Perhaps the experience of discrimination has prompted other concerned thinkers, scientists, or even cultures to do away with the selfish, irresponsible ways of thinking and acting, by putting forward the idea of *Ubuntu* as something that is universal and at the same time universalizable, considering the nature of *Ubuntu* as promoting the “other” to be equal in dignity and value, most especially as human beings.

Inevitably, *Ubuntu* promotes responsibility and mutuality of good intentions or purpose. It supports a defragmentary mode of relationship with one’s own culture, including other cultures. It realises itself as a community co-existing with other communities. This realisation brings forth a kind of understanding of *Ubuntu* that upholds a shared vision of being human to others, reflective of the essence of its communality.

African socialism as it manifests in the philosophy of Nkrumah and Nyerere can be said to be based on the *Ubuntu* cultural value. The aim of African socialists is to develop Africa and remould African societies in such a manner that the quintessence of the humanist ethos of traditional is furthered in the modern society. The doctrine urges humane development in accordance with African humanism. For Nkrumah:

... socialism in Africa introduces a new social synthesis in which modern technology is reconciled with human values, in which the advanced technical society is realised without the staggering social malefactions and deep schisms of capitalist industrial society. For true economic and social development cannot be promoted without the real socialisation of productive and distributive processes (1970: 201).

For him, African socialism cannot be based on the false assumption that traditional African society was classless. Neither can it be based on a metaphysics of knowledge that disdains the rational and critical capacities of traditional Africa. The proper base is the communalistic social organisation of traditional African societies. The communalism is based on the philosophy of egalitarian humanism. This philosophy aimed at the reconciliation of the individual’s aspiration with group welfare. The underlying ethic of African socialism is the ontology of the human being as an integral part of the community. The individual is conceived, ontologically, to be an inalienable strand of the social fabric.

Nyerere’s African socialism was guided by three principles, namely, equality and respect for human dignity, sharing the resources which are produced by the efforts of all, and work by all in an agriculturally based economy without exploitation by anyone. This was sustained by the notion of *Familyhood* which conveys the same connotation as *Ubuntu* does. For Nyerere, *Ujamaa* practical expression of African socialism means first and foremost the building of modern African society on the traditional African value of family-hood. This is similar to the familism found in Asian culture. The idea of family-hood of familism in societies where they are rooted forbids all kinds of exploitation of fellow human being. It also forbids amassing of the wealth and resources that is meant for the whole community by few individuals.

One of the problems that bedevils Africa today is the exploitation of fellow human being by for selfish reasons and the desire by some to hold on to the power that belong to the people endlessly. For instance in Nigeria, some individuals have been instrumental in incapacitating the refinery system so that they could benefit in billions of Naira or Dollars from the importation of fuel. If African countries are to develop, and be free from the clutch of Western domination and exploitation, there is the need to put African resources together; not that some will be stinking rich and others will be living in abject poverty. This is another way of saying that corruption has to be dealt with in the economy. Nyerere's socialism in this vein, with its root in the humanist principle of *Ubuntu*, rejects capitalism. This is for the reason that capitalism seeks to build a society on the exploitation of man by man.

Nkrumah's communalist thrust and Nyerere's ethics of cooperation for the common good are two sides of the same coin of the humanist essence of African culture. The point of departure for this humanism is the abhorrence of unbridled capitalism as well as the subscription to the communalist ethos which, as noted above, prioritised human dignity and welfare. Accordingly, it recognises and reinforces the "otherness" of individuals. This is in sharp contrast to the economic doctrine driven by the ethics of competition. Such competition is believed to drive economic growth. It is this kind of logic that lies behind neo-liberalists' call for privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation. Neo-liberal theorists affirmed the central role of the free market system. The central claim is that the free market capitalist system is maximally effective in producing and equitably distributing the economic, social and political and intellectual necessities of the modern societies. The free market consists of atomistic rational individuals who know their needs and wants, and who are free to compete in order to satisfy them. It is believed that the state must, therefore, retreat from the management of the economy to allow free competition. But within the communalistic ethos, the competition which propels the individualist-capitalist contexts may be stiffened. The germane question now is: Can there be social, political and economic development without competition?

To our mind, competition is a veritable factor in both political and economic development. There has been silence on this issue in African scholarship by those who emphasised the need to base African development on African communalism. This silence can be predicated on the seeming impossibility of combining the spirit of competition with the sharing spirit of traditional Africa. Socialist theorists need to do a lot of rethinking in this respect. I am of the opinion that there is the need to develop a competitive spirit in order to foster African development suggest the imperative of synthesising the values of *Ubuntu* and African socialism with the positive values of Western capitalism.

However, we believe that the humanism of *Ubuntu* does not exclude competitive element. And even if it does, it is an element that must be introduced to it. While traditional African community encourage sharing and community spirit, the individual is still regarded as having inalienable rights: he has his own wife and children to take care of and has right to own property. And therefore, the system would allow some means of competition in acquiring certain basic needs. That is one of the reasons why parasitism is not tolerated. The philosophy behind African humanism guaranteed individual responsibility with communal relationship. For instance, active competition weakens the ability of any one interest or faction to dominate its own arena and to intrude unduly upon the workings of the other.

Moreover, citizens who have real economic and political alternatives will be less vulnerable to exploitation, and thus in a better position to resist corruption and respond effectively to it. Sustained political competition can create essential incentives for the effective oversight of bureaucrats by elected officials. But while competition must be genuine and vigorous, it must also be structured and orderly. Total *laissez-faire* in the economic realm is likely to enrich the few and impoverish the many. In the political sphere a free-for-all among twenty or thirty parties will not yield a stable democratic mandate for any of them; instead, it will likely produce a state of political insecurity in which politicians, unsure of their hold on power, enrich themselves as quickly as they can. Institutions guaranteeing orderly relationships between the political and economic realms are just as important as vigorous competition within them. There must be clear, and accepted, boundaries and distinctions between state and society; public and private roles and resources; personal and collective interests; and market, bureaucratic, and patrimonial modes of allocation. Where such boundaries exist, competition and free interaction within each realm are more secured: it will be more difficult for economic interests to buy political influence, and for government officials to plunder the economy. Citizens will be better able to live and interact freely in an active civil society, to form effective social norms, and to engage in self-organized social activity.

But the two spheres cannot and should not be utterly separate: there must be open and legitimate channels of access between them. Policies must be grounded in, and respond to, social and economic realities; social and economic behaviour must be subject to the effective rule of law. Property rights and the enforceability of contracts must be credible. People and groups in society must be able to communicate with, and influence, elected officials and bureaucrats; the latter must be able to gather information about society. Such linkages are essential for maintaining accountability, including not only the general accountability of state to society, but also the accountability of bureaucratic to elected officials. As with political and economic competition, completely unstructured interaction is not desirable. Both elected and appointed officials need enough autonomy to carry out their work in an uncompromised, authoritative way.

The central idea of *Ubuntu* and African socialism is a certain kind of self-assertion, which refuses to accept the Western ways as the only, or even the suitable path, in the pursuit of African post-independence development (Oladipo: 2009: 70). However, it should not be seen in this dimension alone. To see it that way will look like African theorists are just playing the politics of otherness for the sake of it. The projection of African cultural values for the development of Africa is based on the view that the socio-cultural context of African is different from that of the West and that what cultural and social policies that benefit the West may not necessarily be productive in the African context. The desire of the Africans should not just be the affirmation of cultural difference or that of freeing themselves from Western imperialism but that of suitable development direction. The value of *Ubuntu* and the principles based on it is that it is essentially an ideal of social organisation informed by the commitment to the values of justice and solidarity as the core ingredients of building and sustaining viable human communities. The basic problem with the socialist theorists in Africa was their attempt to legislate and enforce socialism and community rather than the use of consent and consensus.

In Fukuyama's perspective, the charge that the Washington Consensus and its neo-liberal politics of open market and privatisation has been a failure is inaccurate (2002: 24). For him the policies were successful in Poland, Estonia and Mexico. However, he remarks that the failure of the Washington Consensus was one of omission rather than that of policy. Its major problem was that it fails to take account of social capital in its development policies. He writes:

The ability to implement liberalizing policies presumed the existence of a competent, strong, and effective state, a series of institutions within which policy change could occur, and the proper cultural predispositions on the part of economic and political actors. Nevertheless, the Washington consensus was implemented as a blueprint for development in many countries lacking the proper political, institutional, and cultural preconditions to make liberalization effective. Eliminating capital controls, for example, can lead to serious financial instability if implemented, as in the case of Thailand and Korea, in countries without adequate regulation of the banking sector. Similarly, privatization of state assets can delegitimize the entire reform process if carried out by state agencies that are corrupt and prone to cronyism. What we have learned over the past decade, then, is not that liberalization does not work, but that economic policy by itself is not sufficient to induce development. Economic policy of any sort must be carried out by a state; one that is limited in scope but strong in its ability to enforce the rule of law, competent and transparent in the formulation of policy, and legitimate enough to have the authority to make painful economic decisions. The development agenda, in other words, cannot abstract from politics or from political institutions (Fukuyama, 2002: 24-25).

While many accept the importance of institution in the process of development, only few are convinced that cultural factors like social capital play a critical role as well. Fukuyama is among those fully convinced of the economic value of social capital. He argues that societies in which people are accustomed to cooperating and working together in large organisations are much more likely to develop strong and effective state institutions.

Fukuyama defines social capital as "shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships" (2002: 28). Social capital is what permits individuals to band together to defend their interest and organise to support collective needs (2002: 26). Social capital in this view is a utilitarian way of looking at culture. Culture tends to be seen as an end in itself (which it is) or as a form of creative expression. However, it also plays a very important functional role in any society, being the means by which groups of individuals communicate and cooperate in a wide variety of activities. While it is difficult to quantify culture as an end in itself, the functionality of culture in economic terms is much more measurable. Not all norms and values, and hence not all cultures, are equally equipped to foster economic growth. Put it in another way, not all societies have equal stocks of social capital. A look at *Ubuntu* shows that it constitutes a stock of social capital for the Africans because of its potentials to generate trust, confidentiality and solidarity among the individuals in the community.

One of the important points to be considered in the consideration of the economic humanistic cooperative principle of African societies is the circle of social capital. Fukuyama uses "radius of trust" to explain this scope of social capital. Earlier, in Asia, business life remains only within the family and near kinsmen. The strongest and most reliable bond of trust was among family members, or else of relatively small circle of close personal friends. Social capital therefore resides primarily in kinship networks and in many respects such

networks are important social asset. If social capital is to foster economic growth, the radius of trust has to be extended beyond family unit. The implication of the radius of trust within a small circle is that it reduces the level of trust cooperation and coordination with strangers. The further implication is that family businesses will have trouble with growing into large conglomerates, into large impersonal professionally managed corporations with dispersed public ownership. The potential in *Ubuntu* is that the kind of social bond it generates is not limited to family members alone but extended even to the totality of human race. In other words, though *Ubuntu* philosophy is African in origin, it does not promote essentialisation of difference and social exclusion of “the other”. Attempts to justify social exclusion, as in some form of nationalism, are not congruent with a proper understanding and usage of *Ubuntu*. The reason is that it is not necessarily limited by biological ancestry, nationality or actual place of residence.

This value has significance for African development as it implies that the re-appropriation of the *Ubuntu* philosophy would encourage cooperation. This is not alien to traditional African societies. The tendency towards cooperation manifests in traditional African societies in concepts and practices such as *esusu* or *ajo*. This is a cooperative scheme among the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria that allows credit facility to be made available to individual member of the community who form part of the *esusu* group. The principle of *esusu* works in a way analogous to the revolving micro-credit schemes. Under these schemes, members contribute equal amounts on a periodic basis, and the whole pot is given to one member. The rate of default in these schemes is generally accepted to be very low because they operate through a mutual accountability network where sanctions are applied through peer pressure and each member submits to peer-review. This process continues until all the members benefit in terms of credit finance from the scheme. Since everyone, no matter how poor needed and used financial services all the time and since many could not afford the use of money lenders who charged high interest rates on loans, the scheme became very attractive.

In today’s Africa, the economic tradition embedded in *esusu* can be used to develop a new economic system in which those who lack credit facility can be assisted by cooperative groups. There is no doubt that this aspect of the African culture is still alive, it needs to be developed in such a way that the facility will be substantial enough to give the beneficiaries business breakthrough. When this happens women can benefit substantially from the empowerment it offers. Strengthening women’s financial base allows economic contributions to their families and communities. Earning more money through access to capital to start a small business can increase women’s confidence and empower them. This may even help them to be more active in politics.

The cooperative spirit in *Ubuntu* and also seen in the *esusu* scheme can also foster cooperation with other developed nation of the globe so that in working together they could take advantage of their expertise and what Africans lack especially in the area of science and technology. This was what Japan and China did at some points in their historical development. For instance, the Japanese government took a proactive stance in helping her indigenous technology that had plateau by sending the so-called Iwukara mission on a journey around the world to gather information on foreign education, technology, culture, military, social, and economic structures. Later on, it sent thousands of students abroad to do

the same and hired more than 2000 Westerners from 23 countries to teach modern science, mathematics, technology, and foreign languages. Due to the deeply rooted work ethic and strive for hard learning, this approach fell on fruitful grounds. This is however not to say that everything that is learnt will be useful within African socio-cultural environment.

The developmental imperative of Africa also demands the critical appropriation of *Ubuntu* in management. In the context of business management and leadership, *Ubuntu* would imply, according to Mbigi, participation and sharing. This has the capacity to bring about a situation in which worker in an organisation do not just see themselves as workers but also as owners. This allows greater cooperation within the organisation which can bring about expansion. Mbigi is of the opinion that African managers should transcend beyond Western management thinking by developing Afrocentric management ideas and management practices (Cited in Karsten, 200). As noted earlier, developing African style of anything whatever should not be based on racial politics of otherness. We are not just looking for an Africa difference, but what will work in our socio- political and cultural context. So, the suggestion for the use of *Ubuntu* philosophy as a management technique is predicated on its usefulness in terms of developing Africa. Karsten, talking about the value of Ubuntu, remarks that the promulgation of indigenous management concept is required in order to better understand African business practices and to enhance the improvement of knowledge transfer. The managing business resources through the *Ubuntu* style of management involves a departure from the hierarchically structured management relations, as well as the introduction of a cooperative and supportive form of management in which the collective solidarity of various groups employed is respected and enhanced. It is also a departure from the traditional management systems which, according to Mangaliso and Damane, are guided by misapplied economic assumptions about human nature: that self-interest is the ultimate determinant of behaviour and it is maximised when employees earn as much as possible from contributing as little as possible (2001: 24).

Our conviction is that no qualitative and meaningful economic, social and political transformation can take place without the generation of effective management paradigms. The relevance of *Ubuntu* management model for development in African has to do with the fact that it is a holistic model that ensures a high degree of harmony and continuity. The model focuses on the development of people, products, systems structures, markets productivity, quality and performance. The essence of this approach is a single-minded dedication to total development and transformation.

The participatory element involve in *Ubuntu* infuses collective consciousness into the mind of both the employer and the employee. This makes participatory decision making possible and this further allows the employee to have not only a sense of belonging but also a sense of ownership. When the people are made to own the vision of the establishment, whether it is private or public, they are able to work for the establishment with dedication. The long-run effect is that synergy is built in the organisation and corruption is also reduced. With this, the establishment can be more effective in its production or services. The establishment is therefore able to build competitive advantage.

For Etounga-Manguelle, the single most important characteristic of African culture is the subordination of the individual by the community (2000: 71). This is meant to be a

critique of the communitarian element of African culture which also finds expression in *Ubuntu*. The purpose of such domination, according to him, is to ensure equality in economic matters. The effects of this include the non-existence of the idea of individual responsibility, and the culture of silence. Others such as Okolo (1992) and Kochalumchuvattil (2010) have also provided similar critiques. Okolo, for instance, observes that the communitarian understanding of the society in which primacy is given to the community over the individual is bound to generate all sorts of problems with regards to the status of the individual as an independent subject (1992: 483). This leads Okolo to conclude that, “in African philosophy, self as a subject suffers; it is accounted for almost totally in terms of relation to others” (1992: 483). Kochalumchuvattil argues that, as a result, it is the case that the existential situation in most African communities is that there is little or no room for individual values such as personal initiative, responsibility, subjectivity, spontaneity and self-determination (2010:114). Kochalumchuvattil further argues that these values are essential in the exercise of personal freedom and autonomy for each individual person has an intrinsic dimension to his/her being. A person cannot be reduced to a mere set of extrinsic relations. A person is a subject, not simply an object; an end in himself/herself and not simply a means. Being an individual subject, he/she is self-determined and not merely other-determined, and therefore to ignore or treat inadequately such values as personal initiative, responsibility, subjectivity, and independence is to undermine the very roots of human freedom and autonomy (2010:114).

Most of those who criticise the communitarian element of the African culture do so on the assumption that culture is static and that there is a one-way causal relationship between culture and behaviour. Changing behaviours also cause changes in culture through feedback and reinforcement over time. Differences between the behaviours of younger and older generations contribute to the generation gap. Also, through years of contact with non-African cultures, the majority population has adapted social structures that derive from these non-African cultures. This has occasioned the differences between the cultural practices of urban and rural people, between college-educated and semiliterate people, and between migrant workers and middle-class people.

Apart from this, most critics are oblivious of the distinction made between radical and moderate communitarianism by Gyekye and the case he made for Moderate communitarianism. Although, Kochalumchuvattil refers to the moderate communitarian view of Gyekye, his opinion is that the individuality, freedom and autonomy which Gyekye says finds expression within the African communalistic framework are rarely exercised due to the authoritarian hierarchical structure and deep respect for tradition found within African culture.

For Gyekye, the descriptions of the communalistic element of African culture provided by Menkiti, Mbiti and African Socialists such as Nkrumah and Nyerere are misleading and overstated (1997: 37). The reason according to him is that their descriptions tend to present the individual as being completely at the mercy of the community. For Gyekye, in as much as this position does not “appear to have fully recognized the status and relevance of the individual rights” patently models “the notion of radical or unrestricted communitarianism” (1997: 38). Looking at the African culture, he thinks that this position is difficult to support. He argues that, as some Akan proverbs suggest, individuals are responsible for their situations in life and that individual efforts are necessary conditions for

fulfilling their needs and reaching their goals. And therefore, the espousal of communal values does not in any way involve the rejection of individualistic values. This position is Gyekye's moderate communitarianism. Gyekye's position does not give ontological primacy to the community as other scholars are wont. Rather, it holds that the attainment of personhood does not depend on the communal structure of the society alone. It accepts the reality of individual autonomy as well as the relational and communal character of an individual. This view gives equal moral standing to communality and individuality.

This integrative social philosophy by Gyekye is important because of its attempt not only to point our attention to the fact that communitarianism and individualism are not strangers to our culture but that if we integrate and adapt Western individualism and humanise it, it is congruent with a framework found in African culture.

Conclusion

The problem of African development is not intractable. It only require that we focus on necessities. We need to look within because finding a workable framework will require a conducive socio-political context that will make it work in African countries. Ubuntu can provide such socio-political environment. It is important to note that *Ubuntu* needs to, and can, be developed into an ideology that will serve as a regulative principle in our socio-political and economic dealings. When appropriate institutional framework is put in place to monitor this, African can develop and adapt whatever she borrows from other cultures for her interest. We need to recognise that the industrialised nations of the West, especially the U. S. are being driven by ideology – that of cultural dominance in the world. When we formulate an adequate socio-political and economic ideology, we also can be driven by it.

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Metaphors as Discourse Strategies in Osundare's Poetry

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Abstract

This paper examines the different categories and functions of metaphors in Niyi Osundare's poetry, motivated by the scanty scholarly linguistic studies on metaphors in his poetry. Using insights from contextual models, metaphors in Osundare's poetry are studied and analysed with a view to examining his reliance on metaphors as discursive strategies to question socio-political issues in his Nigerian society. The paper identifies five types of metaphors in his poetry: animal metaphors, from abstract phenomena to concrete metaphors, synaesthetic metaphors, organic metaphors, and telescoped metaphors. It also demonstrates that the metaphors play contextual roles such as being interactional tools, address terms, and weapons of criticisms. Metaphors are linguistic armories deployed by Osundare to question and address socio-political issues in Nigeria and beyond.

Keywords: discourse strategies, metaphors, contextual models, imageries.

1. Introduction and Review of Relevant Literature

Osundare, a frontline writer in Africa has been read from various perspectives: literary/critical (e.g. Doki, 2009, Nwagbara (2012) and linguistic (e.g. Osoba, 1990, 1991a and 1991b; Edonmi 2000). However, with a possible exception of Jolayemi (2003), who attempts a stylistic analysis of Niyi Osundare's poems in *Village Voices* with the aim of establishing his foregrounded use of metaphorical language, much less attention has been paid to metaphors in Niyi Osundare's poetry. In fact, none of the studies on his poetry has examined metaphors as discourse strategies.

Despite much excellent work on both the linguistic and non linguistic aspects of Niyi Osundare's poetry, scholars examining his poetry have not addressed the use of metaphors as discourse strategies as a way of better understanding the thematic preoccupation and the vision of Osundare in his poetry. Yet, without such an understanding, we are left with an inadequate analysis that creates the condition for ill informed interpretation of his poetry. This study will remedy this gap in the literature in order to explicate the heretofore unrecognised relationships between the metaphors in his poetry and his vision and thematic preoccupations as a poet.

A study of metaphors in his poetry, apart from breaking the silence on the discourse values of metaphors, will lend a better understanding of his poetry, as figurative language usually have close associations with the thematic preoccupation and vision of a writer. Therefore, this work sets out to examine how contextual considerations such as theme and ideology, influence the choice of metaphors and the use of these metaphors in Osundare's poetry. Selected metaphors from his poetry are analysed, using insights from contextual models (Halliday 1978; Mey 2000; Odebunmi 2006).

The meagre references cited here on metaphors prove that little research has yet been done on metaphors on the works of the world-acclaimed, Nigerian-born poet, Niyi Osundare. This poet has written about a dozen of poetry collections, few drama pieces, a handful of books of criticism, a book of essays, numerous articles on literature, language, culture and society. His poetry collections include *The Songs of the Marketplace* (1983), *Village Voices* (1984), *The Eye of the Earth* (1986), *Moonsongs* (1984), *Waiting Laughters* (1990), *Midlife* (1993), *Songs of the Season* (1999), *Horses of Memory* (1999) and *The Word is an Egg* (2000), *Random Blues* (2009) among others. He is undisputedly one of the world's most significant contemporary poets. Osundare is a strong believer in poetry as performance. He has performed his poetry in different parts Europe, Asia, Canada, Africa and the United States; and his poems have been translated into different languages which include; Italian, French, German, Spanish, Japanese, Korean and Dutch. He is a social critic and activist who has never shield away from speaking out on the social, economic and political crises in Nigeria and the rest of the continent. Section 2 below discusses poetry as discourse, while section 3 discusses the theoretical perspectives for the study. In section 4, we examine metaphors in Osundare's poetry and in section 5, we conclude the paper.

2. Poetry as Discourse

Poetry can be defined as a special use of language to express intense feelings. Poetry deploys language in a special way. It employs language to evoke and exalt special qualities of life, and suffices readers with feelings. The language of poetry can be said to be an admixture of sound devices, imagery and symbolism. According to Sage (1987) poetry is one of the most effective and powerful transmitters of culture. Poems contain so many cultural elements – allusions, vocabulary, idioms, tones that are not easy to translate into another language.

Furthermore, poetry can be seen as the art of rhythmical composition, written or spoken, for exciting pleasure by beautiful, imaginative, or elevated thoughts and as literary work in metrical form; verse. In the above definition, note the two key aspects of poetry - rhythm and meter. Rhythm is part of the world around us. We see it in the ocean tides, in the seasons, and even in the beat of our heart. In verse, rhythm is the flow of sound produced by the language; we sense something repeating as we read. Meter is the pattern of rhythm, and it may vary from poem to poem. Another popular poetic device is rhyme. The rhyming elements are usually the last words on a line. Of course, rhyming patterns may vary. Sometimes the rhyme follows immediately on the next line, or it may be delayed.

Furthermore, Cuddon (1999) defines poem as “something made, created thus, a work of art.” He further states that:

What makes a poem different from any other kind of composition is a species of magic, the secret to which lies in the way the words lean upon each other, are linked and interlocked in sense and rhythm, and thus elicit from each other's syllables a kind of tune whose beat and melody varies subtly and which is different from prose. (721)

Poetry differs significantly from prose because it is usually metaphorical and more often than not exhibits such formal elements as metre, rhyme, and stanzaic structure. Also, experience can be intensified and enhanced through the feelings that dictate it and that which it communicates and the economy and resonance of language. These qualities are found only intermittently in prose. A poem too cannot be paraphrased without injury to its full meaning.

In addition, poetry deploys certain forms and conventions to elaborate the literal meaning of words, or to evoke emotional or sensual responses. Assonance, alliteration, onomatopoeia and rhythm are some of the devices used to achieve musical or incantatory effects. Further, the use of ambiguity, symbolism, irony and other stylistic elements of poetic diction more often than not give room to multiple interpretations. Likewise, metaphor and simile bring about a kind of sonority between otherwise different images—a layering of meanings, thereby forming connections previously not perceived.

Poetry often captures the poet's feelings, desires and attitudes. It is most often enriched with figurative language and therefore employs images and particularly symbols of some kind. In

fact, it is the oldest form of literature. From early times, poetry was a universal phenomenon. It is the oldest form of literature known to man. The earliest poetry was a fusion of song and dance. It had a close semblance to religious rituals and feast. It was a means of expressing man's most fundamental feelings and desires.

Meaning in poetry can be emotional and contextual in that, a poem calls for a personal response from individual readers which is in accordance with their words and views in life. Meaning in poetry is also arrived at through cultural spectacles. This accounts for why people from different cultural backgrounds will approach the same poem from different point of views and work towards a common message; although, the nuances will still differ from person to person, even if they arrive at the common general meaning. The present study examines Osundare's use of metaphors in his poetry with a view to establishing their discourse values.

3. Theoretical Perspectives

This study is anchored on contextual models. This is because metaphors and their uses in literary works have close affiliations with context. This brings up the connection between context and style, which often stipulates the linguistic choices in interactions. It is a model about language use, which corresponds to the sociosemiotic model of language developed by Halliday (1978, 1994). Genre being a realization of the context of culture is the overall purpose of a social interaction. It is, according to Martin (1984: 25) "a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture".

Odebunmi (2008) opines that the term "context" has a wide scope of application, ranging from the environment in which words occur to the situation in which language is used. Context could mean two things: first, the co-text i.e. the verbal elements that surround the expression at issue; second, "context comprises not only the larger, verbal environment in which the utterance or word occurs, but also its wider surroundings, in particular the conditions under which the utterance or word was generated in the first place" (Mey 2000:7). Agreeing with the above, Odebunmi (2006:1) describes "context as the spine of meaning."

The appropriacy of communicative choices to the situation of language use is connected to context and style. An example is the dissimilarity that results from the way language is used by a teacher to teach, and the way the same individual deploys language to relate with his carpenter. How language is used, thus, depends on a number of factors- the subject of communication, and the impositions of the surroundings, including specificity of reference, the persons in interaction, and the medium of interaction. What this means is that the choice of language and language variety is situation - specific.

The context of situation is the immediate interactive situation. Halliday (1978) opines that context of situation can be interpreted by means of a conceptual framework using the terms field, tenor and mode of discourse, as the immediate environment in which a text is actually functioning. To Halliday, these three aspects of context reveal how language is used. Here is

when the particular language choice and the specific context of situation in which it occurs are targeted.

Field of discourse concerns the activity in which we are engaged as recognized in the culture. According to Halliday (1989), it is what is happening, the nature of the social action taking place, what the participants are doing, in which the language figures as some essential component. In addition, to Gregory and Carroll (1978: 7) the field of discourse is the consequence of the user's purposive role, what his language is about, what experience he is verbalizing, what is going on through language.

The tenor of discourse “refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles” (Halliday and Hasan, 1980). In other words, the tenor of discourse concerns the players, the actors and the interacting roles that are involved in the creation of the text. It tries to provide an answer to the question- what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another?

The mode of discourse refers to the role language is playing in the interaction. What do the participants expect the language to do for them in a particular situation? The symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, its function in the context, including the channel (spoken, written or the combination of both) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, etc. The major preoccupation of the present study is on the functional aspect of language. Hence, we shall rely on the contextual models, in the sense that it focuses not only on the structure of language, but also on the properties of discourse and its functions in specific social and cultural situations.

4. Analysis and Findings

4.1 Animal Metaphors

Animal metaphors are metaphors which suggest human characteristics for animals or inanimate things. Speaking about anthropomorphic metaphors, Ullman (1977:214) avers that ... “the greater parts of expressions referring to animate objects are taken by transfer from the human body and its passions.” In the texts under consideration, Osundare makes distinctive use of a wide range of images from the animal kingdom. He explores the animal kingdom for a wide range of metaphors. These metaphors have human beings and intangible objects as tenors respectively and the vehicles are taken from the animal kingdom. Examples in the texts under consideration include: In “Random blues 2” (*Random Blues*),

- (a) Silence is a serpent. (1)
- (b)The politician is a rag of leeches and lice. (13-14)

In the first example, silence is likened to a serpent. A serpent is a long, scaly, limbless reptile. Serpents travel on their belly or rib cage, and because of the nearness of their head to the ground, their flickering tongue appears to be licking the dust. “Silence” as used here is a metaphor for those who feel contented with the ways things are going in the society as long as they are not

affected directly at the moment. They are as good as being bitten by a serpent. In fact, failure to make their voices heard is worse than the effect of the venom secreted by a serpent. In the second example, that is (b) above, the Nigerian politicians are not in any way different from bloodsucking insects. Head lice are tiny, wingless insects that are generally about the size of a sesame seed. The politicians “suck” the people dry by enriching themselves and their family members at the expense of the whole citizenry. Shock, shame, and guilt are typical reactions of parents whose children contract head lice. The politicians in the country too should be ashamed of themselves. The poet also compares them to “leeches”. These are bloodsucking aquatic or terrestrial worms with a flat, segmented body that tapers at both ends but is broadest toward the posterior part. These creatures have a disk, or sucker, at each end of the body, the one at the head end being equipped with biting jaws. Leeches are found in great numbers in many streams and rivers in Africa. The young of one variety, when swallowed with the drinking water, attach themselves to the nasal cavities, larynx, or epiglottis of their host. They grow rapidly and are not easily removed. Their presence can hinder breathing and this, as well as loss of blood, sometimes proves fatal to the victim. A leech may consume three times its own weight in blood, a strong anticoagulant in its saliva ensuring a continuous flow from the victim. The politicians in the country are not in any way different from these bloodsucking worms. They are enriching themselves at the expense of the people they are representing. They do not care whether these people are well fed or not all they care about is enriching themselves and their cronies. Normally, like we will do to an unwanted friend, we try as much as possible to avoid “leeches” and “lice” in our homes and even our compounds. In like manner, the politicians too are not our friends. They claim to share our hunger, but in their mouths are crumbs of bread. Their fatness makes everybody and the country thin.

Further, in “Random blues 16” (*Random Blues*) we have these examples:

- (c) Opulent orangutans. (18)
- (d) Beasts of burden. (37)

Here, the corrupt leaders in (c) are aptly captured with animal metaphor. In example (c) the reference to the leaders as “opulent orangutans” is metaphoric. An orangutan is the largest tree-dwelling animal on the planet. Orangutans belong to the order of great apes, as do gorillas and chimpanzees. These gentle, hermitlike creatures live in the dense jungles of Borneo and Sumatra, two of the largest islands in Southeast Asia. Their name is made up of two Indonesian words, *orang* and *hutan*, meaning “man of the forest”. In spite of their riches, the leaders are like this animal- orangutans. This is not unconnected to the fact that the leaders isolate themselves from the common people that brought them to the corridor of power just like the orangutans are also hermitlike creatures. Further, the leaders are likened to animals because of their animalistic and inhuman behaviours. Then, the people are also seen as “beast of burden” in (d). Denotatively, “beast of burden” suggests an animal such as a donkey or an ox and an elephant used for transporting loads or doing other heavy work. The people toil and work; sweat both night and day but it is the corrupt leaders who enjoy the wealth of the land. The people are yoked and ridden for countless seasons and obediently and powerless like a donkey never kick.

Also, in “Words catch fire” (*The Word is an Egg*), we have the following examples;

- (e) The crocodile jaws of power brokers. (113)
- (f) The hive of my mouth. (157)

In (e) above, power brokers are said to have crocodile jaws. A crocodile is a large voracious aquatic reptile having a long snout with massive jaws and sharp teeth and a body covered with bony plates. The real power of the crocodile resides in its triangular snout. What a sight greets the eye when the hinged lower jaw drops open, revealing perhaps a full set of sixty-six sharp teeth! When the jaws clamp shut, the pressure exerted is tremendous. The metaphor is an attempt to expose powerful people in high places, be it in religion and politics who got to where they are because of the people but who have betrayed the people. Instead of guiding and guarding the people, these leaders oppress and even crush those who try to resist the oppression. Also in (f), the “hive of my mouth” is a metaphor of the angry people of the land represented here by the poet. The “hive” is a structure that provides a natural habitation for bees; as in a hollow tree. In this case, the mouth is seen as that structure providing natural habitation for bees. This suggests that if and when people are pushed to the wall they can fight back if not physically then verbally.

4.2 From Abstract Phenomena to Concrete Metaphors

Every writer aims at communicating effectively. Little wonder, poets endeavour to use metaphors appropriately and extensively. Some metaphors can help translate abstract ideas into concrete and palpable terms. Osundare deploys these metaphors extensively in his poetry. Examples in some of the texts under consideration include: in “Unspoken tears” (*The Word is an Egg*),

- (a) ...the abyss of lampless nights. (2-3)
- (b) ...clan of earless conquerors. (8)

Further in “Words catch fire” (*The Word is an Egg*), we have the following:

- (c) Let them mind the wrath of wailing wombs. (106)
- (d) The Politician drowns it in a torrent of words. (168)

These metaphors help in the concretization of abstract ideas and experiences. For instance, “lampless nights” in (a) above suggests utter darkness and it is a metaphor for hopelessness. Darkness in itself is abstract. To concretize this abstract experience, “abyss” is used in a figurative way to show the depth of the darkness. We are now made to see how real and how extensive is the darkness in the land. Further, “earless conquerors” in (b) is a metaphor for leaders who are unresponsive to the pains, sufferings and the cries of their people. At the initial reading, one may not be able to situate clearly what is meant by “earless conquerors”. The word “clan” is used to concretize the metaphor. We can now see clearly that they are a group of people, a cabal who are in the helm of affairs in the land. This group of people does not care about the hopeless situation of the people. In (c) above, “wailing wombs” is an abstract idea and a metaphor that suggests pain and agony. The poet concretizes it by the addition of “wrath”, thus; we have the “wrath of wailing wombs”. This paints the picture of anger and retribution for those

who are ruining the earth “by mining the earth with bombs and poisoned arrows”. In (d), “torrent” denotes force at which the ocean wave moves; it is used here to convey “words”. This has helped to foreground “words” because now we can think of words as doing what the force of the ocean can do.

4.3 Synaesthetic Metaphors

These are metaphors that are based on transposition from one sense to the other of the five commonly known senses. In a synaesthetic metaphor, a certain perceptual mode is initially specified (or may be assumed), but the imagery is linguistically related in terms belonging to one or more differing perceptual modes. Commonplace examples in English include phrases such as “loud colors”, “dark sounds”, and “sweet smells”. Examples abound in the texts under consideration. In “Words catch fire” (*The Word is an Egg*) we have the following:

(a)... imperial furnace. (5)

(b) ...luscious rainbow. (76)

In “Omoleti” (*The Word is an Egg*) we have the following:

(c) ...murmuring mist. (27)

(d) Of the song which invades the throat. (112)

(e) In the hammock of sound and silence. (144)

All the metaphors identified show that there are movements from one sense to another. In (a) above, there is a transposition of the sense of vision (‘imperial’) and that of touch (‘furnace’). This suggests that what happens in the empire is nothing to write home about. Furnace suggests excessive hotness. The metaphor “imperial furnace” is an indication of the plight of the people of the land. The heat coming from the imperial furnace shows that the emperor must be responsible for the suffering experienced in the land. In (b), there is a transposition of the sense of taste and that of vision. Also in (c) we have a transposition of the sense of hearing (‘murmuring’) and that of vision (‘mist’). It is a transposition of the sense of hearing (‘song’) and that of taste (‘throat’) that we have in (d) above. In (e) also, we have a transposition of the sense of vision (‘hammock’) and that of hearing (‘sound and silence’). All these synaesthetic metaphors help in projecting the thematic preoccupation of the texts and to establish their intelligibility.

4.4 Organic Metaphors

This is also known as functional- structural metaphor. Cuddon (1999) says the “vehicle of an organic metaphor is symbolic and carries an implicit tenor.” Thus, we have an organic metaphor when the imagery or the object of comparison is symbolic and has an implied undertone. Examples abound in the texts under study, and these include: in “Apocryphal thunder” (*The Word is an Egg*),

(a) Pound the streets

With spiked boots. (3-4)

(b) The chameleon has lost count

Of the colours of tumbling edicts. (7-8)

Further, in “Unspoken tears” (*The word is an Egg*), we have:

- (c) The unspoken tears
of tongueless tribes. (1-2)
- (d) Plodding through the abyss
of lampless nights. (3-4)

In (a), the organic metaphors “pound” and “spiked boots” are images that are symbolic. They portray military regimes in the country that are of questionable authenticity but who are bent on crushing any form of opposition. Also in (b), the disorganized state of affairs in the country is brought to light by these images; “chameleon” and “colours of tumbling edicts”. The chameleon is a slow-moving, tree-dwelling lizard noted for its color-changing ability. Color response is primarily determined by temperature, light intensity, and emotional state. Chameleons have the ability to change color in response to emotions such as anger or alarm, or to various stimuli, including heat and light. They may change color from gray to green and brown, and sometimes even yellow. This is an aid to them in camouflaging themselves. In some quarters in Africa, the chameleon is regarded as the king of colours. But the poet opines that the crocodile has lost its colour changing ability. The implication of this is that the country is in disarray; nobody seems to know the way out. Nothing seems to be working again in the land as all we have are “tumbling edicts.” Further, the organic metaphor “unspoken tears of tongueless tribes” is symbolic. The tongueless tribes are the oppressed in the society. These ones have lost their tongue as it were because their voices are no longer heard in the society. Even though they cry both day and night, the leaders do not care about them. “Lampless night” in (d) is also symbolic. It means that there is no hope in sight for the nation and the people as well. The future is very bleak for the country. The “abyss” as used there is a testament to the hopelessness of the country and the people. Denotatively, the “abyss” is a bottomless gulf or pit; any unfathomable (or apparently unfathomable) cavity or chasm or void extending below. This is the kind of situation the people find themselves in.

4.5 Telescoped Metaphors

This is called a complex metaphor. This happens when the vehicle of one metaphor becomes the tenor of another closely connected to it. In other words, the vehicle of one metaphor transforms into the tenor of another. We have an example from “Words catch fire” (*The Word is an Egg*);

Words catch fire on the tongue of the bell
The rallying lyric of a flared summon
Cutting through the fog of silence. (190-192)

In the example above, “words” is the tenor and tongue of the bell is the vehicle, initially. “The rallying lyric of a flared summon” is the vehicle next and it has “tongue of the bell” as the tenor. Then, “the rallying lyric of a flared summon transforms to the tenor of another metaphor “the fog of silence”. Here, we noticed that the metaphor continues to unfold and extend like a collapsible telescope. The symbolic message here is that with words we can achieve a lot. Keeping silent

when we are being oppressed will not take us anywhere. It is a testament to the fact that people can win when they speak and fight for their rights but when they keep quiet they have lost.

5. Conclusion

This study has thrown some light on Niyi Osundare's use of metaphors in his poetry. We have, in the foregoing, demonstrated that there are five types of metaphors in Osundare's poetry, namely, animal metaphors, from abstract phenomena to concrete metaphors, synaesthetic metaphors, organic metaphors, and telescoped metaphors. The richness of metaphoric images lies in their ambivalence, allowing the possibility of multiple interpretations. Metaphors exist on the border of two worlds: that of the literary imagination and our everyday reality, and they act as intermediary tools of communication between these worlds. Metaphors play contextual roles by serving as interactional tools, address terms, and weapons of criticisms. Metaphors are linguistic armouries deployed by Osundare to question and address socio-political issues in Nigeria and beyond. Metaphors in his poetry are not arbitrary selections; rather they are carefully chosen to serve particular thematic, discourse and stylistic purposes in his poetry.

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The Ambivalent Role of Religion: The Socio-Political Perspective

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Abstract

Religion can be the most powerful influence on the worldview, values, attitudes, motivations, decision, and behavior of individuals, groups and societies for better and worse. Religions are alternative ways of affording nature various cultural, moral, and spiritual meanings, and defining the place of humans in the nature including how they should act toward non-human beings and other phenomena. The literature on religious violence in Nigeria largely implicates socio-economic, political and governance deficits as the major causes of such violence. This article focuses on both positive and negative impacts of religion in Nigeria with a view to finding out its far-reaching effects on the Nigerian society and its politics. The theoretically identified possible destructive elements of religion on the individuals and by extension on the Nigerian society and the politics of the day thereby eroding the peace and harmony needed to forge ahead on national development. To achieve the laudable objectives of this paper the writers adopt the descriptive, historical and the narrative methodology. Possible remedies to surmount this monster against human and national peace are suggested and conclusion drawn on findings.

Keywords: Religion, religious violence, Nigerian politics, role of religion.

Introduction

Religion could serve, and has indeed served as an instrument of harmony in many civilizations. Paradoxically, however, it has also served as a motivation for violence, hence its indication in some literature as a 'double-edged sword' (Isaac-Terwase, 2012). From time immemorial, religious bigots have attempted to legitimize violence in the name of the Supreme Being. Contemporary acts of extreme violence such as terrorist attacks are often justified as 'holy war'. In the past two or three decades, religion has been at the center of most violence conflicts around the world in general and Nigeria in particular, thereby gaining notoriety as one of the major security challenges confronting Nigeria. A study conducted in Spain has found that societies that are divided along religious lines are more prone to intense and prolonged conflicts than those divided by political, territorial and ethnic differences (Reynal-Querol, 2002). In fact, nothing in life has the magnetic force of religion for centuries and through phases of civilization across the globe. Religion brings so much fanaticism in the lives of people to the extent of making them begin to act like monsters. Perhaps this reality explains the critical role religion plays in the socio-political peace and harmony of the Nigerian society. There is nothing like religion that is capable of pushing its adherents in committing all kinds of atrocities against fellow human beings.

In the course of this work, a close attention will be paid to the common principles of religions that could be harmonized in the interest of the individuals and the nation and the supposed values of religion that could help to build the individuals and consequently foster national development. On the other hand, the destructive elements of religion and how these have brought about irreparable socio-political woes in the country in the recent times will also be duly considered. In this context, the religions of our focus are Islam and Christianity.

Ten Basic Principles common to Religions that must be utilized to ensure Peace and Harmony

According to David Kinsely in his book on *Spiritual Ecology*, there are ten basic principles that all religions have in common which will benefit mankind if only religious leaders will bury their differences and focus on them. They are:

1. Many religions consider all of reality, or some of its components, to be an organic whole or a Living;
2. There is an emphasis on cultivating rapport with the local environment through developing intimate knowledge about it and practicing reverence for its beauty, mystery, and power through ritual celebrations of recognition and appreciation;
3. The human and non-human realms are directly interrelated often in the sense of some kind of kinship and in certain cases, even to the extent of animals beings viewed as another form of humans or persons;
4. The appropriate relationship between humans and nature should be reciprocal: that is, humans do not merely recognise interdependence, but also promote mutually beneficial interactions with nature;

5. Ultimately the dichotomy between humans and their environment is nonexistent: humans are embedded in nature as an integral part of the larger whole or cosmos;
6. This non-dualistic view reflects the ultimate elemental unity of all existence : nature and Spirit are inseparable, there is only one reality, and this continuity can be sensed and Experience;
7. This underlying unity is moral as well as physical: humans and non-humans participate in a Shared moral system wherein environmental issues are and foremost ethical concerns: and Nature has intrinsic as well as extrinsic values;
8. Humans should act with restraint in nature by avoiding the anthropocentric arrogance of excessive, wasteful and destructive use of the land and other resources and in other ways they should exercise proper behaviour toward plants, animals and other aspects of nature as sacred;
9. Harmony or balance between humans and the rest of nature must be maintained and promoted and if upset, then it should be restored; and
10. Frequently the motivation, commitment and intensity of ecological concerns are essentially religious or spiritual.

Functions of Religion

Anything that exists that is not useful to the individual, group of persons or the society at large need not exist at all. Religion as a living organism exists not in the abstract but has pragmatic effects in the lives of the individuals as well as in the society as a whole. Major functions of religion can be discussed under: supportive, preservative, protective and corrective.

Man's world is full of complexities and uncertainties coupled with several existential problems. In this respect, religion plays a very vital role by providing emotional aids and encouragement to the individual. Like manner, it provides consolation and reconciliation. Whenever the individuals are alienated from social goals, norms and values, religion provides direction and reconciliation between man and society. In times of defeat, distress, uncertainties and impossibilities, it is religion that provides the needed succor, emotional support for revival and survival. It also encourages and aids spiritual growth and maturation of the individuals in the society which fosters economic, social and peace and harmony.

Religion does not only sacralise the norms, values and traditions of a people but also helps to preserve them. The dos and don'ts in any giving society are usually guarded by the religion of the people, any religion at all. Whatever the religion of the people approves is automatically what that society approves and accepts and vice versa. Under the preservative function of religion, social control, order, right conduct/behaviours in the society are nourished, nurtured, respected and cherished.

Religion being an essential relationship between God and man, offers a transcendental relationship, thoughts and ceremonies of worship including rituals thereby providing the emotional ground for a new security and firmer identity. This ultimately offers man an escapes

route from his numerous life complexities. Religion offers every individual, male/female, rich/poor free and equal access to the creator. In an unfriendly society, religion is an equaliser.

Religion serves a medium to champion charity and good welfare for the poor, the needy and the weak members of the society; it is a medium of redistributing the financial resources in the country. Through the Church, Mosque and the Traditional religions, the rich members of the Nigerian society are expected to generously reach out to the poor and the less privileged.

It is also a useful tool character reformation in the society. Religion is meant to promote the peace, kindness, generosity, friendliness, calmness and good neighborliness. Under ideal situation religion helps individuals and groups to shun hostility, violence, selfishness, greed, and self-centeredness (Dangana, 2012).

Destructive Elements of Religion

The destructive elements of religion in this context are those features of religion that are in themselves are not bad, but because of their misuse by their adherents, they create unnecessary tensions capable of disrupting peace and harmony within and among the individuals as well as the society at large. In other words, they are those factors that directly connected with religion that are hijacked by Christians and Muslims in Nigeria to generate religious conflicts, crises and wars. These will be discussed under: religious intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism; obstructive and disruptive modes of worship; disparaging preaching and stereotyping; proselytizing; government patronage, religious preferentialism and marginalization; and the use of religious symbols.

Religious intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism are features in Christianity and Islam capable of marring the individual adherents, groups, national economy, social and political lives of the entire nation. Religious intolerance is defined as hostility toward other religions, as well as the inability of religious adherents to harmonise between the theories and the practical aspect of religion (Balogun, 1988). In the words of Baird and Rosebaum (1999), religious intolerance encompasses bigotry, which is the obstinate and intolerant devotion to one's opinions and prejudices, especially the exhibition of intolerance and animosity toward persons of differing beliefs. We see as that strong inner push in the adherents in connection with his belief that makes him restless and behaves irrationally.

Closely linked with religious intolerance is religious fundamentalism and extremism. Isaac-Terwase (2012) sees religious fundamentalism and extremism as a religious movement that promotes the literal interpretation of, and strict adherence to religious doctrine, especially as a return to orthodox scriptural prescriptions and doctrinal originality. In other words, it seeks to maintain the status quo of the original doctrine(s) without modification or alteration. Religious fundamentalists hate modernism with a passion for fear that it will adulterate or diminish original doctrinal principles. Regrettably attitudes or characters of this nature are detrimental to both personal and collective peace, harmony and development.

The farthest and most lethal form of religious intolerance is extremism (Isaac-Terwase, 2012). They have zero tolerance, so to speak for the preaching of other faiths. They are religious fundamentalists who take religious conservatism and intolerance to an unreasonable extent, by manifesting violence against those who hold contrary religious view (Terwase, 2012). They have no sympathy or soft spot differing views. They insist that their religious doctrines must be universally entrenched by brute force, while the political, social and economic systems must conform to religious tenets.

The next on our list of religious destructive elements are obstructive and disruptive modes of worship. This is a mode of worship employ by both the Christians and Muslims in public places to the annoyance of motorists and pedestrians (Daily Champion 2006, Ehigiator and Akinbaani, 2002). This according to popular view may not be a welcome sight to behold people of other faiths and even those of the same faith. Both Christians and Muslims are believed to be guilty of this offence which is seen as an affront to the individual legal rights to the use of public roads as well as an act of religious insensitivity and arrogance. Suffice it to say that attitude of this nature does not in any way promote respect, peace and harmony both on individual and national levels.

Disparaging preaching and proliferation by both the Christians and the Muslims are common sights that give rise to disrespect for other's faith and the legal rights of the common man. Often such public preaching is laden with messages signifying the monopoly of salvation and truth (Gofwen, 2004). Proliferation of Churches and Mosques in the country and the pervasive electronic media coverage of religious preaching have helped in no small way in reinforcing the disparaging sermons. With little or no censorship of the critical content of these sermons, some religious fundamentalists have capitalized on these media opportunities to further heighten the already tensed religious unfriendliness in the nation. Another source of provocation and disharmony with respect to religious elements is the use of audio and video preaching in public places. There is also another dimension to inter-faith ridiculing and provocation in Nigeria is manifested in the publication of critical literature by religious intellectuals. In his work, Omotosho (2003) listed the following hate-influenced. Insightful and provocative publications by both Christians and Muslims intellectuals namely: Adetoyo 1993; Mohammed 1990; Moshay 1994; Sanni and Amoo 1987; Suleiman 1997 and others.

Another element capable of disrupting personal and national peace and harmony is the method through which new members are won into the two religions in Nigeria. Although Islam and Christianity deprecate the use of threat and coercion as a means of proselytizing (Omotosho, 2003), their approaches to preaching have remained mentally and sometime physically coercive. Unfortunately, the most visible approach to Islamic conversion campaign especially in the northern part of the country is that of Jihad (holy war). This epitomized by the Boko Haram declaration that Western culture, as represented by Christianity, is polluting and worthy of spiritual purging (Isaac Terwase, 2012). This is because they see adherents of faiths as corrupted stock worthy of Islamic conversion. Similarly, the Christian's method of evangelizing which favours house to house preaching as well as preaching in public places such as hospitals, prisons,

transport avenues create offences to other faith adherents to the extent of arousing acts of violence. This is not an act of religious insensitivity, but a display of religious arrogance (Josef Boehle, 2012).

Religious preferentiality by government officials represents destructive element because it has the tendency to cause disaffection, hatred, bitterness and jealousy among the adherents of different faiths. Depending on which part of the country, both at federal and state levels, public officials visibly manifest religious preferentialism by patronizing one religion at expense of others (www.academia.edu). For example, in many northern states in Nigeria, public funds are used in the purchase and distribution of food items and other valuables for Muslims faithful during the Ramadan fast; the gesture which is not extended to Christians during Christmas or traditional religious festivals. Yusuf (1995) neatly summaries it thus:

Christians have been denied access to electronic media in 16 Northern States, while Islam monopolizes 24 hours for its broadcast in the same Area... Every hour the Muslims broadcast provocative statements about Christianity. It means nothing, they proclaim, that people attend church on Sunday only to dance and to listen to songs. Authorities merely wink...

Lastly, on the issue of destructive religious elements is the use of religious symbols. Over the years the use of religious symbols such as Hajab, Niqab and Burka (head scarves) on one hand, and the 'cross' of Jesus Christ in public places have been vehemently opposed by the religious adherents. The inscription of Arabic symbol on Nigeria currency denominations has been contested or questioned by the Nigerian Christians who associate it with Islam and the overarching Islamization agenda by northern Muslims. The various religious features or elements are not harmful in themselves. It is the individual's attitudes and interpretations particularly the opposing adherents that create problems that generate economic, social and political upheavals in the Nigerian nation.

The Importance and Need for Unity among Religions in Nigeria

Economic development and societal wellbeing can only be achieved in an environment where multi-culturalism and multi-religiosity are guaranteed. The significant growth in human development in the Middle-Eastern states of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar and in Malaysia, among others attest to this fact (Isaac Terwase, 2012). Religious diversity should not constitute a barrier to human relations and development; rather it should be a tool or resource for national development. Religion has been misused and abused in Nigeria to perpetrate so much evil that several people are beginning to question the value of religion. The two main religions in Nigeria-Christianity and Islam have so many social virtues that, if practiced, will make the lives of every Nigerian worthy. The fact that the two Religions that are loggerhead in Nigeria have peace as an essential slogan that is enough basis for coming together in a harmonious platform. Islam is from the Arabic word *Asalama* meaning peace while Christians greet "peace be unto you" furthermore, it is worth of note at this juncture that Christians and Muslims trace their origin to Abraham the man of peace. Abraham allowed lot to choose before him in order to give peace a

chance (Genesis 13: 8 -11). The reconciliation of Jacob and Esau has a great lesson to teach Christians and Muslims. Jacob had no peace until he reconciled with his brother Esau. (Genesis 33: 1- 4) Quran 2: 42 also recommend living in peace with others. It is high time both Religions manifest peace in the relationship with each other rather (shalom) than the way it shows in their greetings. Peace be into you; *asalama le ku* or else the Religions demonstrate a high level of hypocrisy.

Furthermore, Sakr (nd) reveals that; this is a message from Mohamad Ibn Abdullah as a covenant to those who adopt Christianity, near and far we are with them. Verily I, the servants, the helpers and my followers defend them, because Christians are my citizens; and by God! I hold out against nothing that displeases them. No compulsion to be on them. Neither their judges be removed from their jobs nor monks from their monasteries. No one is to destroy a house of their religion, to damage it, or to carry anything from it to the Muslims house should anyone take any of these, he would spoil God's covenant and disobey His Prophet. Verily they are my allies and have my secure charter against all that they hate. No one should force to travel or oblige them to fight. The Muslims are to fight for them. If a female Christian is married to a Muslim, it is not to take place without her approval. She is not prevented from visiting her church to pray. Their churches are declared to be protected. They are neither to be prevented from repairing them nor the sacredness or their covenants. No one of the nation (Muslim) is to disobey the covenant till the last Day (end of the world).

“..... There is no compulsion in religion” (Quran 2: 256).

Conclusion and Recommendations

The religious faithful in Nigeria should, therefore, realize the fact that religious tolerance and harmony are both legally sanctioned and socially inevitable, as the world can never be composed of one religion or culture. Accordingly, whereas, every religious group has the right to uninhibited religious practice, this must be done with commensurate or reciprocal respect for the rights of other faithful to practice their own religious traditions; provided that such does not constitute any derogation to the right of others to observe their own rituals.

The above desirable situation of religious harmony can be achieved in Nigeria only through the establishment and sustenance of a neo-religious educational system that would generate a culture and orientation of multi-religiosity in our children and youths, as well as a commensurate programme of re-orientation of the adult population. All this while, the dominant model of religious education in Nigeria has been faith –oriented and overwhelmed by religious indoctrination and dogma. Religious education is used to get people to embrace Christianity or Islam, rather than as a process or formation for religious tolerance and dialogue. Consequently, most children and youths are educated within this framework and are thus inclined to adopting a blind faith (Samson, 2012). This religious conservatism gives little for inter-faith understanding and harmony; hence religious intolerance is widespread even among school children. There is therefore, the need to reform the current curriculum on religious studies which before now restricted students to dogmatism.

Furthermore, all religious communities must educate their clergy on the need for religious harmony and the toleration of other faiths, while also educating their clergy and laity on the need to keep their sermons within the realm of moderation and modesty. There is need to strengthen inter-faith dialogue at the national, state and local levels in order to prevent future manifestations of religious disharmony. The Nigerian Inter-Religious Council (NIREC), together with relevant Faith-Base Organizations and Civil Society Organizations should constantly engage in dialogue with the various religious communities, while also serving as a platform for conflict analysis and early warning on religious uproars.

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Of strategy: An analytical study

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Abstract

It is a study that deals with the definition of strategy, as well as its common patterns, specificities, components, types and aims. This research mainly focuses on the conceptual meanings of the strategy, therefore it aims to establish a significant strong knowledge base that can be considered as a benchmark for any communication strategy and may be useful to any communication planner, regardless of the organizing structure's nature whether a state, a company, an organization, or an establishment. "Strategy" has appeared in the so-called "media planning", it was used in determining the countries' and media institutions' media policies, within short, mid and long terms. Thus many concepts came up such as "educational media planning" and "development media plans" also in crisis management: "pre-crisis communication planning", "crisis communication plans" and "post-crisis communication planning". Claude-Yves Charron widely spoke about "communication strategies", when defining the organizational communication as "the process of creating an exchange of messages through a network of interconnected elements, in order to provide the organization's needs" (Charron, 1998); the strategy in that way is "the art of using the means to achieve the purpose", and its impact on selecting targets and identifying them, and selecting the methods in order to achieve them, as well as developing operational plans. Communication strategies include "push strategy", "pull strategy", and others. Strategy seems to be irregularly present in the different stages of information and communication sciences in a way or another; it has always been a strategic component of the communicational way of thinking. "Strategy" was adopted by "information and communication sciences" in different branches of its wide field of knowledge. It is rather to affirm that "information and communication sciences", as innovative sciences, exploited strategy and got inspired with curricula and approaches. By the nineties of the twentieth century the concept of strategy has entered a new turning point, by the emergence of the information society. In that historical phase the term "strategy" has known different semantics. The information has become the raw material of the society. Nowadays The information in terms of knowledge, is "the source of power and wealth", and is therefore "the essence of power" itself as mentioned Alvin Toffler. By studying strategy through its definition, patterns, specificities, components, types and goals, necessary knowledge base is established in order to set different communication strategies. It concerns either the state as an organized structure, or institutions, organizations or establishments. In fact, communication strategy does not stand unique but is basically related to the strategy concept in general, or even to the strategy as a term. This strategy is a highly complicated phenomenon in itself. It has lots of semantics and dimensions that enriches the concept and gives an extra-value to the study.

Keywords: Strategy, communication, position, management, influence, performance, competence, capacities, resources, policy, establishment, destruction.

1) Definition of strategy:

Encyclopedia Britannica states that the concept of strategy was derived from the word “Strategos” which symbolized the leader of each of the 10 tribe represented in the army of Athens.

It also meant the leader who knew how to command armies. With the expansion of war zones, the evolution of battle plans and the diversity of weapons, strategy became the art of command.

By the end of the 18th century, the term was no longer specific to battle fields where command is.

Strategy means “choosing the best alternatives of achieving objectives or ends that express certain needs of a society. From general objectives, temporary ones are derived which themselves derive tasks that express a program or parts of it.”

Linguistically, “strategy” was derived from the Greek word “strategos” which means the art of war management, command.

It’s made up of 2 words “Stratos” which means “army” and “Agein” which means “command”.

Military dictionaries define strategy as “the art of synchronizing the military, political and ethical powers used during a war or when defending the state”.

Definitions of the word strategy are diverse regarding the differences between theorists, the thing that made Henry Mintzberg compare strategy to a big animal: the elephant.

He considers thinkers and theorists who tried to define it as blind people. He who grabs the foot says that it’s a tree trunk, he who touches the trunk says that it’s a snake, he who touches the tail says that it’s a rope, he who touches the tusk says that it’s a spear and he who touches the body says that it’s a wall.

Everyone envisions the part he touches of the elephant as something other than the elephant itself.

Every strategist tried to define strategy following his point of view although no one, according to Mintzberg, managed to see the whole picture.

In a definition based on what’s called the SWOT model which relies on both external and internal analyses of an establishment, the concept of strategy is now associated to the establishment management criterion.

The SWOT model gained fame in the 1960’s; the period characterized by the independence of many third-world countries, new economies and the establishment of ambitious developmental plans.

In this context, Druker defined strategy as “the visionary horizon or the method that makes a certain establishment answer the following questions: what’s our establishment? What’s the

goal of an establishment? What must be the goals of the establishment compared to market, resources, creative capacities, profits, individuals training and social responsibility?"

While the concept of "planning" is evolving, strategy was transformed from envisioning to a plan or a group of executive decisions.

Some considered it "a homogenous plan gathering both the establishment's goals and policies, envisions and objectives along with the means to achieve and evaluate them and monitoring the resulting performance of such execution."

And in another definition, strategy was considered the positioning of an establishment in a certain domain.

Michael Porter (1980) defined it as "strategy is the main engine in order to get a competitive aspect" [...] which allows an establishment to position itself in its activity domain.

And according to these statements, strategy represents the choice adopted by an establishment concerning its location in a competitive environment that is composed of 5 powers which are alternative products, new competitors, new market factors, the ability of buyers to bargain and the ability of importers to bargain.

These 5 powers are nothing but an analytical frame put forth by Porter to demonstrate the competitive aspects of an establishment and the relationships with the market.

2) Strategy models:

Unlike most strategists who theorized strategy as war-related only, André Beaufre is one of the first who elevated strategy to its global level (total or nationalist strategy) getting it out of battle and war field and to link it to the general policy of the state.

Since then, a lot of thinkers started to circulate the concept of strategy on every individual or mass mission, whether it was military, political, organizational, diplomatic or administrative.

The concept of strategy became a global concept that includes all sides of life.

Since then, it was righteous to consider strategy as the art of using means to achieve objective, or the art and science of rendering means and capacities compatible to plans, or a system of objectives and plans, or even more, providing or distributing resources in order to accomplish objectives and plans.

Tactics were considered the lowest synchronized level that serves strategy.

André Beaufre believes that there are 5 strategy models to remember which are:

- 1- If the means and capacities are too strong and the reason of conflict was small, the fact of threatening and stating means is enough to make the opponent accepts the terms and abandons his demands.
- 2- If the reason behind the conflict is small and the resources are limited, accomplishing objectives goes through a work of deception and illusion.
- 3- If the domain of field mobility is limited and the resources and capacities are also limited but the objective is too big, then accomplishing it goes through a series of

consecutive and continuous operations accompanied by direct and indirect pressure on the opponent.

- 4- If the domain of field mobility is wide but the available means are in shortage, then a long term conflict must be sought in order to exhaust the opponent.
- 5- If the means and capacities are strong enough, a result is opted out by moving directly in the form of a short term violent conflict.

These 5 models put forth by General Beaufre in the military field can be used in every political, cultural and administrative strategy.

In the administrative domain, these models can be used to create the strategy of an establishment especially the organization's own internal and external factors which constitute the establishment's environment.

Robert Schlumberger sees that administrative strategy has a lot of types including:

- 1- Stability strategy: applied only when the establishment succeeds and when general conditions change slowly.
- 2- Development strategy: applied only when an establishment is developing, expanding, evolution of the product or service.
- 3- Expense-reduction strategy: used when confronting temporary difficulties or to adapt to upcoming variables.
- 4- Mixed strategy: an establishment uses this model when preparing to enter a new phase like introducing a new product or when opening a new branch of the establishment.

2-1) Military strategy:

Historically, the term strategy was linked to war, theoretically and practically.

When war-related sciences appeared, war strategy became one of its sub-sciences.

We can talk about the art of war (1520) when Niccolo Machiavelli wrote a book that has the same title.

Modern Western studies show that the beginning of scientifically studying the art of war started in the mid-18th century when the English Henry Lloyd wrote in the preface of his book, which focus on the seven-year war, a number of military strategy rules/

These rules were later used by the strategist John Frederick Charles Fuller to establish the "science of war" which set war strategy rules.

However, the art of war began earlier than what Western historians claim.

The Chinese, the Greek, the Romans, the Carthaginians, the Persians, the Muslim Arabs and many others had fierce wars which reflected the intelligence of their peoples in setting and executing military plans.

They surely had tight war plans.

Some of these genius war commanders are:

Thutmose III (1425 BC – unknow), Wusun Wu (555 – 496 BC), Cyrus The Great (576 or 560 – 530 BC), Alexander The Great or Of Macedon (356 – 323 BC), Hannibal (247 – 184 BC), Julius Caesar (100 – 44 BC); etc.

And of the Muslim Arabs there are:

Khaled Ibn Al-Waleed (died in 21 H/642 AD) who was name the “Drawn Sword of God” by the Prophet Muhamad (PBUH), Omar Ibn Al-Khattab (586 -644), Tarek Ibn Ziad (679 – 720), Saladin (532 – 589 H/ 1135 – 1193 AD), Mehmed The Conqueror (1429 – 1481), Amr Ibn Al-Ass, Saad Ibn Abi Waqqas, Oqba Ibn Nafaa, Mousa Ibn Noussayr and a lot others.

There’s also:

Genkhis Khan (1165 – 1227), Tamerlan (1336 – 1405), Peter The Great (1672 – 1725), George Washington (1739 – 1799), Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 – 1821), Joseph Vissarinovich Stalin (1878 – 1953), Adolf Hitler (1889 – 1945), Erwin Rommel (1891 – 1944), George Smith Patton (1885 – 1945), Bernard Montgomery (1887 – 1976).

Lawrence H. Keeley states in his book “war before civilization” that approximately 90 to 95% of known societies across history participated at least in an accidental war while others did participate all the time.

One of the most famous definitions of the term strategy is that of the German theorist Carl von Clausewitz who said that strategy is “the art of preparing and laying general war plans”.

And in his book “on war”, he defined strategy as “the art of using battles as a means to reach the goal of a war, i/e, strategy puts war plans and sets the expected evolution of various battles that compose a war. It also sets confrontations that would happen in every battle.”

Von der Goltz defines strategy as “taking general, natural procedures in mind when it comes to the overall theater of war”.

Moltke also gave a clearer definition to strategy when he said: “it’s the procedure of practical capability of means put under the control of the commander to achieve the given objectives.”

It’s been noticed that the term “strategy” is often overused. A “strategic plane” for example is any plane that can fly long distances while carrying heavy materials. A lighter plane is called a “tactical one”.

Tactics is a term linked to strategy as it is its shadow. It represents the sum of executive procedures put forth in order to accomplish strategic objectives.

If major objectives are the strategic ones then the minor ones, which are accomplished consecutively, are considered tactical objectives.

In modern societies, roles have been distributed in a new way; politics has its leaders, military forces have officials, who themselves, take orders from those politicians.

The concept of strategy has a new meaning which is the art of using military forces to accomplish objectives set by upper political leaders.

The term “strategy” moved from the military domain to other domains in life and of knowledge fields, various sectors, from politics to the social sector and all the way to the cultural one.

Currently, the sectors that have adopted the term strategy the most are economic and administrative domains.

2-2) Strategy in the administrative domain:

Robert Schlumberger and Glenn Boseman define strategy in a book about administrative management strategy under the title “Policy formulation and Strategy Management: Text and Cases” as “a system of goals and plans, the process of distributing resources in order to achieve goals and plans.”

This process is comprised of 3 levels which are:

- Strategic level (long term)
- Practical level (immediate, daily or short term)
- Administrative level (intermediate term)

In a nutshell, strategy means the origins of command, a high level plan.

Strategy is no longer affiliated to the military domain as it surpassed it to reach other domains such as political, administrative, economic and marketing domains.

Strategy sets goals for itself to accomplish and uses means that allow it to execute the wanted envisions.

It’s both a science and an art, a plan and tactics where tactics is the art of plan execution.

Most strategists considered strategy as war and military related except for General André Beaufre who was one of the first to elevate “strategy” out of the military domain and introduced it to the rest of the human activities.

From there came the concept of “global strategy” and “nationalist strategy”.

André Beaufre introduced the concept of “strategy” to the general policy of the state.

A lot of thinkers came to circulate the concept of strategy on any individual or mass mission whether it was military, political, organizational, diplomatic or administrative.

War is not even a part of a global strategy.

Mohamed Hassanein Heikal says in this context that “war in modern ages has become part of the global political effort of a state in order to accomplish its people’s demands when it comes to its safety and security.”

Strategy is characterized especially by globalism, clarity of vision, initiative, and interrelation of components, realism, readiness, flexibility and the ability to adapt with upcoming variables.

3) Characteristics of strategy and its components:

Strategy is characterized by a lot of criteria mainly:

- Globalism which is one of the basic aspects of strategy. It means taking care of the situation's components in a state, establishment or organization when it comes to formation and activities.

It also means knowing the real capacities of an establishment and the elements of strength and weakness along with the threats it confronts.

Strategy has to know the outer environment of the establishment and what it contains from opportunities and hazards.

This global care allows to assess the situation of strategy-related systems objectively in order to evaluate their capacities accurately.

- Clarity and conviction: A strategy needs vision clarity. An establishment's vision clarity is as its goals' clarity.

Strategy also requires synchronization with the establishment's message and vision.

If clarity is available and the establishment's leaders are convinced with the authenticity of the strategy used then all of the actors will be convinced by the establishment's strategy genuineness. This will reinforce the feeling of belonging to an organization, will create a bond between its workers, will sharpen the wills of those who pertain to it and will develop the spirit of challenge and competitiveness.

- Realism or the commitment to time and space setups: Time and space dimensions are 2 of the composing elements of a strategy.

Strategy is organically linked to them.

The specific aspect of a certain strategy is specific to the historic and geographical frames in which it was set.

It's considered wrong to project a strategy that was formulated in some country in a given historic period on another.

- Participation: To ensure its success, strategy needs to recruit all human resources and to use the capacities available to it.

Enrolling experts in setting strategy objectives and formulation is one of the success keys.

- Interim: One of the characteristics of strategy is that it is distributed in specific periods or phases whether at the level of formulation, execution or monitoring.

Phases are an intellectual current, a thinking pattern and a working method. It represents an accurate vision of events, an objective reality assessment, a correct approximation of available capacities, a variation and a taming of ambition and a commitment to realism.

- Flexibility: Due to the fact that an establishment's officials must have permanent awakening and a concentration on variables taking place inside of it and in its national, regional and international environment, strategy is modified according to the period's needs.

The thing that makes an establishment set alternative scenarios to be sought in times of need.

- Completeness and interconnection: An establishment is considered an open system that affects and is affected by its environment.

It results in creating synchronization between the establishment's units, parts, branches in order to confront the outer environment in a synchronized and intact vision.

- Budget: A strategy needs to set specific resources and to set an exact budget that allows executing the different programmed operations.

Strategy has other characteristics like effectiveness, decentralization and the ability to be practiced.

These characteristics need complying procedures with the current social, cultural, political and economic structure components. That adds realism to the strategy.

Strategy is executed in a consecutive way, each one completes from the last phase to have been accomplished.

A strategy maker can fall in underestimation of available, subjective capacities and the result will be the failure to apply that strategy.

Danger lies in getting the authenticity of the leaders who formulated that strategy in one hand and the disappointment of the executive actors. That's exactly the feeling of every people whom their leaders lost a war.

The global aspect of strategy which makes it interconnected with economic, social, political, cultural and technological factors gave birth to a recent term called "great strategy" which means using all means and materials to achieve certain objectives in times of war or peace.

Strategy also needs the presence of a mutual relation between means and objectives. It means choosing the best means and alternatives to achieve objectives or ends that represent a need or basic ones derived from a certain environment with all of its contradictions, reactions and relations.

In this context, strategy means the styles of work and the suitable execution formulas along with the available capacities and resources in order to achieve objectives and to solve basic problems.

Strategy is composed of:

- Goal: It's the final end or the basic destination, i.e, if a state wants to play a pioneer role in the region in which it belongs to then it must formulate its policies to achieve that.

- Objective: It's the specific destination that must be reached. Military speaking, it's the specific point to be reached.
- Policy: It's the sum of principles, rules and directions that allow to achieve desired objectives.
- Plan: It's the sum of activities or consecutive operations needed in order to achieve objectives or certain needs.

A plan must contain the following elements: execution styles or the accomplishment of various activities and cited operations, activity timing or an accurate schedule, a hierarchy of activities, place of activity execution, type of needed resources (human and material) to accomplish each activity, the responsibility of executing every part of the plan and the level of desired performance.

- Action: It means accomplishing what has been envisioned and planned. Therefore, it's an execution of a plan.

4) Types of strategies:

Strategies have been categorized according to size:

- Major strategies: They represent a country's system, district and vision.

It sets at the same time the final objective.

“The strategy of evolving higher education in a given country.”

- Minor strategies: Major strategies are divided into a group of specific strategies (methodologies-evolving strategy, human resources qualifying strategy, higher education infrastructure establishment strategy, etc.)

When it comes to establishments and organizations, strategies are categorized according to different angles:

- Audience communication strategy: It's comprised of the following strategies:

A strategy built upon the principle of initiative.

Initiative comes from those who benefit from the establishment's services, or it may come from the establishment itself if there's a need to communicate with customers.

And a strategy is also built upon the principle of service condensation which means the effort of communication of that establishment in order to serve its customers.

A strategy that's built on the principle of expertise collecting which means benefitting from specialists and experts services like that which happen in habilitation offices and community habilitating associations.

A strategy that's built on the principle of maximum coverage which means the ability of the organization or the establishment to cover the maximum number of their customers.

- Service providing angle: It's comprised of the following strategies:

A strategy that aims at sustaining the current status is based on a fundamental theory which is “the current status of the organization that deals with providing services are the best thing to be done. Therefore, the effort of the organization focuses basically on boosting the current programs’ efficiency and expanding their range.

The confrontation strategy, for the presence of a competition-based environment, an establishment has to adopt new programs and policies in order to change the mental image of the audience after noticing fair results that need intervention by the general relations team or by the leaders of the establishment themselves.

The development strategy aims at making a change in resource development and on the abilities of the establishment. It also aims at expanding and attracting new customers.

- Social attitude strategy:

Pressure strategy that claims that different groups of people who are in disagreement can never get along or have their opinions changed only if this change will help them.

Humans can’t make changes unless there are extra profits to them. (Wilbur Schramm theory in the relations of media with development)

The conviction strategy which hypothesizes that there will be an agreement between different groups of people due to the presence of common values linking them together.

It also hypothesizes that a human being can change his opinion and even his beliefs if this change doesn’t jeopardize his personal benefit and the general one.

5) Strategy objectives:

A strategy aims at using the best of available abilities and resources. Every policy has its strategy. Objectives differ from one policy to another, from one strategy to another.

An objective can’t be accomplished unless by following an offensive style to invade others’ lands or by implying certain terms, by a defensive style to defend the homeland along with the welfare of the nation.

The objective can be political, economic, military or moral. It can be limited like invading a part of another country or major like destroying the entity of that country, once and for all.

The conflict that happened between the Eastern and the Western camps serves as a good example. Between the American Liberal system and the Soviet Communist one that ended up with the dissolving of the Soviet Union to 15 independent countries in 1991.

All objectives have one thing in common which is being the final one previously set by upper political authorities.

It might be necessary to achieve a number of interim goals before fulfilling the final objective of some strategy. These objectives are called strategic ones.

Basil Henry Liddel Hart views the basic objective which every strategy seek to accomplish as the preparation of suitable conditions for that the losses might be less and the results be successful in a battle.

André Beaufre has also the same opinion especially when using politically-set objectives well.

These objectives can be offensive/military like invading the enemy territory and making the opponent accept certain terms.

Others can be defensive such as defending one's homeland or protecting the welfare of a nation.

Making the enemy negotiate without having him lose out of military inability or the absence of a benefit when waging war with him as Boutros Ghali states.

The Yom Kippur war in which Egypt waged war on Israel in order to retrieve Sinai.

Most strategists of whom General André Beaufre, think that winning a battle represents the most suitable solution of any conflict. Therefore, victory is not a perfect strategic military objective.

Whatever they are, objectives are listed as follows:

- Basic objectives (goal)
- Practical objectives which are the designed objectives to achieve basic ones.
- Policies: They are the rules and directions that facilitate the process of achieving designated objectives.

One of the strategic objectives of an establishment is having competitive advantage for it to practice its activities in a constantly changing environment which renders it threatened to lose its position inside of a market.

An establishment seeks to reinforce its status in a market by providing an extra distinguishing element which is the competitive advantage.

This advantage is “an evolution level, some certain organizing, productive techniques that make an establishment hard to be removed out of a market thus protecting and keeping it.”

Therefore, the objective of strategy is to have a long term competitive advantage.

This advantage can be present even before strategy. In this case, it's necessary to have a strategy at formulation.

The sole objective of a strategy is then a reinforcing one that supports the presence of an establishment in a market.

If competitive advantage is unavailable then it's a must that it should be provided at first then comes setting up a strategy.

An establishment can adopt an offensive policy and takes on competing companies. In fact, it can stay in the market relying solely on a defensive strategy.

Competitive advantage is what separates one establishment from another. That's why the establishment seeks to use its advantage for the longest possible period. Advantage is what allows profit increasing.

6) Strategy within the information strategy:

Strategy has entered a historic period by the rise of the information society back in the 1990's. That date formed a shift in human lives since the introduction of a new energy; the energy of "information".

Information is the raw material which the new society relies on.

According to Alvin Toffler, it's the source of upcoming international conflicts.

Information represents a source of wealth and power in present time, hence, it's not only authority but "the essence of authority" itself.

"Those who are fascinated by the electronic civilization take it even as a new creed that has replaced intellectual, scientific and cultural backgrounds in modern industrialized countries. It's clear that electronic ideologies are being used in the American political and strategic matters."

During the cold war that occurred between the Eastern and Western camps, the Capitalist and the Communist, also known as the polar conflict, weapon of mass destruction represented the ultimate strategic victory standard.

Nowadays, electronic capacities have replaced these weapons because "media in the new currency of the international kingdom, and the U.S is more qualified than other countries to make use of its electronic and material abilities through media."

According to the American conservative right-wing; a powerful current in decision making and strategic planning questions, the U.S represents a source of stability in the world due to the pioneer position it occupies in the field of electronic technologies. The rest of the world should do the rest to amalgamate in the "electronic village" age.

Some analysts consider ideological and strategic use of the "electronic revolution" phenomenon clearly shows that fast electronic communication networks namely the Internet didn't lead to the freedom of electronic exchange on a global scale.

However, it formed a point of domination of the great controlling power in the course of technical and scientific production; the U.S.

In addition to that, those analysts consider that the Internet phenomenon is still a Western American one, despite the wide facilitations brought further to expand it to southern countries.

It collides with a lot of cultural and material obstacles and it doesn't always satisfy needs subjectively in these countries that thrive for modernization.

They also refer to the alerts of the then French president Jacques Chirac who called all countries to do something against the American cultural domination along with the English language through legalizing the use of electronic communication networks.

The current historic situation is one of inter-civilizational and cultural opening.

It's hard for countries to isolate their peoples in order to defend their identity and protect their culture.

The best way to promote self-presence is by showing specificity, cultural belonging and civilizational radicalization.

Since it's a source of power, information is undoubtedly the most dangerous of all weapons.

"Knowledge is power" as summarized in the quote of Francis Bacon which is probably preceded by the saying of the Chinese Emperor Sun Tzu: "knowledge is the power that allows a sane man to prevail, the commander to attack fearlessly, to win without bloodshed and to accomplish what others failed to do."

Knowledge became one of the corner stones of military, economic and political powers. Its burden gets heavier by the day. Since "knowledge is power" then "power is also knowledge" as stated by Michel Foucault.

He meant that ideological, military, economic and political powers work both directly and indirectly to generate a speech of knowledge that serves their goals and promotes their ideologies for the sole purpose of securing their benefit.

On the other hand, "a study in commonly used terms in information-related speech" shows the significance of conflict, war and violence that can be anticipated.

Some of these terms are: "electronic warfare", "databases", "logical bomb", "electromagnetic bombs", "high-voltage frequency canon", "viruses", "Trojan horses", "traps", "worms", "electronic Jihad", "flood net attack", "net paralysis", "net criminal", "net locks", "electronic terrorism", "digital imperialism", "digital void", etc.

"Electronic violence is exercised through what we call "soft symbolic forces" that are different from hard conventional ones. It pulls out and doesn't push through means of invitation and intimidation."

It uses the language of hearts and minds in order to have opinion not land, to remove mass will and not weapons and by imposing attitudes and saving opinions and not by sieges or mines.

Modern communication technologies have a basic role in formulating general views, making political decisions, directing events, collapsing the cultural, economic and political systems and mind controlling.

The battlefield is now a new one. The nature of things has completely changed. Information became the power that rules the world in every field including the military ones.

The West doesn't need armies to penetrate fortified societies. It's now possible through its technological superiority to dominate over many regions in the world and to control their political, economic, cultural systems through spreading its culture and values.

Modern information and communication means like broadcasting agencies, TV channels, newspapers, magazines and modern communication technologies like the Internet represent a weapon that can be accomplish what nuclear bombs didn't do. Real war today is the war of technology, knowledge and domination over information sources.

Information is what sets new strategies along with military and political equilibriums.

Military superiority is no longer acquired by military materials. Military rules are no longer the number of soldiers. Western superiority in the age of information is represented by brains, researchers and engineers who are the armies and soldiers of this time. One day, the number of soldiers carrying computers will surpass the number of those carrying rifles. The Department of Defense made the first step in 1993 when the United States Air Force signed a contract to buy 300,000 laptops.

Briefly, knowledge has become the control means of destruction as it is the basic one of productivity.

Conclusion:

The means used by strategy to accomplish objectives vary according to their nature and importance, and by available abilities and provided capacities.

Senior strategists like Carl von Clausewitz are known to have agreed that military means are the sole ones to achieve the requested objective.

Modern ones see military solutions or military power as nothing but a means and the best solution is not seeking it unless other diplomatic, political, economic and psychological (soft power theory of Joseph Nye) solutions are used.

These strategists also point out on creating a strategic situation to accomplish desired objectives without seeking military power. The successful strategy is that which combines compatibility between the means and the objective.

And in creating the sufficient psychological influence to crack the opponent's self-confidence will certainly lead to accepting the imposed terms.

André Beaufre refers in this context to the main reason behind a successful strategy which is reaching the desired result through creating a situation that demolishes the opponent's morals and that also allows to make use of such situation.

It's necessary to study this case globally in order to know the opponent accurately. Football teams and the rest of sports watch recorded matches again and again of the opponent team.

This act is accompanied by analytical conclusions of the coach and the technical staff. Team members are discussed with about points of strength and weakness.

Psychological influence is also sought through fierce media campaigns between rival countries. This is observed especially in wrestling when each side threatens the other.

The concept of “strategy” has expanded to include all fields which gained it the name of “the art of using means to achieve objectives”, “the art of complying means with abilities”, “a system of objectives and plans”.

The concept of strategy has entered a new historic era with the rise of the information society in the 1990’s. That date formed a shift point to the term of “strategy”.

Information has become the raw material of human societies. For information is knowledge, it became “a source of power and wealth” thus a source of authority, “the essence of authority” itself according to Alvin Toffler.

Information has also become “a source of international conflicts”.

Through studying strategy as a concept, models, characteristics, components, types, objectives and knowledge in the information society, it seems that we laid the necessary ground of knowledge to build different communication strategies.

Whether the fact of pertaining to the state as an organizing entity or an establishment, organization or institution.

Communication strategies aren’t self-made but they are linked organically to general strategy, the strategy as a whole.

Strategy is itself a highly complicated phenomenon as stated by Marcel Mauss and it has a lot of significations and dimensions that enrich the concept and give the study a whole new meaning.

Margins:

1: Frederic Cossuta: *Eléments pour la lecture des textes philosophiques*, Bordas, Paris, 1989, p51.

2 : Same reference.

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5: http://www.dcpsp.uqam.ca/Profil/charron_claudeyves.aspx

6: <http://kotb.over-blog.com/article-62135833.html>

7: *Dictionary of the English language new standard*

8: Harold Lasswell

Harold Dwight Lasswell was a leading American political scientist and communications theorist. He was a PhD student at the University of Chicago, and he was a professor of law at Yale University.

9: <http://kotb.over-blog.com/article-62135833.html>

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11: <http://www.suhuf.net.sa/2000jaz/dec/27/ar5.htm>

12: Nayyoub Salah, *strategic thinking*, p118

13: Henry Mintzberg

Henry Mintzberg, OC OQ FRSC is an internationally renowned academic and author on business and management.

14: *SWOT model*

15: Peter Ferdinand Drucker

Peter Ferdinand Drucker was an Austrian-born American management consultant, educator, and author, whose writings contributed to the philosophical and practical foundations of the modern business corporation.

16: <http://www.suhuf.net.sa/2000jaz/dec/27/ar5.htm>

17: <http://www.suhuf.net.sa/2000jaz/dec/27/ar5.htm>

18: Michael Porter

Michael Eugene Porter is the Bishop William Lawrence University Professor at The Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness, based at the Harvard Business School.

19: Michael Porter

20: <http://www.fateh.net/public/derasat/2/11.htm>

21: Niccolo Machiavelli

Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli was an Italian Renaissance historian, politician, diplomat, philosopher, humanist, and writer. He has often been called the founder of modern political science.

22: Henry Lloyd

23: John Fuller

24: Thutmose III

Thutmose III was the sixth Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty. During the first twenty-two years of Thutmose's reign he was co-regent with his stepmother and aunt, Hatshepsut, who was named the pharaoh.

25: Sun Wu

Sun Wu, the birth name of Sun Tzu, a Chinese military strategist of the sixth century BCE and the author of *The Art of War*

26: Cyrus the Great

Cyrus II of Persia, commonly known as Cyrus the Great and also called Cyrus the Elder by the Greeks, was the founder of the Achaemenid Empire.

27: Alexander the Great

Alexander III of Macedon, commonly known as Alexander the Great, was a King of the Ancient Greek kingdom of Macedon and a member of the Argead dynasty, an ancient Greek royal house.

28: Hannibal

Hannibal, fully Hannibal Barca, was a Punic Carthaginian military commander, generally considered one of the greatest military commanders in history. His father Hamilcar Barca was the leading Carthaginian commander during the First Punic War.

29: Julius Caesar

Gaius Julius Caesar was a Roman statesman, general and notable author of Latin prose. He played a critical role in the events that led to the demise of the Roman Republic and the rise of the Roman Empire.

30: Khalid ibn al-Walid

AbūSulaymānKhālīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī also known as SayfAllāh al-Maslūl, was a companion of the prophet Muhammad.

31: Umar

Umar, also spelled Omar, was one of the most powerful and influential Muslim caliphs in history. He was a senior Sahaba of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. He succeeded Abu Bakr as the second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate on 23 August 634.

32: Tariq ibn Ziyad

Tariq ibn Ziyad was a Muslim commander who led the Islamic Umayyad conquest of Visigothic Hispania in 711–718 A.D

33: Saladin

Saladin, known as *Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn* *Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb* in Arabic and *SelahedînêEyûbî* in Kurdish, was the first sultan of Egypt and Syria and the founder of their Ayyubid dynasty, although it was named after his father.

34: Mehmed the Conqueror

Mehmed II or Mahomet II, best known as Mehmed the Conqueror, was an Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446, and later from February 1451 to May 1481.

35: Genkhis Khan

Genghis Khan, born *Temüjin*, was the founder and Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, which became the largest contiguous empire in history after his demise. He came to power by uniting many of the nomadic tribes of Northeast Asia.

36: Timur

Timur, historically known as Tamerlane, was a Turco-Mongol conqueror and the founder of the Timurid Empire in Persia and Central Asia. He was also the first ruler in the Timurid dynasty.

37: Peter the Great

Peter the Great, Peter I or Peter Alexeyevich ruled the Tsardom of Russia and later the Russian Empire from 7 May 1682 until his death, jointly ruling before 1696 with his elder half-brother, Ivan V

38: George Washington

George Washington was the first President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War, and one of the Founding Fathers of the United States.

39: Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoléon Bonaparte was a French military and political leader who rose to prominence during the French Revolution and led several successful campaigns during the Revolutionary Wars

40: Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union from the mid-1920s until his death in 1953. Holding the post of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he was effectively the dictator of the state.

41: Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler was an Austrian-born German politician who was the leader of the Nazi Party, Chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945, and Führer of Nazi Germany from 1934 to 1945

42: Erwin Rommel

Erwin Johannes Eugen Rommel, popularly known as the Desert Fox, was a German field marshal of World War II. He earned the respect of both his own troops and his enemies.

43: George Smith Patton

George Smith Patton, Jr. was a senior officer of the United States Army, who commanded the U.S. Seventh Army in the Mediterranean and European Theaters of World War II, but is best known for his leadership of the U.S

44: Bernard Montgomery

Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery, 1st Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, KG, GCB, DSO, PC, nicknamed "Monty" and the "Spartan General", was a senior officer of the British Army

45: Professor at Illinois University

46: Carl von Clausewitz

Carl Philipp Gottfried von Clausewitz was a Prussian general and military theorist who stressed the "moral" and political aspects of war. His most notable work, *Vom Kriege*, was unfinished at his death.

47: <http://haras.naseej.com/Detail.asp?InNewsItemID=158277>

48: <http://www.social-team.com/forum/showthread.php>

49: Interview between field marshal Ahmad Ismail Ali and Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, Nov. 18th 1973

50: <http://www.fateh.net/public/derasat/2/11.htm>

51: <http://www.social-team.com/forum/showthread.php?t=3591>

52: same reference

53: <http://ar.wikipedia.org>

54: B. H. Liddell Hart

Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart, commonly known throughout most of his career as Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, was an English soldier, military historian and military theorist

55: André Beaufre

André Beaufre was a French general. Beaufre ended World War II with the rank of colonel. Well known by the Anglo-Saxon world as a military strategist and as an exponent of an independent French nuclear force

56: <https://www.gulfpolicies.com>

57: RidhaMethani, information society and development: which relationship?

58: Alvin Toffler, Les nouveaux pouvoirs: Savoir, richesse et violence à la veille du 21eme siècle, Fayard, 1991, p38

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64: Francis Bacon

Francis Bacon, 1st Viscount St Alban PC KC was an English philosopher, statesman, scientist, jurist, orator, essayist and author. He served both as Attorney General and Lord Chancellor of England.

65: Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault was a French philosopher, historian of ideas, social theorist, philologist and literary critic.

66: Ali Nabil, the violence of information and its terrorism, p149-152

67: same reference

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Job Performance Assessment for School Activity Teachers from the Viewpoints of School Principals in Dhofar Governorate

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Abstract

The study aimed to identify the level of job performance for school activity teachers and the difficulties facing them from the viewpoints of school principals in Dhofar governorate. Thus, a questionnaire was conducted for school principals, consisting of (58) items distributed on (3) main fields: planning and organization of school activities, implementation and follow-up of school activities, and evaluation of school activities. Then their validity and reliability were verified, with reliability standing at (0.92). The sample for the study consisted of (100) school principals who were randomly chosen from (149) principals in a number of schools in Dhofar governorate, with a percentage of (67%). The data was analyzed using a number of statistical methods, including mean, standard deviation, t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA). The study has reached a number of conclusions, most important of which are the following: The school activity teachers managed to do their different tasks to a large extent and they faced difficulties during their performance of such tasks as planning and organization of school activities, then implementation and follow-up of school activities, and finally evaluation of these activities. In addition, the study concluded that there are statistically significant differences at a significance level of (0.05) among school principals' opinions about the job performance of school activity teachers, which are attributed to gender variable in favor of females, to educational stage variable in favor of grades (1-4), and to years of experience variable in favor of category (over 10 years). The study has a number of recommendations which include the following: centers for school activities should be established in Dhofar governorate to develop creativity and talents for students and teachers. Moreover, an area of specialization affiliated to the departments and colleges of education in the Omani universities should be established to graduate school activity teachers.

Keywords: Job Performance, Assessment, School Activity Teachers, Educational Leadership, School Principals.

1. Introduction

School is one of the most important social institutions that work on building individuals and providing them with knowledge and good manners through the different tasks it does. Thus, the school's job is not only giving information to students but also developing their readiness and tendency besides guiding them socially in a proper way.

Nowadays the school is not confined to a specific aspect of education, but it is a continuous and integrated process of education, and the school activity is one of its components and essentials. In this regard, modern education is concerned with providing teachers with the basic general culture and developing desired values, trends, tendencies, skills, and ways of thinking inside and outside the classroom (Arafa, 2010).

For the school activities to achieve their goals there should be a teacher for such activities, who realizes their importance and benefits in a clear and accurate way. In fact, a school activity teacher supervises and follows up activities under the school's bylaws and goals. Moreover, he/she works with the teachers who supervise all school activities' groups to provide them with knowledge and skills so that their work with the groups may become more accurate and effective.

A school activity teacher in the Sultanate of Oman is a teacher who was freed from his teaching load by the ministry so as to supervise all school activities and follow up the implementation and evaluation of such activities in cooperation with the teachers who supervise them. This is to help students to discover and develop their talents. Such a teacher was formerly called "First supervisor of school activities".

Therefore, all countries worldwide have paid much attention to school activity teachers. In England, for example, the school activity teacher is a main member of the organizational structure of activity administration in different schools, which is composed of the school's principal, the general supervisor of activities, supervisors of activity groups, social workers and teachers. A school activity teacher also takes responsibility for management, supervision and implementation of school activities (Al-Bahnasawy, 2007).

Similarly, in the US it has been acknowledged that the activity programs cannot play their role successfully in the school life without the enthusiasm and intelligence of the activity supervisors as well as their knowledge of the principles of these activities, their taking interest in them and their experience of the fields of such activities (Qamar, 2007).

In the local context, the Omani Ministry of Education has devoted considerable attention to school activity teachers, which was represented in offering a number of courses and holding many seminars to train and develop school activity teachers, such as a seminar entitled "educational activities are a basis for learning enrichment" in the period 24-26/11/2007. The seminar had a number of recommendations, including: jointly working with the higher education institutions to offer courses in educational activities to students of government and private colleges of education, supporting communication and exchange of expertise among schools inside and outside the Sultanate of Oman in accordance with educational systems, and providing the necessary financial grades for appointment of school activity teachers in every school (Al-Bimany, 2012).

1.1. Statement of the Problem:

The present study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the level of job performance for school activity teachers from the viewpoints of school principals in Dhofar governorate?
2. What are the levels of difficulties that face school activity teachers during the performance of their jobs from the viewpoints of the school principals in Dhofar governorate?
3. Are there any statistically significant differences between the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate about the level of job performance for school activity teachers, which are attributed to the variables of (gender, educational stage, and years of experience)?

1.2. Limits of the Study:

The limits of the study were as follows:

- **Geographical limits:** Government schools in Dhofar Governorate (149 schools).
- **Human limits:** Government schools' principals in Dhofar Governorate.
- **Time limits:** The study was carried out during the academic year (2014/2015).
- **Topic limits:** The following three topics related to job performance: planning and organization of school activities, implementation and follow-up of school activities, and evaluation of school activities.

1.3. Goals of the Study

The study aimed to:

- Know the level of job performance for school activity teachers in Dhofar governorate's schools.
- Specify the difficulties that face school activity teachers in Dhofar governorate's schools during the performance of their jobs.
- Specify the significance of differences between the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers, which are attributed to the following variables: (gender, educational stage, and years of experience)?

1.4. Importance of the Study

The study derived its importance from the following contributions:

- Developing the job performance for school activity teachers in Dhofar governorate in particular and the Sultanate of Oman in general.
- Helping the schools' principals, school activity supervisors, and teachers concerning the practical application of school activities.
- Developing the students' level in the performance of school activities, which has positive effects on their academic achievement, as well as discovering their various tendencies and talents.

1.5. Operational Definitions of Study's Terminology:

▪ School activities:

A set of works, programs and activities that aim at improving the level of the young students in order to prepare leading examples of students with respect to moral and behavioral aspects, as well as instilling the concepts of group work and fair competition in addition to self-actualization among learning generations.

▪ School activity teacher:

The school's official who is in charge of all school activities, including supervision of planning, implementation, follow-up and evaluation of these activities in cooperation with the school's administration and the teachers who supervise such activities.

▪ Job performance of school activity teacher:

The process that measures the school activity teacher's achievement of multi-skill tasks related to professional, administrative and technical competencies and the associated programs and competitions that help in promoting students' knowledge and learning in creative ways, so as to know his ability for shouldering responsibility for these activities and his readiness to hold a higher position in the future. This is measured by the grade he gets using the instrument specifically designed for this purpose in the current study.

2. Theoretical Framework:

(A) Concept of Job performance of school activity teacher:

Job performance has been given different definitions. Al-Sharif (2013, 55) defines it as "the product of a certain effort exerted by an individual or a group to achieve a certain task." Al-Khatib (2007, 105) defines it as "an administrative process through which the competency of employees and their achievement of the tasks assigned to them are determined. In addition, the behavior of employees and the progress they make during work are judged through this process. "It is the degree of achieving and completing the tasks that are basic components of an individual's job. It reflects the way through which an individual meets the job requirements. The two terms 'performance' and 'effort' are often confused. An effort refers to the exerted energy, while performance is measured on the basis of results (Shawish, 2005, 209). Al-Awamla (2004, 66) defines it as "a set of administrative behaviors that shows that the employee performs his duties and includes the quality of performance, good implementation, and technical expertise of job in addition to communication and interaction with the rest of the institution's members as well as abiding by the administrative bylaws that organize an employee's work and being keen on complying with them."

So, it is noticeable that the tasks, authorities and responsibilities of a school activity teacher are a main criterion for his/her job performance, and the associated programs and competitions that help in promoting students' knowledge and learning in creative and untraditional ways that go beyond the course and outside the classroom within specified educational framework.

(B) Tasks and criteria of job performance for school activity teachers in Oman:

Qamar (2007) maintains that the efficient school activity teacher is that one who makes the desired changes in the student's character within the framework of the desired educational goals of the activity. Consequently, the evaluation of the teacher's performance is dependent

on the positive changes which the activity makes in the character of the student who practices that activity. The school activity teacher's role is complementary to the other teachers' role through supervision and follow-up of teachers and school activities, in addition to contribution and participation in the cultural events and camps which schools hold. The following is a brief review of school activity teachers' tasks in the Sultanate of Oman (Ministry of Education, 2014):

▪ **Administrative tasks:**

1. To abide by the professional ethics and the laws, bylaws and decisions of work.
2. To participate in preparing, implementing and evaluating the school's plan.
3. To take part in the daily shifts and in the follow-up of student attendance.
4. To take part in all exam procedures.
5. To put students' descriptive reports on the educational gate.
6. To participate in the works of school's councils and committees and attend school's meetings.
7. To take part in all processes of evaluation of the school's performance.
8. To work on promoting loyalty and belonging to the homeland and profession.

▪ **Technical tasks:**

1. To put a timetable for carrying out his job duties and responsibilities in the school's plan under the supervision of the school's principal.
2. To follow up the works of school activity groups and student councils in coordination with the leaders of groups and councils.
3. To take part in the distribution of the budget of school activity programs and follow up its expenditure.
4. To prepare the exhibitions, camps, seminars, celebrations and programs which are associated with the school activity groups and student councils in coordination with the leaders of groups and councils.
5. To specify the technical and financial needs for the school activity programs, and work on securing them in coordination with the financial specialists and the leaders of groups and councils.
6. To supervise the process of listing the talented and skilled students in the school activity groups and student councils, and care for and honor them besides helping them to develop their talents.
7. To consolidate cooperation between the school, home and the local community concerning the field of his work under the supervision of the school's administration.
8. To keep and update the records and files related to his work in that way that ensures quality of performance.
9. To follow up the records and files of the activity groups and student councils.
10. To prepare a report each semester about his work and submit it to the school's principal and the supervisor-in-charge.
11. To participate in the preparation of field research and studies and make use of their results in his work.
12. To work on developing his professional knowledge and building up his practical experience, and abide by the activities, meetings and training programs that are related to his work.

13. To work on renewing and developing his job as well as putting forward suggestions as far as his duties and responsibilities are concerned, in light of the bylaws that organize his work.
14. To self-evaluate his performance.
15. To carry out any other similar tasks to be assigned to him in the field of his work.

3. Previous Studies:

- (Warren, 2003) study aimed to identify the role of the visual student activities in improving the educational process for university students. The study used the analytical descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (1500) students representing different educational levels and departments in the university. The study reached a number of conclusions, including: students realized the importance of the movable and immovable visual activities and the abstract symbols as support to scientific study, as well as the important role of the visual student activities in the educational process in the university.
- Al-Badr study (2004) aimed to know the reality of student activity and the obstacles to its application in primary schools in Mecca. The researcher used the descriptive survey methodology. The most important conclusions of the study include the following: There was deficiency in the preparation of programs, as most activity programs lacked good planning according to available facilities. Moreover, there were many obstacles facing school administration in implementing the activity, due to the inconvenience of buildings and the parents' low level of awareness of the importance of school activity.
- Jarvela study (2005) aimed to identify the effect of participation in student activities by using computers to solve the problems that face school students in a cooperative way. The researcher used the analytical descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (45) students in mathematics department. The most important conclusions include: Suitability of computers as an instrument to implement the school activity for all students with their different categories (talented, normal, and slow in learning). This is because students practice activities according to their tendencies and abilities. Furthermore, computers provide students with an educational environment that helps them for research and exploration.
- Brown (2005) study aimed to evaluate the principals' realization and level of support to non-class activities. The study used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (235) school principals in Virginia. The study reached a number of conclusions, including: there is a direct relation between the school principals' understanding of non-class activities and students' academic achievement. Similarly, there is a direct relation between the school principals' understanding of non-class activities and the level of their support to such activities.
- Al-Gergawi (2006) study attempted to reveal the reality of student activity administration in the basic education schools in Gaza. The researcher used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (216) activity supervisors in Gaza schools. The study had a number of conclusions, including: the administration of student activities in schools was very poor, there were no action plans to manage them, and finally there were no statistically significant differences at (0.05) among the individuals of the study sample in the administration of student activities that are attributed to the variable of experience.

- Fairclough (2006) study aimed to identify the effect of using education technology on the levels of students' participation in student activities. The researcher used the analytical descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on a sample of (212) university students in different specializations. The study concluded that using technology during the educational process increases students' participation in different student and sports activities.
- Al-Oufi (2011) study aimed to design a proposed training program for school activity teachers in the Sultanate of Oman in light of their training needs. The researcher used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (500) school activity teachers in the Sultanate of Oman. The study concluded that among the most important knowledge and skills that should be developed for school activity teachers are the following: the ways to take care of those students who are skilled in school activities, stages of evaluating the school activity, strategies for effective planning of school activities, academic evaluation of the activity plan components, and the ways to support the students and teachers who are creative in student activities.
- Al-Qateesh (2011) study attempted to identify the level of the basic education teachers' practicing of school activities in the schools of the Directorate of Educational Northeastern Badiyah from their points of view. The researcher used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (153) teachers. The study concluded that the basic education teachers practice school activities on a medium degree and that there were no statistically significant differences at a significance level of (0.05) regarding performance which may be attributed to gender variable.
- Al-Ghobaiwy (2012) study aimed to evaluate the student activities in the primary stage in Afif governorate schools from the viewpoints of teachers. The study used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on a sample consisting of (150) teachers. The study concluded that among the obstacles that face student activities are the following: lack of parents' encouragement to their children, lack of financial potentials, training programs and the suitable necessary places for student activities, in addition to teachers' lack of knowledge about the activity, their poor preparation of it concerning skills, students' lack of interest in practicing the activity and the principal's lack of care for the student activities.
- Al-Ghazali (2013) study aimed to specify the most important professional competencies for school activity teachers in Omani government schools from the viewpoints of experts. The researcher used Delphi method as an instrument for the study. The study concluded that the most important professional competencies for school activity teachers are the following in order: personal competencies, competencies for organization, evaluation and follow-up, competencies for communication, competencies for planning, and competencies for professional development. Based on those results and experts' opinions a group of procedural suggestions were proposed to train and qualify school activity teachers.
- Al-Nabhaniyya (2014) study attempted to identify the effect of organizational climate on job performance in the general directorates of education in Oman. The researcher used the descriptive methodology through applying a questionnaire on the study sample which consisted of (160) heads of departments. The study concluded that there were no statistically significant differences at a significance level of (0.05) between males and females in job performance. Similarly, there were no statistically significant differences at

a significance level of (0.05) between job experience levels in all sections of the questionnaire.

4. Methodology for the Study:

The study uses the descriptive methodology for it suits the problems and questions of the study. This is because it aims at describing and explaining the phenomenon. In addition, this method relies on collecting the data from the field, making use of some instruments of the study to identify the real performance of different tasks by school activity teachers in Dhofar governorate's schools.

4.1. Study Population and Sample:

The study population is composed of (149) principals of government schools in Dhofar governorate in the academic year 2014-2015. The sample of study was randomly selected, representing 67% of the study population. The sample of study was distributed according to the variables of gender, educational stage, and years of experience, as shown in the following table:

Table (1)

Distribution of study sample individuals according to the variables of gender, educational stage and years of experience

No.	Variables	Variable categories	Percentage
1	Sex	Male	44
		Female	56
		Total	100
2	Educational stage	Grades (1-4)	15
		Grades (5-10)	19
		Grades (10-12)	4
		Grades (11-12)	2
		Grades (5-12)	22
		Grades (1-12)	38
		Total	100
3	Years of experience	Less than (5) years of age	9
		(5-10) years of age	20
		More than 10 years of age	71
			100

4.2. Instrument of study (questionnaire)

- **Questionnaire in its initial form:**

A questionnaire was designed as a main instrument to collect data so as to answer the research questions, using the Five-point Likert Scale (very high, high, medium, low, very low), as it included (6) fields related to performance level and difficulties, comprising (45) items.

- **Validity of the questionnaire:**

Having been prepared in its initial form, the validity of the questionnaire was verified through being reviewed by a number of experts in education and administration, reaching (20) referees. Based on the referees' notes some modifications were introduced to the questionnaire. These notes required the rephrasing of some items and the deletion of some others and consequently the questionnaire was composed of (6) fields and (42) items.

- **Reliability of the questionnaire:**

To verify the reliability of the questionnaire it was applied to an exploratory sample of (20) principals. Then Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficient was applied to each one of the fields of the questionnaire and to the questionnaire as a whole, as shown in the following table.

Table (2)

Results of Cronbach's Alpha test for measuring the reliability of the questionnaire

No.	Field	No. of Items	Alpha Coefficient	Reliability
1.	Performance level related to planning and organization of school activities	7	0.889	high
2.	Performance level related to implementation and follow-up of school activities	11	0.932	high
3.	Performance level related to evaluation of school activities	8	0.963	high
4.	Difficulties related to planning and organization of school activities	6	0.828	high
5.	Difficulties related to implementation and follow-up of school activities	5	0.878	high
6.	Difficulties related to evaluation of school activities	5	0.888	high
	All fields of the questionnaire	42	0.918	high

It is obvious in table (2) that the values for the reliability coefficient for the questionnaire in its different axes are high, which indicates that the questionnaire is valid for application.

4.3. Field application of study:

After the questionnaire was prepared in its final form it was applied to the sample of study, which is composed of (149) principals of government schools in Dhofar governorate, where

the questionnaire was applied at the beginning of the second semester of 2015 and the period of application took nearly a month.

4.4. The statistical methods used in the study:

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version (20) was used in the statistical analysis of the data in the study, relying on the following statistical methods: percentage, frequencies, mean, relative importance, weighted average, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient, and T-test for two independent groups, as well as One-Way ANOVA and LSD for Post Hoc Comparisons.

5. Results and Discussions:

5.1. Results and Discussions on the First Research Question:

As mentioned above, the first research question is: what is the level of job performance for school activity teachers from the viewpoints of school principals in Dhofar governorate? To answer this question, the mean, standard deviation and estimation of the level of the principals' response to the items in each one of the first three fields in the questionnaire were calculated, as shown in tables 3, 4, 5.

Table (3)

The study sample response to the first field items
(Performance level related to planning and organization of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	4	Provides students with the chance to choose the school activity that suits their tendency	4.17	0.92	High
2	2	Specifies the places for practicing the school activities	4.13	0.93	High
3	1	Prepares the general plan for the activities in that way that serves the students, curricula and community	4.09	0.93	High
4	5	Benefits from the previous experience in the field of planning for school activities	3.88	1.09	High
5	7	Specifies the technical and physical needs for school activity programs	3.86	1.09	High
6	6	Participates in choosing the activity supervisors on the basis of efficiency and experience	3.84	1.1	High
7	3	Coordinates with the community institutions to activate the school activity programs	3.65	1.17	High
The First Field Average			3.95	1.03	High

Table (4)

The study sample response to the second field items
(Performance level related to implementation and follow-up of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	9	Supervises the activation of activity records in the educational gate	4.07	1.018	High
2	11	Prepares a report each semester about the progress of school activities	3.93	1.027	High
3	6	Chooses the suitable times for implementing the external activities accompanying the school activities	3.89	1.072	High
4	1	Provides the suitable environment for school activity supervisors to carry out the prepared programs	3.88	1.037	High
5	4	Abides by the schedule for implementing the school activities	3.83	1.12	High
6	7	Follows up the care for skilled students	3.78	1.151	High
7	8	Supervises the implementation of exhibitions, camps, seminars and school celebrations	3.78	1.151	High
8	5	Distributes the budget for school activities according to a specified financial plan	3.69	1.134	High
9	10	Works on solving the problems that may hinder the implementation of the activity programs	3.67	0.995	High
10	2	Manages the activity and scouting class as required	3.63	1.125	High
11	3	Translates the goals of activity into practical programs	3.56	1.085	High
The Second Field Average			3.79	1.08	High

Table (5)

The study sample response to the third field items
(Performance level related to evaluation of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	1	Evaluates the works of different school activity groups	3.84	1.00	High
2	3	Verifies that the school activity programs achieve the educational goals	3.65	1.05	High
3	6	Measures the degree of students' acceptance of school activities	3.62	1.10	High
4	2	Makes sure that the results of each activity are related to the general goals of school activities	3.55	1.01	High
5	5	Measures the efficiency of school activity supervisors	3.55	1.10	High
6	4	Uses self-evaluation through activity groups' evaluation of each other	3.49	1.03	High
7	7	Uses different methods in evaluation of school activities	3.43	1.07	High
8	8	Lets teachers and students share in evaluation of school activity programs	3.32	1.15	Medium
The Third Field Average			3.56	1.06	High

Tables (3), (4), and (5) show the following:

1. The values for the average of the study sample individuals' response to the first three fields ranged between (3.56-3.95) with the performance level of (high).
2. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the first field ranged between (3.65-4.17) with the performance level of (high).
3. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the second field ranged between (3.56-4.07) with the performance level of (high).
4. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the third field ranged between (3.32-3.84) with the performance level of (medium - high).

This refers to the high level of job performance for school activity teachers in Dhofar governorate's schools, and to their ability to carry out their different tasks to a large extent. This may be attributed to a number of reasons, including the following: the school activity teachers' keenness on the good planning of activities, taking into account the students, curricula and community, in addition to the ministry's interest in implementing the training courses that aim at developing the activity teacher's capabilities and improving his/her performance skills in a positive and effective way.

This result is similar to what was mentioned in a number of studies, such as Al-Qateesh (2011), and is different from Al-Badr (2004) which pointed out that most activity programs lack good planning.

5.2. Results and Discussions on the Second Research Question

As indicated above, the second research question is: what are the levels of difficulties that face school activity teachers during the performance of their jobs from the points of view of the school principals in Dhofar governorate? To answer this question, the mean, standard deviation and estimation of the level of the principals' response to the items in each one of the fourth, fifth and sixth fields in the questionnaire were calculated, as shown in tables 6,7,8.

Table (6)

The study sample response to the fourth field items
(Levels of difficulties related to planning and organization of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	2	Teachers' little interest in supervising school activities	3.98	1.09	High
2	5	Insufficient number of suitable places for practicing school activities	3.91	1.19	High
3	4	Parents' poor encouragement of their children to participate in the school activities	3.83	1.11	High
4	6	The financial resources needed for school activities are limited	3.69	1.25	High
5	3	Students' little interest in participating in the school activities	3.61	1.15	High
6	1	Poor level of planning skill for school activity teachers and supervisors	3.3	1.31	Medium
The Fourth Field Average			3.72	1.18	High

Table (7)

The study sample response to the fifth field items
(Levels of difficulties related to implementation and follow-up of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	1	Insufficient time to practice different activities during the school day	4.03	1.09	High
2	2	Teaching overload for teachers, which reduces their interest in implementing the school activities	4.00	1.22	High
3	3	Little experience of the activity supervisors, which reduces the benefits of activities	3.76	1.13	High
4	5	Lack of the books and references that may be consulted when implementing the school activity programs	3.47	1.18	High
5	4	School administrations do not have strong conviction in the educational value of school activities	2.96	1.18	Medium
The Fifth Field Average			3.64	1.16	High

Table (8)

The study sample response to the sixth field items
(Levels of difficulties related to evaluation of school activities)

Rank	Item sequence	Items	Mean	Standard Deviation	Performance Level
1	4	Few training programs in the field of evaluation of activities for activity teachers	3.65	1.10	High
2	3	The standards of evaluation of school activities are unclear	3.44	1.18	High
3	2	School activity teachers' lack of sufficient knowledge about the different ways of evaluation.	3.39	1.29	Medium
4	1	Activity teachers lack the skill to diagnose the effectiveness of school activities	3.28	1.30	Medium
5	5	School administration's lack of interest in giving feedback on school activities	3.27	1.19	Medium
The Sixth Field Average			3.41	1.21	High

Tables (6), (7) and (8) show the following:

1. The values for the average of the study sample individuals' response to the fourth, fifth and sixth fields ranged between (3.41-3.72) with the performance level of (high).
2. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the fourth field ranged between (3.03-3.98) with the performance level ranging between (medium-high).
3. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the fifth field ranged between (2.96-4.03) with the performance level ranging between (medium-high).
4. The values for the means for the study sample individuals' response to the items of the sixth field ranged between (3.27-3.65) with the performance level ranging between (medium-high).
5. The levels of difficulties that face school activity teachers are ordered as follows: first, the difficulties related to planning and organization of school activities, second, the difficulties related to the implementation and follow-up of school activities and finally the difficulties related to evaluation of school activities.

These results may be attributed to a number of reasons, including the following:

1. There are many classes during the school day.
2. Teachers face too much work pressure both physically and psychologically.
3. There are too many administrative burdens.
4. There is shortage in the availability of suitable places for practicing the school activities.
5. The lack of guides and instructions concerning the school activities that show the criteria in an objective way.

These results agree with those results that were mentioned in other studies such as Al-Ghabiwy (2012), Al-Harbi (2007), and Brown (2005).

5.3. Results and Discussions on the Third Research Question:

As pointed out above, the third research question is: are there any statistically significant differences between the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers, which are attributed to the variables of (gender, educational stage, and years of experience)? Such differences have been determined as follows:

(A) For the Gender variable, T-test was used for two independent groups, as shown in the following table:

Table (9)

Results of T-test for determining the significance of differences among the study sample's responses according to the gender variable

No.	Field	Gender	Number	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-value	Level of Significance
1	Planning and organization of school activities	Male	44	3.57	0.87	4.18-	*0.00
			56	4.24	0.71		
2	Implementation and follow-up of school activities		44	3.44	0.89	3.77-	*0.00
			56	4.07	0.78		
3	Evaluation of school activities		44	3.25	0.95	3.08-	*0.00
			56	3.80	0.83		

* Significance at (0.05)

It is clear in table (8) that there are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers which are attributed to the variable of gender in favor of females. This result agrees with Al-Qateesh's study (2011).

This result can be explained as follows:

1. School activity female teachers are more interested than their male counterparts in school activities.
2. Female teachers are keen on developing their skills and capabilities through joining specialized training courses.
3. The social conditions and financial capabilities for girls' schools are better than those for boys' schools.

(B) For the educational stage variable, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used, as shown in the following table:

Table (10)
Significance of differences among the study sample's responses according to the educational stage variable

No.	Field	Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Square Mean	F-Value	Level of Significance
1	Planning and organization of school activities	Among groups	8.70	5	1.74	2.612	*0.02
		Inside groups	62.63	94	0.66		
		Total	71.33	99			
2	Implementation and follow-up of school activities	Among groups	7.40	5	1.48	2.01	0.08
		Inside groups	69.14	94	0.73		
		Total	76.55	99			
3	Evaluation of school activities	Among groups	7.7	5	1.54	1.90	0.1
		Inside groups	75.81	94	0.80		
		Total	83.51	99			

* Significance at (0.05)

Table (10) shows the following:

1. There are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the planning and organization of school activities, which are attributed to the variable of educational stage.
2. There are no statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the implementation and follow-up as well as evaluation of school activities, which are attributed to the variable of educational stage.

To show the direction of differences among the study sample individuals' responses in the field of planning and organization of school activities according to the educational stage variable, Least Significant Difference(LSD) test was used and the results are shown in table (11).

Table (11)

Results of LSD test for the study sample's responses on the planning and organization of school activities according to the educational stage variable.

	Grades (1-4) M** = 4.43	Grades (5-10) M = 3.64	Grades (10-12) M = 4.5	Grades (11-12) M = 4.86	Grades (5-12) M = 3.82	Grades (1-12) M = 3.87
Grades (1-4) M = 4.43	-	*0.78	0.07-	0.42-	*0.60	*0.55
Grades (5-10) M = 3.64	*0.78-	-	0.86-	*1.21-	0.18-	0.23-
Grades (10-12) M = 4.5	0.071	0.86	-	0.35-	0.67	0.62
Grades (11-12) M = 4.86	0.42	*1.22	0.35	-	1.03	0.98
Grades (5-12) M = 3.82	*0.60-	0.18	0.67-	1.03-	-	0.05-
Grades (1-12) M = 3.87	*0.55-	0.23	0.63-	0.98-	0.05	-

* Significance at (0.05), ** Mean

Table (11) shows the following:

1. There are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the responses of school principals in Dhofar governorate in the grades (1-4) and the other grades on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the planning and organization of school activities in favor of the grades (1-4).
2. There are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate in the grades (5-10) and the grades (11-12) on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the planning and organization of school activities in favor of the grades (11-12).

This result can be explained as follows:

1. School activity female teachers are more interested than their male counterparts in school activities.
2. Easy implementation of school activities in the schools for grades (1-4) because the activity requirements in that stage are fewer than those in the grades (5-10) and (11-12).

(C) For the years of experience variable, ANOVA was used, as shown in the following table:

Table (12)
Significance of differences among the study sample's responses according to the years of experience variable

No.	Field	Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Square Mean	F-Value	Level of Significance
1	Planning and organization of school activities	Among groups	2.79	2	1.39	1.97	0.14
		Inside groups	68.54	97	0.70		
		Total	71.33	99			
2	Implementation and follow-up of school activities	Among groups	4.64	2	2.32	3.13	*0.04
		Inside groups	71.90	97	0.74		
		Total	76.55	99			
3	Evaluation of school activities	Among groups	1.54	2	0.77	0.915	0.404
		Inside groups	81.96	97	0.84		
		Total	83.51	99			

Table (12) shows the following:

1. There are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the implementation and follow-up of school activities, which are attributed to the years of experience variable.
2. There are no statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the opinions of school principals in Dhofar governorate on the level of job performance for school activity teachers concerning the planning and organization well as evaluation of school activities, which are attributed to the years of experience variable.

To show the direction of differences among the study sample individuals' responses in the field of implementation and follow-up of school activities according to the years of experience variable, Least Significant Difference (LSD) test was used and the results are shown in table (13).

Table (13)

Results of LSD test for the study sample's responses on the implementation and follow-up of school activities according to the years of experience variable.

Years of Experience	Less than 5 years M** = 3.32	5-10 years M = 3.53	More than 10 years M = 3.93
Less than 5 years M = 3.32	-	0.20-	*0.60-
5-10 Years M = 3.53	0.20	-	0.39-
More than 10 years M = 3.93	*0.60	0.39	-

* Significance at (0.05), ** Mean

Table (13) shows that there are statistically significant differences at the level of (0.05) among the responses of the school principals in Dhofar Governorate, for those who have (less than 5 years of experience) and also those who have (more than 10 years of experience) in favor of the category of (more than 10 years of experience). In addition, it is clear that there are no statistically significant differences among the responses of the school principals in the other categories. This result agrees with those of Al-Gergawi study (2006), but is different from Al-Nabhaniyya study (2014).

6. Recommendations

In light of the results, the study concluded a number of recommendations to develop the school activities in Dhofar Governorate's schools, which can be summarized as follows:

- The Ministry of Education should coordinate with the universities represented in the College of Education to adopt a training program for school activity teachers, following the example of other jobs such as vocational guidance counselors and teachers of learning disabilities.
- A specialization for school activities should be established in the Colleges of Education and Universities so that the would-be activity teachers can have good knowledge of the activity programs and thus start implementing what they have learned since the beginning of their careers.
- A job of an activity supervisor should be created due to the difficulties which teachers face in activating the school activities because of the teaching burdens.
- Halls, playgrounds, theaters, instruments, and other necessary facilities should be provided to activate the school activities in a proper way.
- Training packages should be designed to present a training service that is compatible with the training need for the authorities and categories concerned with activities in accordance with world training criteria and strategies.
- A center for school activities should be established in Dhofar Governorate to develop creativity and talents, where various activities can be implemented such as holding training workshops, lectures and competitions for students and teachers.

7. Suggestions for Further Research

Further research is needed to be conducted in the following areas:

- The degree to which school activity teachers practice their professional competencies from their points of view.
- Teachers' participation in the administration of school activities and its relationship with the effectiveness of activities in Dhofar Governorate's schools.
- A comparative study between the reality of implemented activities in the schools of the Sultanate of Oman and schools in other Arab and foreign countries.
- Development of school activity administration in light of the standards for quality of administration in Dhofar Governorate's schools.

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On The Role of Different Models of Dynamic Assessment on Promoting Speaking

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Abstract

In order to assess the viability of enjoying improvements in the world of language testing and the proposed approaches of alternative assessment in EFL contexts, the current research was an attempt to shed light on the role of interactionist and interventionist models of dynamic assessment (DA) on promoting speaking of Iranian language learners. Therefore, five students enrolling in intermediate language learning courses in Chabahar maritime university were selected randomly. Using an adopted typology for interactionist DA and an adopted regulatory scale for interventionist DA, the researcher found that interactionist DA help learners to gain mastery over speaking problems and perform better through negotiated interaction with the teacher. Besides, the results of t-test showed that students gained better scores on post-test following an interventionist mediatory session. On top of that, for learners and teachers to benefit from these findings, the most frequent interactionist strategies used by the researcher were transcribed and presented in a diagram. These findings have implication for language teachers, curriculum designers and test-developers.

Keywords: Dynamic Assessment, Interactionist, Interventionist, Mediation.

1.1 Introduction

The tradition has taught us, the EFL (English as Foreign Language) teachers, to look at testing and teaching as a dichotomy. The same idea had clung to life until a decade ago, not only in the mind and practice of ordinary EFL teachers but also, according to poehner (2005), in the writings of those who enjoy a considerable fame in the world of applied linguistics, language teaching and second language research including Shohamy, 2001; Moss 1996; McNamara 2001; Linn 2000 and Lynch 2001. In defiance of continuing improvements and creativities in the world of language testing and the proposed approaches of alternative assessment, the outcomes showed beyond doubt the efficiencies of these methods and approaches in a variety of contexts and situations (Fahmy, 2013) .For the same reason, filled with a zest to give birth to a more productive approach to language testing and calm the concerns of stakeholders and decision makers, the researchers were striving very hard (Brown, 2009). For the same reason, bulks of studies were conducted to identify an approach of testing that would help students develop their skills rapidly to the highest proficiency level possible. Some of these studies found that integrating assessment into the process of language instruction can be effective amongst which those of Kinginger, 2002; Lantolf & Poehner, 2004; Poehner, 2005). The same idea was also put forward by Anton, 2009; Brown, 2009; Ellis, 2009a and many other researchers and theorist who are penning new concepts and conducting new studies to shed more light on this almost recently born approach. Despite these very facts, according to (Haywood and Lidz, 2007) the foundations of this seemingly new approach were laid many years ago in the works of Feuerstein and Hoffman (1979), Guthke and Wingenfeld (1992) and above all those of the Russian scientist Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (1998) where he proposed that diagnoses may uncover abilities that have fully formed as well as those still in the process of developing. This insight, according to Poehner and Lantolf (2005) gave rise to new approaches in assessment that collectively is called dynamic assessment in the contemporary literature of language testing and assessment. Haywood and Lidz (2007) in the book, *Dynamic Assessment in Practice*, have supported this definition of dynamic assessment as “an interactive approach to conducting assessments within the domains of psychology, speech/language, or education that focuses on the ability of the learner to respond to intervention.” Different scholars have expounded the term differently but the common line of these different definitions is an active intervention by examiners and assessment of examinees' response to intervention which is in sharp contrast with more traditional approaches of testing and assessment in which testing and teaching was seen as dichotomy and in more extreme versions oppositional. The view that assessment stands in opposition to instruction may be attributed to the political character of assessment as well as the ideology behind education in many countries. Policy makers, stake holders and educational officials impose on the teachers to administer standardized test and measure a static crystallized knowledge taught in a course or longer periods of time, the very fact that is frequently touched by Shohamy (2001) and other scholars. Even in many front-runner countries such as United States, the curriculum designers give major weight to measurement as amount of achievement as a result of which test preparation and measurement of achievement not only becomes an end in itself but also outruns other curricular goals and learning objectives (Johnson, Penny and Gordon, 2009). One more factor contributing to the chasm between assessment and instruction is teachers' lack of

familiarity with the theory and principles underlying assessment practices (Poehner, 2008). This deficiency is more evident in EFL contexts especially among Iranian teachers which can be compensated through exercising reflectivity in teaching (Farokhipour, Yusefali, & Mustafapour, 2015). A bulk of research in last decade has submitted proof that dynamic assessment is a successful method for promoting second language acquisition and for measuring potential language learning the most famous of which are those by Anton, 2009; Lantolf & Poehner, 2009; and a series of writing by poehner (2004, 2005, 2008, 2009 and 2014). Notwithstanding these results there are some merits associated with previous standardized test and some weakness to newly practiced approach of dynamic assessment to none of which one can turn a blind eye. The reverse is also the case. According to Bulter (2000), although standardized tests met educational requirements in many contexts but there are some reasons based on which we should think of more flexible approaches not unlike those found in dynamic assessment. Considering the courses passed, static tests assume that all students have comparable experience and educational background the assumption that is proved to be far from correct in many settings (Poehner, 2005). Besides, the standardized static tests had been oblivious to emerging skills with the potential of being learned in favorable conditions, the idea that is the hallmark of findings based on ZPD concept of Vygotsky. Above all, according to Poehner (2005) the role of the teacher is shrugged off in achievement standardized test since no role is attributed to them in the most critical phase of learning, the testing phase. In spite of that, Bulter (2000) believes that dynamic assessment with all these values dragging behind might not be a one size fit all approach with the possibility of failure in some context. Considering these issues, the current research is an attempt to shed light on the application of this model in the EFL context of Iran and its possible effect on learning speaking of intermediate language learners. Pinned to the more static models of testing and assessment practices, it seems that Iranian language teachers are not familiar enough with dynamic models of assessment. Even those who believe in alternative approaches of assessment do not venture to try dynamic assessment in classroom. Besides, little research is done in our context that proves dynamic assessment productive. The current research, therefore, tries to light upon the theoretical foundations of dynamic assessment in brief, and investigate its efficiency and productivity in teaching speaking in detail. The purpose of this study is to investigate the effectiveness of interactionist and interventionist models of dynamic assessment in ameliorating speaking of Iranian intermediate language learners. The results of such studies work as different parts of a picture which in its completed form can inform curriculum designers, material writers and educational decision makers and benefit teaching society, above all English teachers.

1.2 Research Questions:

Considering the aforesaid issues, the following research questions are put forward to study:

- 1- To what extent can the interactionist model of dynamic assessment promote speaking ability of Iranian EFL learners?
- 2- Does interventionist dynamic assessment have any significant effect on the betterment of Iranian EFL learners' speaking?
- 3- Which interactionist mediation strategies work better for promoting speaking ability of Iranian EFL learners?

2.1 Literature Review

Due to some insufficiencies in product views of language testing the attempt for alternatives ways of language testing that go further on than limits of pure measurement of static learning came into view many years ago. As a pioneer in this new thinking, Dearborn (1921) stated that measurement of the actual progress of learning can test the intelligence in more reliably. Bringing evidence to his claim, he asserted that common practices of language testing are tests of achievements and they cannot allow for new learning or new capacity for learning therefore. Decades later, in the same line of research Daniel (1997) provided evidence for the productivity of language testing followed by an intervention phase. These current laid the framework of whatever we call dynamic assessment although the term was originated in the domain of children with learning disabilities and abnormal behavior (Feuerstein et al., 1979), children with hearing impairment (Keane, 1987), or children with learning disabilities (Samuels, 2000; Moore-Brown and his colleagues, 2006). In a new phase of research in this field, however, scholars such as Lantolf & Poehner added to the use of dynamic assessment practices to education and above all second language assessment and pedagogy.

According to Gindis and Lidz (2003), dynamic assessment concerns for individual differences and based on this new shift in understanding, blends instruction with testing and assessment. As it is also touched above, dynamic assessment is contrasted with traditional, or static, approaches to assessment. Deeply rooted in the Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory and its proposed ZPD, the terms static and dynamic posit a clear dichotomy between assessments that include intervention by more significant others with the aim of development and those that do not (Poehner, 2005). According to Chaiklin, 2003 (as cited in Poehner, 2005), Vygotsky's work, and particularly his writings on the ZPD, is interpreted in various ways by those who are involved and interested in developing procedures that realize the concept of dynamic assessment in best possible way. That is why different models of dynamic assessment have come on the scene in the last decade amongst which the interactionist – interventionist classification is the best known and most practiced classification (Poehner, 2005). The current study, too, is an attempt to shed more light on the effectiveness of these two models on promoting speaking of Iranian EFL learners. Interventionist and interactionist, two general kinds of dynamic assessments, distinguishable through the type of mediation used, first were thought up by Lantolf and Poehner (2004). According to Poehner (2005), Interactionist dynamic assessment, as the most sensitive model to ZPD, treads on the heels of Vygotsky's suggested option for cooperative dialoging between independent user and a dependent one where assistance emerges from the interaction and helps the dependent to develop. Interventionist dynamic assessment, on the other hand, remains closer to psychometric concerns of many static forms of assessment. In other words it uses standardized administration procedures and forms of assistance to produce easily quantifiable results that can be used to make comparisons between and within groups, and can be contrasted with other measures and used to make predictions about performance on future tests.

Thouësny (2010) has shed more light on the difference between these two models which is

brief and to the point. According to Thouésny, in interactionist, the analysis is qualitative and in smaller scale in which mediation is finely tuned with the responsivity of students. Besides, the psychometric measures are not viable and it is used in spoken language in a human-based assessment environment. In interventionist, however, the analysis is quantitative in a larger scale with mediations established in advance, hints ranging from implicit to explicit. It can be used in group or individual settings for both spoken and written language and enjoys an acceptable psychometric reliability and validity. In addition, it is more in line with computer-based assessments.

In a study with a plan in mind to investigate the usability of dynamic assessment in Iranian context, Jarrahzade and Tabatabaei (2014) studied the impact of Dynamic Assessment (DA) on promoting reading comprehension ability of Iranian male and female EFL learners. The researchers used DA which unifies instruction with assessment to provide learners with mediation to promote their hidden potential during assessment employing Guthke's *Lerntest* approach to develop the reading comprehension skill classes that integrated mediation with assessment to support 60 Iranian EFL learners' reading skill. The participants' reading scores were presented to show the effect of Guthke's *Lerntest* approach on promoting Iranian EFL learners' reading performance. In addition, the participants' pre and post-test scores were compared to determine whether the participants revealed significant progress after receiving Guthke's *Lerntest* approach in reading comprehension setting. The findings showed that participants of experimental group significantly outperformed the one in the static way. In conclusion, the results of the study revealed that employing the Guthke's *Lerntest* approach can offer a new condition to enhance the EFL learners' reading comprehension ability and that doing research in this field can be beneficial for EFL learners, English instructors and other researchers in other fields.

Aimed at investigating the effect of dynamic assessment on EFL learners' reading comprehension in different proficiency levels in Iran, Ajideh and Nourdad (2012) studied 197 Iranian university students who participated in six groups. The design of the research was quasi-experimental. The results of MANOVA test revealed that while dynamic assessment had improving immediate and delayed effect on reading comprehension of learners in all proficiency levels, the proficiency groups did not differ significantly in their taking advantage of this kind of assessment.

Studying the effect of dynamic assessment on one more skill, Alavi, Kavianpanah and Shabani (2012) investigated the effect of this approach on promoting listening. The study aimed at testing the applicability of group dynamic assessment in identifying the mediational strategies offered by a mediator during interactions with a group of L2 learners. Moreover, it sought to unravel the effects of group-based dynamic assessment instruction on the co-construction of knowledge among L2 listeners. The participants included a group of L2 learners ranging in age from 20 to 25. The materials used in the assessment sessions were authentic texts selected from the normal VOA broadcasts. The qualitative analysis of the protocols led to the development of an inventory of mediational strategies consisting of different forms of implicit and explicit

feedback. The analysis also showed how collective scaffolding could pave the way for establishing distributed help among learners within the social space of the class in the course of which secondary and primary interactants mutually benefit from each other's contributions.

Considering the fact that little is done on the role of dynamic assessment on promoting speaking in Iranian EFL context, if at all, the present study has three main objectives in design; to study the role of interactionist model of dynamic assessment on promoting speaking, to study the effect of interventionist model on promoting speaking and last but not the least to light upon the most practical mediational strategies that help promoting speaking in Iranian context.

3. Method

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the effect of different models of dynamic assessment on promoting speaking ability of Iranian EFL learners. The second aim is to explore those interventionist and interactionist mediatory strategies which best nurture growth of speaking ability in the subjects mentioned before. Research designs in studies are vitally important because they, in large part, dictate the type of research design used, the sample size and sampling scheme employed, and the type of instruments administered as well as the data analysis techniques (i.e., statistical or qualitative) used (Mackey and Gass, 2006). Therefore, considering the questions of the research, and the literature review of the study, a mixed method design is put to use by the researcher with qualitative one to investigate the role of interactionist model on promoting speaking and a quantitative one to study the effect of the mediatory interventionist strategies on fostering speaking of the participants.

3.2 Participants

The participants were five intermediate female students that were studying English as a foreign language at Chabahar Maritime University in Iran. Since both interventionist and interactionist models of dynamic assessment can be carried out in a small-scale, five participants meet requirements of the study. All of these students were selected based on simple random sampling procedure in a class with 24 students.

3.3 Instruments and Materials

To put the objectives of the study into practice, two different instruments are used. Adopting from Poehner (2005), a mediation typology was used as a baseline to carry out the interventionist dynamic assessment in the study. This typology includes 15 different type of mediation that teacher can use to deal with the difficulties encountered in speaking of students. These scaffold mediations serves as support during assessing speaking with the aim of nurturing growth. The second instrument which is used the answer the needs for the second question of the research, is a regulatory scale adopted from Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) which includes 12 different mediatory steps from most implicit to most explicit ones. The materials which are used

for assessing speaking are selected from Top Notch and Four Corners series (intermediate levels). The kinds of tests used in the class are teacher developed ones seeking assistance from progress checks and exercises used in the books mentioned above.

3.4 Procedure

To answer the first question, the researchers conducted a tutorial session for each subjects three separate times (with one week interval) and audio-taped the whole stretches for the sake of being transcribed later. The students were required to perform a task in the materials prepared in advance. In the first session, the students performed the task and spoke about 10 minutes based on the duties predetermined in task while receiving no feedback or mediation from the teacher. In the first session the researchers were taking notes of the main problems in the performance of students. Using the adopted inventory of mediations, in the second session, students were asked to perform the same task a second time while receiving mediation and feedback from the teachers. The mediation were mainly concerned with problematic issues touched in the first phase besides those recently occurred in the second phase. In the third session, students were asked to perform the same task a third time while again receiving no mediation. Transcribing the audio of the whole sessions and qualitative analysis of the tasks threw light on the role of interactionist dynamic assessment in fostering speaking of the learners the results of which are presented below.

To answer the second question, the same task not unlike the one used in the interactionist model was employed. The only difference is that the second task (two parallel forms of a teacher developed speaking test) was selected from Four Corners series while the first task was selected from Top Notch series. In the first phase of the interventionist session, the test was administered to the subject setting our sights on using it as the pretest. Scoring the test and recognizing the problematic areas, in the second phase of the session, the researcher used the adopted regulatory scale to provide mediations ranging from most implicit ones to most explicit ones. Then, in the third phase of the interventionist session, a parallel test of the same task was administered to the subjects. The difference between pre and post-tests submits proof for the productivity of intervention. To reliability of these two parallel tests was already proved in a pilot study in a class of 24 students.

To come back to the final question, a reduced form of poehner (2005) is used in a way that the frequency of the mediations and feedback used is determined.

4. Results and Discussion

In order to find answer to the first question, as mentioned above, a more straightforward and more manageable version of poehner study (2005) was adopted and used. For that reason, three different sessions of a speaking test was audio-taped and transcribed by the teacher. In the first session that was conducted as the pre-test of the study, a traditional and established form of a

speaking task, selected from Top Notch text books (intermediate level), was administered. All the dialogues and responses were audio taped and transcribed by the teacher. All problematic areas were diagnosed and treated in the second session of the study (dynamic assessment session). Too, all dialogues and interactions (mediations) of the teachers and responses of students were transcribed and the result of mediation were observed and transcribed by the teacher. Besides, using the adopted typology, new encountered problems in the second session were also mediated by the teacher. To observe the results of mediations in the second, the third session was also conducted as a post test. The results of the study are summarized in the following table. The results of this phase of study showed that mediations helped students to outperform in the post test session. After one week interval (between second (mediated) session and third (posttest) sessions), students submitted evidences of avoiding previous problems and internalization of mediations. To check internalization of learning through mediations, teacher asked students to provide explanation for previously problematic areas which were got back to correct in posttest as the result of mediations in dynamic assessment.

Table 1. results of dynamic assessment

Pretest	Traditional assessment / Independent performance	
	Dynamic Assessment/ Mediated Performance	
	Main Types of Error	Type of Mediation
Mediation	1- Using wrong Tense (ex: "saw" for "see")	1- Request for repetition/ Specifying errors/metalinguistic clues/providing explanation
	2- Using similar but wrong words (ex: "number" for "time")	2- Request for repetition, verification/Providing metalinguistic clues, explanations
	3- Using irregular preposition or post-position (ex:" in long time" for " for long time"	3- Request for repetition, verification/ specifying specific site of error/ metalinguistic clues/ offering a choice/ providing correct response
	4- Using wrong adjective (ex: "as best as we can" for " as good as we can"	4- Request for repetition, verification/ specifying specific site of error/ metalinguistic clues/ offering a choice/ providing correct response/ providing explanation
	5- Using wrong determiner(ex:	5- Request for

	“some and any + singular noun”	repetition, verification/ specifying specific site of error/ metalinguistic clues/ providing examples/offering a choice/ providing correct response/ providing explanation
Post-test	Traditional Assessment/Independent performance	

The results of findings on question one shows that interactionist model of dynamic assessment not only paves the way for tackling course-related language difficulties of students but also helps the class to interact more. This condition, in turn, brings about a mutually enhanced atmosphere of learning in language classes in which teacher wins a chance to teach further and interact more. These findings are in line with (Anton, 2009; Thouësny, 2010; Alavi, Kavianpanah & Shabani, 2012 and Fahmy, 2013) which shows beyond doubt the efficiency and facilitative role of dynamic assessment in language learning conditions, on top of it, in EFL contexts. Also, increase in chance of interaction, as a result of dynamic assessment can improve the quality of teacher talk in the classroom and provide teachers with more options for interaction which, in turn, boosts learning. In sum, interactionist dynamic assessment submitted proofs of gain in learning of grammar, syntax, structural control and coherence and accuracy in speaking of all five students. These findings are in line with (Brown, 2009; Lantolf & Poehner, 2011; Poehner, 2005 and Poehner & Lantolf, 2004).

Also, in order to find an answer to the second question, considering the procedure mentioned above, a teacher-developed speaking test was administered among subjects on three different occasions. The first one was served as pre-test, the second one as intervention (dynamic assessment) and the last one as a post-test. Then, using a repeated measure t-test (paired t-test), the researcher investigated the change in scores from pre-test to post-test. SPSS software version 22 was employed to compare mean scores of the group on pre-test and post-test. The result of the analysis is reported below:

Table 2. Paired sample statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1: pretest- posttest	15.4000	5	1.81659	.81240
	17.2000	5	1.92354	.86023

Table 3. Paired sample tests

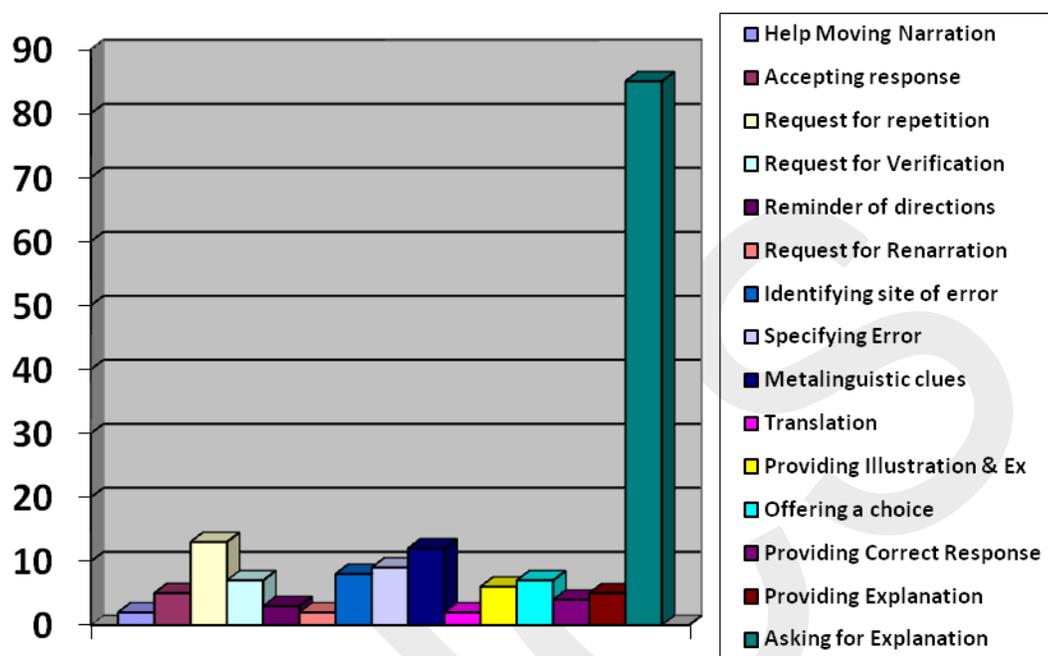
	Paired differences				d.f	Sig. (two-tailed)	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% confidence interval of the difference			
				Upper			Lower
Pair 1(pretest-posttest)	-1.80000	.44721	.720000	-2.35529	-1.24471	4	.001

The result of this test shows that *p value* is $< .05$. This indicates that scores on post-test are significantly different from those on pre-test. In other words, the intervention has added to the scores of Iranian EFL students and helped to out-perform on the post-test. Considering the inventory of mediations as a continuum, the more explicit end of continuum was used in mediation.

Also, the analysis of the results obtained from the second question of the research showed that interventionist model of dynamic assessment is in keeping with psychometric measures. Too, deeply rooted in socio-cultural theories of learning and those of ZPD, the interventionist model of dynamic assessment proved to be a facilitative assessment tool complementary to static assessment tools in Iranian EFL context. These results are in line with those in the research of Fahmy (2009). Besides, the results of the study showed that interventionist dynamic assessment is qualified in diagnosing program-related language difficulties and getting them back into normal reliably during dynamic intervention. Not unlike interactionist model, the interventionist model of dynamic assessment demonstrated gain in learning of grammar, syntax, coherence and speaking ability of all five students. Finally, the results of the second question showed that Iranian EFL students enjoy explicit end of interventions' continuum more.

Besides, in order to investigate which interactionist mediation strategies works better for promoting speaking ability of Iranian EFL learners, the researcher calculated the frequency of each strategy. The result of these findings is reported in following diagram (the frequency of 15th

strategy “asking for explanation” is 85 because the researcher verified the internalization of learning through this strategy.



Finally, the results of the third question showed that request for repetition and verification, specifying error, explanation and metalinguistic clues are among most frequent interactions strategies during assessment which brought about learning and tackling speaking difficulties. These findings can help teacher to adopt most efficient strategies in speaking classes prior to final assessment and or during dynamic assessment. It also can form a repertoire of most appropriate feedback strategies in speaking classrooms.

5. Conclusion

Not unlike a variety of researches in which the results produced evidence on superiority of dynamic assessment over normative and static alternatives, the results of the current study stood firm behind this superiority. Rather than helping test takers to learn more and outperform, both approaches of dynamic assessment proved productive in finding obstacles of courses and those of learning and curriculum. On top of that, the results obtained through dynamic assessment lay the ground works for teachers to incorporate the principles of action research, teacher development and reflective thinking into language testing, an issue that is not directly touched in the literature on dynamic assessment. In other words, it is not far from correct if one claim that dynamic assessment helps teachers to a great extent. Teachers, too, can enjoy feedback obtained from the mediation phase of dynamic assessment and put these results into use to raise their knowledge on teacher talk strategies and reflect on their own performance in other speaking classes. The results, also, can be of service in curriculum design of speaking courses through feeding the syllabus designers with enough information on possible deficiencies encountered in mediation phase.

Finally, the results of this study suggest that dynamic assessment can be employed in formative model in the whole course in speaking classes. In other words, blending teacher talk strategies with the principles of dynamic assessment in formative manner can put forward a new approach of dynamic assessment in teaching speaking which is an option to be considered in future researches.

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**La réécriture dramatique du mythe *in progress* : genèse d'une pièce
L'exemple de *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit* de Jean Anouilh**

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Résumé

Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit de Jean Anouilh est une réécriture des *Choéphores* d'Eschyle. Dans cette pièce, loin de présenter une œuvre achevée et immuable, le dramaturge montre le lent processus de sa genèse et met à nu tout le travail de déformation et de transformation qu'a subi le texte-source. En variant les modalités de réécriture et en recourant à des pratiques scripturales allant du collage à l'invention de scènes purement nouvelles, Anouilh réussit à dépasser le texte originel et à créer un texte original.

Ce double travail de déconstruction et de reconstruction du texte premier donne à voir la réécriture du mythe comme un spectacle; un spectacle second qui se superpose au spectacle premier assuré par les acteurs. Ainsi Anouilh transforme-t-il la réécriture en évènement théâtral et fait d'elle un nouvel objet de représentation.

Mots-clés : Réécriture, modalités scripturales, processus de genèse, représentation, jeu, spectacle.

Introduction

La réécriture du mythe chez Anouilh relève d'une pratique selon laquelle « réécrire c'est gérer un texte antérieur entre les deux pôles du même et de l'autre, de la copie d'ancien et du nouveau »¹ ; c'est-à-dire établir un rapport dialogique entre un texte premier et un texte second, qui repose sur des « processus de transformation, d'appropriation ou de détournement d[u] text[e] sourc[e] »². Dans ce sens, la réécriture du mythe chez Anouilh est une actualisation d'un texte préexistant qui implique à la fois identité et différence, répétition et variation, fidélité et altération. C'est une pratique qui « accepte l'altération et tend vers l'altérité »³, puisqu'en réécrivant Anouilh fait de sa pièce un lieu d'expérimentation permettant de mettre en usage des pratiques scripturales aussi variées que déconcertantes et de donner libre cours à son imagination et à sa fantaisie. Ainsi transforme-t-il son œuvre en création étrange qui ne manque pas de déranger, guidée par une folie innovatrice.

Dans le but de faire ressortir l'originalité de la réécriture dramatique du mythe dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*, je montrerai, dans une première partie, que la réécriture chez Anouilh repose sur un rapport dialogique explicite entre un texte premier antique et un texte second moderne, et institue un jeu tantôt manifeste, tantôt subtil. Dans une deuxième partie, j'analyserai les modalités de réécriture pratiquées par Anouilh et lui permettant de s'approprier son texte-source. Dans une troisième et dernière partie, j'étudierai la « création en acte », c'est-à-dire la mise en scène de la genèse d'une pièce nouvelle et moderne.

Réécrire, c'est écrire autrement

La réécriture du mythe dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit* est une expérience indéniablement originale en ce qu'elle cultive les effets déroutants de certaines pratiques baroques, notamment la technique du théâtre dans le théâtre. Anouilh joue de la notion elle-même et explore toutes les possibilités qu'elle offre. Il met en œuvre deux lectures différentes : une lecture strictement littérale et une lecture de second degré. Dans la première, il s'agit réellement d'un théâtre dans un autre. Anouilh fait appel à un théâtre très ancien dans le sien en reprenant un mythe antique, celui d'Electre. Il s'agit d'une tragédie d'Eschyle, *Les Choéphores*, seconde tragédie de la trilogie l'*Orestie* dans laquelle, « instruit par sa sœur Electre du meurtre de son père Agamemnon, Oreste exerce sa vengeance en tuant Clytemnestre, sa mère, et l'amant de celle-ci Egisthe »⁴. Dès le début de sa pièce, le dramaturge assigne à cette pièce un rôle primordial. Il la place au cœur de son texte et fait d'elle l'objet des répétitions des acteurs et la raison pour laquelle ils sont présents sur scène chaque soir. Ces acteurs, à force de répéter le texte grec, finissent par se prendre à leur propre jeu, par s'approprier les rôles qui leur sont attribués, et, par conséquent, par se mettre dans la peau des personnages tragiques. Ils continuent à parler du drame de la famille des Atrides entre les épisodes de la tragédie qu'ils jouent et s'expriment librement à la première personne du singulier comme s'il s'agissait de leur drame, mais, cette fois-ci, dans un langage plus

¹. Maurice Domino, « La réécriture du texte littéraire Mythe et Réécriture », *Semen* [En ligne], 3 | 1987.

². Ibid..

³. Houdart-Mérot Violaine, « L'intertextualité comme clé d'écriture littéraire », *Le français aujourd'hui*, 2/2006, n° 153.

⁴. *Le petit Robert des noms propres*.

moderne. Ainsi ces acteurs deviennent-ils les protagonistes du texte moderne d'Anouilh, doubles des personnages légendaires, mais en style familier.

En se dédoublant, *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit* crée, à un deuxième niveau de représentation, une trame intérieure. C'est une pratique qui relève de la lecture de second degré du théâtre dans le théâtre. Ce sont les musiciens d'un orchestre de bastringue qui jouent cette trame. Ils sont le chœur de la tragédie grecque dans laquelle ils prennent en charge les morceaux musicaux. Mais en dehors des répétitions de la légende des Atrides, les membres de l'orchestre changent de statut. Ils deviennent de vrais spectateurs et des commentateurs privilégiés de l'affrontement entre les personnages à la fois dans les scènes antiques et modernes. Toutefois, ils n'ont pas le droit d'interrompre la progression des événements et d'intervenir dans l'action principale. Alors il leur reste celui de juger et de critiquer les faits et les dires des personnages mythiques comme s'il s'agissait d'une réalité contemporaine, éloignée d'eux seulement sur le plan social. Les commentaires qu'ils émettent et les faits divers qu'ils se racontent, sur un ton ironique et dans un langage familier qui verse parfois dans le vulgaire, ne sont qu'une sorte de reprise triviale de la trame principale.

Donc, dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*, il y a deux textes différents à jouer sur scène, à partir d'une seule histoire. Si le texte antique d'Eschyle est effectivement et explicitement présent dans la pièce d'Anouilh, il n'est pas intégralement repris. Il est manifestement transformé et reconstruit et même sa structure est altérée. Elle devient très rudimentaire : deux parties dont chacune est divisée en sous-parties ou en épisodes. Quant au texte moderne d'Anouilh, il peut être considéré à la fois comme une reprise transformatrice et un approfondissement du texte d'Eschyle qui donne à voir un monde prosaïque et parfois même vulgaire, des sujets quotidiens triviaux, des passions exacerbées, des querelles continuelles ; le tout dépeint avec un style relâché et un langage familier. Ce qu'il faut signaler ici, c'est que les deux textes coexistent et se juxtaposent. En effet, la déclamation de la pièce d'Eschyle commence quelques temps après le lever du rideau et s'étend sur presque la totalité de *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*. Elle prend fin peu de temps avant la tombée du rideau. Donc, bien que le mythe des Atrides ait une grande importance au sein de la pièce d'Anouilh, c'est le texte moderne qui encadre le texte antique. Il ouvre et clôt la pièce. C'est aussi au niveau de ce texte, le texte moderne, que toutes les données sur les coulisses et les répétitions sont fournies. Ce dernier, bien qu'il se présente, d'emblée, comme un texte hors-champ, il demeure bien autonome. Il peut exister indépendamment du texte d'Eschyle sans pour autant rien perdre à sa cohérence ni à sa cohésion.

Toutefois, les deux textes ne restent pas extérieurs l'un à l'autre. Aucun élément séparateur n'existe en vue de préciser les limites de chacun ; et, comme le texte antique est divisé, ses parties et ses épisodes entrent en contact permanent avec le texte moderne. Donc, la pièce, non seulement alterne des scènes antiques et des scènes modernes, mais aussi leur permet de s'entrecouper et finalement de s'entremêler. Elle crée entre eux des interactions si importantes et si complexes que, une fois les limites des deux textes brouillées et estompées, il devient difficile de distinguer l'un de l'autre. Anouilh parle de «la folie de mêler des passages entiers de la tragédie d'Eschyle à un texte beaucoup plus "moderne"»⁵ de sorte qu'il devient difficile de décider de quel côté placer certaines scènes telles que la longue scène des

⁵. Jean Anouilh, *En marge du théâtre*, Efrin Knight éd, La Table Ronde, 2000, p. 243

retrouvailles d'Electre et d'Oreste au niveau de la première partie, la scène d'affrontement entre Electre et Clytemnestre et la scène des Musiciennes-Erynnies au niveau de la deuxième partie. A ce moment, le statut et surtout l'identité de la pièce antique deviennent l'objet de multiples interrogations. Qu'arrivera-t-il au texte antique suite à cet entrelacement ? Sortira-t-il indemne de cet enchevêtrement ou subira-t-il les influences du texte moderne ? S'altèrera-t-il et deviendra-t-il un autre ?

Réécriture et modalités

La reprise du mythe implique une prise de distance, c'est-à-dire la présence d'un jeu appliqué sur le texte originel, dans le but de l'adapter aux goûts d'un public moderne. Dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*, Anouilh cherche à reconstruire le texte antique d'Eschyle. Cependant, cette reconstitution n'est pas servile. Tout en retravaillant le mythe d'Electre, il ne conserve pas le texte antique dans son intégralité. Il y recourt de façons différentes et lui fait subir diverses actions allant du collage à la reformulation et même à l'invention de scènes purement nouvelles. « *Du coup, le texte d'Eschyle se trouve abrégé, concentré, réduit à une épure* »⁶. Le travail d'Anouilh se fait méthodique et progressif ; il respecte une logique qui peut être qualifiée de rigoureuse. En effet, le dramaturge commence par la pratique la plus simple qui est le collage qui, dans le domaine artistique, est une technique qui consiste « à prélever un certain nombre d'éléments dans des œuvres, des objets, des messages existants, et à les intégrer dans une création nouvelle pour produire une totalité originale »⁷. Dans ce sens, Anouilh emprunte des phrases et même des paragraphes entiers au texte d'Eschyle et les place dans son texte moderne « à tel point que le copyright indique bien 'Editions de La Table Ronde, 1972', mais en faisant précéder cette mention de l'indication suivante : "Citations des Choéphores d'Eschyle : Collection des Universités de France, Eschyle, traduction de Paul Mazon, Les Belles Lettres, Paris" »⁸. Ce qu'on doit remarquer ici, c'est qu'Anouilh joue sur l'idée même d'enchâssement qu'implique le collage. Il l'inverse tout simplement. Si le collage tel qu'il a été pratiqué auparavant consiste à insérer des éléments préexistants et à les juxtaposer dans un texte déterminé, Anouilh, au niveau du texte antique présent dans sa pièce moderne, restitue de longs passages qui figurent dans le texte originel des *Choéphores*. Cela signifie que le dramaturge apporte au texte d'Eschyle des fragments qui lui appartiennent à l'origine et qu'il considère comme étrangers et nouveaux. Une seule explication se présente. Anouilh modifie tellement le récit légendaire grec qu'il finit par se l'approprier. Ainsi, en gardant intacts certains extraits originels, il introduit effectivement des éléments extérieurs à ce nouveau texte qu'il vient de créer. Toutefois, en lisant les « *Notes* » sur le texte, la première remarque qu'on peut facilement tirer est la suivante : les extraits empruntés au texte originel n'ont pas la même densité le long de la pièce et n'y gardent pas la même importance.

Progressivement, le collage se réduit et Anouilh, dans un deuxième temps, essaie d'apporter de multiples modifications à son texte-source consistant principalement dans la reformulation de certaines idées et surtout l'invention de nouvelles scènes. Le texte antique, à ce niveau, ne disparaît pas totalement. Il demeure encore présent, mais souvent en filigrane.

⁶. Pierre Brunel, p. 189. *Le Mythe d'Electre*, réédition augmentée, Champion 1995, p. 189.

⁷. Groupe μ, « *Douze bribes pour décoller (en 40. 000 signes) in « Collages* », Revue d'Esthétique, 1978, p. 13.

⁸. Pierre Brunel, op.cit., p. 183.

Le dramaturge semble non seulement suivre les grandes lignes du schéma événementiel et actantiel du mythe, mais mieux encore reproduire, d'une façon approximative, le déroulement de certaines scènes. Il choisit de supprimer des passages entiers du texte originel, d'en développer quelques uns et d'en condenser d'autres. Par conséquent, tout seul, le lecteur non averti éprouve des difficultés à se rendre compte de la présence de toutes les modifications apportées au texte. Même s'il s'en apercevait, il se trouve incapable de les situer et de préciser leur nature.

Ces modifications peuvent être classées en trois variations. La première variation se réduit à de « menues modifications »⁹ au début du premier épisode du texte antique. A ce niveau, c'est le collage qui s'impose. Anouilh est encore tributaire du récit légendaire et ne se permet que de changer quelques termes, certaines structures et de reformuler des bribes de phrases. Dans la deuxième variation des modifications textuelles, Anouilh procède tantôt au résumé, tantôt au développement de quelques répliques. Il choisit de réduire certains passages dont il juge la longueur inutile ou non nécessaire. La troisième et dernière variation consiste en « une réécriture autour de »¹⁰ quelques termes tels que « malheur » et « vue perçante » dans la réplique de Clytemnestre au moment où elle a appris la mort de son fils. Toutes ces modifications, en devenant de plus en plus importantes et en élargissant le champ d'action d'Anouilh, finissent par envahir la totalité du texte et par le transformer en un autre ; le but qu'Anouilh s'était fixé dès le début étant essentiellement de s'approprier le texte antique d'Eschyle et de le rendre sien en quelque sorte. Cependant, le récit légendaire n'est pas encore altéré car, jusqu'à ce niveau, l'intervention du dramaturge, même en résumant certaines répliques et en développant d'autres, ne change pas le cours des événements. C'est seulement en se permettant « un certain nombre de libertés prises avec Eschyle »¹¹ et en se livrant à son imagination qu'Anouilh réussit à se détacher du texte originel et à s'en démarquer et qu'il fait preuve de créativité littéraire toujours requise dans le domaine de la réécriture.

Ces libertés dont parle Pierre Brunel se présentent sous la forme de quelques scènes nouvelles ne figurant pas dans le texte grec, mais que le dramaturge invente et par lesquelles il truffe son retraitement du mythe d'Electre. Ce sont des scènes dont la longueur et l'importance sont variables, la conception insolite, la présence amusante, les effets déconcertants et l'aspect bouffon et pathétique à la fois. Bien qu'elles fassent partie des scènes à répéter par les acteurs, elles sont écrites autrement que les scènes prises dans *Les Choéphores*. Ces scènes innovées sont la scène des retrouvailles entre Oreste et Electre, la scène du ménage entre Egisthe et Clytemnestre, la scène d'affrontement entre la mère et ses deux enfants, après la mort d'Egisthe, et finalement la scène des souvenirs d'enfance entre Electre et son frère. Elles ne sont pas placées dans un seul épisode ou en une seule partie. En outre, elles ne sont pas rassemblées ensemble et ne constituent pas non plus une seule entité à l'intérieur de *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*. Anouilh préfère de les intégrer dans son récit, là où l'occasion se présente, dans le seul but de préserver l'harmonie entre les diverses parties de sa pièce.

⁹ . Jean Anouilh, op.cit., p. 1476.

¹⁰ . Ibid., p. 1477.

¹¹ . Pierre Brunel, op.cit., p. 185.

Réécriture *in progress* : genèse d'une pièce

Dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*, Anouilh procède à un double travail de déconstruction et de reconstruction du mythe antique. Bien que son action soit souvent habile, elle ne fait pas disparaître la pluralité des aspects opposés ni voiler la superposition des éléments hétéroclites, manifestement présents dans la pièce. La persistance de la fragmentation et la diversité des matériaux textuels montrent qu'au contraire, le dramaturge cherche à maintenir l'aspect hétérogène et confus de sa pièce. Dans ce sens, le désordre devient paradoxalement le mot d'ordre qui régit la conception et plus particulièrement la structure de la pièce. Mais ce qu'il faut souligner ici, c'est qu'il s'agit d'un désordre simulé, c'est-à-dire d'une illusion de désordre, à la fois volontaire, délibérée, intentionnelle et maîtrisée. Pour Anouilh, ce désordre permet de rendre parfaitement compte de tout le travail de réhabilitation d'un texte antique, de l'enjeu de l'adaptation d'un mythe littéraire au théâtre contemporain et notamment de la complexité du processus de la réécriture. Il lui permet aussi de s'insurger contre des pratiques séculaires de l'écriture dramatique, en inscrivant la pièce dans une approche postmoderniste selon laquelle l'événement primordial est la genèse de la pièce. Anouilh, refuse donc de considérer comme une fin en soi l'achèvement de sa pièce sans pouvoir rendre compte de tout le travail qui a précédé le passage de la sphère privée à la sphère publique et des difficultés qui ont été rencontrées au cours de la création de cette pièce. C'est pourquoi Anouilh accorde plus d'importance au processus de sa réécriture qu'à son produit final. Il s'intéresse à la réécriture en tant que processus génétique c'est-à-dire en tant qu'acte de création d'un texte second qui « me[t] l'accent sur le « faire comme principal » ; au détriment de la chose faite devenue accessoire »¹².

Anouilh met donc en exergue le long travail de maturation progressive de sa pièce *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit* en déployant l'ensemble des formes et des éléments qui ont contribué à la produire et en révélant les différentes étapes qui, dans leur succession, lui ont permis d'aboutir à son accomplissement. En effet, il commence par présenter son matériau textuel, *Les Choéphores*, l'insère dans sa pièce, le mêle étroitement à son texte moderne, l'investit d'un fond tragique moderne, le travaille lentement en exploitant un large éventail de pratiques et de modalités de réécriture, le transforme et le dépasse. Il finit par le maîtriser, se l'approprier et, par conséquent, réussit à donner naissance à un texte second, *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit*. Ce qu'il faut souligner ici, c'est que le texte nouveau se construit progressivement au même temps où la pièce dévoile son processus de conception et de rédaction et met à nu son propre montage. Ce double jeu de construction et de destruction est le principe de la réécriture *in progress* ou en cours.

Cependant, l'intérêt de la réécriture dans *Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit* ne s'arrête pas au niveau de la reconstruction des étapes successives de l'élaboration du texte, mais se manifeste aussi et surtout à travers la mise en scène des mécanismes de la réécriture. Ici, il s'agit d'une mise en scène-illustration qui donne à voir, d'une façon concrète, les indices matériels et les étapes de la fabrication de la pièce. Cette dimension visuelle qui se superpose à la dimension graphique du texte est étroitement liée à l'acte de création et peut-être expliquée par l'interdépendance et l'interférence entre le texte théâtral et sa forme scénique chez Anouilh qui « remet sa pièce en scène après l'avoir écrite ; mais il l'a d'abord

¹². Maurice Domino, op.cit..

mise en scène en l'écrivain »¹³. Cela signifie qu'Anouilh mise sur la théâtralité de l'écriture pour renforcer la simultanéité de l'acte d'écriture/réécriture et de sa mise en scène. Comme l'altération du texte-source se déploie aux yeux du lecteur-spectateur qui observe sur le vif le travail de préparation du dramaturge, la genèse du texte second s'institue en sujet. Elle se transforme en un évènement théâtral et se présente comme un nouvel objet de représentation. La réécriture devient donc un spectacle ; un spectacle en train d'être créé et qui est regardé en même temps qu'il se crée ; un spectacle que le dramaturge fait vivre comme une expérience insolite qui fait appel à toutes les ressources de l'imagination et qui se veut innovatrice en rassemblant les éléments les plus incompatibles et des effets des plus imprévisibles. Ainsi place-t-il le lecteur-spectateur en face des a priori qui faussent la lecture et la compréhension d'une pièce de théâtre tels que la clarté et la simplicité parce qu'une pièce de théâtre est plus qu'une histoire habilement construite ; c'est une œuvre c'est-à-dire un travail à la fois complexe et compliqué.

Conclusion

Tu étais si gentil quand tu étais petit semble exclure la simplicité au profit de la complexité, au niveau de son architecture, et préférer le flou et l'incertain au niveau de la perception des évènements et de l'action en général. C'est l'interpénétration qui règne dans la pièce et c'est l'embrouillement qui est l'effet le plus recherché par le dramaturge. C'est pourquoi une seule lecture de la pièce est insuffisante. Elle ne permet pas au lecteur-spectateur de se rendre compte de la confusion que crée la rencontre de deux dramaturges, de deux textes et de deux écritures et notamment le travail sur plusieurs matériaux et à partir de plusieurs angles de vues d'un même drame, celui des Atrides. En outre, Anouilh crée une vraie dynamique, à l'intérieur de sa pièce. A travers l'exploitation de différentes modalités de réécriture : traduction, collage, paraphrase, recomposition et innovation, le texte de *Tu étais si gentil quand t étais petit* semble se chercher et en même temps se construire. Il prend corps sous les yeux du lecteur-spectateur, donne à voir la totalité de son anatomie tout en montrant, simultanément, les étapes de son élaboration. A la fin, il montre que le travail de réécriture nécessite une part d'imagination, de fantaisie et même de « folie ».

¹³. Pol Vandrome, *Un auteur et ses personnages*, La Table Ronde, Paris, 1965, p.39.

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Culture Matters: The “Oga” Factor in African Higher Education

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Of University education, "It should encourage original thinking, encourage research, help to add to human knowledge...."

James Emmanuel Kwegyir Aggrey

Abstract

Much has been written and reported, especially by the media about African Leadership and governance. A major coverage has focused on corruption and the lack of transparency; both issues emerging from the media within Africa and the West. The related literature suggests that the African people and the international community have levied the blame on African political leadership and Governance. Equally important is a growing public concern about African higher education. For example, the 2015 University Times Ranking has identified the top ten “best” universities: eight in South Africa and two in Egypt. The current lack of sustainable development; poverty, ignorance and disease; inadequate energy and water supply; and poor infrastructure constitute a major threat to peace and security in Africa. Thus, it may be concluded that African political leadership has failed the African people. And, based on available indicators African higher education has also failed to deliver on the promise of post-Independence Africa, especially to its youth. This paper probes the role of the African academy in sustainable development and the improvement of African quality of Life (AQOL). In this context the paper examines the impact of culture in African higher education; it argues that the “Oga” factor within the African cultural milieu has exacerbated the situation. Based on its findings the paper proposes far-reaching recommendations for consideration and implementation by African educators, policymakers and relevant international organizations.

Keywords: Culture, Oga, Leadership, Education.

Introduction

There is sufficient evidence to conclude that African higher education has been plagued for several decades with many challenges. These challenges have been investigated by scholars and practitioners with the intent of repairing the “bridge” Sawyerr (2004); Atteh (1996); World Bank (2000); Varghese (2012); Ajayi (1996); UNESCO (2010); Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (1991); Materu (2007); Mama (2003); and Assie –Lumumba (1993); and Cloete, Maassen and Bailey (2015). The challenges include quality assurance (QA), funding, capacity building, leadership and governance, decaying educational facilities and infrastructures, access to tertiary education, deteriorating teaching conditions, declining public expenditures on higher education, erosion of universities’ autonomy, gender equality, academic freedom, sustainable educational policies, an increasing rate of unemployment among university graduates and last but not the least is the perpetual student unrest on many university campuses. The problems in African higher education have been exacerbated by the emergence of for-profit private Colleges and Universities. These private institutions now face similar challenges experienced by the public higher education institutions; and in many respects the private institutions are worse. As Sawyerr (2004) points out the challenges facing the private institutions include:

- i. Shortage of resources, infrastructure, and funds;
- ii. their over reliance on part-time faculty from the public institutions with implications both for the quality of delivery at the private universities and for effective performance in the public institutions;
- iii. the concentration of for-profits private institutions on directly marketable courses and programmes, thereby out-competing the public institutions in respect of a category of high-paying courses and programmes that the latter could use to augment their income earning capacity; and
- iv. the absence of research in private higher education as necessary part of the higher education enterprise.

A recent analysis of African higher education focused on eight “flagship universities,” from 2008-2011: Botswana, Cape Town in South Africa, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique, Ghana, Nairobi in Kenya, Mauritius, and Makerere in Uganda. It is worth noting here that the selection of these eight flagship universities for this study does not include any of the numerous universities, especially Ibadan, in Nigeria, the “colossus” of Africa; the largest population and economy in Africa. The study was initiated by the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERENA), funded by the Carnegie Foundation, and led by the Center for Higher Education Transformation (CHET). <http://www.universitiesworldnews.com>. The following are highlights drawn from the summary of the findings in the study:

➤ In general, the African universities are not strengthening their self-generative capacity, and are thus struggling to make a substantial contribution to either new knowledge generation or the application thereof.

A review of the mission statements of the eight universities in the HERENA study shows that two of the flagship goals were to engage in high quality research and scholarship and to deliver knowledge products that will enhance national and regional development. The

➤ and regional development. The results suggest that Cape Town is the only university in this group that clearly satisfies these goals, and that Makerere university is the university that comes closest to Cape Town.

➤ Data showed that only three in the eight universities – Botswana, Cape Town and Ghana had 50% or above permanent academic staff with doctorates in 2011. Only Eduardo Mondlane (17%) continued to have an average well below 40%.

➤ The study showed that 40% of staff at the University of Cape Town were in their senior category (Associate and Full Professors) in 2011. Only Mauritius (24%) and Nairobi (24%) were above 20% in this category. At the opposite end, with the exception of Cape Town (31%), junior staff exceeded 50% with Eduardo Moonlane at 82%, Makerere at 71% and Dar es Salaam at 69%. These three universities also had very low percentages of senior lecturers (below 20%).

➤ In terms of postgraduate knowledge outputs, the study showed that the masters graduate total of the eight universities increased from 2,268 in 2001 to 7, 156 in 2011, at an average annual rate of 12% over the period. Two universities were responsible for 66% of the overall increase of 4,888 in 2011 compared to 2001-Nairobi, where the masters graduate total eight universities increased almost seven fold from 370 in 2001, to 2,533 in 2011, and Ghana, where the master graduate total almost tripled from 541 to 1,591. The doctoral graduate total across the eight universities increased from 154 in 2001 to 367 in 2011. Collectively, Cape Town, Nairobi and Makerere produced 80% of the doctoral graduate total of eight universities in 2001, 82% in 2007 and 76% in 2011.

It is important to note that following the independence of most African countries in the 1960s higher education was hailed as agents of modernization, social mobilization and economic growth. Yet after half a century following post-colonial era, most African universities are now tumbling down. And from all indications, African governments are lagging behind other so-called developing regions in public funding of tertiary education.

All these challenges are occurring in an environment which demands that higher education in Africa must focus on global competitiveness while it strives to be locally relevant and centrally placed to contribute meaningfully to sustainable total development of the continent, countries and individuals. The preponderance of evidence that supports the view that knowledge capability and capacity, rather than natural resources is the greatest determinant of a country's effective participation in the global competitiveness. Put in another way, higher education contributes significantly to the political, scientific, technological, economic, social and human development of any country. It is even more so for the developing nations of Africa, a continent of more than 1.2 billion people, characterized by the poorest countries in the world with huge capacities development needs. Thus on the one hand, while Africa values higher education as an imperative in national development, it lacks transformational leadership and governance sine qua non to effective organizational management

Definitions

• Oga

A Dictionary of the Yoruba Language (2006) defines ‘Oga’ thus: Oga, (n) distinguished person in any sphere, chief, superior officer, headman, master. The origin of the word is not clear but it is attributed to the Yoruba, particularly the ‘Ijebu’. For example, the Ikorodu people of Lagos State (they are of Ijebu origin) are often referred to as ‘Ikoroduoga’ because of their air of superiority over their closest neighbors. Although a Yoruba word, the word ‘Oga’ has crept into the lexicon of many Nigerian languages and once used, the people share a common understanding of the denotation and connotation of the word.

The ‘oga’ syndrome in Nigeria has to do with ‘bigmannism’. It may have a negative connotation when people see themselves as being above the law (A problem in many sectors in Nigeria). It creates sacred cows and makes it possible for people to flout laws with impunity. ‘Oga’ may be unquestionable because of his/her power, status, wealth etc. The ‘Oga’ syndrome underscores inequality because the ‘Oga’ enjoys privileges not open to those on the lower echelons of the socio-economic ladder. It is a word associated with favoritism, exceptions etc., (Bammeke March 28, 2015)

The word “oga” has a fascinating history that is deeply rooted in the history of the Yoruba people of Nigeria; suffice to note here that the word “oga” is associated with the ancestors who descended from the Remo stock of Yoruba tribe who came to settle on a plateau and named it Ikorodu, a shortened word from oko odu which literally means Odu farm. By the 17th century a large contingent Benin migrants came by land through Iki in Ogun state to the new area now known as Ikorodu. It is worth noting that the leader of the Benin group was wealthy and powerful man, Eregbouwa (now called Rebugbawa in Ikorodu) from the ancient royal family of Oliha of Benin city.

• Theory

A set of ideas intended to explain something; a set of principles on which an activity is based. Chen (1990) defines theory as a frame of reference that helps humans to understand their world and to function in it. “Theory provides not only guidelines for analyzing a phenomenon but also a scheme for understanding the significance of research findings.” (Chen 1990, p17) Rudner (1966) joins Chen and others in stressing the crucial role of theory in research.

• The Oga Theory

An idea that is being used to attempt to explain the African higher education crisis. It attempts to test the hypothesis that (a) African higher education does not exist in a vacuum; it has a cultural context, one of which is the “Oga” factor; (2) the “Oga” factor is inherently autocratic, (3) the source of the “oga” power is, to a large measure, referred to as traditional African value system and (4) it gives total power to the leader (ruler).

• Leadership

Oxford Definition: Leadership is the action of leading a group of people or an organization.

Webster Definition: Leadership is described as the process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task.

Leadership is the process of influencing others in making decisions, setting and achieving goals concurrently, it is the process of keeping the group together (James Burns 1978).

Leadership is a role that leads towards goal achievement, involves interaction and influence and usually results in some form of changed structure or behavior of groups, organizations or communities (Lassey and Sashkin, 1978).

Leadership may be defined as: a function of group process, personality or effects of personality, the art of including compliance, the exercise of influence, a form of persuasion, a set of acts or behaviors, a power relationship, an instrument of goal achievement, a differentiated role and finally as the initiation of structure (Stogdill, 1974).

Leadership is a process of making a difference in a society (Gordon, 2014).

Methodology

This study is based on multiple sources and analysis: (1) extensive literature review; (2) field work in ten African countries; Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Kingdom of Morocco, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania. The fieldwork included informal interviews, observations and conversations with faculty, staff, alumni members, students and parents.

The Historical Context

Although a comprehensive history of education in Africa is beyond the scope of this paper, it is useful to provide a brief historical context for examining the “Oga” factor in African higher education. As Samoff and Carrol (2003, p3) have noted “the roots of nearly all of the modern higher education in Africa can be traced to the colonial period and to external support to varied sources.” However for the purpose of this paper the history of higher education in Africa may be divided into three periods: (1) the period of the tradition of indigenous and Islamic higher education in pre-colonial Africa (2) the colonial period, and (3) the African independence era or post-colonial period.

First is the period of indigenous and Islamic tradition or the pre-colonial period. This period dates back to early civilization where learning was embedded in the cultural setting of the time. Prominent scholars in African higher education, including Ajayi et al (2005) and Lulat (2003); Assie-Lumumba (2006), and Lulat (2005); have extensively documented the beginnings of African higher education, tracing back to the pyramids in Egypt, the obelisks of Ethiopia, and the Kingdom of Timbuktu, Ajayi et al (1996). The existence of such institutions has been

referred to as the Alexandrian academy or the Universal Museum Library at Alexandria, established around 331 AD and 642 AD; the Al-Quarawiyyin University, Fez, Morocco in 859 A.D; Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt in 970 A.D. and the legendary University of Timbuktu in the 11th century. And according to world-egiorgis (2013) “The 2,700 years old tradition of elite education in Ethiopia with an African script called Ge’ez could also be taken as example of higher form of education in pre-colonial Africa.” It has also been reported that one of the first African philosophers of the 17th century, Zera Yacob of Ethiopia (1599-1692) was also a product of such African Foundations, Lange (1987). It is therefore clear that higher education institutions existed in Africa long before European scramble for Africa. It should be noted however that these indigenous institutions of higher learning were established to serve and devoted to religious, philosophical, moral, medical and other studies to meet the demands of local people; they created indigenous knowledge systems. However they were disrupted, destroyed or disappeared with wars over slave trade and the appearance of European powers in the 15th century. Consequently, the African institutions were disconnected from its historical roots and alien models of higher education institutions were imposed through European colonization. This brings us to the second phase of the development of African higher education.

2. The colonial phase of African higher education was characterized by colonial ideology designed to compromise local authorities and their legitimacy as agents of cultural and institutional continuity. Africans resisted these changes but to no avail. As Lulat (2003) has documented, Europeans managed to create new African elites who passed through what may be characterized as Eurocentric educational systems only few individual Africans managed to access the system. By 1885, following the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885, all African countries were practically under colonial rule; the British and French played a major role while Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal and Spain participated in the process. It was not until WWII that only a few higher education institutions were established in Africa. Among these were Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, established in 1827 by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of London as an institution for training African Clergymen and schoolmasters; it is the oldest of all established in the Eurocentric model, Ridder-Symoens (1992); University of Cape Town, Khartoum (1902). Cairo University (1908); University of Algeria (1909). Only 8 institutions of higher education were established by the colonialist by the end of WWII: Makerere University, Uganda (1922); Egerton University, Kenya (1939); University of Ibadan, Nigeria (1948); University of Ghana (1948); Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia (1950); University of Zimbabwe (1952). And at the end of the 1960s Sub-Saharan Africa had only 6 Universities for a population of more than 230 million: Cape Verde, Djibouti, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Seychelles and Tome and Principe Teferra & Albach (2004).

3. African higher education has increased enormously since independence; by 2009 there were more than 250 public and 420 private higher education institutions, World Bank (2009). As of 2010 the Association of African Universities (AAU) listed more than 950 higher education institutions. This period has also experienced external support, especially from the West, for example, the World Bank the Ford Foundation, the Phelps Stroke Fund, the Rockefeller

Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation. At the same time public expenditures for higher education has declined substantially.

Why Culture Matters

We begin with the definition of culture. Webster's Dictionary (1996) provides several definitions of culture, including; (1) a particular form of civilization, especially the beliefs, customs, arts and institutions of society at a given time; (2) Refinement in intellectual and artistic taste, (3) The act of developing the intellectual faculties through education. Similarly the Oxford English Dictionary (2007) defines culture as (1) the art, customs, etc of a nation or group; (2) The arts and intellectual achievements as a whole; (3) cells or bacteria grown for scientific study. Many scholars, including the following, have also shed light on the definition of culture: Mead (1953); Gyekye (2003); Zimmermann (2015); Bailey (1998); Harris (1975); Hofstede (1994); Keesing (1981); Linton (1936); Rushing (1983); Tylor (1871) and Awedoba (2007).

Although these scholars and others generally agree that culture is a part of the human experience, they differ in the analysis and nuances in the definition and application of culture. For example, the British anthropologist, Sir Edward B. Tylor (1871) popularized the idea that all societies pass through the developmental stages, beginning with "savagery", progressing to "barbarism"; and culminating in Western "civilization". Obviously this definition assumes that Western cultures were considered superior. It should be noted however that both Western cultures beginning with ancient civilizations in Africa (Egypt, Ethiopia and others) and Eastern cultures especially imperial China, believed that their own way of life was superior. The recent study of multiple cultures has enhanced our understanding of different cultures without imposing the notion of cultural superiority; it suggests the relativism of cultures. Gyekye (2003) in the same vein has provided an Africa-centered definition in the study of the cultural values of the African people. His definition was based on what can be extracted from African myths, maxims (proverbs), folktales, artistic symbols, religious beliefs, socio-political practices and institutions.

Definitions of culture have evolved to today's definition. Hofstede (1994) has provided such a definition: "the totality of a groups thought, experiences, and patterns of behavior and its concepts, values and assumptions about life that guide behavior and how those evolve with contact with other cultures". And in so doing Hofstede, has classified what he deems to be the elements of culture into four categories: symbols, rituals, values and heroes. For the purpose of this paper, culture may be defined as a way of life of a group of people which includes: behaviors, beliefs, and value systems, arts, communication styles including symbols and proverbs, artifacts, music and dance, laws, costumology and world view etc.

An extensive review of related literature suggests the lack of meaningful considerations given to the role of culture in the discourse on African higher education. There was little or no attention given to the role of culture in African higher education at the most recent summit on African higher education in Dakar, Senegal (2015). Yet, arguably, the improvement of African higher education requires serious evaluation and well intentioned considerations of the cultural

context in which African higher education exists; African traditional value systems and modernity. Is there a clash of culture, the African culture on one hand and modernity as characterized by high technology on the other hand? To what extent does African culture impact African higher education? What is the nature of the “oga” factor, within the context of African culture? How does the concept of “oga” factor in the African value system that may impact African higher education? These are but a few relevant questions that scholars seem to fail to connect with the study of African higher education. Like most organizations African higher education institutions have organizational structures. These institutions are virtually headed by the Chancellors and Vice Chancellors. The position of the Chancellor is that of a figure head. In many instances the president of the country acted as the Chancellors. Thus, in practice the Vice-Chancellor runs the university; he/she is the “Oga” of the university. The organizational structure provides for various leadership positions such as Deputy Vice-Chancellors, Pro Vice-Chancellors, Deans, Directors, Heads of academic departments (HOD) and administrative units (including the Registra and the Chief Consul) The structure also provides for Committees, Boards and Councils, such as Appointment Board, University Council, Academic Board etc. In practice however final decisions are made by the Vice-Chancellor, the Oga, subordinates who are also Oga in their respective positions of authority are afraid of making major decisions. The Oga derives his or her power from the African cultural value system, namely respect for authority, respect for the elders, the socialization process of African children and the youth. Some of my informants who are now Lecturers and Professors reported the relationship between their upbringings and their behaviors in the academy. They talked about how they were raised not to question authorities and their elders. They were drilled to behave humbly at all times. I interviewed a few Ph.D. candidates at X African Universities as to why they seem not to be able to critique published articles and books written by their professors and other scholars. A unanimous response was, “we were taught not to question people in authority or even eat on the same dinner table with the elders.” Nonetheless there are a few students and junior faculty and staff who have done otherwise; they also have stories about the consequences of their behaviors. The fear of the Oga is real. There are cases where university vice-chancellors, the Oga hires and fires faculty without any recourse. In other cases the Oga can veto the decision of a Promotion Committee or Academic Board. In other case studies we find that students especially females were afraid to ask questions or be critical of the views of their Lecturers in the classroom. Is this behavior not to raise critical questions in the classroom attributable to African cultural values? Yes and no, because there are students paying attention to their cell phones and/or have failed to prepare for their lectures and therefore will not raise any questions. This apparent convergence between African culture and modernity (high-tech) in African higher education deserves further examination beyond the scope of this paper.

Visions, Missions and Goals Statements

A convenient sample of African universities having vision, mission and goal statements reveals the following:

- To create a world-class research university or a leading/premier university in Africa.
- To be a center for academic excellence

- To engage in quality research and scholarship
- To produce and/or deliver knowledge products for the enhancement of national and/or regional development.
-

These aims, as nebulous as they may seem, provide the baselines for measuring outcomes. It is in this context that we must now evaluate the impact of the Oga factor in African higher education. However, it is important to note here that in general the vision and mission statements of African universities are usually neither grounded in African value system and cultures nor on critical issues relevant to African development agenda. For example, the role of higher education in affecting community social cohesion and other social goals, the promotion of human capability and greater opportunities for social justice, competitiveness and productivity; reduction of inequality, poverty and disease; and the mitigation of conflicts and crisis. University visions and missions can be built around these examples, thus creating Africa-centered higher education institutions instead of replicating western versions of vision and mission statements.

The Oga Factor

Theorizing the Oga factor in African higher education as discussed earlier in this paper helps to explain its impact on African higher education in particular and the African community in general. Thus its practice and impact may be viewed from three related perspectives (1) academic environment, (2) knowledge production and application, and (3) higher education and national development.

1. Academic Environment. The literature points out the relevance of conducive environments to academic achievement; an environment conducive for learning, teaching and research is imperative for critical thinking etc. Based on the history of the inherent autocratic nature of Oga, it does not encourage critical thinking; so does the African traditional socialization process which begins after birth through primary and secondary education. Frequently, the Oga factor engenders fear; there is no questioning the authority of the Oga and the elders. The culture inhibits creativity, independence and self-actualization. Yet, it is considered the sign of respect, something ingrained from early childhood. The academic environments in African higher education institutions are not generally student-friendly. This in part explains the lack of effective alumni associations. Students want to graduate and never to return to their alma mater. There is a general feeling on the part of the students and some progressive liberal Lecturers that students are being treated as children. This feeling often leads to student unrests and strikes. Nigerian universities lead in this category of student activism. And such behaviors are considered deviant and outside the African cultural milieu.

2. Knowledge production and application. As noted earlier in this paper, African higher education promises knowledge production through engagement in high quality research and scholarship. However, the evidence from the field as already noted in the HERENA study and others, neither much of knowledge production is taking place nor the application of knowledge. In fact according to Gordon (2010) the gap between knowledge (what we know) and application

(what we do) is widening globally especially in Africa. There are practically no “silicon valleys” or the “research triangle” (centers for innovation and application) created by African Higher Education in Africa. This outcome in African higher education is to be expected; the culture does not seem to encourage new knowledge production and critical thinking, thus robust research activities are often lacking. As the HERENA report has noted in an attempt to explain the low productivity of knowledge in African universities “this raises the issue of whether the universities have structures in place for the management of research and whether they have been able to introduce incentives designed to improve the research activities of academic staff members.” This speculation may be true but we also need to understand the cultural value promoted by the Oga that makes little or no provision for critical thinking and certainly no incentives for research productivity. Moreover the idea of research grants and fund development is new in African universities; historically they were used to huge government subventions, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundation’s generous donation; albeit some of that still goes on; they have collectively created a culture of dependency rather than a culture of collaboration.

Higher Education and National Development

Historically and in contemporary terms, higher education has always been viewed as a major factor in the African quest for national development. It is now abundantly clear that knowledge is the most important marketable commodity in the global economy. Thus knowledge capacity building has become, and it has always been, sine qua non to development. Needless to say, that ideas and knowledge are essential for leadership development on multiple levels. African universities, based on most of their vision, mission and goal statements, are expected to produce well educated graduates to manage local, national and international affairs. As Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma (2014) Chair of the African Union (AU) noted that “ African Universities and particularly research universities – would enable Africa to grow its prosperity for the next 50 years. At the current level of few highly qualified manpower and ideas for national development, the ability of Africa to win a sustainable future is not promising. First of all, the universities are not producing enough scholars at advanced level, the PhD’s and other doctorates. Here again, the HERENA report and several others have documented the low doctoral graduate production in African universities. Undoubtedly several factors are responsible for the universities inability to accomplish their well-intentioned aims, including the lack of senior faculty members with the doctorate degrees; library resources, funding, mentoring and good management of available resources. There appears to be no incentives for students to pursue advanced studies in African universities. A case in point is the funding and the use of Teaching Assistants (TAs) at the flagship University of Ghana. Students with the master’s degrees (M.A and M.Phil.) are employed at the university as civil servants; they assist Lecturers and professors, for tutorials; in many departments they are not allowed to mark papers. They work from 8:00am to 5:00pm daily; they are not allowed to enroll as postgraduate students. Teaching Assistants in the USA, for example, are usually qualified students pursuing advanced degrees: The rules guiding these practices are not even subjects for review by the Oga of the university notwithstanding a strong support by the Institute of African Studies for change to reflect “best practices” at world-class research universities.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It is not an exaggeration to conclude that higher education is sine qua non to Africa's ability to achieve sustainable development, thus winning the future. And yet many studies have characterized African higher education to be in a crisis mode; some have even suggested that the only way to save African higher education is dependence on foreign philanthropists, governments and international agencies. The dependency approach is not new; in fact the history of African higher education during the colonial and the neo-colonial era is the history of the culture of dependency. Yet African higher education remains in crisis and underdeveloped. Doing the same thing over and over again can only guarantee the same results; expecting a different result is most unwise.

The central argument in this paper is two-fold (1) that the study of African higher education is inextricably connected with the African cultural context, the historical foundation of the Oga factor. The operational organization of the Oga factor presents a clash in culture between traditional African values and the culture of modern academic setting in higher education. The Oga factor has its origin from African tradition of respect and sometimes fear of consequences of questioning authority and the elders. The modern academic institutions of higher education, especially in the West promotes critical thinking, academic freedom, and quality assurance, among other things. African higher education institutions are struggling to adopt these Western standards, often against their cultural values. Similarly African contemporary political systems based on Western models were adopted; the outcomes of which have been, to say the least, a dismal failure. The African educational system has also failed the African people. And the Oga factor has exacerbated the situation; the Oga factor has failed miserably to develop Africa-centered educational systems. Some of the Ogas even question the relevance of African Studies at their universities.

The Oga is pre-occupied with his "bigmanism" and how to make more money for himself from the West, the West that he pretends to dislike and hate; this is the Oga hypocrisy. The autocratic nature of the Oga is not sustainable; but it will take time to deconalize and change; it requires transformational leadership instead of the current transactional leadership. For now we can only hold African educational systems including higher education equally accountable with political leadership for failing to deliver the promise of independence, improvement of African quality of life (AQOL).

Recommendations

1. Any fundamental change in African higher education must include the African cultural context. The lessons learned from the history of great world-class universities support the relevance of culture in African higher education.
2. An end to the Oga factor in African higher education requires enormous efforts by parents to change how African children are being raised. In general, education begins at home; here is where the value of critical thinking must be encouraged and nurtured. This process must

be guided and promoted by public policy from pre-school through tertiary education. At the same time an Africa-centered education must be developed; African students must learn their rich history; after all Africa is the cradle of civilization.

3. The Lack of funding is often cited as a reason for the failure of African higher education to accomplish its stated mission and goals. Africa is blessed with human and natural resources; for example, Africa has most of the world's natural resources; Africa has more than 50 billionaires and thousands of millionaires. African governments should develop tax incentive policies to encourage philanthropy; create for example, an African Endowment for Research and Development. The development of student friendly atmospheres on university campus will go a long way to greater and sustainable alumni support groups/associations. This model works very well in the West, especially in the United States, a former British colony like the former British colonies in Africa.

4. We should note the assertion that “no amount of money, including foreign loans, grants and aids can save African higher education without transformational educational leadership”. Thus special efforts must be made to develop new leadership for change in the African academy. Creative and effective leadership are at the core of the development of quality higher education in Africa. Knowledge production and its application must be a priority for African higher education.

5. We strongly recommend re-visioning of African higher education to reflect its environment, history and cultures in a global context as a major challenge, especially for African educators and national leadership; neither World Bank, UNESCO, IMF nor the emerging neo-colonialists can do it for Africa; it is in the hands of Africans.

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Multilingualism, the Linguistic Landscape of Fiji

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Abstract

Multilingualism is a worldwide phenomenon in today's multicultural World. There are about thirty times as many languages as there are countries. Nearly half of the world's population speaks more than one language. This article examines the causes of multilingualism, whether it is advantageous or disadvantageous for individuals and the nation. Consequently, it will cover the linguistic landscape of Fiji and explain its causes. Ultimately, one will find that multilingualism has more benefits than setbacks.

Keywords: multilingual, multilingualism, language, bilingual, Fiji.

Introduction

Fiji is a country which is blessed with various cultures; the lives of many people are bound by the values of their traditions which establish their identity (Goundar, 2015). It is an independent nation located in the middle of the Southwestern Pacific, about 2500 km northeast of the nearest point in Australia, on the Queensland coast (about 3,100km from Sydney and 2,000km north of New Zealand (Mangubhai, F., & Mugler, F. 2003). Furthermore, while Fiji is a microstate in terms of population and land size, the archipelago of over 300 islands covers 18,376 square km (7078 sq. mi.), and its size and location make it the hub of the region, with an important economic and political role in the South Pacific.

Fiji is a pluralistic society with one of the reasons being the indenture system (1879-1916), which brought the Indians to Fiji for employment on sugarcane farms. In addition, the three main universities in Fiji (The University of the South Pacific, The University of Fiji and Fiji National University) have intakes from almost 14 Pacific Island Nations as well Asia and Europe which adds to the diversity of language spoken in the country.

According to the 2007 census (Figure 1.0), the country comprises of 7 ethnic groups. The data shows that when the census was conducted post-independence that is in 1881; there were 588 citizens under the Indian ethnic group. However, the Indian population increased by 99.81% in 2007 to 3131,798. This increase encompasses a multiplicity of Indian languages: Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Telegu, Tamil, Malayalam (Mugler, 1996).

Furthermore, according to Figure 1.0, in 1881 the Chinese population was non-existent but 126 years later, in 2007 the population stood at 4,704. This brings the Mandarin Chinese language to the list of languages that presently exist in Fiji. Another key increase can be noted for the Part-European ethnic group which had 771 people in 1881. In 2007, the population reached 10,711 which showed an increase of 92.8%.

Census Population of Fiji by Ethnicity (Figure 1.0)

Ethnic group	1881		2007	
	Number	%	Number	%
iTaueki	114,748	90.0	475,739	56.8
Indian	588	0.5	313,798	37.5
European	2,671	2.1	2,953	0.4
Part-European	771	0.6	10,771	1.3
Chinese			4,704	0.6
All others*	8,708	6.8	29,306	3.5
Total	127,486	100	837,271	100

* For 2007 Census, All Others is inclusive of Rotuman and Pacific Islanders.

Compiled using: Fiji Bureau of Statistics- Key Statistics: June 2012.

Factors contributing towards Multilingualism

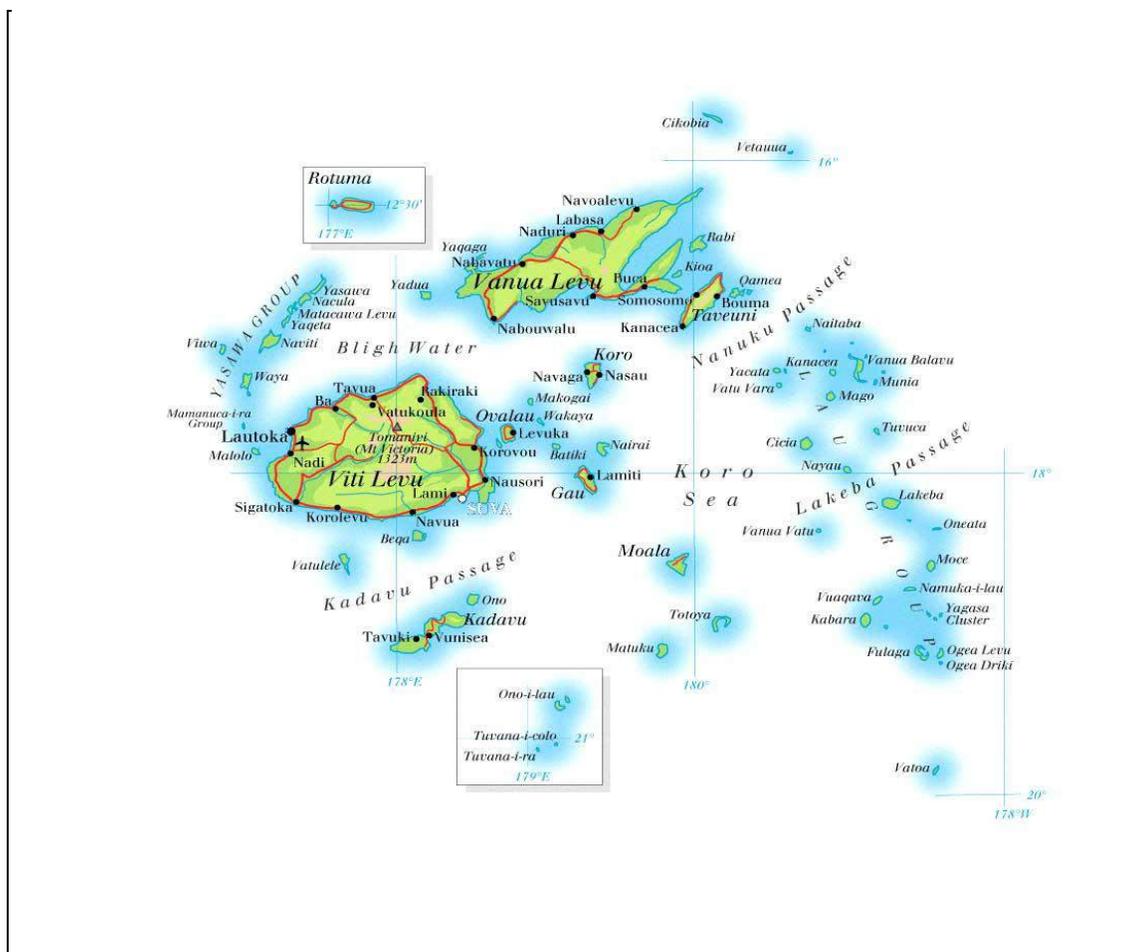
There are a number of factors which cause multilingualism. These include; migration, education and culture, religion and border region.

Firstly, let us focus on migration. The movement of people from one country to another is one of the sturdiest causes of multilingualism. Fasold (1987) illustrates, when immigrants arrive to another country speaking their native language, they add their National Language to the language situation in the host country fostering bilingualism or multilingualism. At the same time, they learn the language of the host country, rendering themselves as bilinguals who usually communicate with each other in their National Language, and with citizens of the host country in the language of that country.

If we look at Fiji's example, the indentured laborers arrived from India in 1889 and brought with them more than half a dozen different languages such as Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Nepali, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. As time went on, some of these languages gained the influence of the Fiji accent.

People in the South Indian community can speak Hindi as well as Tamil or Telegu together with English. Therefore, some of the descendants are multilingual, speaking Shudh Hindi, Fiji Hindi, Tamil, and English.

Map of Fiji (Figure 2.0)



Source: Google Image

Secondly, people learn or acquire a foreign language due to the need of another language which will help them in their field of education and culture. For example, if a Japanese-monolingual person desires to know or study the culture of an English-speaking country, that person will have to learn English first. Many students travel to other countries to pursue their studies and thus they need to learn the languages of these countries. For example, France, Germany, Australia, Britain and the United States of America have a large number of foreign students in their colleges and universities.

Mackey (1967) explains that “in many countries around the world, to be educated means to be multilingual”. In the modern age where most sciences are written in English, the learning of English for people whose native languages are different, is becoming a necessity.

Furthermore, the border regions/areas cause multilingualism. Every country has geographical boundaries which are often shared by another country or countries for example countries in the Europe such as Norway, Sweden, Germany, and Austria. The usual situation in border areas, especially if there is a direct contact between citizens from two neighboring countries, is the creation of a group of bilingual people from both countries. The other important point to be mentioned here is that in locations near border areas, it is common to find people who are citizens of one country, but they are members of a sociocultural group based in the other. For example in Fiji people living in Sigatoka and Nadi (Figure 2.0) can speak the *Nadrogan* and *Nadi* dialects. Fasold (1987) explains the reason for this by indicating that sociocultural groups do not always select their residence area, but sometimes it is just imposed on them. Another example among many of this phenomenon is the presence of French-speaking people in the northeastern states who live in the USA, but are ethnically closer to the Canadian province of Quebec.

Moreover, the last important motive for multilingualism is religion. Researchers pointed out that religion may be tied to a specific language, and the spread of the religion will make its new followers learn the language of that religion, thus enhancing multilingualism. For instance, a lot of Muslim inhabitants from non-Arabic speaking countries such as Iran, India, Pakistan, and Turkey have become bilinguals in their native languages as well as Classical Arabic because they had to learn Arabic as a religion-related language. Thus, nearly all the Muslims living in non-Arabic-speaking countries are to some degree considered multilingual. This is the same for Indian priests in Fiji who have to learn Sanskrit or South Indian Languages such as Tamil, Telegu to perform at South Indian religious functions.

Weaknesses of multilingualism

Many people will agree that there are number advantages of multilingualism on an individual or a nation but at the same time it does have some disadvantages. The most important of these is that learning more than one language confuses children and lowers their intelligence. The claim that multilingualism confuses children and lowers their intelligence, as stated by Kandolf on the Bilingual Families website, supported by research studies conducted in the United States on the differences between bilingual/ multilingual and monolingual children in their language performance.

Research has also shown that multilingualism is responsible for delaying the linguistic development of multilingual children. It is based on the concept that multilingual/bilingual children's brains have a more processing load than their monolingual peers due to the idea that in multilingual children, the processing system is handling two or more languages at the same time whereas in monolingual children that system is handling only one language. For example, sometimes in Fiji classrooms when teachers ask a question, it has been observed that students tend to listen and repeat the questions asked by the teacher in order to get the

answer; their brain starts to process the question in the language it was asked, this shows the cognitive process at work.

Lastly, another belief related to multilingualism is that it causes the child to develop a sense of split personalities; that is, the child feels that he or she has two different personalities. Each personality is associated with each language. Some people go to the extreme by claiming that this sense seriously affects the child's loyalty to the native language and culture (Al-Mansour, 2009). However, this idea of role assumptions does not in any way mean that the multilingual child has two diverse personalities and that he or she should be locked in a mental house. This phenomenon should be understood with ease and relaxation; that is, it is a normal behavior that only means that the multilingual child has more cultural knowledge and flexibility than his or her monolingual peer. When the author was growing up, if he gave his opinion in matters at home then his aunt would say; "*tho-ra englis jan-ne hai toh ba-t ka-re hai*" which mean "he knows a little English so he wants to talk more". It was a bit difficult for her to understand his point of view.

Benefits of Multilingualism

Through research, it was found that the benefits of multilingualism can be grouped into four major categories: personal, cognitive, academic and societal. This paper will focus on two in detail which are personal benefits and societal benefits. The personal benefit of multilingualism is firstly that the person has an access to two different languages and cultures, and hence to more people and resources. This undeniably enriches the life experience of the multilingual person simply because he or she will be able to communicate more with different people than the monolingual person.

Secondly, personal benefit is when the multi-lingual's parents are from two different languages and cultures, knowing the language of each parent will give the multilingual child a sense of identity and belonging toward both parents and members of the extended family.

Next is the societal benefit; we live in the age of globalization where the whole world is just like a small village (Al-Mansour, 2009). To make this globalization possible, people should be able to speak languages other than their native ones. That is the value of multilingualism because multilingual people in a society are the ones who connect better to the international market. Thus, multilingual knowledge is a strong asset to the society.

Furthermore, the Fiji Island Education Commission (2000) highlights that those who are trained in multicultural ethos and effective in more than one language have a distinct advantage over those who are monolingual and monocultural. It then focuses on the advancement of learning:

Multilingual and multicultural education reinforces the main objectives of advancement of learning and the fullest development of human potential. The advancement of learning occurs when we learn to know our social, cultural and physical world better; the fullest development

of human potential implies that all our faculties are allowed to grow simultaneously. (Fiji Island Education Commission, 2000.pp296)

Other advantages of multilingualism are that people will develop a greater vocabulary size over age and they have a better ear for listening and have sharper memories (Cook, 2001). For example, people in Fiji can understand from one word of another language the meaning in correspondence with the situation, such as an iTakuei (Fijian) child was playing with Fijians of Indian descent students and he started scratching his hands and said “*kha-ju-awe*” which means itchy. The students could understand what he was trying to imply from a single vocabulary.

Foreign “language learning enhances children’s understanding of how language itself works and their ability to manipulate language in the service of thinking and problem solving” (Cummins, 1981). In Fiji the native Fijians (iTaukei) are able to speak fluent Hindi and they are able to solve communication problems whether it be getting a fish from the market or explaining something at a bank.

Conclusion

This article has discussed the important issues that are the causes of multilingualism. It starts by pointing out important factors such as; migration, education and culture, religion and border region with the inclusion of the linguistic landscape of Fiji and explains its causes. Thereafter, it highlights some of the disadvantages and advantages of multilingualism. Charlemagne (742/7 – 814), King of the Franks writes “**To have another language is to possess a second soul**” indeed it is true; one has to agree as times change the value of learning another language shows gradually.

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Adapting Materials: Revisiting the Needs of Learners

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Abstract

Text books undoubtedly play an important role for both students and teachers when they are being used in ESL / EFL classrooms, but some practitioners claim that there is not any text book that can be called perfect. Most of the time teachers are under a lot of pressure to select a course book for an ELT Program. However, most of the experienced teachers find that published materials do not always fulfill the needs of the learners. In our paper we are going to emphasize on the point why and how some teaching materials should be adapted for students. The paper will also focus on the debate of adopting and adapting materials preferred by teachers. The present study was carried out through an informal interview and a questionnaire was administered to a group of teachers who are experienced as well as new in the field of teaching. The findings revealed that most of the teachers preferred to adopt materials for teaching rather than adapting.

Keywords: Adopting, Adapting, Textbook, Students' needs, Materials selection.

Introduction

There is a tendency to associate the term 'language-learning materials' with course books by many people. However, the term materials is used to refer to anything which is used by teachers or learners to facilitate the learning of a language. Materials could be cassettes, videos, dictionaries, readers, workbooks or photocopied exercises. They could also be newspapers, food packages, photographs, live talks, instructions given by teachers, tasks written on cards or discussions between learners. In other words, they can be anything which is used to enhance the learners' knowledge and/or experience of the language.

Meaning of Adaptation and Adoption

Most English teaching programs focus on teaching materials as an essential part of it. However, in spite of the availability of English language teaching materials, many teachers produce their own materials for classroom use. Most teachers spend a lot of time looking for, selecting, evaluating, adapting and making materials to be used in their teaching. Materials adaptation refers to the application of some strategies to make the textbook more effective and flexible. The process of changing or adjusting the various parts of a course book is closely related to the reality of dealing with learners in the dynamic environment of the classroom.

Adhering/ adopting to the textbooks means that whatever textbooks are provided to the teachers, they consider those as the authority, thus, few or no adaptations to text are made. According to Richards and Renandya, adopting textbooks as the main source 'deskill' teachers (p.67). Adoption, in contrast with adaptation, is sometimes severely criticized because some teachers, especially novice teachers, compel students to memorize ready-made information. Moreover, the teachers who adopt materials are termed by some experts as classroom managers, technicians or implementers of others' ideas.

The context of adaptation

Despite careful the design of the materials, some changes will have to be made at some level in most teaching contexts. Many times a textbook presents the material in a way that does not fit the reality of the classroom or the current needs of the students. It is at this point where the teacher has to define what to change, eliminate, add or extend.

Adaptation tends to be thought of as a rather formal process in which the teacher makes a decision about, say, an exercise that needs changing, and then writes out a revised version for the class.

Adapted material does not necessarily need to be written down or made permanent. It can be quite transitory: we might think of the response to an individual's learning behavior at a particular moment, for instance when the teacher rewords – and by doing so adapts – a text book explanation of a language point that has not been understood.

P/1

Madsen and Bowen make the point clearly: "The good teacher is constantly adapting. He adapts when he adds an example not found in the book... He adapts even when he refers to an exercise covered earlier or when he introduces a supplementary picture... While a conscientious author tries to anticipate questions that may be raised by his readers, the teacher can respond not merely to verbal questions... but even to the raised eyebrows of his students".

Therefore, we can say that the purpose of adaptation is to maximize the appropriacy of teaching materials in context, by changing some of the internal characteristics of a course book to suit our particular circumstances better.

Objectives

The objectives of this present study are:

1. To explore the context of adaptation
2. The existing process or methods of adaptation
3. The need of adapting teaching materials

Literature Review

For all practicing teachers textbooks play a constructive role in the curriculum. Many teachers even feel that textbooks appear to be the heart of teaching centers, but a lot of debate is there on the actual role of materials in those textbooks. In this context comes the need for adaptation. Now we would like to take a look at the views of some experts.

Block (1991) states, 'despite the bounteous harvest of ELT materials which the past decades have provided, published materials do not always provide the type of texts and activities that a teacher is seeking for a given class' (p.211)

G. White (1998: 73) points out, "published materials of any kind have to cater for a very wide range of possible users, which means they cannot address any individual student or group of students directly." Teaching materials maybe internally coherent but not totally applicable in context ; alternatively they may be largely appropriate but at the same time they can show signs of an inconsistent organization. With an emphasis on materials, Stevick talks of bridging a gap: "the teacher must satisfy the demands of the textbook but in ways that will be satisfying to those who learn from it."

From the views of the experts which have been mentioned above, we understand that undeniably, textbooks can rarely be employed without adaptation to make them more suitable for particular contexts in which they are used. But, there are advantages and disadvantages of adapting materials. Therefore, teachers must be experienced enough to understand which elements are being left out or inadequately covered while adapting their materials.

Methodology

In order to find out why some teachers prefer adopting to adapting, a Questionnaire comprising five items was administered to 15 Faculty Members in the Department of English, College of Arts, Abha. The participants were required to answer the questions within 10 minutes. The type of response item used in the questionnaire was closed items.

The following are some questions on both experienced and new teachers' concept of Adaptation and Adoption of teaching materials.		
1. Are you familiar with the terms Adaptation/ Adoption of teaching materials?	Yes	No
2. Do you often Adapt teaching materials?	Yes	No
3. Do you feel that your hands are tied when you cannot do anything beyond dealing with the prescribed materials?	Yes	No
4. Do you agree that adopting text books as the main source deskill teachers?	Yes	No
5. Is material adaptation most of the time necessary for the learners?	Yes	No

Results

Out of 15 teachers, only seven teachers were familiar with the concept of adapting teaching materials. The others were not familiar with the concept and they preferred to adopt materials rather than adapt something.

Having collected the responses of the teachers, an informal/ unstructured interview of the teachers was taken. The following observations emerged from the teachers:

1. Materials adaptation is difficult due to the lack of experience and understanding on the part of teachers because hardly teachers have any formal training before they take up the teaching profession.
2. Adopting materials is easy because of the work load of the teachers. If teachers wanted to design their own materials, that would be time consuming, hence the teachers seek the easy way out.
3. Many teachers are not motivated to adapt materials due to the constraints on them from the institution(s) where they work.

Reasons for Adapting

Some teachers may raise the question as to why adapt teaching materials if everything they need is already in a textbook developed by knowledgeable people. Richards and Renandya (2000) claim, textbooks may not reflect students' needs and may contain inauthentic language. They also assert that textbooks might present an idealized view of the world and fail to deal with real issues. Therefore, it is said that textbooks as the necessary tools for students and helpful guide for the novice teachers should be adapted with care in order to meet student's needs and not threaten teachers' professionalism.

Our findings suggest that the following are the reasons for some teachers to adapt their materials:

Unsuitable contents for the learners' level of proficiency

Materials not fitting into the time available for the course

Not enough grammar coverage

Not enough practice of grammar points of particular difficulty for learners

Grammar presented unsystematically

Reading passages contain too much unknown vocabulary

Comprehension questions are too easy and can be lifted from the text with no real understanding

Subject matter inappropriate for age, culture or intellectual level

Photographs and other illustrative materials insufficient or inappropriate

Dialogues too formal not representative of everyday speech

Too much or too little in the variety of activities

Having discussed the reasons for adapting, we will now focus on some of the principles/ procedures of adaptation.

Principles and Procedures of Adapting

Edge and Wharton (1998) suggest that 'experienced teachers do not tend to follow the script of a course book inflexibly. They add, delete and change tasks at the planning stage, and they reshape their plans during the lesson in response to the interaction that take place' (p.300) According to Allwright (1999, p.25), textbooks are respected as 'resource books for ideas and activities' rather than as 'instructional materials'. However, if this receptacle of ideas

is not employed right, it can be a source of deviation. Modern teaching methodology emphasizes the importance of identifying and teaching to the individual needs of learners. English language classrooms are diverse places not only in terms of where they are situated but also in terms of the individual learners within each context. Commercial materials particularly those produced for the worldwide EFL market is that they are not aimed at any specific group of learners or any particular cultural or educational context. For many teachers designing or adapting their own teaching materials, enables them to take into account their particular learning environment and to overcome the lack of 'fit' of the course book.

We will now take a look at some of the principles and procedures of adapting teaching materials:

1. Adding
2. Deleting
3. Modifying / Rewriting
4. Simplifying
5. Reordering

Adding

The notion of addition is, on the face of it, straightforward, implying that materials are supplemented by putting more into them while taking into account the practical effect on time allocation.

Example: If students find the explanation of a new grammatical point rather difficult, further exercises are added before they begin the practice material.

It is worth pointing out that additions do not always have to be made on to the end of something. A new facet of material or methodology can be introduced before it appears in the framework of the course book.

Deleting or omitting

Deletion is clearly the opposite process to that of addition. Addition and deletion often work together. Material may be taken out and then replaced with something else.

Example of Deletion from Reading Contents

The following topics are included in the book titled *Well Read 3 Skills and Strategies For Reading* by Mindy Pasternak/ Elisaveta Wrangell which is followed in some institutions in Saudi Arabia

1. Affluenza
2. Jobs, Occupations and Careers
3. The Spirit of Competition
4. Sea horse Fathers
5. Addicted to the Internet
6. Street Art Goes Inside (From Graffiti to Galleries)
7. Solo Percussionist
8. Free Bike Programs
9. Give a Man a Fish
10. A World of Fast Food

Having looked at the contents of a reading book, teachers may want to investigate whether the reading materials are sufficiently transparent to motivate both students and teachers alike or, is there a student/ teacher mismatch. Some materials may seem attractive for the teacher but would not be very motivating for the learners. A balance has to be sought and hence teachers can delete some of the topics from the reading contents.

Modifying/ Rewriting

Modification is a very general term in the language applying to any kind of change. In other words, the act or process of changing something in order to improve it or make it more acceptable is known as modification or rewriting.

The most frequently stated requirement for a change in focus is for materials to be made more communicative. This feeling is voiced in many teaching situations where text books are considered to lag behind an understanding of the nature of language and students' linguistic and learning needs.

Rewriting, therefore, may relate activities more closely to learners' own backgrounds and interests, introduce models of authentic language, or set more purposeful, problem-solving tasks where the answers are not always known before the teacher asks the question.

Example

If we look at the textbook **Upper Intermediate Headway Unit 1 (pg. 13)**, here is a topic on *Holiday Camps* where there are questions like 'Are there holiday camps for children in your country? What can the children do there?' First of all, the students in many parts of

the world may not know about summer camps for children and it would be difficult for them to understand the situation. If the students are not familiar with what happens in summer camps then how would they relate the pictures with the activities related to summer camps.

Simplifying

Strictly speaking, the technique of simplification is one type of modification, namely, a rewriting activity. The main application of this technique has been to texts, most often to reading passages. We can simplify according to:

Sentence structure: Sentence length is reduced, or a complex sentence is rewritten as a number of simpler ones.

Some teaching situations require attention to the simplification of content when the complexity of the subject matter is regarded as being too advanced.

Example: 1. "Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider." *Of Studies* by Francis Bacon (1561-1626)

2. "This ability to capture pieces of the world seemed to come from school. No one had confirmed this but the chalk, the satchel, the morning departure toward this unknown place seemed linked to a ritual of power into which he longed to be initiated. – *School Days* by C. Patrick *Tapestry* Writing 3

Having looked at the two examples mentioned above, it can be said 'texts written specifically for the classroom generally distort the language in some way.' (Nunan, 1988, p.6).

Simplification can refer not only to content, but also to the ways in which that content is presented: we may decide not to make any changes to the original text, but instead to lead the learners through it in a number of graded stages.

Reordering

This procedure refers to the possibility of putting the parts of a course book in a different order. This may mean adjusting the sequence of presentation within a unit, or taking units in a different sequence from that originally intended.

Example: Vocabulary Building 1 by Stuart Redman

In some institutions the following book titled *Vocabulary Building 1* – Stuart Redman is followed in the class to teach the students vocabulary in context. While following the book, it is noticed that out of 100 units, most of the units do not have to be taught in any particular order.

A reordering of material is appropriate keeping in mind the length of teaching program which may be too short for the course book to be worked through from beginning to end.

It is likely in this case that the language needs of the students will determine the sequence in which the material will be taken. There is little point in working systematically through a text book if key aspects of grammar, vocabulary or communicative function are never reached.

Discussion

The main objective of the present study was to show that modern teaching methodology emphasizes the importance of identifying and teaching to the individual needs of learners. English language classrooms are diverse places not only in terms of where they are situated, but also in terms of the individual learners within each context. Designing or adapting their own teaching materials enables many teachers to take into account their particular learning environment and to overcome the lack of 'fit' of the coursebook.

Conclusion

Adaptation is a very practical activity carried out by teachers in order to make their work more relevant to the learners with whom they are in day-to-day contact. O Neil (1990, p.151) says, 'textbooks are a resource for staying in touch with the language', but what is undisputable is that the selection of textbooks should be in line with students' needs. There is a striking image of a teacher as a chameleon according to Strevens (1990) and he emphasizes on the fact that no teaching / learning situation is really static. There are no "perfect" materials and hence teachers must be aware of matching materials to course needs.

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An analysis of lexical errors in the English compositions of EFL Tunisian learners

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Abstract

Research in applied linguistics emphasizes the significance of learners' errors in SLA and EFL contexts. Despite the continuous interest in error analysis, to the best of our knowledge, no study has provided a systematic analysis of lexical errors committed by Tunisian learners of English at the ISEAH Institute of Kef (Tunisia). This paper tries to fill up this gap by investigating the lexical errors made by 20 EFL learners of Business English at the ISEAH Institute of Kef. The participants were in their third year of study at the ISEAH Institute of Kef (Tunisia). They had learned EFL for eight years. Arabic and French were the languages they spoke at school. Arabic was the only language they spoke at home and with friends. The participants were two males and 18 females, similar in age, ranging from 19 to 21 years old. They had had little previous English-writing experience in their secondary school, since writing was not emphasized at these levels. The data analysis was conducted within the framework of James's lexical error taxonomy (1998). The results showed that the participants committed more formal errors (94.44 % of the total number of lexical errors) than semantic errors (only 0.05 % of the total number of lexical errors). The implications of the study for English teachers have been highlighted.

Keywords: EFL Acquisition, English, Arabic, Lexis, Error Analysis, transfer.

Introduction

Teachers contend that EFL/ESL learners inevitably produce diverse types of errors. This is, in fact, the process of learning a language. Error Analysis (EA) as a method of analyzing the learners' errors played a role in L2 acquisition research in the 1970s. EA became the main methodology used for investigating learner language and L2 acquisition, overriding the Contrastive Analysis (CA) method. This was mainly due to the inherent shortcomings of CA and the motivation to improve pedagogy on the basis of the investigation of errors (Corder, 1975). CA looks only into the contrastive features of the two languages, i.e. L1 and the Target Language, while EA is concerned with the learner language and the process of language learning. Corder (1981, p. 36) proposes three main steps of EA research: Identification of errors, description of errors, and explanation of errors.

According to the literature, errors can be interlingual or intralingual. Interlingual errors are attributable to the native language (NL). They occur when the learner's L1 habits (patterns and systems) interfere and prevent them from acquiring patterns in the TL (Corder, 1971). In other words, interlingual errors are the result of a negative transfer from the mother tongue (L1) to the TL. To put it differently, interlingual errors are "those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (Weinreich, 1953, p.1). Intralingual errors, on the other hand, are those due to the TL itself.

Lexical errors are worth-studying for several reasons. To start with, empirical studies (Meara, 1984; Lennon, 1991) demonstrate that lexical errors are the most frequently occurring kind of errors in English. They considerably impact the quality of academic writing (Engber, 1995) and native speakers conceive of them as the most "irritating" errors (Santos, 1988). Secondly, "mistakes in lexical selection may be less generously tolerated outside the classroom than mistakes in syntax" (Carter, 1998, p. 185). This is probably true because inappropriate lexical choices could blur communication by making the message misunderstood. Interestingly enough, even though lexical errors are frequent and serious, they have remained under-researched (Hemchua & Schmitt, 2006). In the same vein, to the best of our knowledge, no study has so far conducted a systematic analysis of lexical errors committed by English learners at the ISEAH Institute of Kef (Tunisia). This paper will try to fill up this gap, at least partially, by looking into the lexical errors committed by EFL third-year students at the ISEAH Institute of Kef (Tunisia).

Thus, in an attempt to give insights into the various types of lexical errors committed by Tunisian learners of English at the ISEAH Institute, this study will try to answer the following questions:

- 1) What lexical errors do the third-year Tunisian learners at the ISEAH Institute make in their English compositions?
- 2) Which of the errors are most frequent?

This paper comprises four main sections. The first section surveys a few significant studies on lexical errors in SLA and EFL contexts. The second section defines the lexical error taxonomy used for analysis in this paper. The third section presents the methodology used and describes the data collected. The fourth section analyzes and discusses the data at hand. It also gives insights into the pedagogical implications of lexical error analysis.

1. Literature review

Despite the importance and the frequency of lexical errors in SL and FL students' English compositions, little research has been conducted on lexical errors. However, among the few studies that have been concerned with the analysis of lexical errors in SLA and EFL contexts, we find Duskova (1969), Henning (1973), Laufer (1991), and Hemchua & Schmitt (2006). Duskova (1969) identified four types of lexical errors when she assessed the writings of 50 Czech students: confusion of words with formal similarity, similar meaning, misuse of words generated by one or several equivalents between Czech and English. These findings corroborate those of Henning (1973), whose study suggested that FL learners stored FL vocabulary in connection with form and meaning. This analysis demonstrated that beginners had the tendency to make form-based associations, while more advanced learners tended to make meaning-based associations. Laufer (1991) gave empirical evidence for FL lexical confusion in case of similarity between the lexical form of target words and errors (i.e. "synformic confusions.") These are words with the same root but different suffixes or prefixes, words identical in all phonemes except one vowel, diphthong or consonant. Hemchua and Schmitt (2006) scrutinized Thai university students' English compositions for lexical errors. Their analysis suggested that "near synonyms" were the most frequent ones, followed by "preposition partners" and suffixes. The sources of errors identified in this study were from L2 intrinsic difficulty rather than the L1 transfer.

This paper will use a comprehensive error taxonomy based on James's (1998) error classification in order to analyze Tunisian third-year university students' English compositions for lexical errors. This lexical error taxonomy will be exposed in some detail below.

2. Lexical error taxonomy

The framework for lexical error classification is mainly based upon James's (1998) lexical error taxonomy. James categorizes lexical errors into two major types: formal and semantic features, as defined below in some detail:

2.1. Formal errors

Formal errors are divided into three types: Formal misselection, misformations, and distortions (James, 1998). The sub-types and examples for each type are stated below:

2.1.1. Formal misselection

These are "synforms" that share some phonemes/graphemes, i.e. similar lexical forms (visual and sound similarity). The four major types of these synforms are: the suffix type (Eg.

competition/competitiveness), the prefix type (Eg. reserve/preserve), the vowel-based type (Eg. seat/set), the consonant based type (Eg. save/safe).

2.1.2. Misformations

These are words that do not exist in the TL. The source of errors is from the learner's L1. Thus, they are "intralingual errors." James (1998) classifies misformation errors into three types: Borrowing (L1 words are used in the TL without change), coinage (i.e. inventing a word from L1), calque (i.e. translation of a word or a phrase from L1 words).

2.1.3. Distortions

These words do not exist in the TL. However, the errors are the result of misapplication of the TL without transfer from L1. James (1998) divides distortions into five types: Omission (intresting instead of interesting), overinclusion (dinning room instead of dining room), misselection (delitous instead of delicious), blending (travelll instead of travel).

2.2. Semantic errors

James highlights two types of semantic errors: Confusion of sense relations and collocation errors. Confusion of sense errors encompasses four types of errors: (1) using a superonym for a hyponym, (2) using a hyponym for a superonym, (3) using inappropriate co-hyponyms, (4) using a wrong near synonym. Collocation is a word or phrase that is frequently used with another word or phrase. Figure 1 summarizes the aforementioned error taxonomy:

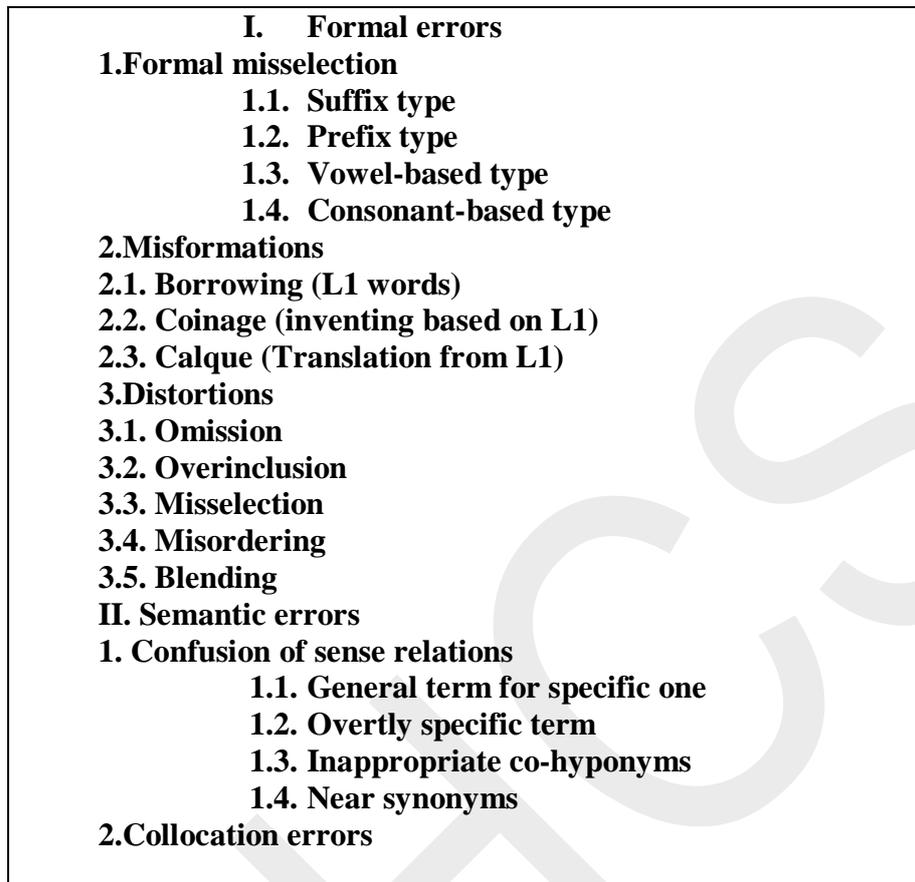


Figure 1: James's lexical error taxonomy

3. Method

3.1. Participants

The participants were 20 Tunisian English students in their third year of study at the ISEAH Institute of Kef (Tunisia). They had learned EFL for eight years. Arabic and French were the languages they spoke at school. Arabic was the only language they spoke at home and with friends. The participants were two males and 18 females, similar in age, ranging from 19 to 21 years old. They had had little previous English-writing experience in their secondary school, since writing was not emphasized at these levels. They took a basic writing course in the first year at the university and a paragraph-writing course in the second year. In addition to classroom English input, the participants were sometimes exposed to English language through the internet and English movies. However, they seldom communicated with English native speakers outside the classroom.

3.2. Procedure

To investigate the types of lexical errors in the students' written English, the participants were asked to write an argumentative composition of about 300-350 words, without consulting

their dictionaries, within an hour, on a topic related to the advantages and disadvantages of life in the country. In order to determine what types of lexical errors were made by the participants, the compositions were corrected by two experienced English teachers.

4. Results and discussions

The 20 compositions written on the same topic by different participants contained 54 lexical errors. That is, on average, each paper yielded 3 lexical errors. Some error types were common (for example, suffix type, borrowing, overinclusion), others were relatively infrequent (for example, vowel-based type, coinage, misselection), and there were no occurrences of others at all (prefix type, misordering, blending).

4.1. Formal errors

As far as formal errors are concerned, the formal distortion of words was the most problematic (40.74 % of the total number of lexical errors), followed by misformations (31.48 % of the total number of lexical errors), misselection of words was less problematic (22.22% of the total number of lexical errors). Table 1 illustrates the frequency of lexical formal errors found in the participants' writings:

Table 1: Frequency of lexical formal errors

Error types	Number of total errors: 54	%
1. Formal misselections	12	22.22
1.1. Suffix type	9	16.66
1.2. Prefix type	0	0
1.3. Vowel-based type	3	5.55
1.4. Consonant-based type	0	0
2. Misformations	17	31.48
2.1. Borrowing	11	20.37
2.2. Coinage	1	1.85
2.3. Calque	5	9.25
3. Distortions	22	40.74
3.1. Omissions	8	14.81
3.2. Overinclusion	9	16.66
3.3. Misselections	5	9.25
3.4. Misordering	0	0
3.5. Blending	0	0

As shown in Table 1, the participants committed various formal lexical errors of borrowing, suffixation, vowel-based errors, calque, omissions, overinclusion and misselections. As far as borrowing is concerned, the students tended to transfer words from French when writing in English, such as “**campagne**” (country), “**problème**” (problem), “**in definitive**” (definitively), “**fondamental ressources**” (fundamental resources). Tunisian EFL learners have

problems with suffixation, as reflected in “I hate noisy in town”, “you’ll feel very boring”, “I feel relax” wherein they failed to add the appropriate suffixes to the roots. They showed a predilection to translate phrases from French or from their mother tongue, i.e. Arabic. They wrote “I practice sport” instead of “I exercise”, which is a translation of the French sentence “je pratique du sport.” Some students wrote “in our days” to mean nowadays, which is a translation from Arabic “fi hedhihi al-ayaam” (nowadays).

The results suggest that distortions or misspellings were problematic for the participants. It is important to consider why the participants misspelled words through omission, overinclusion, misselection. In fact, the participants tended to omit or overinclude sounds, as in “diffrent” instead of “different”, “realy” instead of “really,” “fare” instead of “far.” The participants misselected sounds as in “illectracy” instead of “illiteracy,” “shoose” instead of “choose,” “dissatysfied” instead of “dissatisfied.” They showed confusion with vowel choice, writing “leave” instead of “live,” “luck” instead of “lack,” “fund” instead of “find.” Raimes (1985, p. 247) suggests that such misspellings occur because unskilled L2 writers “concentrate on the challenge of finding the right words and sentences to express their meaning instead of editing.”

4.2. Semantic errors

Lexical semantic errors were not frequent in the participants’ compositions (4 out of 54 errors, that is 7.40 % of the total number of lexical errors). Table 2 below summarizes the participants’ semantic errors:

Table 2: Lexical semantic errors

Error	Number of errors	%
1.Confusion of sense relations	3	5.55
1.1 General term for specific one	0	0
1.2. Overtly specific term	0	0
1.3. Inappropriate co-hyponyms	1	1.85
1.4.Near synonyms	2	3.70
2.Collocation errors	0	0

There is one error related to inappropriate co-hyponyms wherein a participant misused a term in English as in “we transpire fresh air” instead of “we breathe fresh air.” There are two errors of near synonyms as in “it allows to get a fresh air” and “they will not like travelling to get to their work” wherein the participants used informal words instead of formal ones. “To get to work” is not entirely incorrect, but the use of “get” seems more appropriate in informal writing. The student seems not to distinguish between the register choice in formal and informal writing.

Table 3 summarizes the frequency of formal and semantic errors found in the participants' writings.

Table 3: Summary of the frequency of formal and semantic errors

Formal errors			Semantic errors	
No of errors	of	%	No of errors	%
51		94.44	3	0.05

5. Discussion and pedagogical implications

The study's results suggest that Tunisian EFL learners face more difficulties with formal errors (94.44 % of the total number of lexical errors) than with semantic errors (only 0.05 % of the total number of lexical errors). There are mainly two major sources of errors in EFL learning: Interference from L1 and intralingual source, i.e. the target language itself. Applied linguists contend that the native language of learners plays a significant role in EFL learning. Indeed, negative interference from L1 is acknowledged in the literature as an important factor in EFL learning. In this study, the participants resorted to calque and borrowing when writing in English by transferring words from French and Arabic as in "I practice sport" and "in these days." Intralingual errors are due to the difficulty of the target language. Students seem to find it difficult, for instance, to write "different" with the sound "e" while they should pronounce it without the sound "e". They showed confusion with vowel choice writing "leave" instead of "live," "luck" instead of "lack," "fund" instead of "find," which reflects their incomplete learning that English vowels are able to change the whole meaning of a word. Indeed, changing a vowel in a word in English generates a change in meaning.

The study's results push us to reflect upon the causes of these lexical errors. It can be argued that the lexical errors found in the participants' essays are attributable to several factors, such as hypercorrection, faulty teaching, fossilization, an inadequate learning. Touchie (1986) states that sometimes "zealous" efforts of teachers in correcting their students' errors bring about "induced errors." It happens that learners' errors are caused by the teacher, teaching materials, or the order of presentation. Interestingly enough, some errors can fossilize and, therefore, it becomes difficult for the learners to get rid of them. Some errors can be the result of inadequate learning. They can be caused by ignorance of rule restrictions and incomplete learning.

These errors should be treated. In this context, the teacher's role is important. Touchie (1986) confirms that teachers should correct errors affecting intelligibility. Thus, it is important to correct the students' lexical errors whenever they interfere with the general meaning and understandability of utterances. Also, teachers should correct the most frequent errors. For example, borrowing from L1 turns out to be a pervasive error in the light of this study. It is, therefore, an error of high frequency and generality that teachers should work on.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to identify the lexical errors made by EFL students at the ISEAH Institute of Kef. The results suggest that Tunisian EFL learners face more difficulties with lexical formal errors (94.44 % of the total number of lexical errors) than with lexical semantic errors (only 0.05 % of the total number of lexical errors). It has been argued that these lexical errors can be attributed to several factors, such as hypercorrection, faulty teaching, fossilization, an inadequate learning. To remedy these learning difficulties, the teacher's role is significant in order to ensure an affective correction of errors.

It is worth-noting that this study is contributive to EFL research since it has shed light on the lexical errors made by EFL learners in the Tunisian context. It has revealed the difficulties faced by EFL learners in learning English lexis.

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Analysis the Process and Priorities of Urbanization in the Mashhad city After Islamic Revolution of Iran

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Abstract

Urbanization can be seen as a process that its requirements consist of making schedule changes and hastily refrain from in the urban systems. The aim of this paper is the analysis of the process and priorities of urbanization in the Mashhad city with special emphasis on the period post-Islamic Revolution of Iran (1979 onward). The applied methodology is based on analytical-descriptive approach. We have used documental, field survey methods to collect information. Results showed that Mashhad city as the greatest city in the southeast of Iran is facing accelerated urbanization. The formation of marginal sectors in the surroundings of the main city center is an important parameter for this rapid growth. Finally, we can present some solutions to encourage private sector to play more role in the investment of housing activity.

Keywords: Mashhad city, Urbanization, Housing activity, Marginal Sectors.

1. Introduction & Background

Almost two and a half billion people representing 45 percent of the world's population live in urban areas. In 1990, 37 percent of the developing world's population lived in urban areas and about one third of the urban population in the developing countries lived in urban slums and shanty towns. In 1990, more than 75 percent of all South Americans were living in urban areas, the highest degree of urbanization in the world. Europe ranked second with a little more than 73 percent of the population in urban areas. The highest urban growth rate between 1960 and 1990 was in Africa at 4.9 percent, compared with a global annual rate of 2.8 percent (UNCHS, 1992 & Watson, 1993). The United Nations report revealed that the world's urban population will rise by 4 billion by 2030, with the birth of 90% of this population in developing or undeveloped countries. From an overview of the contemporary literature on urbanization in developing countries, it appears that despite generally different approaches, various government structures, widely implemented policies and several viewpoints of the policy makers and researchers, the dominant perspective is that the developing countries have experienced rapid urbanization and migration (United Nations Population Division, 2010; Tilaki & et al, 2013). Rapid urban growth is responsible for many socio-economic and environmental changes. Its effects are strongly related to the global issues. Urbanization process has intensified sharply in the early of twenty century. In 1950 less than 30% of the world's population lived in cities. This number grew to 47% in 2000 (2.8 billion people), and is expected to grow to 60% by the year 2015. According to the national census report in 2011, Iran has 1,648,000 square kilometers area with 75.2 million population and 71.2 % percent of them live in cities (Asgharpour & et al, 2013).

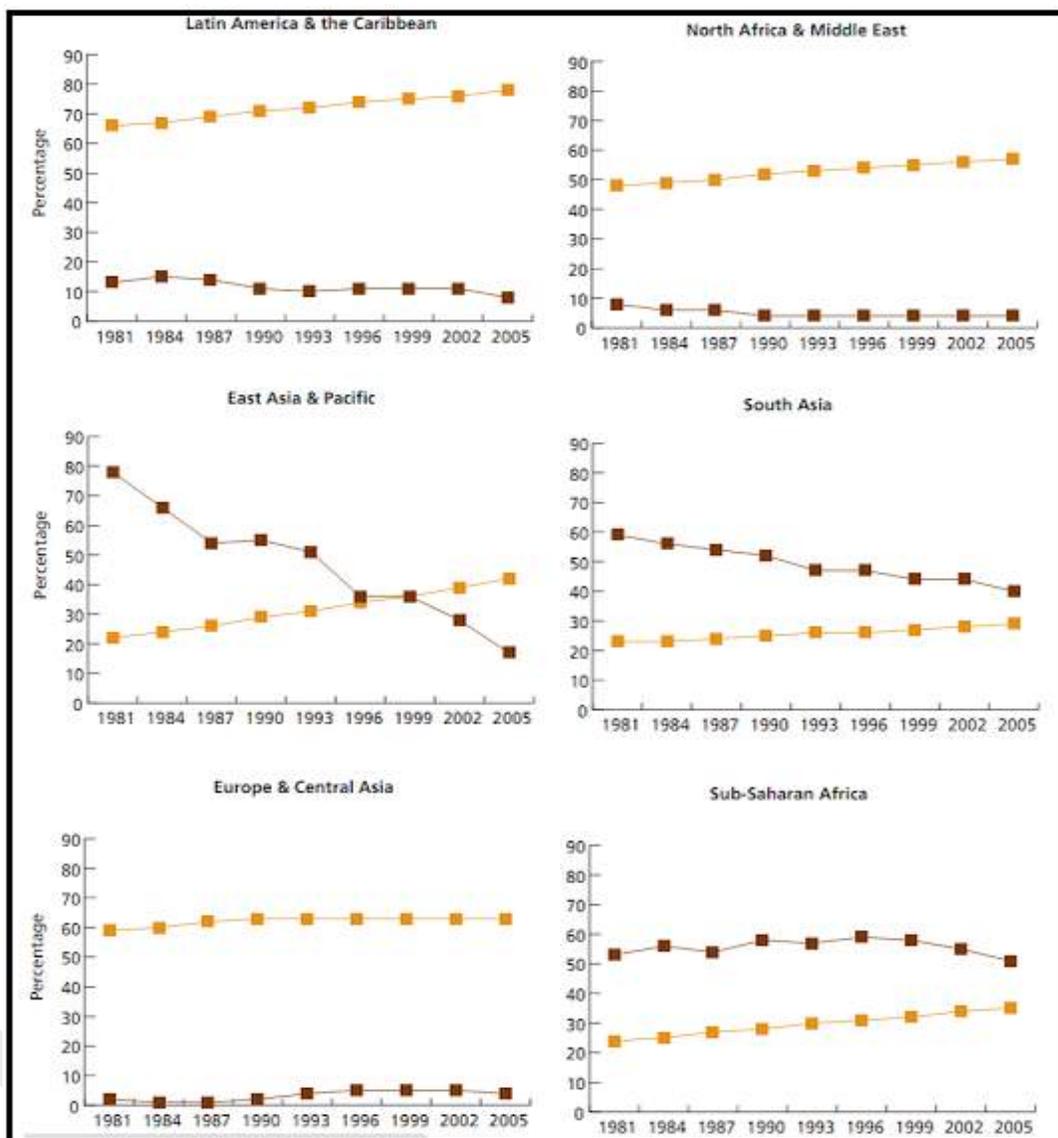


Fig.1. Urbanization and poverty headcount, 1981-2005
Source: World Bank, 2007.

Structure of cities and their regional organization will be changed significantly due to social and economic changes caused by the globalization and changes in the fields of communications and information. Cities will be reconstructing themselves in order to be in line with these changes. By increasing the world domination of cities, the development and management of cities and areas around them are essential as the basis for creating the social and economic actions and interactions which should be better understood. Because the world's sustainability has become the current dominant subject at a global scale, reaching this sustainability without understanding

the cities as the most important spatial physical aspects of human civilization seems impossible (Javaher Ghalam, 2013).

Fanni (2006) in her paper entitled “Cities and urbanization in Iran after the Islamic revolution” says that the nature and the process of urbanization differ from one country to another. In the last two decades, fundamental changes have taken place in ideas about the roles which settlement plays in the developing countries. Specifically, new critical approaches have been introduced as to the assumed function of big cities as the generators of modernization and development (Hardoy, 1988; Fanni, 2006).

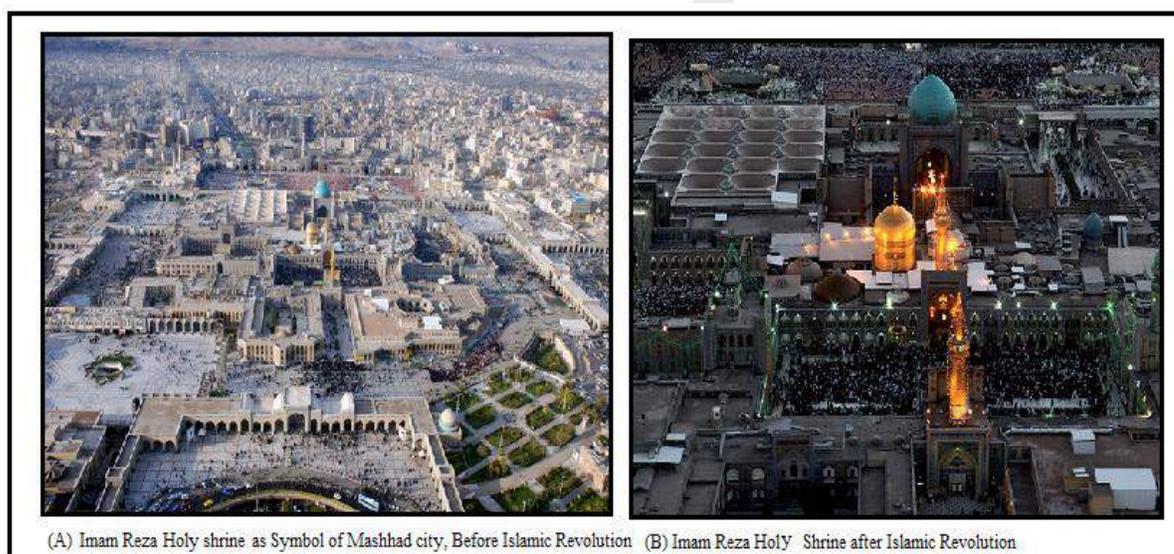


Fig.2. A view of Imam Reza holy shrine as a main urban symbol of Mashhad city.

Source: Authors adopted Mashhad Municipality website (Mashhad.ir).

According to different papers and books, urban growth in third world countries such as Iran in general and Mashhad city in special, has two sources: Rural- Urban migration and natural increase of urban population (Fanni & et al, 2014). It must be stated that the acceleration of world urbanization since 1850 partly reflects a corresponding acceleration of world population growth (Lowry, 1990; Peng & et al, 2012). But urbanization in Mashhad isn't merely an increase in the average density of human settlement.

Although, the urbanization and urban growth are global events, its impacts are more considerable in developing countries. High percentages of urbanization have occurred in developing countries compared with other parts of the world. Although the pace of change has varied considerably between countries and regions, virtually every country of the developing world has been urbanizing rapidly. Evidence of a slowdown in the rate of growth of some of the largest cities and of polarization reversal or spatial de-concentration into polycentric metropolitan

forms does not contradict the conclusion that the developing world is becoming increasingly urbanized (Pacione, 2011; Seifolddini & et al, 2014). With the increase of population and development of investment and activities, the structural organization of cities is experiencing fundamental changes (Saeed nia, 1999). So cities will always be bigger physically and more complex structurally as living organisms. Following this physical development of the city, economic, social, cultural and above all ecological and environmental conditions are also gradually changed (Listokin, 2002). This type of urbanization may be seen more in Iran so that one of the important processes of urbanization is rapid physical expansion of cities (Shokuhi & et al, 2013).

2. Case Study Region

Mashhad city is the second largest city of Iran. It is the center of Khorasan Razavi province. Current Iran's population is over 75 million. Most Iranian reside in densely populated urban areas. Iran's capital city is Tehran. The population of the Tehran Metropolitan Area including the city, some of its suburbs and the surrounding area is approximately 12 million. Major cities of Iran and their approximate populations are shown in the Table (1).

Table (1)
 Major cities of Iran and their population

City	Population
Tehran	12,059,000
Mashhad	2,926,000
Isfahan	1,598,000
Shiraz	1,271,000
Tabriz	1,222,000
Ahvaz	830,000
Karaj	1,090,000
Bandare Abbas	508,000

Source: U.S census Bureau, 2007.

The city has witnessed rapid growth in the last two decades, mostly because of its economic, social and religious attractions. It has an area of 148 km² and its current population is 2.9 million. Since 1987, its population has grown 3.6 times while its extent at the same time period has doubled (Rafiee, 2007). Mashhad as other shrine cities in the world has different potential's in the field of attraction urban tourism. Advertising as a powerful tool has a key role in exacerbating this process (Tavakoli & Heydari, 2012). The aim of current research is the evaluation of the process and the priorities of urbanization in the Mashhad city after Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979 with a general review of its past process. Also, we will analyze the different aspects of research subject and we will present some solutions at the end of the paper.

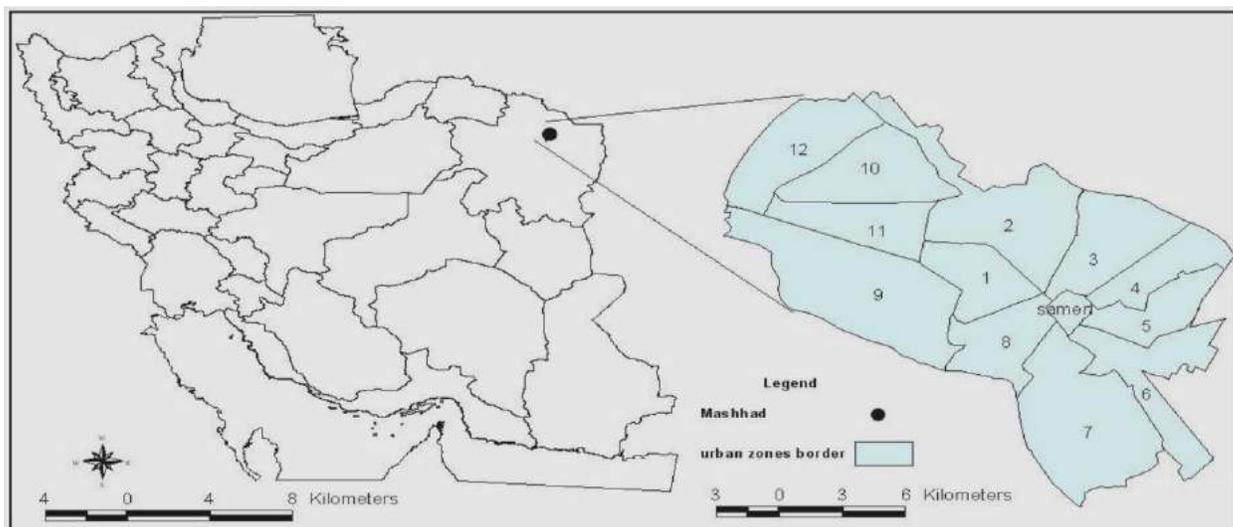


Fig.3. A view of case study region.

Source: Authors adopted of Zanganeh & et al, 2013; Mahiny & et al, 2012.

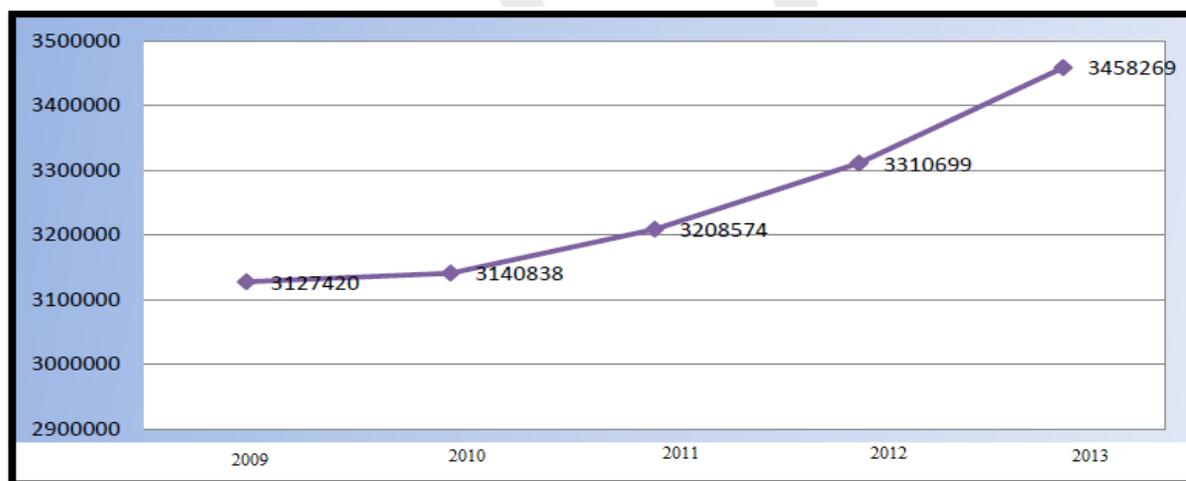


Fig.4. Comparison of the processes of Mashhad city population during 2009 to 2013.

Source: Mashhad university of Medical science & Mashhad Municipality, 2015.

3. Material and Methodology

The methodology used is based on analytical- descriptive approach. We have used documental, field work and survey methods to collect information. Given the importance of the indices and our limitations in having access to them, we have chosen some of these variables to measure the process and priorities of urbanization in Mashhad city of Iran (Health facilities, access to appropriate food, improving of urban and municipality laws, number of cities in case

study region, the proportion of urban and rural population and etc.). In the continuum, we have used statistical software analyze the data.

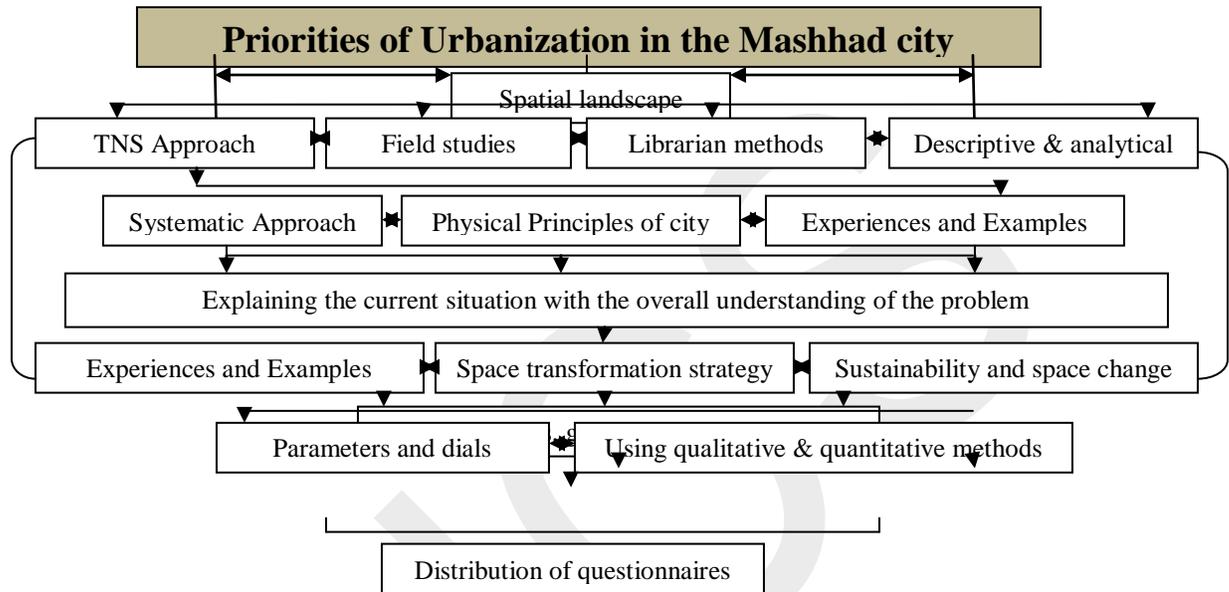


Fig.5. Conceptual diagram of the research

4. Findings and Results

Urbanization and its priorities in the Mashhad city have special framework and this framework led to, the process of urban planning, architecture and etc., to be more distinguished from Iranian urbanization system.

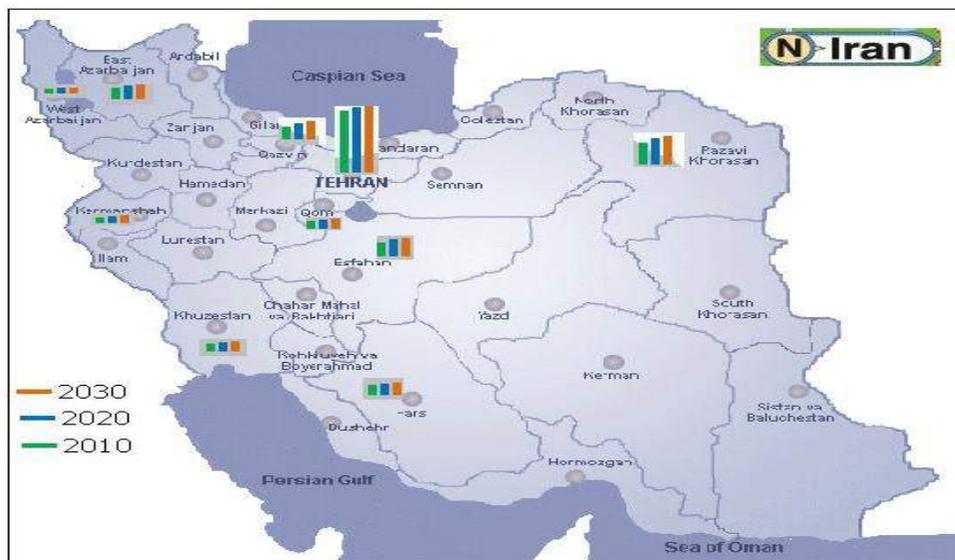


Fig.6. growth of urbanization in the main cities of Iran, during 2010, 2020 & 2030

With attention to fig (6), we can notice that Tehran city is the largest city of Iran as it has a very high proportion in the Iranian Urbanization. After Tehran, Mashhad is the greatest city in the southeast of Iran and the second largest city of Iran. Mashhad is the only city in southeastern of Iran which is growing rapidly. This growth has different reasons:

1. Migration from neighboring provinces, especially from Sistan and Baluchestan;
2. Growth of unplanned urbanization in the most urban areas of southeast Iran;
3. Numerous droughts in the South and North Khorasan province of Iran that in the long time villagers were forced to migrate to Mashhad and Gogran as two important cities;
4. Development of urban transport facilities that allowed villagers facile movement from countryside to the center of city.
5. Earning of more income for rural residents in the city of Mashhad.

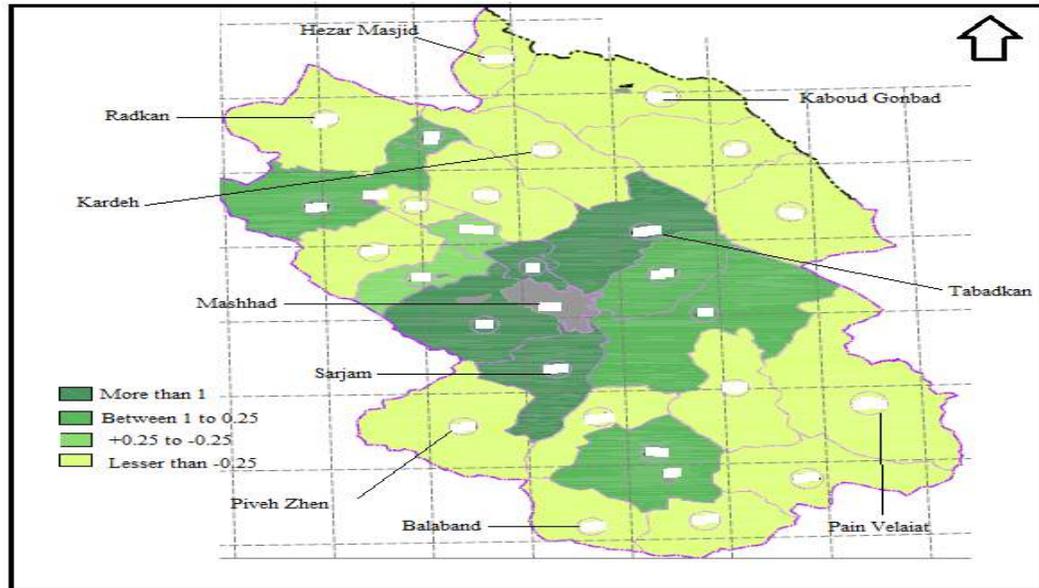


Fig.7. Mashhad travel size from villages to urban area of Mashhad.

Discontinuity of spatial and social structure of Mashhad city in the wake of unbridled accelerated urbanization in the recent decades is clear. This imposes serious consequences to the Mashhad city body. These factors led to the accumulation of the asymmetrical urban population in the case study region. The formation of informal settlements, with abnormal tissue and non-standard text leads to inefficient of urban projects and as a result urban health system is facing with serious challenges. Massive volume of 1.2 million marginalized peoples in the study area makes it necessary to political and municipal authorities to pay more attention to the crisis and the demands of citizens. Therefore, they have to make purposeful decisions to empower urban residents and secure equilibrium that are important issues.

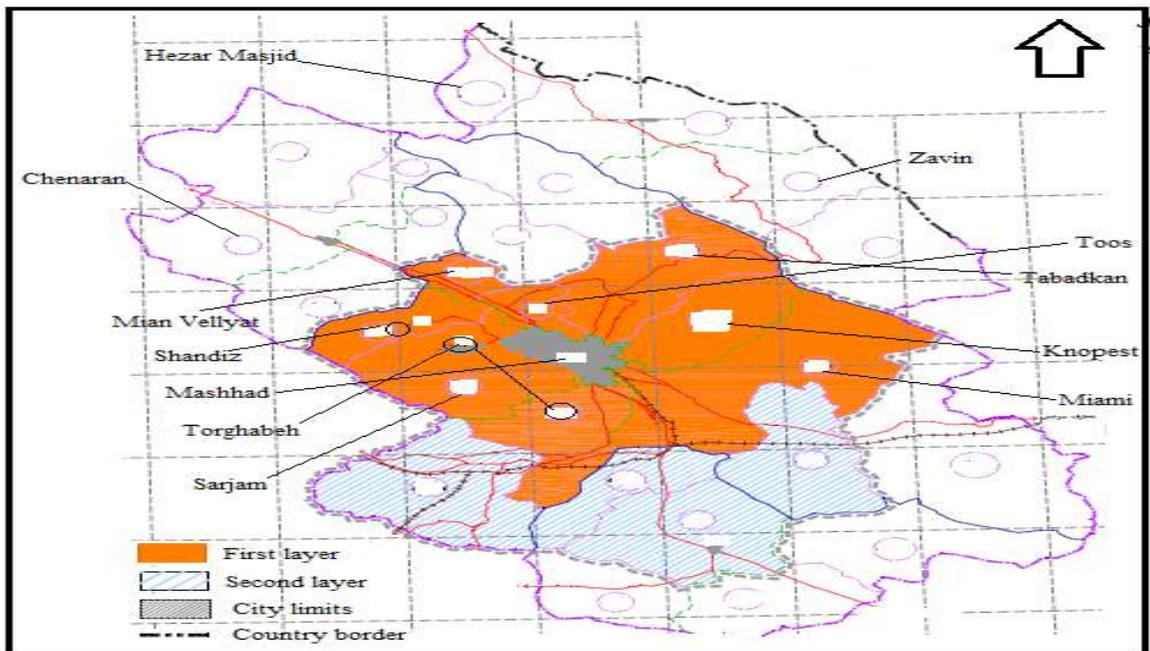


Fig.8. Transportation as a main element in determine of Mashhad city limit.

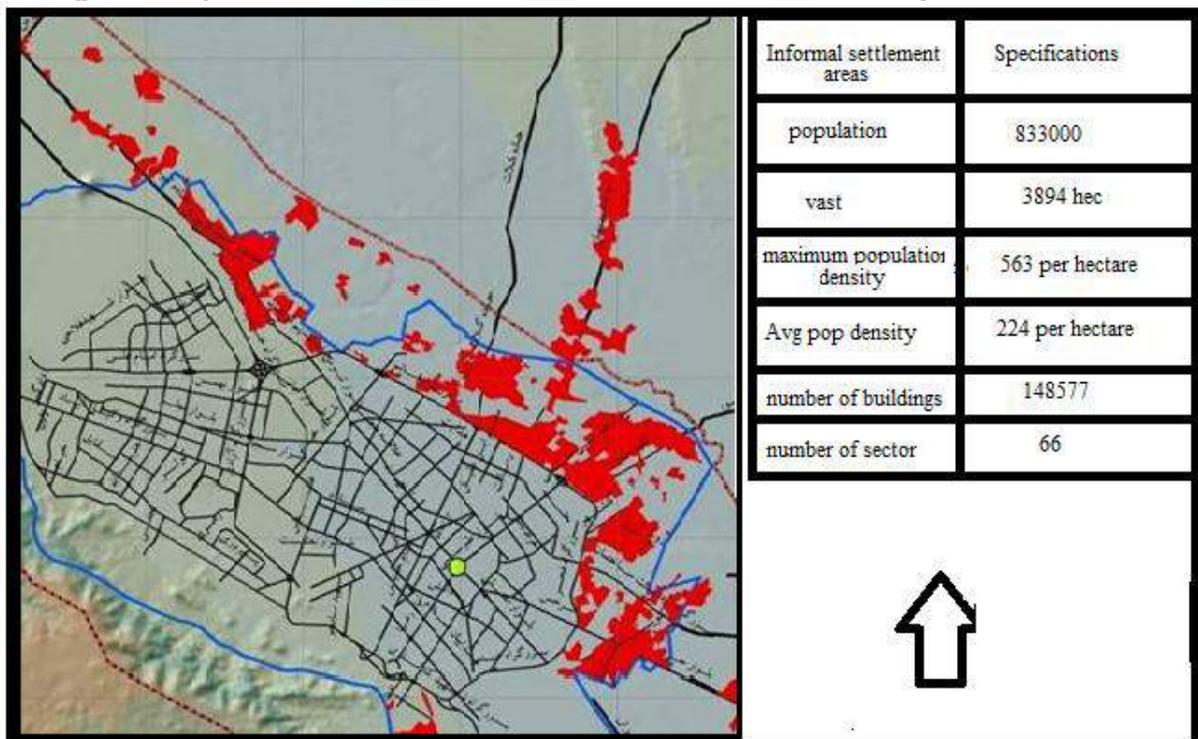


Fig.9. Informal settlement's in the Mashhad city as a main part of Mashhad urbanization.
 Source: Planning deputy of Mashhad municipality, 2015.

According to past plans in Mashhad city, the proposed Khazeni plan of vast agriculture areas were in legal boundary. So, the city has grown horizontally. But in other issues such as residential density and complex functional areas, it was better. Indeed, comprehensive Khazeni plan has led to horizontal growth. Thus, the mentioned plan hasn't succeeded to create a compact city concept. It must be stated that the development pattern of Middle West plan has attempted to achieve compact city concept items. The proposed population was 800.000 people for studied area, while there are 650.000 people now. So the plan was not a success. But in other elements such as: residential density in hectare and complex land-uses,¹ it is better than other plans.

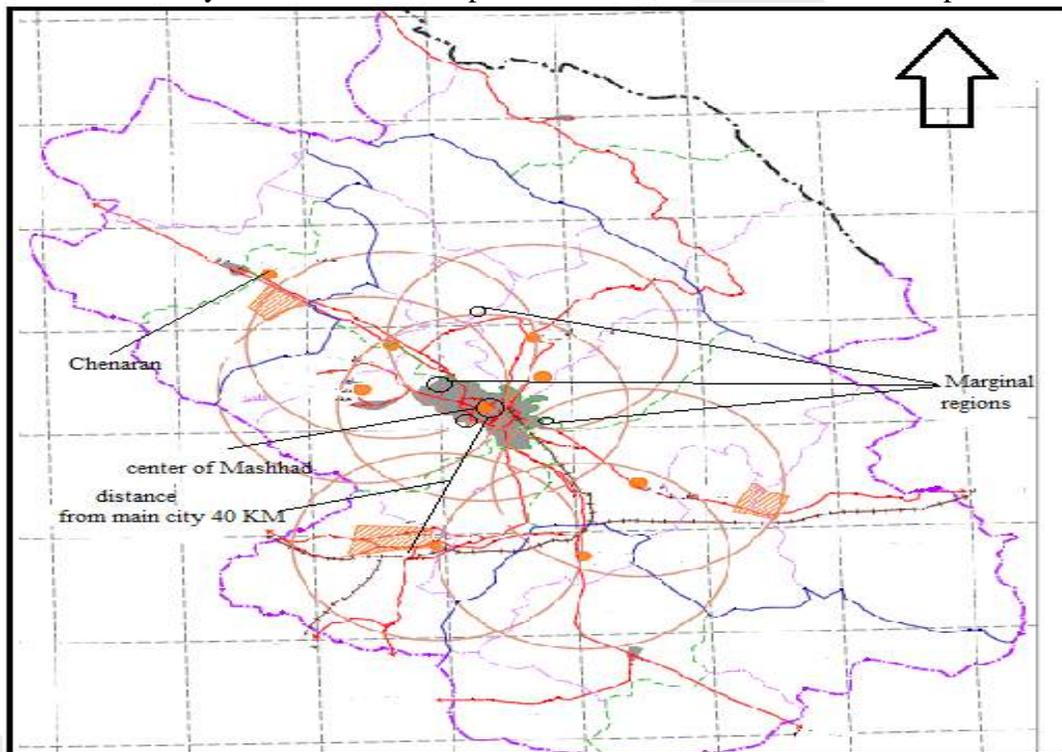


Fig.10. Areas of housing, employment and distribution of small businesses in the Mashhad city

¹ Rahnama & et al, 2013, AJER.

5. Problems and Solutions

In this section, while addressing some of the problems, solutions will be appropriate:

Table (2): Problems and Solutions in the urbanization of Mashhad city process:

	Challenge	Solve way
Physical	Confusion and irregular texture of accommodations;	Giving better shape to the settlements according to cultural and natural conditions;
	Formation and rapid growth of the construction even before fixing;	Construction with schedule and attention to urban laws;
	Improper positioning near a stream and high voltage pylons;	More precise positioning of municipal equipment;
Security, social and cultural	inappropriate composition of the population;	Zoning due to their ethnic placement
	Low social status and human development;	Improvement of social identity of citizens;
	Fertility and high residential density;	Providing high quality housing;
Economic	Not wanting to improve housing conditions due to poverty and lack of legal ownership;	Improve housing and healthy conditions;
	The lack of private sector investment in these settlements;	Encourage private sector to play more active role in housing, economic aspects and investment in the city;
	Widespread informal economy;	Attempts to regulate the informal economy and the compliance of citizens with the law;
Environmental	Low quality, volatility and lack of health environment;	Improve the quality of live environment;
	Vulnerability to diseases and natural disasters;	Resistant homes and buildings against natural disasters;
	Immodestly passages and maintenance of animals in homes;	Attention to the passages coverage and improving the social identities of citizens;
Functional and operational	The inappropriate establishment of settlements and neighborhood;	Reasonable Establish of settlements;

	Absence or severe shortage of public spaces and services;	Giving more attention to public and services space in the urbanization process;
	Inefficient and inadequate access networks with narrow and low permeability;	Reasonable and fair access to distribution networks, maintaining illicit networks;
Infrastructure and public Land uses	Lack of infrastructure networks (especially gas), especially in the context of the emerging;	Improvement of infrastructure sources as water, gas etc.
	Illegal use of certain infrastructures and the vulnerabilities and risks from it;	Efforts of legalizing peoples and enforcement of urban laws;
	Lack of the passages lighting was implemented and appropriate ways;	Equip the passages and improving the culture the use of these equipment's.

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‘Love-Jihad’; Protection of Religious Proximity: An Indian Situation

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Abstract

عشق پر زور نہیں، ہے یہ وہ آتش 'غالب
Ishq par zor nahi, hai yeh woh atish Galib,
کہ لگائے نہ لگے اور بجھایے نہ بنے
Ke lagaye na, lage aur bujhaye na bane

Love is not in one's control, this is that fire roused,
It cannot be willed or ignited, nor can it be doused (English Translation).

Love is choreography of contemplation and projection of emotion. The practice of love is discussed under various philosophical and theological reflections. Love offers wisdom (Sophia); however the conceptual understanding of love is influenced by the optional affair. The fundamental disposition of love is prompted by religion and sociological colour and shapes. Love-Jihad is new social weed that is nutritioned by the hectic politics of religion and trap for youth of Indian national under active political alliance. The paper attempts to study the genesis, and the repercussions of such movements on contemporary social structure. It also calls for the study the lineage of inter-faith marriages in India and the way it is gaining a new reference in the contemporary scenario. The shift from the secularism oriented goal to the religion colored violence builds the platform to debate on the trust and reliance in a relationship as well as interrogates the authenticity of law to safeguard people from the upcoming challenges.

Keywords: Love, Jihad, Politics, Religion, Fanaticism, Polarization.

Love as the animalistic urge dictates certain kind of behaviour which otherwise is influenced by the spirituality touching the highest realm of life. Plato's *Symposium* defines love with the series of elevation where the baser instincts are superseded by the intellectual conception of love surpassed by its theological vision and transcending sensual attraction and mutuality. Love is the ontology of affection fill the emptier man as '... water runs through wool out of a fuller cup into an emptier one' (Plato 2001: 3). Aristotle defines the theory of love as 'two bodies and one soul'. He defines, love on three grounds, 'utility', 'pleasure' and 'goodness'. The philosophical notion of love includes several other disciplines such as epistemology, metaphysics, religion, human nature, politics and ethics. Aristotle defines the three different levels of love, i.e. *Eros*, *Philia* and *Agape*. *Eros*¹ stands for love, as it is the platonic beauty (*Kalos*) and the integral part of love. Beauty with the specific *Eros* is described in two forms, first, when the lover is inspired by the beauty and second when the lover urges to possess the beauty. *Philia*² stresses on friendship as the 'loving someone for himself' (Plato 2001: 118). Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics, Book VII* illustrates the basis of love as '... things that cause friendship are: doing kindness; doing them marked; and not proclaiming the fact when they are done' (*Rhetoric II*: 4, Trans. Rhys Robert). Love as a friendship should not bear any grudges, or aggression. *Agape*³ focuses on the divine love which is the supreme form of loving. *Agape* love refers to the pure love without any expectation. In Indian philosophy, too, love find a special place. The nature of love has also been defined in the *Sāṃkhya-Yoga*. The *Vedānta* and, especially, distinguish *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* between the feeling and cognition as *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. *Puruṣa* is a pure consciousness, while *Prakṛti* is a primordial matter. There are three kinds of feelings, i.e. *Gunās* (qualities), *Satta* (*Sukha* or comfort), *Rajas* (*Duḥkha* or grief) and *Tamas* (*Vighatana* or confusion). However, *satta* is the most elevated state of emotion rendered as 'reflection'.

Love is tangible as well as abstraction in the polity between relations. Diversity in the portrayal of love has touched upon numerous fields such as Music, Art, Literature, Cinema, Performative Arts and many genres of expression. Though to love, and to be loved, is the basic natural need of all living organism, it has too often been a site for social and communal self-

¹ *Eros* is a Latin word which means AMOR or CUPIDO, the god of love. The Greek poet Hesiod describes *Eros* as a cosmic that emerged self-born before the creation to spur procreation. The poet later illustrates that the two gods of love, i.e. *Eros* and *Himeros* (Desire) accompanied Aphrodite to emerge from the sea-foam. The Greek Philosopher Plato defined *Eros* as possessing good oneself forever.

² *Philia* is translated as 'brother love' in Greek, but in the Aristotelian Philosophy it is described as friendship or affection.

³ *Agape* is translated from the Greek as 'brotherly love', '*charit*', 'the love of god for man or man for god'. In Christianity 'New Testament', it suggests the self-sacrificing love for god, written as "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.— John 3:16, KJV

determination in human society. Love has also been a ground to decide the human society's moral and ethical codes and therefore rules of conformity and resistance are enacted leading to examples of violation of basic global human rights. Love has also been accused to violate the sacred profanity of the individuals and community identity. It is often taken, that, the enigma of love and its various avatars, for instance Love-Jihad inevitably pose threat to rip apart the social order and hence invite policing and surveillance.

Talking specifically of Love-Jihad, it is a recent drive taken up by the extremist wings of the Indian social system where, once again, the expression of free will, is threatened with the customary code of lack of decency in observing Indian Culture and Traditions. With the ongoing modernization and boom in social networking, free expression of love has become an often phenomenon. Love-Jihad, in the romantic relationship among the modern youth in the present milieu, has taken a toll on the normal population of India. Purported as a proactive socio-religio-political movement to protect religious sovereignty in India, Love-Jihad has now has attained a new climax by showcasing its presence on the visual as well as print media. There has been a deluge of Love-Jihad cases in newspapers and social networking sites which has undoubtedly posed a threat to the expression of once choice of love, and also raised alarming questions about one's religious identity. The two highly different words, even when compounded together, create juxtaposition of meaning which stands analogous to the concept of 'romantic love'. The word 'Jihad'⁴ (/dʒɪˈhɑːd/; Arabic: جهاد) Ji-Love in (had is negatively installed in a manner that it has threatened the very idea of romantic love. Carrying religious connotations, the word 'Love-Jihad' signifies a sectarian approach which has nothing to do with love. Ironically the act of controlling and patrolling Love-Jihad incidents has been taken up with desperation by the Right-Wing Hindu activists' organization such as the RSS (*Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh*), the VHP (*Vishwa Hindu Parishad*) and the other sister branches⁵ of the *Shangh Parivar*. Be it the Valentine's Day, Homo-Sexual Rights, Rights to One's Sexuality, Live-in Relationships, Inter-Caste and Inter-Faith/Religious, Romance/Marriage, posing them as one of the biggest threat to the cohesive community identities and boundaries, these sects have polarized the situation with

⁴ Jihād is a movement launched for some good cause. Jihād is an Islamic term referring to the religious duty of Muslims to maintain the religion and the *Sunnah* of Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (SWA). In Arabic, the word Jihād is a noun meaning 'struggle' or 'resisting'. It is often translated as 'holy war', but in a purely linguistic sense, the word 'Jihad' means struggling or striving (the Arabic word for war is: *Al-harb*). In a religious sense, as described in the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (SWA), 'Jihād' has many meanings. It can refer to internal as well as external efforts to be a good Muslims or believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam. If military jihad is required to protect the faith against others, it can be performed using anything from legal, diplomatic and economic to political means. If there is no peaceful alternative, Islam also allows the use of force, but there are strict rules of engagement. Innocents - such as women, children, or invalids - must never be harmed, and any peaceful overtures from the enemy must be accepted. A person engaged in Jihad is called a *mujahid*, the plural of which is *mujahideen*.

Source: <http://islamicssupremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/legal-rulings/5-jihad-a-misunderstood-concept-from-islam.html?start=9>

⁵ Sri Ram Sena, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Hindu Janjagruthi Samiti.

several political as well as religiously biased comments. ‘Moral Policing’, ‘Ghar Wapsi’⁶, ‘‘Bahua Lao, Beti Bachao’ (बहु लाओ बेटी बचाओ), ‘How to save our Women from the Terrorism of Love-Jihad’, ‘Hindu Auraton ki Loot’⁷ (हिन्दू औरतों की लूट), Love – Trishul⁸ are unfortunately some of the campaigns run by certain national political parties.

Love-Jihad, also termed as ‘Romeo-Jihad’⁹, is an alleged activity in India, where the Muslim men are accused of marrying the non-Muslim women and forcing them to adopt the teachings of Islam by feigning love as a weapon. The Hindus have accused the Muslims for devising plans, as a part of international Islamist conspiracy, for receiving funds from abroad to purchase ‘designer clothes, vehicles, mobile phones and expensive gifts to woo Hindu women and lure them away ...’ from their home and religion (Gupta 2009: 13). Such campaigns with anti-women over tones where the ‘... body of the Hindu woman has become a site for both claims to community homogeneity and honour ...’ (Gupta 2009: 13) are creating panic and fostering hate to draw sharper lines between the Hindus and the Muslims in India. A poem written in 1928 and later banned, called *Chand Musalmanon ki Harkaten* (चन्द मुसलमानों कि हरकतें) stated:

तादाद बढ़ाने के लिये चल चलाई
(Tadat badhane ke liye chal chalai)

मुस्लिम बनाने के लिये स्कीम बनाई
(Muslim banane ke liye scheme banayi)

⁶ ‘Ghar Wapsi’ (Hindi: घरवापसी; Urdu: گھرواپسی) or ‘Homecoming’ is a new phenomenon in the promotion of the Hindutva or Hindu Nationalism in India. The term has been derived from two words from two different languages, ‘ghar’, a Sanskrit word meant for ‘home’ and ‘wapsi’, a Persian word meant for ‘coming back’. Conjoining of the words give a sense of something which has returned from somewhere. It is actually what can be called the religious reconversion process purported by the Hindu Right Wing Organizations in India, namely the VHP, RSS, *Dharam Jagaran Samanvay Samiti*, *Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha* and others. These organizations especially promote the re-conversion of those who were once believers of Hindu religion, converted their faith (by own will or by force) to any other religion, and has now returned or forced to return into their old Hindu religion and faith.

⁷ Source: <http://www.digvijayasingh.in/Love-Jihad-propaganda-spurs-hate-not-dialogue.html>

⁸ Love-Trishul is a group formed by the *Shiv Sena* to protect Hindu girls. ‘‘Love Trishul’’ will be first formed in Bareilly and then it will spread across UP’, president of UP Shiv Sena, Anil Singh said.
Source: http://zeenews.india.com/news/love-jihad-shiv-sena-to-launch-love-trishul-to-protect-hindu-girls_1467320.html

⁹ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Love_Jihad&oldid=663681134

इक्कों को गली गाँव में लेकर घुमाते हैं

(Ek-kon ko gali gaon mein lekar ghumate hain)

परदे को डाल मुस्लिम औरत बिठाते हैं

(Parde ko dal Muslim aurat bethate hain) (Gupta 2009: 14)

Muslims are making new schemes to increase their population and to make people Muslims. They roam with carts in cities and villages and take away women, who are put under the veil and made Muslim. (English Translation)

Such comments stated, clearly, undermines the status of women in India with the old patriarchal notion that women are not self-sufficient to make their own decisions. On the other hand Charu Gupta quotes the examples of noted Hindi writers like ‘... Bharatendu Harishchandra (1850-85), Pratap Narain Misra (1856-94) and Radha Charan Goswami (1859-1923) to portray the medieval Muslim rule as a chronicle of rape and abduction of Hindu women’ (Gupta 2009: 14). The same assumption is carried forward that the Muslim men lack morality with high sexual appetites for women body, lecherous in behaviours with a life of luxury and religious fanaticism.

Love-Jihad marriages call for the tussle between the strong cultural prohibitions and the religious tension in inter-faith marriages especially between Hindus and Muslims in India. Gupta says that the entire matter of Love-Jihad is a political agenda based on blame-game to encash a common situation of inter-faith marriages into the vote bank of Indian polity. She also condemn the accusation of the Hindus that the Muslim men are actively involved in wooing the non-Muslim women into the romantic relationship and later forcing them to convert their religion. Such allegation is far from the reality:

The fake claim by the Hindu right that there is a Love-Jihad organization which is forcing Hindu women to convert to Islam through false expression of love is similar to a campaign in 1920 in the north India against alleged “abduction”. Whether 1920 or 2009, Hindu patriarchal notions appear deeply entrenched in such campaigns: images of passive victimized Hindu women at the hands of inscrutable Muslim abound, and any possibility of women exercising their legitimate right to love and their right to choice is ignored. (Gupta 2009: 13)

Historical Exploration of the Situation

The historical records confirm numerous inter-faith marriages that have taken places in India right for the Mughal period. The twentieth century also saw a steep rise in inter-religious marriages. The most famous inter-faith marriage of the century was that of Feroz Gandhi (practicing Parsi, follower of Zoroastrianism) and Indira Nehru (Indira Gandhi, practicing

Hindu) (1942) and in the rest unfolds a long history.¹⁰ However the outcome of most of the marriages has been unpleasant with possessive victimizations of the lovers and especially the women in the story. It often challenges various traditional norms and customs and rouses the fundamentalist attitudes. In a country like India where Muslims are 13.46% of the total population it is expected that some Muslim men and women will marry non-Muslims.¹¹ The most successful inter-faith marriage of Emperor Akbar and Queen Jodha Bai, in the Mughal era,¹² was not just a political alliance to build a future of a great nation, but to promote a cultural identity of the nation, irrespective of all religious practices, uphold the integrity of the nation and the culture of its people. His promotion of *Din-E-Illahi*¹³ or the 'Religion of God' (1582 AD), a syncretic religio-philosophical thought that intended to merge the best elements of the religions practiced in the empire and thereby to reconcile the differences that divided his subjects, was an outcome of his own personal life of an inter-faith marriage and his greater philosophical thoughts of oneness in human kind, as some of the scholars say. The example set by the great Emperor Akbar, on the later part, in the modern Indian history, influenced the idea of secularism or the religio-neutral policies in the Constitution of India¹⁴ to set an example of religious tolerance in the world fraught with the clashes of religions.

¹⁰ Rajeev Gandhi (practicing Hindu) and Sonia Gandhi (born as Edvige Antonia Albina Màino, practicing Roman Catholic Christian); Sachin Pilot (practicing Hindu) and Sara Abdullah (practicing Muslim); the daughter of Sheila Dixit, a Brahmin, married a Muslim after converting to Islam. The niece of L K Advani, a Sindhi Brahmin, married a Muslim. Aditi Gowitrikar (TV anchor and actor, a doctor, model) was a practicing Hindu, now married Muslim Dr. Muffazal Lakdawalla after converting to Islam and adopted a new Muslim name Sarah Lakdawalla, (but keeps her Hindu name for her TV stuff). Suhasini Subramaniam Swamy (practicing Hindu, a TV anchor at CNN-IBN), the daughter of Dr. Subramaniam Swamy (an Economist and Professor at IIT Delhi, political leader BJP), married a Muslim Nadeem Haidar, the son of Salman Haidar (a former Indian Foreign Secretary, external affairs minister and former India's High Commissioner to London), and now known as Suhasini Haidar. Likewise instance of inter-faith marriages in the political leadership is now not many a less, whereas the 'B' town is flooded with such cases, e.g. Mansur Ali Khan Pataudi (practicing Muslim) with Shirmila Tagore (practicing Hindu), Dharmendra Deol (practicing Sikh) with Hema Malini (practicing Hindu, both of them converted to Islam to marry each other), Nasiruddin Shah (practicing Muslim) with Ratna Pathak (practicing Hindu), Saif Ali Khan (practicing Muslim) with Amrita Singh (practicing Hindu) and later with Kareena Kapoor, Rina Roy (practicing Hindu) with Pakistani cricketer Mohsin Khan (practicing Muslim), Saha Rukh Khan (practicing Muslim) with Gauri Chhibba (later Gauri Khan was a practicing Hindu), Amir Khan (practicing Muslim) with Kiran Rao (practicing Hindu), Manoj Bajpai (practicing Hindu) with Shabana Raza (practicing Muslim) now called Neha, Pankaj Kapoor (practicing Hindu) married Neelima Azeem (practicing Muslim), Hritik Roshan (practicing Hindu) married Suzanne Khan (practicing Muslim) and many more.

¹¹ The remainder 80% are Hindus, 2% are Sikhs and 2.34% are Christians.

¹² Akbar's marriage with the daughter of Raja Bharmal of Amber (modern day Jaipur) was quite unequivocally a device used for political acquisition. Hira Kunwari (Jodha's maiden name) was married to Akbar on January 20, 1562, at Sambhar near Jaipur. She was Akbar's third wife.

¹³ The elements were primarily drawn from Islam and Hinduism, but some others were also taken from Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism.

¹⁴ *Prohibition of Discrimination on Grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or Place of Birth* has been guaranteed under *Article 15* of the Constitution of India. *The right to freedom of Religion* is a fundamental right guaranteed under *Article 25* of the Constitution of India.

Jawaharlal delivered his notions of equality in his freedom speech thus:

... All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action ... (Nehru qtd. in Gopal, 2014: 362)

His speech propagated the secular idea of India, a nation filled with idea of 'Unity in Diversity'. But with the passing of time, the tolerant idea of communal harmony has been stained with days of assertion of individual identity, where different groups are coming up with new ideas of solidating the community feeling. One of such bids is the 'religious identity'. Throughout history, religion has played a key role in shaping societies, creating community and individual identity, as well as building nations. Religion has also been found to so often contradicting its own teachings causing death and destruction of massive population. While most religions are based on peace, love, divinity of the God(s) and religious tolerance, they, too, often have become the justification for horrific acts of inhumanity in historical past.¹⁵ The polarization of the religious communities, especially that of the Hindus and the Muslims during the period of partition of India left both the nations in a traumatic situation. Undoubtedly, the partition sowed a seed of communal difference among the nations where they have become intolerant about the other side, not only in the sense of nationality, but the religion they practice (majority and minority basis). The religious differences which cropped up from the time of partition have become more intense in the present time both; have become an equal threat to each other and have instilled religious intolerance in the society. Communal riots, regional ethnic discriminations¹⁶, hate-speech regarding religious intolerance, 'Ghar Wapsi' have become everyday incidents that has shaken the Constitutional thought of oneness of India.¹⁷

¹⁵ Failing the Nehruvian idea of 'Indianness', the resurgence of the Hindu Right Wing Parties (Fundamentalist Hindu Political Parties) in India in the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the strident 'Hindu Nationalist Movements' and the 'Ayodhya Movement' which led to the demolition of the 'Babri Masjid' on December 6, 1992. The violence that engulfed the entire nation before and after the demolition shook the existing complacency of secular governance. Moreover the motto 'freedom of expression' was threatened for supplementary gruesome consequences. Incidents like ban on Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988) and the strict observance of the fatwa (by Ayatollah Khomeini, the Supreme Religious Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran.) on the author in India, scraping of Rohinton Mistry's novel *Such a Long Journey* (1991) from the B.A. syllabus in the University of Mumbai, India, for its alleged offensive remarks on the suprema of a right-wing political organization (Shiv Sena), became an oft quoted phenomenon in the continental politics.

¹⁶ Attacks on Uttar Pradesh and Bihari migrants in Maharashtra by the Shiv Sena and Maharashtra Navnirman Sena resulted in the mass exodus of north-Indian workers from Maharashtra to other states of India between February-October, 2008.

¹⁷ The Constitution of India Preamble: We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens: justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation; in our constituent assembly this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution.

Playing the Political Card: Love-Jihad and Identity Politics in India

The political system in India has become more sectarian in approach. Identity of the political parties is been achieved through religious propaganda. The rise, cause and impact of such fanaticism is a pressing concern of our time. In a world fraught with such fanaticisms, the study of identity has gained prominence in both academic and literary circles. From the British Colonization, to Independence and partition of the country, and to socio-political movements of different forms of cultural productions, the issue of identity has emerged as a capital mode in modern times. Often, it is thought that there is one single overriding affiliation so much more important in certain/every circumstance to all others that it might legitimately be called as identity. If that is the case then the question arises on how identity is to be defined or what is that dominant affiliation to be prioritized? Is it then to be defined:

... in terms of inherited traditions, particularly the inherited religion, of the community in which they happen to be born, taking that unchosen identity to have automatic priority over other affiliations involving politics, profession, class, gender, language, literature, social involvements and many connections? Or should they be understood as a person with many affiliations and associations the priorities over which they must themselves choose (taking the responsibility that comes from reasoned choice)? Also, should we assess the fairness of multiculturalism primarily by the extent to which people from different cultural background are — left alone, or by the extent to which their ability to make reasoned choices is positively supported through social opportunities of education and participation in civil society and the political and economic process ongoing in the country? (Sen 2007: 150)

However as we assess identity in varied terms, often the affiliations to many nodes are reduced to a specific and single node at a certain moment of time to define an identity. Rather to put it as simple, one affiliation of many affiliations becomes important on one specific moment and therefore the identity as we can understand is a situation based option for an individual or a group where the ties become strong on a specific time. This reductionist notion of the domination of one single feature of identity of one's being is creating violence as it is a frequently used as weapon to ferment social chaos in the form of wars and extremist violence. This solitary approach toward identity has also led to the emergence of a stream of politics, which focuses solely on a singular aspect of an individual's being rather than the usual development -led agenda. In doing this, more than the similarities, it is differences that are celebrated in today's world because the ability to be different from the rest is viewed as a virtue in itself. So, for example, when a people are made to feel that their language is under threat,¹⁸ it is the linguistic component of their overall identity which becomes the dominating factor in how they expose themselves to the world. The same can be said about religion, ethnicity or nationality. Therefore

¹⁸ In the 1950s and the 1960s, linguistic issues in India caused civil disorder when the central government declared Hindi as the national language of India. The Punjabi Suba Civil Movement was started to address the language issue and restore Punjabi as the official language of Punjab. The matter led to the infamous Sikh insurgency in Panjab, Operation Blue Star and the killing of Iron Lady, Indira Gandhi in October, 1984.

to make a discussion on inter-faith marriages/relationships, Love-Jihad, nonetheless is solely concerned with the religious identity of the Indian population.

The tradition of marriage in India can be seen from the two lenses. First, a theoretical raising of questions about the authority of inter-faith marriages in the societal structure of India and second is the empirical arrangement of the post-modern sexual attitudes. By sexual attitude, we mean, it is the kind of behavior one chooses to practice, for example, stepping out of traditional arranged marriage and opting for love-marriage irrespective of caste and religion. The discursive aspect of the marriage system in India is passed down to generation in the form of the traditional marriage. This discursivity is connected through the minutiae of the everyday living, which is further named as the tradition. It is passed down to the generations as a part of the form of life, a process of learning and re-learning one's own identity.

The social strata of the inter-faith marriages, if seen, display a different pattern in India. Inter-faith marriages are an easy going phenomenon in the upper class of the Indian population, whereas in the lower strata it doesn't gain social approval. Not only it is seen that the elite class has given a positive go to the idea, they, irrespective of any caste and community have accepted the integration whole heartedly. But the upper-class political strata have politicized the entire situation to encash it. Also not only the religion has caused a problem in elevating the situation but the time-old caste system of India and the social class consciousness has played greater roles in the situation. The problem lies with the orthodox nature of the customs and traditions that is followed by the majority population in India, irrespective of the fact of whether well-educated or not. Commenting on the social consciousness of the mass Indian population regarding the inter-faith communion, Prof. J Khwaja says:

The prohibition against inter-religious marriage is dinned into our ears from childhood with the result that the idea sounds to most of us almost unthinkable. When such marriages occasionally do take place they are looked upon as unfortunate social accidents and generate a lot of tension or resentment within the concerned families and also the society in general. (Khwaja¹⁹)

Therefore, the absolute truth of secularism and unity is seen only in friendship, school, colleges and work, but not in personal domain. Customs, traditions and religion are crucial to Indian families. In Indian families, customs, traditions and religion has a major role to play in the part of lives. Furthermore, marriages in India are not between the couples, rather it is between two families. Accordingly both the involved families look for someone who is compatible with one another, and their customs and traditions. The compatibility between the couple is expected to develop post-marriage. Also marriage is a matter of prestige in this country and therefore

¹⁹ Source: http://www.jamalkhwaja.com/jamalbooksite/Article_2_-_Inter-Religious_Marriage_And_Islam.html

marrying in another community or caste is taken as prestige at stake. Here in India, people are so comfortable with their own practices and customs that it is almost impossible to convince them to allow someone to practice his/her faith in their home. An inter-faith marriage almost every time, break all of the above rules and thus is not accepted.

Love-Jihad as an embodied practice conceptualizes the aptitudes, sensibilities and propensities of new form of religious identity politics in India. Although, love is the guiding principle in one's predisposition of one's emotion, however, Love-Jihad as a complete movement is more inclined towards the relativity of justice to one's faith and trust over one's partner. It is allegedly, a new form of the romantic love with abstract theorisation of the sensory experience and evidence of exploitation or the religious violence. The first suspected case noted under the Love - Jihad is the Silja Raj – Asgar Case.²⁰ Other related cases under the violence of Love - Jihad are Rizwanur Rahman,²¹ Jaya Bhandari²² Rumi Nath,²³ Tara Sahdeo,²⁴ Meerut

²⁰ From where it all Began: Silja Raj – Asgar Case (August 2009)

The first case that triggered the never ending political and social movement against Love Jihad is from Karnataka, a southern state of India is the Silja Raj – Asgar Case. As reported in the media channels, in August 2009, 18 year old Silja Raj a Hindu girl, the eldest daughter of C Selvaraj, fell in love with a 24 year old Muslim driver Asgar Nazar from Chamarajnagar, a small Karnataka town (around 180 km from Bangalore) and eloped to marry each other. The probe was prompted by a petition filed in the Karnataka High Court by Selvaraj (father of Silja) alleging Love-Jihad. The plea was handled by an RSS-affiliated lawyer Prasanna Deshpande and guided by the BJP Government's Sangh-affiliated assistant Advocate General K M Nataraj. In an interim report filed in the high court on November 13, 2009, then Karnataka Director General of Police, Ajay Kumar Singh said that, 'There seems to be no prima facie evidence of "love jihad". Silja Raj married Asgar out of her own volition.' During the CID investigation, the police briefly returned Silja Raj to her parents. After its interim report debunked the Love-Jihad argument, the high court said 'Silja Raj was free to go anywhere she wished'. She chose to go with her husband. Later with the hype in media when asked, the family of Sila Raj admits that they are yet to come to terms with Silja Raj's marriage. Her father says 'We know she is well. We know she has a child and suffered a miscarriage recently. We know she is being looked after well by her family, but our ties with her were severed the day she chose to leave us. We changed all our phones'. He wishes though that the matter hadn't turned out like this. He says "My intent in pursuing a case to get her back was only to show that there were people who cared for her. It was not about 'love jihad' or religion or anything. Many of my Muslim friends are angry with me about the way the case was projected."

Source: *The Indian Express*. Written by Johnson T A, Lalmani Verma | Updated: September 7, 2014 11:43 IST

URL: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/who-loves-love-jihad/>

²¹ The indictment of the police by the CBI in the Rizwanur Rehman case in Kolkata reveals the complicity of State and society in maintaining and perpetuating regressive sociocultural prejudices in the name of family honour and religious belief. The case threw into sharper relief the Hindu Muslim divide that still exists in urban society. It also started a David vs Goliath media campaign on the socio-economic disparity pitting the right to justice of a middle class citizen against the might of money.

Computer graphics engineer Rizwanur Rahman, a middle class Muslim, in 2007 met Priyanka, daughter of wealthy industrialist Ashok Todi (who owns the 400-crore Lux Cozy hosiery brand) at a graphics designing institute where he taught. They secretly married in August 2007 against the wishes of the Todi family. Priyanka went to live with her husband in his modest accommodation in a Muslim neighborhood in Kolkata after the marriage. Fearing retribution, the couple asked protection from influential Todi family. In early September, Priyanka was called into the Todi residence by her family on the pretext that her father was ill. According to reports, she was never allowed to leave or speak to Rahman. She spoke to her new husband for the last time on September 11, 2007. On September 21, 2007, Rahman's body was found near the railway tracks in north Kolkata.

Gang-rape Case²⁵ (October 2014) and also others who had been either murdered or were subjected to domestic violence. Presently, more number of cases have come up from in the state

The Calcutta High Court in 2007 ordered a probe by the CBI into the circumstances leading to the death of Rahman. Soon after, West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya transferred Police Commissioner Prasun Mukherjee and four other top officers and promised to take action against them if the CBI investigations found them guilty. The CBI concluded in its investigation in 2008 that Rahman was driven to committing suicide by some of Kolkata's top police officers and the Todi family and recommended initiation of an abetment to suicide case under Section 306 of the IPC. Ashok Todi's brother Pradeep and brother-in-law Anil Saraogi were remanded to custody in December 2008 and were later released on bail in January 2009. The Calcutta High Court in May 2010 directed the CBI to lodge a murder case and asked the investigating agency to submit its probe within four months. Both Ashok Todi and the CBI had moved the Supreme Court challenging the Calcutta High Court's order. The CBI said a fresh probe was not required as they have already concluded that Rahman's death was suicide. The CBI abetment to suicide case still stands against Todi. However, the Supreme Court stayed two Calcutta High Court orders to start a fresh probe into the death of Rizwanur Rahman.

Source: 'HC stays trial in Rizwanur Rehman Case' by *IBN Live*. Report covered by Rajashri Dasgupta

Published: 12th May 2011 02:16 PM, Last Updated: 16th May 2012 09:58 PM.

URL: <http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/article469303.ece>

²² The headline of 'Inhumane Islamic Torture on Hindu Married Girl by her Muslim Husband and Family in a Brutal Row for Forced Conversion' was reported at Ranchi on January 08, 2015 'Jaya Bhandari', a divorcee in her mid-thirties from Ranchi alleged that she has been recently forced to convert into Islam and *nikkah*, and consume beef by her second husband Waqar Danish Anwar. As the news states 'she was assaulted her by her in-laws after her refusal to pay a dowry of 5 lakh'. As reported in the FIR she says 'initially after marriage he tried to convince me to convert of Islam. But when I did not agree, he brought several *maulvis* in December 2013 [two months after marriage] at home and organized *nikkah* and forced me to accept it. He subsequently changed my name to Zoya Anwar. He beat me up when I strongly objected to conversion'. In addition the girl said 'that she was threatened with dire consequences if she opens her mouth'.

²³ April 2014 again marked a Love-Jihad violence report in the newspaper, Jacky Zakir and Rumi Nath Case. Met on a social networking site (Facebook) Rumi Nath, MLA from Borkola, Assam married Zakir on April 13 and embraced Islam as Rabiya Sultana without divorcing her first husband Rakesh Kumar Singh. On June 29. The couple faced outrage of a mob consisting the Hindus for being fraudulent to both the belief systems. Later a case of forceful conversion of religion was filed by the first husband Mr. Singh. Ending the word-battle on social media, Rumi Nath gave a statement that 'I want to clarify that I was not under any compulsion to convert to Islam and marry my friend Zakir. I am staying willingly with my husband Zakir'. Later again a case of domestic violence and dowry extortion was registered against her second husband Zakir.

²⁴ Tara Sahdeo, the National Shooter of India was cheated into a love marriage by concealing the identity of the person she married. A case was registered in August 2014 against Ranjit Kumar Kohli, alias RaqibulHasan for deceiving Tara Sahdeo into marriage. The FIR was logged against Ranjit/ Raqibulin Hindpuri police station for forcing her wife to accept the teachings of Islam. Jharkhand Police with the joint effort of the Delhi Police arrested the person. Further in the investigation, political links with charges of corruption within the ruling government.

Source: <http://www.ibnlive.com/videos/india/ranchi-shooter-latest-cop-ranchi-sot-raqibul-ranchi-sot-prabhakar-phono-710772.html>.

²⁵ A fresh row of Love-Jihad was filed in Meerut, Uttar Pradesh, India, in the month of October, 2014. As recorded in the first FIR with Kharkhauda Police Station, Meerut, UP, the victim, a teacher in a *Madrassa*, stated that she was abducted by Nawab (a Muslim), the *Pradhan* (Village Headman) of the village and has taken to confinement to some other place. According to her statement, on 29th June, 2014, Nawab, and Mohammad Sanaullah, another teacher from the same *Madrassa* and with other five, took turn and raped her. When her condition turned critical, on 23rd July, she was admitted into a private hospital for a surgery. On 27th July she returned home. On 29th July, she was again taken to Hapur, and was forced to convert her faith to the teachings of Islam on 30th July. On 3rd August somehow she managed an escape to her home. Based on such allegation in the FIR, arrests were made in quick

of Uttar Pradesh.²⁶ The central problem with the Love-Jihad problematic is that women become an easy victim to this and are subjected to critical problems of the conversions including domestic violence. As the report by First post says:

The chief minister of the state Oomen Chandy conceded in the state assembly in 2012 that 2667 women were converted into Islam in the state since 2006, the government said there was no sign of an organised effort for forced conversions or 'love jihad'. Although the government had limited evidence of Christian girls being converted (according to Chandy, only 447 Christian girls had been converted into Islam), the Kerala Catholic Bishops Council (KCBC) said 2600 Christian girls also had been converted since 2006, making it appear like a challenge faced by both Christians and Hindus.²⁷

Love-Jihad has also been seen as a 'Global Islamic Project' where Christians are warned to be cautious. The evidence provided by the social media seems to draw more threat to the Hindu and Christian while Muslims girls are projected to be safe. Inter-faith marriage arranged for long-relationship seems to be fine, but the fake identity for seeking the platform of the exploitations appears to be crime. As Charu Gupta puts it in her article: 'Hindu Women and Muslim Men: Love-Jihad Conversions':

succession including the village Sanaullah and the headman. However on October, 2014 the girl took a U-turn from her previous statement and said "I went with the boy belonging to a different community out of my own will." The family was completely against her will and when she came back she was forced to give false statements. She got an abortion in a hospital because of her complicated pregnancy. She also alleged that she possess a threat of life from her family '... I was staying with my parents, but I ran away from home because I feel a threat to my life from my parents and relatives'. She also accused her family members for plotting this incident and taking money from the political parties to frame this case.

Source 1: Meerut, October 13, 2014, 'U-Turn by Meerut Girl on Love – Jihad' by Mohammad Ali
URL:<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other%20ADstates/uturn%20ADby%20ADmeerut%20ADgirl%20ADon%20ADlove%20ADjihad/article6494076.ece>

Source 2: Meerut, October 16, 2014, "New Twist on Meerut Love - Jihad Case" by Mohammad Ali
URL:<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other%20ADstates/meerut%20ADlove%20ADjihad%20ADgirls%20ADfather%20ADpermits%20ADmarriage%20ADto%20ADmuslim%20ADyouth/article6506909.ece>

²⁶ The problem of Love-Jihad in Uttar Pradesh is more of a political game and elections winning agency. As the news says 'campaigns such as Love-Jihad and ghar wapasi are the reasons responsible for the electoral rout of BJP in Delhi assembly elections'. Besides this in Agra, RSS, approached counseling girls with 'good sanskars' and told that victims should take help of police in the suitable matter. Since, the matter is more political than personal; hence Bajrang dal has launched its new agenda 'bahu lao beti bachao' to prevent the frequent incidents inter-faith marriage. As Bajrang Dal UP governor Ajju Chauhan says 'we are doing this for protection of Hindu girls. We are guiding Hindu men to respect and welcome girls of other religion'. He further added that 'you have to understand "Love-Jihad" for this campaign. Hindu are victims of "Love-Jihad". More than one lakh Hindu girls are abducted every year. They are sold in major cities and then sent to Dubai'.

Source 1: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/agra/Bajrang-Dal-to-launch-bahu-lao-beti-bachao-in-February/articleshow/45669704.cms>

Source 2: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/another-idea-from-hindutva-lab-bahu-lao-beti-bachao/>

Source: <http://www.firstpost.com/india/imported-from-kerala-how-the-love-jihad-ploy-failed-in-its-state-of-origin-1679791.html>

What is significant in the present context is that in this period the Hindu Woman's body became a marker to sharpen communal boundaries in ways more aggressive than before. The period witnessed a flurry of orchestrated propaganda campaigns and popular inflammatory and demagogic appeals by a section of Hindu publicist and Arya Samaj against abductions and conversions of Hindu Women by Muslim goondas, ranging from allegation of rape, abduction and elopement to luring conversions by loved and forced marriages. (Gupta ²⁸)

The ulterior motive behind the constructed campaigns of Love-Jihad as a faith based movement eschews the uncompromising focus on the collective faith in inter-faith marriages. Alternatively, the politico-ideology ends to 'constructed' behavior which finally culminates into a new form of violence. This highly contentious issue seems to be more of an electoral agenda and power acquisition by the selective religious and political fraternity in India. In the year 2013, BBC used the term 'sexual grooming' in the context of Love-Jihad proclaiming that British Sikh girls are being lured by Muslim men and finally subjected them to the sexual abuse. ²⁹

The most target states of the Love-Jihad agenda is Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. Reasons behind the same are that these states does not have strong forced anti-conversion laws and due to this the victims register their cases under Anti-Dowry act, Domestic Violence or under the Rape Act. (Act No. 28, 1961 The Dowry Act; Act No. 43, 2005 Protection of Women from Domestic Violence; Act No. 14, 2013 Sexual Harassment of Women at Work Place; Section 376 of the Indian Penal Code, Punishment for Sexual Assault/Rape). The data analysis by NDTV on 27th August 2014 reports:

... the official data (from the UP police) does tell us is that Meerut range is UP's rape epicenter with 389 cases registered last year, the highest in the state. In 2013, Meerut also clocked 423 dowry cases, also the highest in UP, and 1119 cases of kidnapping of women, the second highest in UP. ³⁰

The above data clearly states that in the contemporary political scenario, women's body has become the battleground for playing the political card and spread the falsehood and hatred. Women bodies are often being presumed as the repository of moral ethics. Love-jihad appears to be a form of violence which attack religion, gender and the rights of women. India marriage

²⁸ Source: <http://www.hawaii.edu/csas/love-jihad-moral-panics-past-and-present/>

²⁹ Source: Covered by BBC News, Updated: 2 September 2013 at 20:40 BST
<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-23632247>

Source: NDTV; Covered by Sreenivasan Jain with inputs from Niha Masih, Updated: August 27, 2014 17:42 IST
<http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/love-jihad-bjps-claims-for-uttar-pradesh-dont-add-up-654999>

structure is knit around the strongholds of patriarchal violence. Nevertheless, marriage appears to be one such institution, which veils off the several kinds of violence in clocked under dowry related violence and other domestic violence. Furthermore, Love-Jihad also tend seize the right of choosing their partner, and also hiking the religion imposed choices on the bride.

Conclusion

Love is the recurrent theme in the contemporary philosophical discussion. Yet, the ethics of love is often interrogated in terms of love for an object or personhood. Love as locus of will and desire is a delight and fulfillment of condensed stream of passion. The mystical love is “the best and the most delectable wine, and also the most intoxicating...by which, without drinking it, the annihilated soul intoxicated! Forgetting, forgotten, intoxicated by what is does not drink and will never drink” (Barthes 1979, 234). However, love is also considered as the ethics of being and is being judged on the morality and behaviourism. To sustain morality and honesty in a relationship, government of India has laid the protocol of behaviour against the other sex in order to secure and protect the rights and duties. The theology of the ethics of moral when contrasted with the ethics of love incorporates the rule, principle and duty. Thus, deciding whether the love is ethical or non-ethical appears to be highly dependent on the rational behaviour of couple expressing this vital emotion. The four different levels involved in love are, the body, the soul, the will, and the intellect. Any imbalance in the one of the stated aspects may lead to chaos. Love-Jihad as a new concept seems to digress from the traditional concept of love. It is romantic love, mixed with the intention of deceit deviating from the philosophical guidelines in theology of love. Moreover, the recent practice of Love-Jihad appears to be a new agenda of victimizing women’s body by the religious fanatic *gundas*. The stereotyping of women’s body in this new form of abduction and conversion is posing a severe challenge to the freedom of expression of will and desire in the present society. Love-Jihad appears to be a more politics-borne problem rather than love in general. If love is said to be, loving somebody “for own sake” then Love-Jihad does not qualify the test of love. Furthermore, love is an emotion which cannot be seen from the religious lens and the suffix jihad is a religious movement held for the good cause. The dialectical reason for calling Love-Jihad a single entity appears to be fictional.³¹ Nevertheless, it

³¹ *Legal Proceedings observed and Report by Indian Police*: Appalled by the allegation of forced conversion of Hindu girls by the Muslims, a division bench of the court had ordered a CID probe in October 2009 to enumerate the reality of the situation of Love-Jihad. In a final, seven-page report on December 31, 2009, the CID police produced more pejorative evidence to dislodge the ‘love jihad’ theory. Then CID DGP, D V Guruprasad told the high court that ‘there is no organised attempt by any group of individuals to entice girls/women belonging to Hindu or Christian religions to marry Muslim boys with the aim of converting them to Islam’. The CID data also showed that girls and boys were marrying across religions. Of the 229 girls who had been reported ‘missing’ between 2005 and 2009 in Karnataka and were part of an inter-religious marriage, 149 were Hindus who had married Muslim men while 10 were Hindus who had wed Christians; 38 Muslim girls and 20 Christian girls in this period had married Hindu boys; a Muslim girl had married a Christian boy; while 11 Christian girls had married Muslim boys.

Source: *The Indian Express*. Written by Johnson T A, Lalmani Verma | Updated: September 7, 2014 11:43 IST <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/who-loves-love-jihad/>

calls for the serious academic debates posing a serious threat to the identity and safety of women at present and in future.

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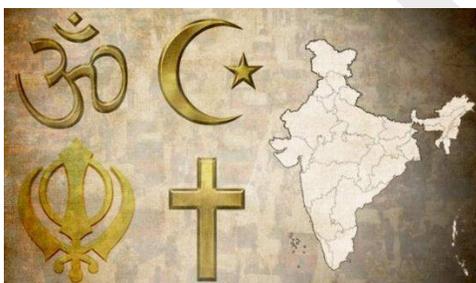


Fig.1 Religions in India

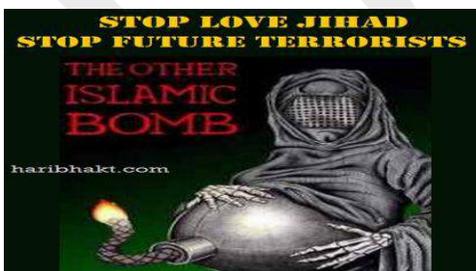


Fig.2 Flags on Sensitive Issue of Religious Conversion and Love-Jihad



Fig 3. Silja Raj and Asgar Nazar
The First case of Love-Jihad registered and got a legal proceeding



Fig 4. The Alleged Ghar Wapsi in Agra, UP, India

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Dramatizing Desire in Edward Albee's *The Zoo Story*

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Abstract

In postmodern philosophy, desire is often considered as a positive liberating force that ought not to be seized or controlled. Actually, the postmodernist thinkers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari disprove Freud's negative perception of desire as lack and contend that desire is a dynamic energy that seeks to emancipate the subject. In Anti-Oedipus, Deleuze and Guattari suggest that desire should be liberated from its consideration as lack and flow freely instead. In the same vein, Jean-François Lyotard questions the validity of the Freudian assumption that desire is a negative force. In his Libidinal Economy, Lyotard focuses on the workings of libidinal intensities in the Capitalist System and claims that Capitalism is based on the exploitation of libidinal energies. Lyotard insists that the System aims at controlling the subjects through manipulating their libidinal energies and transforming them into organized arrangements. Similar to Deleuze and Guattari, Lyotard believes that libidinal intensities shall be allowed to circulate freely without the intervention of the System to regulate their movements into organized structures. Briefly, Deleuze and Guattari's as well as Lyotard's libidinal politics attempts to destabilize the centrality of the System through the liberation of the structures and the release of libidinal intensities.

In this paper, the study of the notions of desire and libidinal politics in Albee's play through the Deleuzo-Guattarian and the Lyotardian perceptions shall demonstrate that the playwright pictures the continuous conflict between libidinal forces, and therefore the individual will, and the American System. Through this very clash between the personal and the communal, Albee attempts to draw attention to the repressive nature of the System and the importance of the liberation of the libidinal forces and the emancipation of the oppressed subjects.

Keywords: Desire, Libidinal Politics, Libidinal intensities, the Capitalist System, the American Society, Deleuze and Guattari, Lyotard, Albee.

Introduction

The perception of desire and libidinal energy as negative forces has been a source of controversy. While Sigmund Freud considers desire and libidinal forces as a threat to the stability of the subject, other thinkers, precisely postmodernist philosophers, attempt to dissociate them from this negative conception and insist that they are rather positive forces. In his "An Autobiographical Study," Freud argues that "the ego was obliged to protect itself against the constant threat of a renewed advance on the part of the repressed impulse" (18). The Austrian psychoanalyst insists that the conscious is engaged in a process of continuous repression of libidinal impulses in order to preserve the integrity of the subject.

On the contrary, the French postmodernists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari reject Freud's negative consideration of desire and affirm that "desire does not lack anything" (*Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* 26). They contend that desire is rather a constructive force and propose instead the liberation of libidinal energies from all forms of repression. Actually, their objective is to "open possibilities for desire to flow in multiple ways and directions at once, regardless of socially sanctioned boundaries that otherwise seek to control that flow" (Auslander 87). Likewise, in his theory of Libidinal Politics, Jean-François Lyotard advocates the emancipation of libidinal energies. His theory is based on the idea that the libido is "not at all closed in the sense of a volume, it is infinite," and "intensities run in it without meeting a terminus" (*Libidinal Economy* 4). In a few words, Lyotard thinks that desire is a positive process and suggests the liberation of desire and libidinal forces.

In literature, many writers have displayed a particular interest in desire and the workings of libidinal forces in their literary works. Edward Albee is among those who have tackled the issue of desire in a multiplicity of ways in their writings. In his *The Zoo Story*, Albee explores the area of libidinal politics through dramatizing two characters whose lives is deeply affected by mechanisms of desire and libidinal energies. The current paper will explore the different ways in which Albee attempts to study and comment on the workings of desire in his society. The focus will be on the examination of two major manifestations of desire in the play: the desire to make *verbal* contact and the desire to make *physical* contact.

I- The Desire for Communication:

Edward Albee is a prominent American playwright who gained fame during the second half of the twentieth century. Actually, "now in his ... eighties, with twenty-eight theater productions behind him, the recipient of three Pulitzer Prizes, two Tony awards, and numerous other prizes, Albee is the greatest living master playwright on the American stage" (Németh 100). *The Zoo Story*, Albee's first play, is a one-act play premiered in Berlin, Germany in 1959. The play stages two characters Jerry and Peter and is set on a park bench in Central Park, New York, on one Sunday afternoon.

Albee portrays Peter as "a man in his early forties, neither fat nor gaunt, neither handsome nor homely" (14). Through this physical depiction of Peter, Albee seems to suggest that he is an ordinary man whose physical appearance has nothing exceptional about him. The use of negation (neither, nor) could mean that Albee denies Peter any distinguishing personality. The negative description of Peter from the very beginning alludes to his lack of

authenticity and individualism. Apparently, Albee's objective behind this depiction is to shed light on the absence of genuineness and the crisis of individuality in his community. Jerry, on the other hand, is "a man in his late thirties, not poorly dressed, but carelessly. What was once a trim and lightly muscled body has begun to go to fat; and while he is no longer handsome, it is evident that he once was" (14). The description of the character of Jerry highlights his physical weakness and his indifference with this bodily collapse. He seems to be a solitary person who is estranged from the outer world. He represents the figure of "the outcast," who suffers from a "severe sense of alienation" (Saddik 36).

Jerry starts the conversation and announces that he has visited the zoo. He tells Peter "I've been to the zoo," and adds "I said, I've been to the zoo. MISTER, I'VE BEEN TO THE ZOO!" (15). Peter is surprised as a stranger disturbed his serene state of mind and begins talking about his visit to the zoo. He finds himself compelled to listen to Jerry and to communicate with him. Jerry starts interrogating him about his job and life, while Peter unenthusiastically responds to his questions. When Jerry asks Peter "do you mind if we talk?" the latter, who is "*obviously minding*," replies "why ..., no, no" (17). Apparently, Peter does not mind to interact with Peter, but in reality he prefers to carry on reading his book instead of speaking to a stranger.

Jerry reveals that he lives in a miserable rooming-house on the Upper West Side that is owned by a hostile and mean landlady. He confesses "I live on the top floor; rear; west. It's a laughably small room" (21). His deplorable living conditions are worsened by his odd uncommunicative neighbors. Jerry discloses further his tragic life as his mother "walked out on good old Pop," his father "slapped into the front of a somewhat moving city omnibus," and his aunt "dropped dead ... on the afternoon of [his] high school graduation" (23). The outcast Jerry finds himself alone in a cruel world. Unable to establish meaningful communication with humans, he decides to seek contact elsewhere. He eventually comes to the conclusion that he needs to communicate with animals as he declares "if you can't deal with people, you have to make a start somewhere. WITH ANIMALS!" and adds "a person has to have some way of dealing with SOMETHING. If not with people ... SOMETHING" (30). He tells Peter about the landlady's dog, its repeated attacks against him and his continuous attempts to tame and befriend the beast. Jerry affirms "I decided: First I'll kill the dog with kindness, and if that doesn't work ... I'll just kill him" (27). He attempts to gain the dog's sympathy through feeding it, but when he fails he poisons it. Jerry's efforts are useless as he didn't ultimately succeed in making contact with the animal: "We had made many attempts at contact, and we had failed" (31). Jerry's urgent desire to communicate pushed him to look for alternatives to human contact in the animal world. In this context, Steven Price insists "Jerry's withdrawal from the world is even more profound," as he is stuck "in a rooming-house whose inhabitants live as if in cages, and unable to form a relationship even with the landlady's dog" (248).

This failure urged him to visit the zoo so as to explore the ways animals and humans coexist. Jerry reveals to Peter his true intentions behind this visit claiming "I went to the zoo to find out more about the way people exist with animals, and the way animals exist with each other, and with people too" (34). In the zoo, Jerry notices that animals are separated from each other and from human beings by bars and cages. He remarks that "everyone [is] separated by bars from everyone else, the animals for the most part from each other, and always the people from the animals" (34). Albee's reference to the cages and the way animals and humans are

set apart could allude to the alienation of Man and the absence of human relationships in American society. Indeed, he seems to suggest that human beings are separated by intangible cages just like animals are locked behind the bars. In discussing this idea, René Ahouansou explains: “the zoo image is a striking poetic image of man’s plight; imprisoned in our daily cares, sharing nothing with our fellow men except on the surface, we are just like these animals in their cage” (44).

Albee’s condemnation of the alienation and imprisonment of individuals could be related to Deleuze and Guattari’s idea of the liberation of the subject. In fact, the French philosophers argue that the social machine continuously attempts to control the subjects and regulate the circulation of their desire. They assert that “the prime function incumbent upon the socius, has always been to codify the flows of desire, to inscribe them, to record them, to see to it that no flow exists that is not properly dammed up, channeled, regulated” (33). Deleuze and Guattari seem to question the social machine’s manipulation of the subject and the oppression of desire so as to guarantee the stability of the system. They oppose the idea that desire is a negative force that should be organized and repressed lest it subverts the social machine. In the play, “parallel to the caged animals in the zoo is the caged man who is no longer free. The restraints and complexities of the modern age incarcerate him and alienate him from his fellow people. He is striving alone to ascertain his own being but to no avail” (Turki 3). Albee uses the zoo scene to pour scorn on the isolation of the individual in American culture. Like Deleuze and Guattari, Albee proposes the liberation of the subject from all forms of restrictions that keep him cut off from his fellow humans.

Jerry’s hunger for making true contact pushes him further in his journey to set up a proper conversation. He affirms “I don’t talk to people,” and adds “every once in a while I like to talk to somebody, really talk” (18-9). When he encounters Peter, Jerry acknowledges that he has continuously tried to make meaningful communication many times with humans and animals but all of his efforts were in vain. Even Peter is not willing to provide him with the truthful conversation that he desires to make. After hearing Jerry’s several stories about his life and recurrent efforts to make authentic contact, Peter tells him “I DON’T UNDERSTAND” (31). Jerry’s strong desire for communicating with anything is encountered by failures as neither animals nor humans accept to interact with him. Commenting on this idea, Katherine Worth declares that Jerry “has found it impossible to establish a relationship with anyone, dog or human: hating and loving all end up as indifference” (42).

Peter and Jerry are antagonistic characters as while Peter is portrayed as a middle-class family man who has “an executive position with a ... a small publishing house” (19), Jerry is described as an impoverished and solitary man. Unlike Jerry, who lives in a rooming-house, Peter is an affluent publishing executive who has two daughters, two cats, and two parakeets. In his “The Caged Soul: A Study of Edward Albee’s *The Zoo Story*,” Harith Ismaiel Turki considers Peter as “an ordinary publishing executive, who is leading a very calm and settled life, while Jerry lives alone, no family and no friends” (3). Peter is a typical American middle-class man who enjoys the stability of his life. He seems to embody the spirit of conformity of affluent Americans. Actually, Philip C. Kolin believes that “Peter leads an unexamined life, devoid of risk, challenge, spirit. He is the compliant citizen” (20).

On the contrary, the alienated Jerry seems to refuse the life of stability and conformism and prefers to live away from the complexities and limitations of middle-class life. “Living on the margins of society, Jerry is the antiestablishment, counterculture hero” (Kolin 19). Albee’s use of the nonconformist Jerry alludes to his criticism of the complacency and conformity of American middle-class. Jerry, the rebellious subject, is liberated from the restraints of the American System and attempts to free Peter from his dull and complacent existence. When Jerry challenges Peter to fight for the park bench, the latter refuses initially to fight, but engages himself later and starts defending his possession of the bench. Jerry succeeds in helping Peter to dispose of American middle-class’ spirit of acquiescence and inactivity. According to Anne Paolucci, Peter “moves monotonously on the surface of life, pushed on by a kind of inertia which is mistaken for intention. Jerry destroys the illusion by pushing him into action and forcing him to exert his will consciously and directly” (40). Peter’s violent reaction to defend his territory could stand for his ultimate emancipation from the dominant spirit of idleness and stability. In this respect, Robert Vorlicky contends that “Albee intentionally questions not only Peter’s values, but those of the capitalist patriarchy ... into which American men are socialized” (127). The examination of the antagonistic characters Jerry and Peter and the breakdown of communication between them discloses Albee’s dissatisfaction with American ideals of material success and conformism and his advocacy of the liberation of the subject from the dominance of the System.

II- Liberating Libidinal Intensities:

Jerry’s urgent need to connect with anything hints at the workings of his private self. In other words, his pressing desire for communication and his thirst to make real contact even with animals betray the internal conflicting forces of his psyche. This inner tension is further revealed through Jerry’s recurrent references to his past sexual experiences. He confesses that he had several sexual intercoursures with women, but he never got satisfaction. Addressing Peter, Jerry claims “I never see the little ladies more than once. I’ve never been able to have sex with, or, how is it put ? ... make love to anybody more than once” (24). He admits that he never had more than one intercourse with a single girl.

In commenting on the issue of sexual desire, Deleuze and Guattari assert that “it is the social repression of desire or sexual repression—that is, the *stasis* of libidinal energy—that ... engages desire in this requisite impasse, organized by the repressive society” (118). They explain that society tries constantly to repress libidinal forces. They believe that instead of repressing desire and libidinal energies, the social machine should liberate those energies. Deleuze and Guattari contend that desire does not represent any threat to society, but rather contribute to certain extent to the formation of society itself. Their idea of liberating libidinal energies, and consequently the individual could be detected in Albee’s play. In point of fact, Jerry’s assertion that he had many sexual experiences with girls is an actual challenge to the authority of the social machine. Albee seems to suggest that society has failed to suppress Jerry’s libidinal intensities and the fact that Jerry discusses his sexual relationships with a stranger in a public place confirms the idea.

Jerry’s inability to get sexual gratification with women alludes to the fact that he is not a straight individual. Actually, just after telling Peter about his experiences with girls, Jerry recollects past memories about having an intimate relationship with a boy. Jerry informs him

that he “met at least twice a day with the park superintendent’s son ... a Greek boy ... I think I was very much in love ... maybe just with sex” (24). This childhood memory is a clear indication that Jerry is not a heterosexual person, as he states “I was a h-o-m-o-s-e-x-u-a-l. I mean, I was queer ... queer, queer, queer” (24). Jerry’s words reveal that he was a homosexual in his childhood, but does not give any indication about his present. Nevertheless, many details in the play hint to the fact that Jerry is still gay. When speaking about his experience with the dog, Jerry informs Peter that the landlady wanted to have a sexual relationship with him. He affirms that “she has some foul parody of sexual desire. And I, Peter, I am the object of her sweaty lust” (25). But Jerry, who is the object of her desire, refuses to make intercourse with her, and confuses her by saying “love; wasn’t yesterday enough for you, and the day before?” (26). As a result, the bewildered woman believes his words and “relives what never happened” (26).

By the end of the play, a significant scene could confirm the fact that Jerry is still a homosexual. In fact, during his fight with Peter, Jerry pulls a knife to threaten him, but when he drops it, Peter rapidly holds the knife to defend himself. Jerry “charges PETER and impales himself on the knife” (39). This act could be interpreted as an act of phallic penetration (Paul 205). Actually, in this highly symbolic scene, the knife stands for the phallus and the stabbing act could be considered as an act of sexual penetration. That is to say, “when Jerry forces Peter to stab him at the end of the play, the moment is full of phallic significance” (Raheem et al. 464). Although stabbing is a deadly act, Jerry’s “features relax,” and “he smiles” (39). Jerry’s enjoyment of this act of phallic penetration could imply that he was and still is a homosexual. “At the moment of their grim intimacy with the knife there is contact between Peter and Jerry” (Stanz 11).

Through releasing his libidinal intensities, Jerry succeeds in disrupting the order imposed by the System on subjects. Lyotard, in this context, asserts that “the virtue required by the politeia [is] to remain staunchly within the zero of impulsional exchanges, to live without having lost or gained, to regulate the circulation of libidinal energies at the minimax, at the minimum of losses and the maximum of gains” (159). For Lyotard, the Capitalist System guarantees the persistence of its existence through regulating the flow of libidinal energies. In reality, Capitalism organizes and conducts the libidinal intensities so as to minimize the deficits and maximize profits. Jerry, the rebellious outcast, disregards the System’s recurrent attempts to regulate and repress libidinal energies, and therefore the subject. This scene suggests that “Jerry’s entire purpose has been somehow a reflection of repressed desires” (Raheem et al. 465).

Through staging two conflicting characters in the play, Albee gives two opposing world views. As a matter of fact, the nonconformist Jerry, who refuses the oppression of desire, could be considered as a threat to the stability and unity of the System. By discussing his sexual experiences with an unfamiliar person and alluding to his homosexuality, Jerry defeats all forms of repression and attempts to subvert the rules of society. On the other hand, Peter, the middle-class conformist, is totally subjugated by the Capitalist System. The fact that he is wealthy, married, and has two daughters and two parakeets means that he has already embodied the spirit of fixedness and complacency of the American System. In this respect, Lyotard insists that “if these intensities are entered into a ledger, it is because they have already passed through the filter of the politeia, which excludes, as we have said, enormous

pieces of the labyrinthine band of the libidinal body” (166-7). In the case of Peter, his conformism means that he accepts the domination of the System and his libidinal desires will not be able to circulate freely on his libidinal body, but are rather repressed and controlled.

Through the explicit as well as implicit allusion to homosexuality and the disruption of repressed desire, Albee aims to draw attention to the problematization of desire in American culture. He is being critical of American society’s tendency to repress libidinal energies and suppress individuals. In this way, *The Zoo Story* “can be seen as an allegory about homosexuality” (Raheem et al. 465). The playwright’s dramatization of two antagonists in his play could indicate that the discussion of matters related to desire and sexuality is controversial in his culture. The staging of an active homosexual character, Jerry, and an inert heterosexual man, Peter, reveals Albee’s disillusionment with passive and conventional individuals and consequently with the repressive nature of American System.

It is worth mentioning that Edward Albee himself is homosexual. As “a gay author,” Albee attempts to draw a picture of a homosexual person in his play and his efforts to assert his individuality (Fox 205). *The Zoo Story* itself could be perceived as a challenge to mainstream heterosexual American life. As a matter of fact, “at the time Albee wrote *The Zoo Story*, in 1958, homosexuality was thought by many to be a mental illness. It was also illegal. In most states, consensual sex between men was considered sexual assault, and both participants could be sentenced up to 20 years in prison” (Raheem et al. 465). Hence, through the discussion of homosexuality in his work, Albee seems to condemn the negative attitudes and stereotypes that Americans have about sexuality and queer people. Albee’s objective is to subvert such prejudices and to try to correct the commonly held beliefs about desire and sexual impulses.

Conclusion

By writing *The Zoo Story*, Albee expresses his disapproval of American middle-class culture. This play is “fundamentally a piece of social criticism” (Samuels 188). Indeed, Albee puts emphasis on the problems of the absence of genuine contact between individuals and the ultimate break down of communication. Jerry’s journey in the zoo and Central Park is motivated by an urgent desire to connect with anything. By the end, this desire is fulfilled as he succeeded in making contact with a human being, Peter, though a last one. Albee appears to center his play on “the necessity to break out of complacency in order to participate in life” (Németh 99).

In this play, Albee examines also sexual desire and society’s persistent attempts to repress it. Libidinal forces’ resistance of possible repression by the System could be seen as a parallel to the continuous struggle of the individual against the oppression of the community. Jerry’s behavior and way of thinking could be considered as a rebellion against any form of submission to social authorities or power structures. In brief, libidinal intensities’ free circulation and evasion of repression could imply that the individual adopts effective strategies, especially liberating those sexual energies and drives, in order to resist and defeat the domination of the rational System.

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The role of spirituality on the life quality of people with spinal cord injury

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Abstract

The injuries about the spinal cord is one of the most threatening physical lesions which can disrupt different parts of the body and even can threat an individual's life. According to the Resolution 96/48 of UN General Assembly enacted in December 1993, spinal cord injury is a disability that is placed in the range of disabled people. Yesil Bakan, Awzikutuk & Ardahan (2010) showed in their study that spiritual interventions can increase the life quality in patients and their caregivers through reducing the effects of cancer. The results of extensive research conducted by Lucas (2007) showed that the physical disability makes the happiness, which is one of the component of life quality, decline from moderate to severe. The statistical sample in the present study consists of 254 patients with spinal cord injury which have been selected using Morgan table. The results reported by the World Health Organization life quality scale makers group that have been carried out in 15 international center of the organization, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient has been reported between 0/73 to 0/89 for the four subscales and total scale. In Iran, Nasiri also used (1385) three methods namely three-week test-retest, split half and Cronbach's alpha for the reliability of the scale which were equal to 0/67, 0 /87, 0/84 respectively.

Keywords: the role of spirituality, spinal cord injury, resilience.

Introduction:

The injuries about the spinal cord is one of the most threatening physical lesions which can disrupt different parts of the body and even can threat an individual's life. According to the Resolution 96/48 of UN General Assembly enacted in December 1993, spinal cord injury is a disability that is placed in the range of disabled people (cited by Hassanzadeh Pashang, Zare and Alipur, 1391).

Nowadays, attention to the life quality as the ultimate goal of rehabilitation for people with physical disability has been widely accepted by experts in the field of rehabilitation (Trischman, 1988). On the other hand, most of the studies indicate that the life quality of people with physical disability is lower in comparison to the common population (Moradi, Malekpour, Amiri, Molavi & Noori, 1389). The life quality is a multidimensional concept that the World Health Organization has defined it as any person's understanding of life, values, goals, standards and individual interests (Navidian, Robabi, Pishkar, Monfared, 1391). Believes that the level from life satisfaction and life quality part of life experiences is a dynamic concept, and multi-dimensional constantly under the influence of demographic factors, health, social, cultural and environmental concerns (Navidian et al., 1391). Zahn believes that life quality is a part of life satisfaction and is related to life experiences, and is dynamic, multi-dimensional and continuous concept and is under the influence of individual, health, social, cultural and environmental factors (Navidian et al., 1391).

Nowadays, the attention has been paid to the capacities which have a great role in life quality. One of these components is spirituality which, in fact, is a kind of inner awareness and a sense of relationship between the self and the surrounding world (Stamp, 1991). Givlary (2000) defines spirituality as human beings' inherent consciousness and self-awareness and believes that spirituality arises from certain predetermined values and beliefs. Swinton and Patison (2001) know spirituality as one of the aspect of human existence that gives humanity to a person and they believe that spirituality is associated with the individual's major structures and help person to deal with the life issues. Vegan (2003) knows spirituality the highest level of growth in areas such as cognition, behavior and emotion among people and considers it as an attitude including peak experiences as well as one of the growth domains.

Of other structures proposed in mental health scope which has gained a special place for itself is resilience which has been described as individual's ability in establishing a bio-psychological balance in dangerous situations and active participation of individual in the environment (Connor and Davidson, 2003).

The resilience has been defined as "a process, capability, or the outcome of successful adaptation despite threatening circumstances". In fact, resilience is a positive adjustment in response to the adverse conditions (Waller, 2001). Resilience is not merely a passive resistance against injuries or threatening circumstances, but resilient person is an active and constructive participant of his/her environment. Resilience is a person's capability in establishing a bio-

psycho-spiritual balance against risky conditions (Connor and Davidson 2003); it is a self-recovery which is associated with positive emotional, affective and cognitive consequences (Matsen, 2001). Therefore, it cannot be considered equivalent to recovery, because in the recovery, the individual experiences negative consequences and emotional -affective problems (Bonano, 2004).

The other structure proposed in life quality is the coping strategies with stress that Health Psychology places a great importance on coping style in physical and mental health and knows it as the most widely research topic in contemporary psychology and as one of the psychological and social factors which is an interface between stress and disease (Sommerfeld and Mackcrai, 2000). The studies on stress emphasizes that what makes health behavior at risk is not stress itself, but is individual's method in the assessment of stress as well as coping strategies and stress management (Pati and Ingram, 2006).

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) have specified two general strategies namely problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping to control stress. The problem-focused coping is a skill that focuses on dealing with the problem itself or situation such as positive reappraisal, and emotion-focused coping focuses on emotional discomfort, and deals with the emotions that are associated with that position, not controlling the situation itself such as avoidance of problem.

People who use emotion-focused coping strategies, instead of focusing on the problem and its solution, rather seek to harness negative emotional consequences of the stressor. These people affected by this strategy ignore problems rather than confrontation. The emotion-focused coping strategies are effective for reducing stress in the short term but have negative effects in the long term (and Reheiser Spielberger, 2005).

Different studies have been conducted on the role of spirituality, resilience and coping skills on life quality, but no research has been done regarding the patients with spinal cord injury so far. Therefore, in the present study, we seek to investigate this question: Do spirituality, resilience coping strategies have a role on life quality of people with spinal cord injury?

Besides the great successes of modern human in various fields, accidents and lesions associated with conditions governing the life in industrialized countries are inevitable. One of the consequences of living in such community is the high incidence of spinal cord injury that mainly occurs due to traffic, occupational or sports accidents. Spinal cord injury handicapped refers to someone who for any reason including stroke, brain tumor or cancer, cerebrovascular and vascular diseases or even advanced stages of discopathy lesions, his spinal cord has been injured from below the medulla oblongata area up to the bottom of the ponytail network area and the amount of lesion is partial or up to full mutilation or crush or degenerative changes which results in motor and sensory or autonomic complications of one or more limbs and body (Hassanzadeh Pashang et al., 1391).

On behalf of the World Health Organization, the incidence of spinal cord injury in the world has been reported equal to 15 to 40 million, and 12 to 40 million people worldwide are suffering from spinal cord injuries annually. Currently, about three million people with disabilities have been identified in Iran and given the high number of accidents and various incidents, it is estimated to be 700 thousand people with spinal cord injury disabilities that each year, 2,000 persons are added to it (Hassanzadeh Pashang et al., 1391).

Stresses that occur after spinal cord injury make person isolated and standoffish from social activities and leads to the occurrence of many mental and mood disorders; as a result, such impairments decrease an individual's life quality (Fathi Ashtiani, 1391). So, be attentive to life quality of people with spinal cord injury is very important as one of goals to rehabilitate them. However, given the importance of life quality in the rehabilitation of people with physical-motor disabilities and low life quality of such people compared to the general population, and considering the fact that, based on research literature, spirituality, resilience and coping methods are the most important factors affecting the life quality of people with physical-motor disabilities and, since few researches have been done on the role of spirituality, resilience and coping strategies on the quality of life of people with physical disability, conducting this study seems necessary.

Yesil Bakan, Awzkutuk & Ardahan (2010) showed in their study that spiritual interventions can increase life quality of patients and their caregivers by reducing the effects of cancer. The results of extensive research conducted by Lucas (2007) showed that the physical disability makes the happiness, which is one of the component of life quality, decline from moderate to severe.

Bennett, Jones, Melvi, Chambraigne and Tennant (2001) in a research found that the quality of life of adults with physical - motor disability is lower than their normal counterparts.

The results of a research carried out by Sibold and Hill (2001) showed that religious beliefs, rituals and obligations, are related with positive outcomes such as improved quality of a better life, well-being, physical and psychological health, marital satisfaction and sustainable life and positive performance.

Brady, Peterman, Fitchett, Mo, and Cella (1999) showed in their study that in patients with cancer, spirituality as much as physical health and emotional health has a relationship with life quality.

Nasiri, Kheyrkhah, Rahimiyan, Ahmadzade, Hosseinnejad and Mohamadjafari (1392) in a study entitled "The stressor factors, compatibility methods and quality of life in hemodialysis patients" showed that a positive and linear correlation was observed between problem-focused compatibility methods and overall life quality. There was also a significant and reversed relationship between emotion-focused coping strategies and physical condition, overall life quality and important life activities.

Kianejad Andvari, Gamari and Fathi Aghdam (1390) in a study entitled "The relationship between the spiritual intelligence, resilience and teachers' life quality" showed that there is a positive relationship between resilience and quality of life and all its sub-scales. Additionally, results of regression analysis showed that resilience is able to predict the teachers' quality of life.

The findings of a research conducted by Nouhi, Abdolkarimi and Rezaeian (1390) entitled "the quality of life and its relationship with stress and methods to cope with it in patients with coronary artery disease" showed that there is a negative and significant relationship between the quality of life and emotion-focused coping with stress methods and a significant and positive relationship between quality of life and of problem-focused coping methods.

The results of a research carried out by Mousavi, Montazeri and Soroush (1386) showed that the quality of life of women of veterans with Spinal Cord Injury, in the physical functioning, bodily pain, general health, social functioning, emotional problems and mental health domains is lower than Iran's general population.

Shahande, Vameghi, Hatamizadeh and Kazemnejad (1383) in a research also found that the quality of life of people with spinal cord injury, in employment, economic status, physical health and mental comfort domains is certainly lower than other domains.

The statistical population in the present study includes all patients with spinal cord injury who are covered by Welfare department of Shiraz whose number is equal to 750.

The statistical sample and sampling method:

The statistical sample in the present study consists of 254 patients with spinal cord injury that have been selected using Morgan table.

Research instruments and its validity and reliability:

A) Spirituality Assessment Questionnaire

Hall Edwards' spirituality assessment questionnaire (1966) is designed to evaluate two aspects of spiritual growth: awareness of God's existence and quality of relationship with God. The first version of test has 5 scales including awareness, actual acceptance, disappointment, grandiosity and instability.

In 2002, Hall wadvardz revised the scale and added the perception management subscale to it. Therefore, the current version has the following 6 subscales. The spirituality assessment questionnaire is a self-report tool with 47 expressions. Some of the expressions consist of two parts. The subject must express his agreement or disagreement rate regarding each of the expressions in a 5-point Likert scale. The score of each subscale is the mean of answered questions. If the respondent does not respond to more than half of the questions, the scale cannot be scored. Scoring the actual acceptance sub-scale statements (questions No. 2, x, x, are

considered) depends on the subject's answer to the question corresponding with it in hopelessness scale (questions No. 1. X.x are considered). If the subject's answer in the question 1. Xx "is not true at all" (1), then the question 2. X.x corresponding with it, is not included the mean score of actual acceptance scale. For example, if he gives 1 point to question 2.1, then the question 2.2 does not fit in calculating the mean score of actual acceptance scale.

The expressions related to each subscale

Expressions relating to each subscale

1. Awareness subscale: 1,3,6,9,11,15,17,19,21,23,25,28,30,31,34,36,40,42,44
2. Actual acceptance subscale: 2,2,2,8,2,12,2,18,2,27,2,33,2,47
3. Disappointment subscale: 1,27,1,33,1,47,1,2,1,8,1,12,1,18
4. Grandiosity subscale: 5,13,20,26,29,37,45
5. Instability subscale: 4,10,16,22,35,39,41,43,46
6. Perception management subscale: 7,14,24,32,38

Hall wadvardz 1966 has reported the Cronbach's alpha coefficient of spirituality assessment questionnaire subscales as follows: Awareness subscale: 0/95 sub disappointment subscale: 0/90, actual acceptance subscale: 0/83, grandiosity subscale: 0/73, instability subscale: 0/84, Perception management subscale: 0/77. These coefficients indicate that the test is reliable.

B) Connor and Davidson Resilience Scale

The resilience measurement tool for present study is Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RIS) (2003). This questionnaire was prepared by Connor and Davidson (2003, cited in Mohammadi, 1384) by reviewing research literature of 1991-1979 on resilience field. The investigation of psychometric characteristics of this scale has been carried out in six general population, patients referring primary care department, psychiatric outpatient cases patients with generalized anxiety disorder, and two groups of patients with posttraumatic stress disorder. The providers of this scale believe that the questionnaire has the ability to separate the non-resilient individuals from resilient ones in clinical and non-clinical groups, and can be used in research and clinical situations (Mohammadi, 1384).

The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale has 25 items which is scored in a Likert scale between zero (completely false) and five (always correct). The scoring range of the scale is between 25 and 125. In a study by Samani, Jokar and Sahragard (1386) which is carried out to determine the validity of the scale among students, the validity of the scale is reported equal to 0/93.

C) Coping method check list (CSR)

This questionnaire has been prepared by Carver, Scheier & Weintraub (1989) and measures 18 coping methods at 4 overall focused on problem solving, focusing on emotion, less effective and ineffective strategies. The reliability of this scale was evaluated by Carver et al (1989)

through retest with the implementation of the two samples, the first one consisting of 89 students after 8 weeks and a second sample with 116 students after 6 weeks. The highest reliability coefficients for social support seeking compatibility method and the lowest coefficient of reliability for the lack of behavioral engagement scale were reported equal to (0/76) (0/42) respectively. Convergent and divergent validity of the scale was determined through correlation coefficient with other parallel tests which indicate the desired validity of the scale for measuring coping with stress methods (Carver et al., 1989). In Iran, the test was translated by Ebrahimi et al (1371) and its face validity was confirmed by 4 psychiatrists and psychologists with regard to the purpose of the study.

The reliability coefficient was determined through retest method carried out over 20 high school students with an average age of $17/4 \pm 2/6$ after fourteen days where the highest reliability was obtained for the appealing to religion scale ($r = 0/95$) and the lowest one for the lack of behavioral engagement scale ($r = 0/63$).

D) The World Health Organization Quality of Life Questionnaire

The Quality of Life Questionnaire (QOL) is used to measure the individual's quality of life in the last two weeks. Its generator is the World Health Organization (WHOQOL- BREF) in collaboration with the 15 International Centers of 1989. The number of questions is 24 questions in 4 domains; the first two questions do not belong to any of the domains and evaluate the health status and quality of life generally. So, the questionnaire has 26 questions in general which has the following domains:

The Quality of Life Questionnaire has 4 subscales in the following domains:

- (A) Physical health domain (physical)
- (B) Psychological domain
- (C) Social relations domain
- (D) Living environment domain

The score of each item in a domain was determined from (1 to 5) at all, low, medium, high and quite, or very dissatisfied, satisfied, relatively satisfied, satisfied, very satisfied and similar to them respectively.

- The physical health domain (physical) sum of the scores of questions 3,4,10,15,16,17,18,
- The psychological domain of quality of life sum of the scores of questions 26-19-11-7-6-5,
- The social relations domain sum of the scores of questions 22-21-20,
- The environment and living conditions domain from sum of the scores of questions 8-9-12-13-14-23-24-25
- It should be noted that the questions 3, 4 and 25 are scored in reverse order.

In the results reported by the World Health Organization Quality of Life scale developers in 15 international centers of that organization, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient have been reported between 0/73 to 0/89 for the four subscales and total scale respectively. In Iran, Nasiri (1385) used three-week test-retest, split half and Cronbach's alpha methods for reliability of the scale,

which were obtained equal to 0/67, 0/87 and 0/84 respectively. Rahimi (1386) also measured the reliability of quality of life scale and has reported Cronbach's alpha for the whole scale equal to 0/88, 0/70, 77/0, 0/65 and 0/77 for physical health, mental health, social relationships, and the quality of living environment respectively. Nasiri (1385) used concurrent validity method to determine the validity of the scale measured the relationship between the total score of the test and its subscales and the total score and subscales of the General Health Questionnaire using the correlation coefficient. In the present study, to determine the validity, the correlation between the total score of each aspect and each of the questions forming that aspect was used. The obtained correlation coefficients domains were from 0/45 to 0/83, and all coefficients were significant at the 0/01 level. Each item had the highest correlation with its respective dimension. In a study conducted by Yousefi and Safari (1388), the correlation between the total score of each dimension and each of the questions forming that dimension was used to determine the validity. The obtained correlation coefficients domains were from 0/45 to 0/83, and all coefficients were significant at the 0/01 level. Each item had the highest correlation with its respective dimension.

Data analysis method

The descriptive and inferential statistical methods are used for the analysis of research data using the SPSS software. The frequency, frequency percentage, average and standard deviation are used in the descriptive statistics section and Pearson correlation coefficient and stepwise regression analysis will be utilized in inferential statistics section.

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Assimilation, Space, and the Mother Goddess in Sandra Cisneros's "Mericans" and "Tepeyac"

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Abstract

In the United States, Chicano/as try to preserve and defend their 'mestizaje,' that is hybridity, in an attempt to resist hegemony and assimilation. Chicano/as are denied an 'American' identity because of their 'Métis' or hybrid culture; they are, rather, 'hyphenated Americans.' For this reason, they go back to the past to revise 'History' and resurrect the 'Myths' of their ancestors, the 'Mothers' of their Motherland. La Virgen de Guadalupe is another face of the Mother Goddess Coatlolopeuh who was disfigured and transformed into a 'virgin' Lady, leaving the dark 'terrible' side of the mask to the ghost/shadow: La Llorona. The article focuses on two short stories by Sandra Cisneros, "Mericans" and "Tepeyac," to study how through re-visiting the 'Mother,' Chicano/as reread the 'Hi(s)tory' of the 'Hero' who brought 'civilization' and Christianity to the Aztecs, emphasizing the 'ethnic' presence of the Goddess and her 'brown' descendants and, hence, 'reclaiming' a space of their own.

Keywords: Assimilation, space, Great Mother, Virgen de Guadalupe.

Assimilation has been imposed on people of colour since the birth of the New Adam, a continuation of the “divinely sanctioned genocide” (Docker 114) that authorized the elimination of the white man’s ‘Others’ by killing or forcing them to renounce their ‘ethnic’ past. It was the duty of God’s Chosen People to protect the Promised Land and with the introduction of the melting pot myth at the turn of the twentieth century, assimilation has been endorsed not only by the white man’s God, but also by law. It has become the duty of the ‘Other’ to destroy the enemy that resides inside him, the Shadow. Therefore, assimilation represents a threat to space as a “dimension of multiplicity” because “without multiplicity space itself could not exist” (Massey, “Concepts” 17). By defining space as a ‘dimension of multiplicity,’ Massey means that “[s]pace is the sphere of the possibility of the existence of plurality, of the co-existence of difference” (“Some Times” 3).

The Hero’s Myth

According to Donna Rosenberg, a myth is the “moral” answer to questions like “How much control do I have over my own life? What must I do to survive? How can I balance my own desires with my responsibilities to my family, my community, and the powers that control my world?” (xxvi). Hence, the melting pot myth answers these questions to secure the white man’s control over his life; it assures the survival of his Western and patriarchal ideals and protects his ‘order’ by confining ‘the powers’ of the Other. The power of the Other increases with the space he occupies and by the turn of the twentieth century, the vision of ‘united states’ of America was almost accomplished and the white man crossed the boundaries of the West and invaded the space that used to be controlled by Mexicans, Italian-Americans, and Native tribes who started to question their ‘status’ in that ‘new order’ of the white man.

The white man’s answer was the melting pot myth to convince his Others that they can share ‘his’ space for he believes that this is ‘his’ land and that he is ‘the American’ and, thus, it is up to ‘his’ Others to adjust themselves to fit in. He offers his ‘Others’ a dream, an American ‘product.’ More importantly, by concocting the melting pot myth, the White man colonized the Other not only by invading the Other’s spatial space, but also by penetrating into his sacred space to efface the stories, myths, and ‘memories’ of the past. He provides his Others with ‘Hi(s)tory, ‘new’ myths and stories to “unify the members of that [society] by giving them a shared past” (Rosenberg xxv), a shared experience in the land of dreams. In this ‘dreamy’ story there is “the hero who crosses the boundary and penetrates the other space” (De Lauretis 119) and ‘Other’ characters, the “obstacle” and “the boundary with the hero alone can cross” (De Lauretis 118). The hero is the ‘Savior’ who ‘perfects’ and “completes the world by making it habitable for man, thus bringing culture” (Flood 30).

Sollors notices that “alchemists used melting pots and searched for eternal youth” (80) and in the Western mythos, the alchemist is another archetype of the “culture hero” who wants to “embod[y] both the divine and the human” (Flood 30). As an alchemist, the white man is not ‘in’ the pot, but takes the role of a male ‘creator,’ a ‘god,’ or a ‘Devouring Father’ who seeks more power; and the transmutation of his ‘Others’ in the pot will provide him with the ‘prescription’ for the “eternal youth” of the ‘hero’s monotheism. In other words, the melting pot myth is not about various ethnic groups and cultures that co-exist; it is the white

man's "myth of race" (Bottici 111) and "the mythical subject is constructed as human being and as male; he is the active principle of culture, the establisher of distinctions, the creator of differences" (De Lauretis 119). Assimilation means, then, that "the most heterogeneous human materials could be taken and absorbed into this nationality" (Gleason 22).

With globalization, assimilation has become not only a national project but also an international dream called acculturation. Acculturation means, for the white man, that his social, political, and economic systems are viable regardless of the place and time and that his Civilization, his Culture, and his History, are 'immortal' and, thus, valid everywhere. This is the era of the Great West led by 'the American' and since Time belongs to the West, and "[w]ith Time are aligned History, Progress, Civilization, Science, Politics, and Reason" (Massey, "Politics" 73), space remains the challenge: Is it possible to own space, hence, to eliminate it?

The Syncretic Mother

The case of the Métis culture of Chicano/as in the U.S. shows that religious border-crossing is one way to resist assimilation and acculturation. The syncretic Native Goddess of Mexican-Americans and their Native ancestors has been the main cultural symbol of resistance. La Virgen de Guadalupe is an 'ethnic' leading figure of a hybrid culture. According to Sollors, the term 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek word 'Ethnikos' which means 'pagan' (25). This entails that being ethnic is the same thing as being 'un-Christian' and, as a result, since "[t]his connotation gives the opposition of ethnic and American the additional religious dimension of the contrast between heathens and chosen people" (Sollors 25), then being ethnic means also being 'un-American.' Chicano/as and North American Latino/as consider themselves to be the descendants of the Aztecs who populated Aztlan, the U.S. southwest (Anzaldúa 26). Though they were expected to be absorbed and lost in a white crowd, they managed to save their Mother and, hence, claimed their separatism as 'brown' descendants of the Native Mother; she is "the godwoman in [every Latina/o] . . . the divine within, Coatlicue_Cihuacoatl_ Tlazolteotl_Tonantzin_Coatlalopeuh_Guadalupe_they are one" (Anzaldúa 72).

Coatlicue whose name means literally, "Serpent Skirt," is portrayed usually with "a necklace of human hearts, a skirt of twisted serpents and taloned feet" (Anzaldúa, 49). As a pre-Columbian Goddess, She is the Terrible Mother par excellence with her negative elementary character symbolized, usually, by snakes, skulls, hippopotamus, panthers, lions crocodiles, phantoms (Neumann 153). The Native goddess Coatlicue is a "symbol of the fusion of opposites: the eagle and the serpent, heaven and the underworld, life and death, mobility and immobility, beauty and horror" (Anzaldúa 69). Coatlicue represents the woman as an indivisible 'complex' creature for she is a unifying figure of the male and the female, the sun and the corn, the sky and the earth, the soul and the body, and light and darkness. The Aztec Mother is the snake that dwells in the darkness of the Earth's womb, the body that contains the spirits of the growing fruits and the roots of their ancestors, but, then, She can ascend and reach the sky taking the form of an eagle.

After the Spanish conquest, another manifestation of Coatlicue appeared, La Llorona; she symbolizes the Terrible Mother in modern times. La Llorona appeared in the last days of the Aztec dynasty, 'in the beginning' of the 'fall,' and Natives identified her as 'Cihuacoatl:' "In the beginning, there was a woman. Throughout the streets of Tenochtitlan, the capital city of the Mexicas, . . . a woman was heard weeping about the fate of her children prior to the Spanish conquest" (Perez 16). She predicted the destruction of the Aztec empire and the doom awaiting her children. She is "mother, sister, daughter, seer, and perhaps goddess, yet in all instances she is a woman who is condemned to either foresee or bemoan the fate of her children (Perez 18).

Nevertheless, since the Terrible Mother is a disfigured face of the 'original' Great Mother and her 'becoming' is a deviation from the Great Round state, her monstrous and dangerous 'appearance' is connected to the 'disappearance' of her other aspect, the maiden. As Neumann states, the Good Mother "can emerge independently from the unity of the Great Mother" (21). Both the Terrible Mother and the Good Mother are differentiated archetypes, but in the case of Aztec mythology, the Terrible Mother was prevailing and banished the Good aspect, her daughter Coyolxauhqui: "*Coyolxauhqui*, She with Golden Bells, Goddess of the Moon, who was decapitated by her brother," the Sun/Son Huitzilopochtli (Anzaldúa, 49). But, later, the Good Mother would develop from that same Terrible Mother and, hence, Campbell considers "early Coatlicue" as an "evil mother" while the "good mother" is "Coatlicue/Tonantsi;" then, another transformation would occur with "Tonantsi/Guadalupe," who is the "chaste, protective mother" (18). The Good Mother contains the positive feminine and masculine elements (Neumann 20-21).

The psychological/archetypal development that transformed 'early Coatlicue' into a 'Tonantsi' and, then, a 'Guadalupe' is a result of a 'historical development.' The Native Totonacs could no longer accept the Aztecs' bloody practices and, hence,

begun to show great reverence to the mother goddess Tonantsi, who preferred the sacrifice of birds and small animals. It was they, and not the Aztecs, who built Tonantsi's temple. Further, the Aztecs themselves were by then tired of the need to satiate and mollify their bloodthirsty god of war, Huitzilopochtli, who had made them a conquering and prosperous people. Though the goddess Tonantsi did not displace the male deity, Huitzilopochtli, she did triumph over Coatlicue, the malevolent mother goddess of snakes and skulls. (Campbell 12)

Tonantsi or Tonantzin, literally means "Our Mother" (Castillo xvi), was introduced to replace the Goddess of the Aztecs, but was accepted by the Aztecs after the conquest of their lands by the European military forces. Then, the Aztecs were no longer 'a conquering and prosperous people':

[T]he Conquered Mexic-Amerindians may have turned to the Mother_ and it was She who responded_ to bring comfort, assurance, hope, when their mighty male gods became silent. As heirs to a militant imperialist patriarchy, the Supreme God was imaged as Father made manifest by the sun, too great to descend upon the earth and explain the terrible downfall of the empire. So it is the gentle nurturing mother archetype that appears and speaks with such melodic tenderness that it was compared to the singing of birds, flor y canto_ that is, beauty and truth. It sounded like music never heard before. (Castillo xvii)

In this stage, Tonantsi is not only the vessel, i.e. the shelter, the nurturer, the protective mother of Native nations, but also their 'leader' who will grant 'eternity.' Native people are no longer interested in earthly matters but in spiritual transformations that might save their culture and their races from being extinguished. This explains their need to "the static elementary character of the mother and the dynamic transformative character of the young woman" (Neumann 104).

Thus, as Anzaldua proceeds, the Aztec Goddess Coatlalopeuh/Coatlicue merged with the Christian Virgin Mary to become Lady of Guadalupe, a "brown-skinned, Indian-looking virgin [of] Mexico" (Blea 56). The Resurrection of this Mother Goddess took place in the sacred land of Tepeyac; when the colonizers were trying to occupy more space through enforcing Christianization and imposing their language and Christianity on the Natives, suddenly a story about the miraculous appearance of a Mother figure becomes shared among people. This is the story of Coatlalopeuh's resurgence as narrated by Anzaldua:

Guadalupe appeared on December 9, 1531, on the spot where the Aztec goddess, *Tonantsi* ("Our Lady Mother"), had been worshipped by the Nahuas and where a temple to her had stood. Speaking Nahuatl, she told Juan Diego, a poor Indian crossing Tepeyac Hill . . . that her name was *Maria Coatlalopeuh*. *Coatl* is the Nahuatl word for serpent. *Lopeuh* means "the one who has dominion over serpents," . . . with the serpent as the symbol of the indigenous religion, meaning that her religion was to take the place of the Aztec religion. (51)

It is through storytelling that the rhizomatic Coatlalopeuh succeeds in occupying the space of the male Christian God. The Fathers of the Church refused to classify the Aztec Virgin as a Christian religious symbol; her presence and 'survival' is a reminder of the Natives' pagan religion, and those who acknowledged her as the representation of the Virgin Mary betrayed Christ by rendering him a son of a 'pagan' goddess.

The Christian Father cannot welcome a Native Lady to be approved in 'his' Christian canon and to occupy a space in 'his' Bible; her presence is a threat for as long as she survives, she is a witness of the fortitude of a race, a metamorphosed goddess, a 'symbol' of a Native identity that empowers a people who succeeded in reviving their 'savage' Mother and transformed her into a 'Lady'. Though Latino/as lost their Mother Language, the land is still able to 'speak' with a Native Tongue; Tepeyac becomes the womb that protects Latin American's cultural heritage. As opposed to the colonized and assimilated space where 'masculine' cities have started to dominate the American landscape, Tepeyac saves the virginity of the land in its myths and stories shared from one generation to another. It is thanks to this Mother's womb that Latino/as "learn to develop separate spaces," "nonhegemonic spaces," and such spaces "cannot be labelled, controlled, or fixed" (Rojas 137).

Space and the Roots of the Mother

Sandra Cisneros thinks that "every space either frightens you, makes you ill because you have to clean it or liberates you. Spaces give you a feeling" (Muy, 72), but sometimes

“[i]t’s not a pleasant feeling” and, hence, “you can’t daydream or imagine or create” and it becomes necessary “to create a space” where one can feel “peaceful and happy” (Muy, 73). Cisneros’ short stories, “Mericans” and “Tepeyac,” highlight the devastating effect of assimilation, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, demonstrate that the spiritual attachment to places like ‘La Basilica de Nuestra Senora,’ a church devoted to the worship of La Virgen de Guadalupe in Tepeyac, empowers not only the individual but also the whole community of the city of Mexico and, most importantly, the different communities of Latinos in the U. S. or from Central and South America.

Silverstein and Chen define “acculturation of Mexican American families as the erosion of traditional Mexican values, and practices due to exposure to American culture” (189). Indeed, the sacred space refers not only to holy places like temples, churches, altars or lands, such as Tepeyac in Mexico city, but also to the spiritual value of such sites for the individual and the community. As Guettel Cole explains, sacred spaces are “for communication between human and divine” (15) and, at the same time, “[encourage] expressions of regional authority and [foster] communication between cities” (15). The events in “Mericans” and “Tepeyac” take place in Tepeyac. However, while the protagonist of “Mericans” is a little Mexican American girl who is in a visit to the ‘tourist site’ of the Basilica, the central character in “Tepeyac” is an adult woman who comes back from “that borrowed country” (23) to her childhood souvenirs in Tepeyac.

In “Mericans,” Micaela tells the story of her Mexican American family’s visit to the Basilica of “La Divina Providencia” (17). Micaela feels that she is trapped in the world of her “awful grandmother” (17) who seems to be faithful to her Mexican roots by maintaining the traditions of her ancestors and “stress[ing] continuity with younger generations” (Silverstein and Chen 190), “the sons and the only daughter who never attend mass” (17) and “the grandchildren born in that barbaric country with its barbarian ways” (19). The ‘barbaric ways’ of that ‘barbaric country’ affected Micaela’s family and “weake[ned] the otherwise strong obligation that family members feel toward each other” (Silverstein and Chen 189). They no longer respect their grandmother and consider her as an ‘awful’ old woman who bores them with her long prayers and “[m]umbling, mumbling, mumbling” (17) in the dull church that “smell[s] like the inside of the ear” (19).

For the ‘Mericans,’ the Temple of La Virgen de Guadalupe lost its ‘sacred value’ and, for this reason, they do not want to “stay near the church entrance” (18) as their ‘awful grandmother’ ordered. The idea of the border is favoured by the white man because it allows him to ‘fix’ space and “to hold places and things still” (Massey, “Some Times” 2). When a place is transformed into a mere “tourist site, an object of veneration and curiosity” (Brady 128), it becomes frozen in the past. When a holy place is ‘invaded,’ it loses its ‘sacred’ purpose of maintaining relationships between members of a community. The sacred temple becomes a mere site where Micaela and her brothers can play games and act like ‘tourists.’ They prefer to “wander over to the balloon and punch-ball vendors,” “spend [their] allowance on fried cookies or Familia Burrón comic books or those clear cone-shaped suckers that make everything look like a rainbow when you look through them,” “run off and have [their] picture taken on the wooden ponies,” and “climb the steps up the hill behind the church and

chase each other through the cemetery” (18), but they cannot because they “promised to stay right where the awful grandmother left [them]” (18).

As Anzaldúa explains, “[b]orders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line . . . A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. . . . The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants” (25). In “Mericans,” space, Tepeyac, is frozen in the past with its inhabitants, the awful grandmother; the Other, Micaela, is no longer present and, consequently, this Other, this Latino/a, becomes “outside of historical time and beyond the boundaries of [his] own cultural experience” (MacCannell 77). They have internalized racism and are ashamed of their mixed ‘Mud’ blood:

I’ve already made up my mind to be a German when Keeks [Micaela’s little brother] swoops past again, this time yelling, “I’m Flash Gordon. You’re Ming the Merciless and the Mud People.” I don’t mind being Ming the Merciless, but I don’t like being the Mud People. Something wants to come out of the corners of my eyes, but I don’t let it. Crying is what *girls* do. (19)

Micaela and her brothers are neither with the Mexicans inside the church, nor outside with the tourists who are enjoying their sightseeing; ‘they’ are ‘Mericans’ and cannot move without thinking about the place where to belong, and since they do not belong or fit, they do not move. While the ‘awful grandmother’ “disappeared behind the heavy leather curtain and the dusty velvet inner” (18-19) and the tourists are taking photos of ‘Mexican people,’ Micaela and her brothers are trapped in-between, “hunkered against the wall with [their] eyes shut” (18), dreaming and imagining, or “running around in circles” (18), uncertain about their direction and whether to follow the grandmother or the ‘American’ tourists.

The tourists who are mostly ‘outside’ of the Basilica see with a ‘Westener’s eye,’ a “totalizing eye” (de Certeau 128) that notices only the “false fronts” (MacCannell 95) of Tepeyac. Assuming that they are ‘Mexican’ children because of their ‘brown’ skin, the tourists take photos of Micaela and her brothers who are “squatting against the entrance” (20)

“¿Quieres *chicle*?” the lady asks in a Spanish too big for her mouth.
“Gracias.” . . .
“Por favor,” says the lady. “¿Un *foto*?” pointing to her camera.
“Si.”
She’s so busy taking Junior’s picture, she doesn’t notice me and Keeks.
“Hey, Michele, Keeks. You guys want gum?”
“But you speak English!”
“Yeah,” my brother says, “we’re Mericans.”
We’re Mericans, we’re Mericans, and inside the awful grandmother prays.
(20)

The lady and her man are surprised to know that the children they regarded as an ‘object’ of admiration, an accessory that ornaments the Basilica and adds a more ‘original’ touch to the photos, can speak English and are, thus, not Mexicans. These tourists look ‘up’ to the Temple, trying to “ignore the devices of Daedalous in mobile and endless labyrinths far below” (de Certeau 127). They situate themselves in an ‘upper’ position in an attempt to feel

superior to their 'Others.' The awful grandmother, on the other hand, is 'inside' with the Mother:

La Virgen de Guadalupe is waiting inside behind a plate of thick glass. There's also a gold crucifix bent crooked as a mesquite tree when someone once threw a bomb. La Virgen de Guadalupe on the main altar because she's a big miracle, the crooked crucifix on a side altar because that's a little miracle. (18)

There are two main characteristics of a Goddess that do not eclipse when She goes through a process of differentiation and, thus, they eternally shape and influence women regardless of the archetype with which she identifies: these are "the qualities of rootedness and wandering" (Engelsman 105).

The Goddess is always 'the' "genetrix" (Neumann 213) and the "creatix" (Neumann 218). Therefore, "[t]he primordial mystery of weaving and spinning has also been experienced in projection upon the Great Mother who weaves the web of life and spins the threads of fate, regardless whether she appears as one Great Spinstress or, as so frequently, in a lunar triad" (Neumann 227). She exemplifies 'rootedness' and, hence, the 'house,' that might take the form of a 'cave,' a temple or even an urn, is "the navel, [the] centre of the world" (Neumann 132). In "Mericans," La Virgen de Guadalupe is "inside," she is the leading female 'deity' and the "miracle." With her, the 'awful grandmother' "knits the names of the dead and the living into one long prayer fringed with the grandchildren born in that barbaric country with its barbarian ways" (19). The awful grandmother being inside the Basilica and Celaya's entrance to the Basilica to "look for the awful grandmother" (19) are acts of rootedness. Celaya recognizes that La Virgen de Guadalupe is the 'big miracle,' the Great Mother who, along with the grandmother, "intercedes on [the] behalf" of everyone (17). The Temple of Tepeyac contains the 'root' of Micaela and her 'Mud' people: Coatlopeuh/Guadalupe, the vessel, the womb.

'Wandering' is Her second attribute and can be translated in Her multiplicities, but with wandering there is a return to the 'navel'; this quality maybe the result of "reducing the power of the goddesses by splitting up their attributes and assigning them to a variety of goddesses" (Engelsman 106). Wandering means, thus, "searching" for the fragmented shadow/Other that is hidden or lost elsewhere. Wandering results in a 'return' to the 'navel,' the root and, hence, the story that follows "Mericans" is about a 'heuresis,' a reunion of the 'daughter' and the Mother Goddess/Land. The protagonist of "Tepeyac" is a woman who makes a 'return journey' to her homeland after years spent in the U.S. She is not visiting, she is 'coming home' and, thus, unlike the 'Merican' Micaela who found herself trapped in a 'timeless' strange space, the Protagonist of "Tepeyac" 'takes her time' to feel the "microbo-like, singular and plural [everyday] practices" (de Certeau 130) and to experience a "lived space" (de Certeau 131). Ignoring the 'totalizing eye' of the white man, the story "begins on ground level, with footsteps" (de Certeau 131).

The protagonist's eye is not focused on the grandeur of the Basilica; instead, her 'footsteps' are attracted by "spaces that cannot be seen" (de Certeau 128) by a 'voyeur.' She remembers walking:

past the basilica, where each Sunday the Abuela [Grandmother] lights the candles for the soul of Abuelito [Grandfather]. Past the very same spot where long ago Juan Diego brought down from the *cerro* the miracle that has drawn everyone, except my Abuelito, on their knees, down the avenue one block past the bright lights of the *sastreria* of Señor Guzman who is still at work at his sewing machine, past the candy store where I buy my milk-and-raisin gelatins, past La Providencia *tortilleria* where every afternoon Luz Maria and I are sent for the basket of lunchtime tortillas, past the the house of the widow Marquez . . . to the house on La Fortuna, number 12, that has always been our house. (22)

She is interested in the “intimate reality” (MacCannell 95) and “refuses to surrender her memory of dangerous tenements to a romantic spatial construction” (Brady 118). Her walking around and her labyrinthine movements translate also the movement of these spaces because “an encounter is always with something ‘on the move.’ The voyager is not the only active one. Origin and destination have lives of their own” (Massey, “Some Times 2) and the protagonist accepts to ‘live’ space as it is in the ‘present,’

years afterward when [she] return[s] to the shop on the corner of Misterios and Cinco de Mayo, repainted and redone as a pharmacy, to the basilica that is crumbling and closed, to the plaza photographers, the balloon vendors and shoeshine thrones, the women whose faces I do not recognize serving lunch in the wooden booths, to the house on La Fortuna, number 12, smaller and darker than when we lived there, with the rooms boarded shut and rented to strangers, the street suddenly dizzy with automobiles and diesel fumes, the house fronts scuffed and the gardens frayed, the children who played kickball all grown and moved away. (23)

Accordingly, the protagonist liberates space by liberating herself from “something irretrievable” (23), memory, and by liberating her body to wander “down below” (de Certeau 128). As Brady observes, the narrator’s “trip is an effort to acknowledge the loss of a memory, to indicate its unavailability and lay it aside” (129). By doing so, the main character claims her right to ‘the present’ of Tepeyac to restore her sacred space and, thus, re-establish her relationship with her community.

She moves far from the ‘false fronts’ of the Basilica as a mere tourist site to immerse herself in a “back region” (MacCannell 93). This back region is where the local inhabitants ‘hide’ themselves to protect their space from intrusion by strangers, like tourists, (MacCannell 93) who come to visit the ‘appropriated’ space of the Basilica. This does not mean that the Basilica lost its value as a sacred space, but that these people are trying to save what is more valuable than the walls of a monument like the Basilica: the intimate authenticity of a real ‘lived space.’ The protagonist refuses an in-between status when she defies assimilation and expresses her will to remain a ‘Mexican’ inside the sacred space of her community for “[b]eing ‘one of them,’ or at one with ‘them,’ means, in part, being permitted to share back regions with them” (MacCannell 94).

Conclusion

Assimilation disfigures the Other, allowing the 'culture hero' to invade and manipulate space. Acculturation is a reproduction of assimilation and is meant to invade the 'sacred space' of Latino/as, such as the Basilica of La Virgen de Guadalupe in Tepeyac, Mexico. In their attempt to decolonize space, Chicano/as embrace the Great Mother, the leading deity of their ancestors as a symbol of survival and resistance. By re-visiting the roots of their Mother, Chicano/as seek to empower themselves and create a space that liberates.

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On the Contribution of Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory (SFL) to the Study of the Neurological Condition Aphasia

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Abstract

Gaining insights from a wide range of disciplines, linguistics has become ‘a prominent academic discipline throughout the world ’ (Buttny. R, 1993). This position is mainly achieved through the shift from classical language description and application into tackling ‘real world problems’. One important domain of such linguistic application is language pathology, hence, giving rise to the linguistic subfield ‘Clinical Linguistics’. In Tunisia, the name of the field still not denotes what it really should. Within this frame is held the present paper entitled ‘On the Contribution of Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory (SFL) to the study of Neurological Condition aphasia’. Its main aim is first to define aphasia and bring into the light the field of clinical linguistics. As theories are developing for the treatment and assessment of speech and language pathologies, a second important objective of the paper is to describe some of the applications of the systemic functional approach to the treatment of aphasic symptoms. Thereafter, the considered approach is compared to the psycholinguistic perspective which, for many decades, has dominated to a certain degree the essence of speech and language pathology. The description of the functional approach along with the comparison to the other perspective highlights to what extent the SFL framework can be privileged to some ‘traditional’ approaches used in the research on aphasia. However, this claim calls into question the validity of the use of methodological tools originating from traditional approaches in dealing with aphasia in current or future researches.

Keywords: Aphasia, Clinical linguistics, Psycholinguistic perspective, Speech and language pathology, Systemic functional linguistics.

Introduction

As linguistic theories are emerging in parallel path with the medical technologies, a bond is being more increasingly expanding between the two in light of what the latest findings suggest in the contribution of one domain to the other. This focus on the interrelation between both domains; medicine and linguistics, is mostly well considered worldwide. In Tunisia, the name of the field still not denotes what it really should. In times countries are boosting the interdisciplinary involvement into solving what stands to be problematic in societies, we still in Tunisia unable to catch up the flow of this developmental interdisciplinary approach. As linguists, we may still wander if we have to have a say in neurology and it may even seem a big word to dare. And yet, thinking that language is essentially a cognitive function originating from a whole network of neural pathways highlights the degree into which the domains of neurology and linguistics are bound to meet at the end of the day!

As early as the 1960s, Systemic Functional Linguistics has first appeared through Halliday's work and for decades still shines in the domain of language research. More particularly, the SFL has brought the alternative to the way of handling problematic issues in language pathology. This brings us to the notion of clinical linguistics, the area of investigation where the linguist is taking part not as an audience but rather as an efficient actor. Within the language pathology sphere, aphasia has attracted the attention of lots of scholars and still to date be a prominent issue under investigation for the disease it denotes is far to be simple to fully undertake.

The SFL theory has influenced the bulk of research held on the issue offering a different perspective from the psychological counterpart, which used to put forward the most used tools for aphasic speech and language analysis. In this article, the intention is to emphasize this fact through examples where the differences of perspectives do immerge and show how the SFL approach can be more efficient to visualize what the psychological one fails to.

The first part is devoted to the definition of aphasia along with a brief consideration for the major types. The second part is dedicated to the SFL theory and its relevance to the language pathology domain. The third and larger part is concerned with its application to aphasia study. A comparison to the psycholinguistic approach is also included as to highlight the major salient differences.

I. Aphasia

1. Definition:

Aphasia is an acquired disease which effects can range from mild to severe reduction in the ability to use language (Yule, 2010). It is defined by Damasio. A (1998) as "a disturbance of the complex process of comprehending and formulating verbal messages that results from newly acquired disease of the central nervous system (CNS)." Its most common cause is a stroke (when a blood vessel in the brain is blocked or bursts) (Yule, 2010). However, other health conditions can be a chief cause generating the disease. Instances are: traumatic brain injuries, neurodegenerative diseases (such as Alzheimer), infections and brain tumor.

Aphasia has received much interest of investigation all over the world. Studies focusing on aphasia most particularly are, for instance, the works of Roman Jakobson (1968), Susan Edwards (2005), and Sheila Hale (2007). Long before getting to be known as an acquired language disorder, the history showed a concern to some kind mysterious linguistic disorder. According to Edwards (2005), descriptions of aphasia have, actually, been around for a very long time, at least since 400 BC and records of the disorder have focused on the type of aphasia in which production of words and sentences is gravely disturbed but comprehension remains intact.

2. Major types:

Although there are several subtypes of aphasia, they can be usually organized through three different patterns only: expressive aphasia, receptive aphasia, and global aphasia. In the following a brief introduction to the most known subtypes of aphasia;

2.1. Broca's aphasia:

It is also known as motor or expressive aphasia. Edwards (2005) mentioned a further description while referring to it as non-fluent aphasia. Its name originates from the area in the brain which carries the lesion being called Broca. This area is responsible for speech production. Then as Yule (2010) argues comprehension is much better than production in this type of aphasia. The latter is characterized according to Yule (2010) by "reduced amount of speech", "distorted articulation", "effortful speech", frequent omission of lexical morphemes (nouns, verbs...) along with functional morphemes (articles, preposition...) and inflections. It can also be described as 'agrammatic' speech.

According to Edwards (2005) there have been numerous studies of non-fluent aphasia rather than fluent aphasia and numerous papers in agrammatic comprehension. Examples are Druks and Marshall (1995), Grodzinsky (1995), Berndt, Mitchum and Haendiges (1996), and Blumstein, Byrna, Kurowski, Hourihan, Brown and Hutchinson (1998).

2.2. Wernicke's aphasia

Also known as fluent aphasia as described by the work of Edwards (2005) or also sensory aphasia as mentioned in Yule (2010). The name originates from the corresponding responsible area in the brain called 'Wernicke'. This area is according to Yule (2010) responsible for speech comprehension. Wernicke's aphasics are characterized by fluent and effortless speech yet incomprehensible. They may have problems finding the correct word which is referred to as 'anomia'. (ibid.)

2.3. Conduction aphasia

Yule (2010) clarified that this type of aphasia is connected with damage to the arcuate fasciculus ("the bundle of nerve fibers connecting Wernicke's and Broca's area") and results in

- Mispronounced words
- Disrupted rhythm
- Large number of hesitations and pauses

In conduction aphasia, the comprehension deficit is not as extreme as in Wernicke's aphasia mentioned Edwards (2005). He further explained that there are typically more errors in word form; "Paraphasic errors", where phoneme substitutions occur, are commonly associated with this disorder (ibid.). Conduction aphasia is less common than the first mentioned types of aphasia (de Bleser 1988:166, in Edwards, 2005).

2.4. Anomic aphasia (amnesic aphasia)

According to the online medical dictionary, this subtype originates from a damage to the temporalparietal area and/or the angular gyrus region and is distinguished from Wernicke's aphasia by the "disruption of a patient's word-retrieval skills" (2014).

The patients "will be unable to correctly name people or objects, causing them to pause or substitute generalized words (like "thing"). Otherwise, [they] will exhibit few, if any, language impairments" (ibid). However the pattern of anomia can be found in so many subtypes of aphasia with varied degrees of severity and with sometimes specific relation to modality.

3. Aphasia Vs Cognitive Language Disorder:

It is important to distinguish between aphasia and another type of language impairment, the so-called "cognitive language disorder", a term coined by Hagen (1984) and meant to describe patterns of speech and language impairment which are not aphasic but rather secondary to cognitive and memory impairment (Adamovich, 1997; Holland, 1982, cited in Mortensen, 2000). The nature of brain damage; whether diffuse or focal designates the type of language impairment in question. Focal lesions associated with Left hemisphere cerebrovascular accident (stroke) may result in aphasia which is essentially a disorder of language in which various aspects of language (phonetic, phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic) can be involved to varying degrees (ibid.). Cognitive language disorder is generally the result of traumatic brain injury in which brain damage is diffuse rather than focal. Mortensen (2000) mentions that the most common feature of such disorder is "confused language," which "is characterized as language that is intact phonologically, semantically and syntactically, both receptively and expressively, but which is lacking in meaning due to disturbed behavioral responses".

II. An Overview of the Systemic Functional Linguistic Approach:

1. Definition:

The SFL is the linguistic theory developed by the British linguist Michael Halliday. For decades this functional approach has been applied to many fields while shifting the accent from the structure of the language to the social function and the related context. It, actually, promotes an insightful understanding and examination of language from "a functional and meaning-oriented perspective" (Ball.M.G, et al. 2009).

What become more important to the analyzer of the text is no more its structural components nor the whole combination of language elements, instead, it is all this added to a context, meaning and function based account.

As mortensen (2000) declares, SFL is “a sociolinguistic theory of language, located within a broadly defined class of “functional” grammars” and it “is a theory about the social processes, rather than the mental processes that are involved in language learning and language use”. It gives emphasis to “what language can do, or rather what the speaker [...] can do with it” (Halliday, 1978)

This theory is concerned with “how people use language, how language is structured for use, and how context plays an integral role in determining any language use and choice” (Mortensen, 2000). It “recognizes the powerful role language plays in our lives and sees meaning- making as a process through which language shapes, and is shaped by, the contexts in which it is used” (Schleppegrell. M. J, 2012). The emphasis is “placed on system in relation to structure” (Ball.M.G, et al. 2009) and the main claim is the existence of “certain specific language resources that are the most visible or sensitive reflectors of each metafunction and its relationship to the context of situation” (ibid).

One of the fields into which the SFL theory has had a prominent role is language pathology.

2. The relevance of SFL approach to the domain of language pathology:

The SFL approach is well recognized for “its application in a variety of fields, including [...] healthcare” and, more specifically, it has been used in order to “assess and develop interventions for children and adults with communication difficulties” (Ball.M.G, et al. 2009).

Gotteri (1988) recognizes SFL as having particular relevance for speech language pathology”. Besides, Halliday, the initiator of the approach, while exploring the potential applications of systemic functional theory, has indicated that a great number of them have “direct application to the research and treatment of speech and language disorders” (1994; cited in Mortensen. L, 2000). He suggests that Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) can enable us “to understand the relationship between language and the brain (and) to help in the diagnosis and treatment of language pathologies arising from brain insults” (ibid.).

One prominent clinical tool in this concern is the potential of cohesion analysis which according to Ferguson (1993) “has been the aspect most widely applied in speech-language pathology (cited in Ball. M. G, et al. 2009). The following text may better explain the notion of cohesion:

“when we analyze the text as a whole in terms of what it is about, we can look first at how meanings relate to what is being talked about in the external world (reference), and secondly at how the meaning choices relate to other options in the meaning system (lexical relation, e.g. synonymy, antonymy, [...] and so on). Both of these systems contribute to the cohesion of the text” (Halliday& Hasan, 1976; cited in Ball.M.G, et al. 2009)

Thus, the SFL theory is well implicated in the domain of language pathology and necessarily has had something to add to the bulk of theories acting on the clinicians and speech and language pathologists' understanding of how language is assessed and interpreted. Changing the way of analyzing language data of patients having a language disorder necessarily implies and uncovers different techniques of handling pathological related issues.

III. The SFL theory and Aphasia: A theory believed to fill a gap

While tackling the issue of language pathology, one cannot do without mentioning the most common acquired language disorder among patients with language impairment which is undoubtedly, aphasia. As such, speaking about the applications of the Systemic functional approach to the domain of language impairment will inevitably include such a language disease.

In fact, the SFL theory has long been used in researches focusing on aphasia. Examples of some recent ones are for instance Mayer. J and Murray. L(2003) and Mortenson (2005). According to Leanne Togher (2001), the SFL approach is being increasingly used by speech-language pathologists across a range of disorders, such as aphasia (Armstrong 1993, Furguson, 1994).

Considering the applications of the SFL approach means the reference to two different relevant phases: Treatment & Assessment. The latter is important in providing a good diagnosis for the type of aphasia in question and in stating the therapy goals. In the former, the speech and language pathologist has to apply the therapeutic plan that fits the most the needs of the patient revealed in the assessment phase in order to help regain the damaged skills or at least be ameliorated and aided with some compensatory skills. The following account will as such consider the applications in both phases.

The SFL applications framework can be visualized through three major aspects influencing research and clinical practice in speech –language disorder. These are Context, Generic Structure, and metafunctions and their lexicogrammatical realization (Mortensen, 2000).

As it is previously mentioned the SFL theory analyzes a text on the basis of structure related to meaning and function, hence, the social context of the text is very important to the analysis procedure. This principle when applied to the study of aphasia will imply a more thorough and deep sighted analysis of the impaired language in which the focus is not only the mere utterance pronounced or on the sole word written but, instead, is extended to capture all the related circumstances, more specifically, the related social context.

The speech of the aphasic patient is believed to carry cues to the understanding of hiding or problematic issues. As Togher (2001) indicates, the SFL approach ‘‘provides the clinicians with a ‘‘top-down’’ theory driven approach that allows the investigation of how language use is determined by the context in which it occurs’’. The notion of context is primordial in each step of the SFL framework analysis.

Adopting the SFL approach means asking how a person is using language and how the language is structured for those uses (Mortensen, 2000). In order to find out the answer, what

a language pathologist needs is to admit the necessity of sampling and analyzing complete interactions occurring in some sort of cultural and situational context (.ibid).

At the level of assessment, if the analyst wants to concentrate on one specific deficit (whether grammatical, phonological, or whatever..), in spite of preparing direct questions requiring direct answers to depict the deficit, the SFL approach rather encourages the real world conversation being the basis of analysis. The examiner would instead videotape the patient in different circumstances for a specific period, and, then analyze the speech for that particular purpose. The results should emerge from a setting which is not as natural as possible but, in fact, of a truly natural quality. This contradicts some traditional approaches in which the depicted deficit is resulted from a mere given stimuli.

The SFL theory seems to emerge and develop as a response to the critique of existing theories. In this article, my concern is reduced to the psychological approach.

For a long time, the psychological perspective had been dominating speech and language pathology research. Most of the time, scholars refer in their methodological design to the adoption of a psychological induced test and consequently speech and language pathologists used to adopt the derived methods in dealing with aphasic patients in assessment as well as treatment. One of the much known tests which used to be applied is the Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Battery which to date has reached its third edition and we can cite the Philadelphia naming test (1996) as well as the Western Aphasia Battery (Kertesz, 1982).

The psychological perspective in the study of aphasic impairment focuses on the patient as a center and all the cognitive processes that are undergoing the speech. It actually fails to grasp the 'context of situation'. This gap is in point of fact filled by the SFL theory taking part in the analysis process with its special concern for the social function of the patient production.

The importance of the SFL theory over the psycholinguistic approach is revealed in the statement of Ferguson and Thomson (2008) which contends that 'rather than simply providing a checklist of items for assessment or intervention, the value of SFL lies in its provision of a meaning-based conceptual and analytical paradigm which affords unique insight into the nature of communication impairment'. This statement criticizes the 'strictly controlled context' in which assessment of aphasic language takes place according to the psycholinguistic guiding lines. Communication subskills including naming, sentence formulation, reading and writing words and sentences are evaluated in a controlled manner that excludes any social consideration for interpretation.

The psycholinguistic approach views language as 'a psychological product, i.e. as knowledge', accordingly, language is considered as 'the cognitive and abstract representation of a rule system or code, common to all individuals' (Mortensen, 2000). It adopts a sharp distinction between the notions of "competence" and "performance" (Chomsky, 1957; cited in Mortensen, 2000) which was applied to the description and interpretation of acquired language disorders, more specifically the analysis of error in the aphasic language. According to Bayles & Kaszniak (1987), errors, from a psycholinguistic perspective, are seen to reveal either impaired linguistic competence (i.e. linguistic representation) or performance (i.e. linguistic processing) (Mortensen, 2000).

The standardized aphasia and cognitive/language tests developed from a psycholinguistic perspective assume that “ ‘normal’ language is error free” (Grodzinsky, 1990; cited in Mortensen, 2000) or that “errors represent variation from normatively established standards” according to Mortensen (2000). Error in aphasic disorder is interpreted against this idealized model of language and is seen to reflect pathological impairment (ibid). Error as such is detected in a controlled context, a fact that questions if the “linguistic competence” or “performance” will be revealed with different patterns in real circumstances. In this concern, Togher (2001) indicates that standardized measures of communication functioning fail indeed to reflect the performance of patients in everyday settings and, instead, show to have little relationship to the real world of the person suffering from communication impairment.

Even in the psycholinguistic approaches which adopt ‘discourse sampling’ in their batteries of assessment, the analyses are “controlled contextually and structured in terms of elicitation” as explained Mortensen “a picture description or structured interviews with questions planned by the interviewer” (2000). Even though we have to admit that this kind of assessment provide us with the basic structures of language that the patient has retained after brain damage, the limitations underestimate this fact since the sampling and analysis procedures are constrained both contextually and linguistically which prevents a comprehensive view of precise nature of “the person’s resulting disability and its social consequences” (ibid). As contends Mortensen:

“ because assessment does not represent “real” communicative settings, we are unable to ascertain the linguistic capabilities and strengths that have been retained by the client and how he/she utilizes those abilities to convey meanings and maintain social relationships” (2000)

From a psycholinguistic perspective, Language is primarily a system operating within the individual’s brain that is then applied for social purposes (e.g., Caramazza & Hillis, 1990; Kay, Lesser, & Coltheart, 1996; cited in Armstrong, E. M., & Ferguson, A., 2010). By providing an integrated semantic and grammatical focus on language, The SFL theory provides a different way of looking at language and more specifically at disordered speech and language impairment (Mortensen, 2000). According to this theory of language, language has various metafunctions (Klippi. A & Launonen. K, 2008). As was mentioned before, the notion of metafunction is essential to the understanding of SFL application. The textual metafunction is the “enabling function of the language” meaning the ways language is used for classifying information into “larger or smaller chunks” so to get a coherent message (ibid). The notion of coherence in the aphasic speech is most of the time disrupted due to the word finding problems which can be manifested in different way such as the use of neologisms, word substitution, and paraphasia. This fact may break down the clause structures according to Helasvuo et al. (2001; cited in Klippi. A & Launonen. K, 2008) as well as disrupt the thematic continuity of the text (Korpijaakko- Huuhka, 2003; cited in Klippi. A & Launonen. K, 2008).

Patients, with aphasia, as such have inevitably problems at the discourse level. As a result, discourse analysis is recognized as an important tool for speech-language pathologists (Togher, 2001). Based on a psycholinguistic approach, analyzing the discourse of a patient means adopting and applying measures of “syntax”, “productivity”, and “content”, which

Leanne Togher (2001) describes as failing to afford apparent links between “ specific language structures and contextual features”. The problem that emerges at this point is the difficulty in taking a decision of where to direct treatment efforts (ibid). It is important to contextualize the analysis procedure at the linguistic and social level and to have varied discourse samples of the same patient to analyze in order to cover different situations and different genres. In this respect, Leanne Togher explains that “the different discourses that are made available to people with communication problems will influence what is possible for them.”(2001)

Togher indicates the growing importance of using a discourse analysis approach based on the SFL framework to speech –language pathology so as to assess and deal with language disorders of neurogenic origin such as aphasia. She claims that this theory of language use leads the clinicians and the researcher as well to the discovery of the importance of the context in which a patient’s discourse appears in how it “directly realizes the resulting language structures across many levels”.

According to her study (2001) which focuses on key principles of SFL, discourse production is viewed from an SFL perspective as

“ a jointly constructed process that involves interlocutors making choices according to the contextual features of field (the activity that is happening), tenor (the relationship between participants, including their level of familiarity, roles , and power relationships), and mode (the role language is playing, e.g. spoken vs written). These choices are realized [...] through three types of meanings [...] including ideational meanings (the types of words speakers use to express their experiences), interpersonal meanings (the way the interaction is created between speaker and hearer), and textual meanings (the words chosen being relevant to their context and to each other)”

Furthermore, there are types of aphasia in which establishing communication between the patient and the surrounding clinical staff is never an easy task to undertake. Severe types of receptive aphasia can provide the example in which the patient fails to understand or to make his/her speech understood. The psychological perspective can’t fill the gap of communication. It is mainly intended to focus on the elements of the language and related cognitive processes. Such a social gap was never in itself a target. However, some kind of solution can find its ground in the SFL theory.

As mentioned before, the systemic functional approach relies on cues extracted from the language itself in order to launch a bridge of communication and reduce the barriers between the aphasic patient and the communication partner. The success of establishing communication is necessary to any assessment procedure of aphasic disorder in addition of course to the rehabilitation stage. An instance of this fact is revealed in how the theory treats ‘prosody’, an element in the language which from a psycholinguistic perspective is viewed as a mere purely linguistic component.

At the opposite, the SFL theory makes of prosody a cue to succeeding a conversation with a patient suffering from comprehension deficit. Examining the prosodic variables in the patient’s speech as well as making use of them while delivering speech to an aphasic patient proved to be a successful tool. Out of prosody there will be a kind of bridge that enable the

clinician to find a ground of understanding allowing for a certain kind of communication to be held. This is of ultimate importance into treating the disorder itself.

As was mentioned earlier, a lot of analyses have been developing within the theory of SFL and the applications to speech-language pathology prove them valid and compelling. Many studies had explained several kinds of analyses and the following are just few examples: Mortensen (1992), Thomson (1997), Armstrong (1993), Togher (2001), and Coelho et al. (1991).

Examples of such analyses are:

- The analysis of politeness markers
- The Exchange Structure Analysis
- The Generic Structure Potential
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These analyses are believed to be very useful to the speech-language pathologist as they allow “a linguistically based appraisal” of the individual with language disorder in the clinical interaction and also provide a way of “systematically examining other genres, such as involvement in a service encounter or having a casual conversation with a friend” (Togher, 2001). They actually reveal three different levels: ‘the lexicogrammatical level of discourse’, ‘the discourse semantics/turn taking level of discourse’, and ‘the genre or overall structure of an interaction’ (ibid). Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) contend that The SFL framework allow for an overall discourse organization which is achieved for instance through “categorizing semantic moves within turns by speech function”. What the psycholinguistic approach fails to is to provide such a multi-level analysis of the content of a conversation of a patient that can cover not only the linguistic but also the social and cultural dimensions. A goal that seems achieved when the SFL framework is applied.

The SFL theorizes for analyzing the discourse of aphasic patients in terms of “global schematic structure” and the relevant “lexicogrammatical resources”. Then schematic options provided by the patient are analyzed in relation to the different functions of several text types as Mortensen (2000) argues. “Information gained from such analysis establishes the foundation for a therapy program which will specifically target areas of strength or weakness by anticipating situational demands” (ibid.). This linking between context and structure and its related rehabilitation implications is never achieved on the basis of the psycholinguistic approach.

There are many additional analyses that have been developing under the SFL title and contributing to a different view of impaired language analysis and perhaps Cohesion analysis has been one of the largely used methods in examining the discourse of aphasic patients (Armstrong, 1993). Cohesion Analysis, according to Mortensen (2000) implies the study of the available lexical cohesive devices (e.g. collocations) and grammatical devices (e.g. reference, substitution and ellipsis) along all the features characterizing the disordered language.

Another quite important notion while stating examples of techniques applied within the SFL framework to the study of aphasia is “the system of transitivity”. An instance of the application of this system is the examination of the whole nominal group instead of the sole

name, as is the case in the psychological approach. Mortensen (2000) explains that the SFL prefers not to deal with the noun as an 'isolated element' in the discourse but instead as a part of a whole unit which is interacting with the verbal group. The investigation of the functional structure of the nominal group resource {head, premodifiers, post-modifiers} allows for a 'more explicit definition and interpretation of the features of naming deficit' (ibid.). We are shifting the focus from a name of a thing to a 'whole continuum of referring and naming devices for the description of things' (Mortensen, 2000). Through the examination of the aphasics' 'referential resources' we can understand how they manage to realize different meanings through their lexical choice. This is important in shaping valid therapy goals and absolutely offers a better treatment for naming deficiencies.

Through The SFL framework, what the therapy process is aiming at is much more than making improvements on de-contextualized tasks that does not aid in the social re-integration. The adopted techniques aim at enabling the patient to regain as much as possible the social role s/he used to have which emphasizes the difference between this approach and the psycholinguistic one.

And yet, despite all the facts, some scholars still refer to the latter approach while handling problematic issues in aphasia. An example is the study of Capasso. R et al. (2009) entitled '*Posterior cerebral artery infarcts and semantic category dissociations: a study of 28 patients*'. In this study, the authors admit using a neuropsychological examination in order to assess semantic knowledge. While the supporters of the SFL theory are encouraging the assessment of aphasic speech in real circumstances to gain as much credibility as possible, some researchers are reluctant to apply it. This fact leads to a debate over the real reasons standing behind such a choice; the issue of applicability and feasibility of the SFL theory under certain limitation of time. Leanne Togher (2001) indicates that although discourse analysis which is one of the strengths of the SFL theory, is acknowledged as an important tool for speech-language pathologists, it is often not the assessment tool of choice due to its apparent time-consuming nature and the overwhelming number of options available.

Conclusion:

In this article, the main aim was to prize the application of the systemic functional approach in the language pathology domain. Still one cannot deny that for any theory there should be, necessarily, a certain kind of flaw whether it be at the theoretical level or the practical one. We did not focus on this side of the issue, nor did we focus on the advantages of the psycholinguistic approach which inevitably exist.

The description of the functional approach along with the comparison held against the other perspective highlights to what extent the Systemic Functional Linguistic framework can be privileged to some 'traditional' approaches used in the research on aphasia. However, this claim calls into question the validity of the use of methodological tools originating from traditional approaches in dealing with aphasia in current or future researches. Notwithstanding the potential importance of these traditional approaches, their current validity and credibility are being increasingly questioned by latest reviewers worldwide. Albeit, thinking of fusing all theories into one comprehensive approach may define a new line for adopting a better way to understand and explore aphasia, and language disorders, in general terms. This will inevitably

offer a clearer side view permitting to settle on better decisions towards treating language pathology.

Theories are just born out of human made efforts and no matter what each of them contends to bring about we still perhaps need all of them fused together and filtered for advantages. As such, may be instead of trying to totally exclude a theory in favor of another, it would be of great interest to search for complementarities between theories. A developed psycholinguistic analytical approach that hosts principles of the SFL theory might be a good candidate for this purpose. Yet, this assumption needs strong argumentation that can be only drawn from practical clinical experiments for which we hope to provide evidence in the future.

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Subverting Patriarchy in Jamaica Kincaid's *The Autobiography of my Mother*: Orderly Disorder

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Abstract

Concern with questions of order and disorder has risen in a variety of fields and disciplines, resulting in a great deal of controversy in relation to these two apparently 'dichotomous' concepts. In literature, for instance, writers, not only of different nationalities and ethnicities, but also of various intellectual affiliations, have displayed a particular focus on this area of interest. A female postcolonial and a feminist writer, who also writes within the framework of post-modernism, Jamaica Kincaid is among those who have tackled the issue of (dis)order in a multiplicity of ways in their fiction. In her *The Autobiography of my Mother*, the Caribbean author seems to overthrow traditional modals of order that adhere to the superiority of the figure of the "patriarch" through the female narrator, who is at the same time the protagonist. The current paper will explore how Kincaid attempts to reshape the conventional order of established social conventions through her fiction. By empowering her female protagonist both sexually and intellectually, Kincaid seems to refuse to reduce women to any forms of submissiveness or victimization. The current paper will also investigate how Kincaid's act of endowing the protagonist with a mind and a will of her own mirrors the writer's rebelliousness against the conventional assumption that male power is given and monolithic. Through her endeavor to subvert traditional modes of patriarchy, Kincaid lays down the pillars of a new order –as opposed to an old order which cherishes male supremacy –thus, an orderly disorder.

Keywords: Order, disorder, orderly, subversion, patriarchy.

Introduction:

There has been controversy with respect to the definition of the relation between order and disorder. While classical views emphasize their opposition, recent approaches reiterate their dialectical aspect (Hayles 306). In terms of public reception, order is what man seeks due to the debatably relative stability it offers, as opposed to the potential jeopardy its absence imposes. Indeed, while “chaos is the law of nature,” Henry Adams avers, “order is the dream of man” (qtd. in Peters 131) and as such seems to be the way of man in the Dominica of Jamaica Kincaid’s novel, *The Autobiography of my Mother*. Regulated by the rules of the Patriarch, the place exhibits a certain degree of order that Kincaid appears to antagonize, instead adhering to a more complex conception of order, resultant from the introduction of disorder into the system.

This paper studies not only the manifestations, but also the implications of patriarchal order in the Dominican society while highlighting the mechanisms facilitating its actualization. With the primary intention of revealing Kincaid’s dissention with such conventional understanding of order, it will examine Xuela’s life narrative insofar as it is one of resistance to its archetypal modals and its residual effects.

1) Order of the Father: The Dominican Society and Laws of Patriarchy:

The perception that a dialectical and dialogic relationship exists between the individual and society is central to the works of Jamaica Kincaid and consequently, myriad aspects characteristic of the Caribbean society disseminate her fiction, *The Autobiography of my Mother* included. The novel unfolds Xuela’s retrospective account of her life growing up in Dominica, an island country in the Caribbean Sea, whose long history of subjugation to the British colonial rule shapes its present identity. From her current position as a seventy-year old woman, Xuela ponders on significant instances of her experience of growing up in such a place, emphasizing the fundamental role the institution of “family” plays in an individual’s identity construction process.

Within the socio-historical context of the narrative, the Dominican society is chiefly defined by that “form of the family whose essential features are the incorporation of bondsmen and power vested in the paternal head of the family,” namely patriarchy (Marx & Engels 488). Traditional societies entertain a sense of order advocated by the presence of the father figure, exercising autocratic authority as the pater familias. In other words, the administration of the family is exclusively the father’s prerogative which positions him as the sole sovereign.

As the narrative of *The Autobiography of my Mother* initiates with the actual and symbolic death of the mother, Kincaid strategically attempts to introduce a rather convoluted conception of patriarchy. Indeed, “the figure of the father casts a shadow over this text, for in the West Indies that Kincaid presents here, the mother is physically absent,” which further consolidates the overwhelming dominance of patriarchal laws, since they are “left untempered by her tenderness” (Adams 4). Orphaned, Xuela’s deprivation from motherly affection impels her to struggle in a multitude of ways in order to survive the overwhelming dominance of a

patriarchal society, especially with the father's deliberate imposition of disconnectedness through his refusal to mediate between his daughter and her deceased mother.

In the novel, the mother's physical absence is juxtaposed with the father's strategic omnipresence. Alfred Richardson appears to be the epitomized version of the traditional patriarch as he often prioritizes reason over emotions. His abandonment of his *love* child in order to pursue career goals after the death of his wife evidences pragmatism to stand among his salient personality traits. Indeed, it is this pragmatic thinking that destined him with his second wife with whom the union would benefit him financially. Often unwilling to "eat food in the presence of strangers, or in the presence of people who were afraid of him," Alfred Richardson endeavors to shield his humanity from his acquaintances, solidifying the godlike nature he often conveys (Kincaid 39). He is the kind of person whose help characters, like Lazarus, solicit and as if a god, he is selective when it comes to those on whom he bestows his grace. Alfred's thirst for personal empowerment is countered with his constant attempt to dominate and disempower the Other and his "conceit [is] perhaps the way of all men" (Snodgrass 89). He draws legitimacy for his trespasses from his profession –for he is a jailor – which further establishes his status as a legalized source of authority.

It is his uniform that Xuela first noticed when he came to take her home at the age of seven. "My father came to fetch me wearing the uniform of a jailor," she narrates explaining that while "to him this had no meaning, it was without significance," to her it had fathomless implications (Kincaid 24). This arises from the female's instinctive gaze, a gaze colored by the ability to recognize the potential jeopardy the figure of 'the all-powerful patriarch' may inflict on female subjectivity. Xuela's suspicion is confirmed when Alfred, threateningly perhaps, invites her to "remember that he was [her] father," finalizing an argument once (Kincaid 49). Although she, along with her schoolmates, witnessed a schoolboy drowning in the river in the wake of his attempt to swim towards a jablesse, she *had* to concede to her father's assertion that the entire incident is a figment of her imagination. The implied accusation and the subsequent obliteration are typical of patriarchal societies since they both conveniently serve the Father's interest as they facilitate the patriarch's imposition of order.

The father's verbalization and actualization of his authority as head of the family resonates conspicuously throughout the narrative through different suggestive occurrences, analyzed and critiqued by Xuela. As if the all-seeing eye, Xuela monitors with scrutiny her own family. Considering the change in her environment –for she spent the first seven years of her childhood in the exclusive company of Ma Eunice and her children, a family whose pedestal is a male figure was foreign to her. Her savvy is remarkable, for she displays a level of awareness about impending or pervasive phenomena. At an early age, she becomes cognizant of the collective belief in male superiority, reflected in the preference of an heir over an heiress. It is noticeable how Xuela's stepmother favored her son "because he was not like her. He was not female, he was male" (Kincaid 53). Such a belief emanates from the instilled conviction that a son is the father's vehicle to assure the survival of his dynasty and legacy. It is for this reason that children who are born out of wedlock are not offered legitimacy unless they are boys. Indeed, in the Dominica of the novel, men, such as Jack LaBatte, are entitled to sexual ventures, the reason why they tend to have children outside the institution of marriage. However, only male newborns are willingly given the father's name.

The absence of concessions on the part of women who subserviently uphold the law of the Father facilitates the prevalence of male supremacy and thus, while males conveniently endorse such a doctrine, females inherently internalize images configured by the patriarch who, as Harris Mirkin suggests in his “The Passive Female: The Theory of Patriarchy” monopolizes external structures and institutions.

The novel exposes patriarchal societies’ stereotypical reduction of women to the traditional conception that implies not only hyper-emotionalism, but also passivity, self-abnegation, and unnaturalness of violence. In her account of her mother’s life, Xuela remarks that, whoever contributed to her nurturing, “brought her up ... and demanded that she be a quiet, shy, long-suffering, unquestioning, modest, wishing-to-die-soon person” (199). “This wearying demand [to be quiet] was one of many demands made on [her] simply because [she] was female” (Kincaid 42). However, such favorable degree of subservience, docility, submissiveness and meekness are demanded when addressing men but not fellow women.

A woman in the process of becoming, Xuela was subjected to otherness by her stepmother and her sister, Elizabeth, through the strategic discriminatory use of Patois and outspoken rejection, respectively. In her account of the use of language, Xuela observes how French Patois is considered an inferior language in comparison to English due to questions of purity of linguistic origins. A pidgin language, the former is used by the stepmother when the father is absent, in accordance with her agenda of denigrating Xuela. The discursive disempowerment of the female as a spurned Other is further complicated by the inimical and adversarial attitude of Elizabeth Richardson towards her half-sister, Xuela, despite the latter’s attempted friendliness. Such hostility gains credence within the order of the father since it encroaches upon womanhood and sisterhood, thus negating women any sense of communion as it echoes the divide-to-conquer principle.

Women in *The Autobiography of my Mother* appear to be divided by what unites men: interest. Whereas men like Alfred Richardson and Monsieur Jacques LaBatte entertain an air of bondsmen fostered by –but not necessarily limited to –mutual financial interest, women –with the exception of Xuela –are separated by their desire to please and satisfy their male counterparts. In the novel, men’s success at perceiving the potential partner in a fellow man is juxtaposed with women’s failure to understand and identify with each other. Often unjustifiably alarmed by Xuela, the women in *The Autobiography of my Mother* –with Lise LaBatte excepted –establish a relationship of enmity with her. While her stepmother antagonized her for the mere assumption that she represents a vehicle that bridges the father’s present with his past, Roland’s wife targeted her for jeopardizing her marital life. Their veneration of men is, however, deemed inauthentic since it is the byproduct of an entire system or what Juliet Mitchell succinctly labels “the ideological domination” of women by men.

However, as Roisin McDonough and Rachel Harrison point out in “Racism and the Patriarchy in the Meaning of Motherhood,” ideology is not the sole mechanism through which the order of the father is both executed and maintained, since the gendered role divisions and the resultant economic subordination of women play an equally influential role. In Kincaid’s novel, the decision of Xuela’s father to allow her to continue her schooling at the age of

thirteen is non-normative, for “girls did not attend school” and Xuela “can only imagine that he desired such a thing for [her] without giving it much thought because in the end, what could an education do for someone like [her],” a woman (Kincaid 12)? Her stepmother, a woman herself, postulates Xuela’s education “a great sacrifice” as she “would have been more useful at home” (Kincaid 40). Gendered roles division guarantees the Dominican society a sense of equilibrium and order by which each subject carries out a definite set of tasks as defined by the norm. Indeed, primarily the prerogative of men, Dominican women are disallowed the public sphere which limits them to the domestic life in the roles of mothers and housewives. Thus, suppressed by the dominant male, women’s ultimate victimization is their lack of prospects and aspiration for independency and the consequent reduction of their identity to motherhood.

Stay-at-home wives and mothers, women in the Dominican society find refuge in marriage which Mary Daly, along with other critics, denounces for being an enslaving institution. Yet, “I want to desperately marry men, I have come to see, is not a mistake women make.... what else is left for them to do” (Kincaid 64)? Lise LaBatte, for instance, desperately yearned to be possessed by Jacques whereas, unlike her, during the time they met, “he would not be had, he would not be contained” (Kincaid 76). This pathological drive to be a man’s possession is the natural outcome of a passive female’s upbringing in a patriarchal society. Born and raised in an environment where satiation with the beliefs in female subordination and ‘legitimate’ inactivity in the public sphere is the custom, young girls mature embracing those ‘values’ to be replicas of their submissive mothers.

However, as Friedrich Engels accentuates, patriarchs partake in marriage not out of desire to settle down, but out of egocentric thirst for the legitimacy of heirs and the effortless consolidation of estates. The word “estates,” here, does not exclusively refer to real estate, but also to a non-legalized form of chattel marriage where, at the end of the day, every single member of the family is the father’s property. Discerning such fact, when Alfred writes Xuela updating her about family occurrences, she angrily writes back: “your son, your daughter, your wife. They were his...he wanted to tell me we were all his” (Kincaid 104). The Father often claims lawfulness of proprietorship due to his social, economic and political empowerment and following these terms, even motherhood, supposedly untainted by laws of patriarchy, transforms into another mechanism by which men exert women’s subservience (Roberts 3).

In a patriarchal society, Martha Fineman avers that motherhood figures “as a colonized concept, an event that is physically experienced but occupied and defined, given content and value by men” (qtd. in Roberts 5). Fineman’s statement holds true, for in the Dominican society as portrayed in *The Autobiography of my Mother*, pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood are celebrated when the newborn is a boy. Such a patriarchal conception is advocated by the society’s superstitious belief that having a girl born in plain daylight is an omen of bad luck, while “the time of the day when [a] son was born did not matter. Any time of day a son was born is the right time” (Kincaid 107). The demeaning gaze by which the entire society perceives female newborns echoes the Father’s discriminatory and objectifying discourse.

Women in this society reduce their self-worth not to motherhood as a selfless act of giving life, but as a means to satisfy men. Consequently, “women who fail the ideal of motherhood (unwed mothers, unfit mothers, and women who do not become mothers) are stigmatized for violating the dominant norm and considered deviant and criminals” (Roberts 5). In *The Autobiography of my Mother*, Elizabeth Richardson and Lise LaBatte exemplify the figure of the deviant female within the Father’s order as they both unintentionally violated the profile of ideal ‘womanhood’ which is, according to the patriarch’s definition, about the *ability* to bear *legitimate* children. As such are the laws of the Father, Elizabeth’s attempt to truncate her *illegitimate pregnancy* is her only way to escape marginalization and disinheritance. Similarly, *barren* Lise conceives her definite salvation in Xuela’s fertility.

With the validation and maintenance of the order of Father as its primary objective, a patriarchal society seeks to confine women via a definite set of mechanisms. The patriarch’s monopoly of institutions facilitates the ideological infiltration of his supremacy as opposed to women’s subordination and compliance. The gendered roles division establishes an unambiguous sense of order in which participants display awareness about their functions and responsibilities, always under the male’s surveillance. It is this kind of order that the traditional Dominican society as delineated in *The Autobiography of my Mother* reflects, the kind of order that would guarantee the continuity of the phallogocentric offspring.

2) The ‘Anomalous’ Subject and Self-fashioning in Narratives of Resistance:

In the Dominica of the novel, the entrenched sense of order generates some sort of disorder that is embodied in the character of Xuela. The ultimate non-conformist, Xuela adamantly resists approbation of patriarchal discourses as she is unwilling to make concessions to community discourses unless they make *sense* to her. In an environment that staunchly adheres to a traditional model of family, Xuela’s burgeoning subjectivity epitomizes her as ‘the anomaly’ in a community of uniformity. “Through the marginalized space inhabited by actual mothers and daughters, she pursues the source of patriarchy’s reproduction of women as a means to discovering some new truth” about herself, as a woman (Smith 57). Indeed, she is a representation of the existential protagonist who overlooks societal norms often imposed on the individual, instead constructing her own universe where the ultimate law is that which foregrounds her own ethos, which originate in her own self-perceived and self-validated circle of reference.

Her quest for identity, further complicated by rigid social paradigms, is embarked upon as early as childhood. Accustomed to copying other people’s letters in class, Xuela heartily confesses that “it only made [her] want to write [her] own letters, letters in which [she] would express [her] feelings about [her] own life as it appeared to [her] at the age of seven” (Kincaid 19). The educational system’s failure to transform the act of copying into a welcome habit in Xuela’s case is due to her difference as, unlike her peers, she disapproves of taking things for granted, opting for reasoning instead and thus, she “felt [her] convictions powerfully” despite being “young, so young” (Kincaid 65). It is both her employment of reason and prioritization of *will* which allowed her to oppose the system by writing her *own* letters. In a way recognizing the paramount importance of self-writing at an early age, Xuela voices her inner refusal to make of her existence a replica of someone else’s. Her recurrent

use of the word “my own” throughout the novel reverberates her desire for self-possession. Unlike other females in the novel who willfully yearned to be men’s possessions, she “chose to possess” herself (Kincaid 174). Her choice resonates with contestation, for it unravels her dissent with the patriarch’s unchallenged proprietorship of women not only intellectually, but also physically and it is this “availability of choice [which] lifts the compromised woman from victimhood to a stronger bargaining position” (Snodgrass 31).

The source of disruption of the order of the Father, Xuela’s salient asset, which is fearlessness and gallantry, is “a stance of defiance and a requisite for survival” (Paravisini-Gebert 149). Retrospectively, Xuela ruminates over how, during her school days, “there were only boys” in the classroom and yet, she “was not afraid of the new situation” (Kincaid 14). Invulnerable, she challenges the patriarch in his own territory and twice proves to be his equal not only academically but also professionally. On the wake of her escape from LaBatte’s house, she started a job that is traditionally perceived as unsuitable for women due to lack of physical stamina. The task of shifting the sand needed to construct a road between Loubière and Giraudel granted her financial and economic independence, positioning her as the sole woman in the novel who holds means of production. As having an education and a profession is an indivisible element of the public sphere that is exclusively reserved for men in patriarchal societies, Xuela’s ‘intrusion’ is a conspicuous threat to the phallogocentric community, for “it was clothes of a dead man that [she] wore to work each day” (Kincaid 98). The act of wearing a dead man’s clothes is symbolic of undermining and disempowering patriarchal discourses that promote gendered roles division, which endangers the sense of stability offered by the validation of Fatherly control. Xuela’s prerogative is her unswerving audacity which permits her not only to pursue her battle against traditional discourses, but also to often react against objectification instead of acquiescing to it.

Unlike the other subservient female characters in the novel, Xuela opts for agency rather than passivity and subordination. As Alexandra Schultheis explains in “From Longing to Loss: Mother-Daughter Relationships in the Novels of Jamaica Kincaid,” Xuela negotiates her position in a continuum of female experience by overthrowing sexual subjugation and archetypal models of motherhood.

Xuela’s exploration of her sexuality commenced during her teenage years, at fifteen of age, to be accurate. It is with Jacques LaBatte that she first had intercourse once offered to him by his wife, Lise. The evident allusion to concubinage is inasmuch as it serves the male interest, for “LaBatte sees himself as the patriarch (and king) of this place, and his penetration of Xuela is an exertion of his power as well as a manifestation of his desire to conceive an heir who will inherit his estate,” considering his own wife’s infertility (Edwards 126). However, in her reminiscence about the sexual occurrence, Xuela discloses her awareness about her power as a woman as she believes that she was through with him as much as he was through with her (Kincaid 71). An autodidact, she displays a remarkable ability to turn advantageous what might seem at first glance disadvantageous as she is “an example of the neophyte learning from sexual exploitation her value as a woman” (Snodgrass 191). In fact, it is thanks to the early sexual subjugation she experienced that she came to master the art of subjecting men to the service of her own pleasure. She reflects an unparalleled innate pathological drive for self-liberation and sexual agency. “Her sexuality is powerful and

frightening. She therefore acts against the social standards regarding women's sexuality" (Linder 11).

In a way returning the desiring gaze that is usually ascribed to male sexuality, her fascination with men merely translates into self-interest. Xuela's blatant conviction in sexual pleasure is discernible, since she believes that "the body of a man is not what makes him desirable, it is what his body might make you feel when it touches you that is the thrill" (70). By reducing the male to a source of female sexual pleasure, she overturns traditional conceptions that promote female sexual objectification.

Noticeably, Xuela entertains a sense of self-worth which licenses her robust belief in her status as equal to men. Her convictions are an outright defiance of the male-centered stereotypical credence in female inferiority. As a matter of fact, Xuela 'anomalously' goes as far as celebrating her supremacy which is echoed in the conspicuous reversal of roles, as her account of her sexual encounter with her husband Philip unravels. She orders him to get on his knees and he subserviently complies by staying there until she was satisfied. By denying him penetration and the subsequent emasculation, she strategically empowers herself. The reductionist perception with which she also approaches the existence of Roland, one of her many lovers, as being limited "to a list of names that were not countries, and to the number of times he brought the monthly flow of blood to a halt," (Kincaid 176) suggests ridicule because, unlike her, he fails to entertain a sense of self-referentiality.

Xuela's attitude acquires legitimacy in her adherence to self-definition whose basis is independence. She opposes an understanding of the self as dependent on an Other whose subjectivity is conditioned by the contaminating patriarchal laws. For this reason, her "rejection of motherhood as enforced identity and as political institution" dubs her with self-determinism (Roberts 4). She refuses to endanger her inner desire and personhood which shape her individuality by rejecting women's reduction to mere surrogate wombs.

Her rebelliousness is not simply verbalized, but rather actualized. At the realization that she is impregnated with LaBatte's child, she finds salvation in abortion, as she is unable to embrace "this ghost of [her] with a child inside" (77). Since "the motif of unplanned pregnancy recurs ... as an element of female powerlessness and vulnerability enforced by an androcentric society," it encroaches upon the self and suggests its erasure (Snodgrass 31). The inseparability of death and pregnancy is further accentuated, for she "had vomited up everything [she] had ever eaten [her] entire life and felt [she] would die" (Kincaid 81). The figurative implication of the act of vomiting is suggestive of identity loss, for her acceptance of an unwanted pregnancy is a sign of compliance which compromises her revolutionariness.

For Xuela, resistance to patriarchal motherhood is facilitated by abortion and menstruation. A matter of will, her countless abortions guarantee her autonomy and distinguish her from the remaining subordinate female characters as they offer her "a rebirth through self-knowledge and the development of individuality" (Edwards 126). With detachment, she discloses that if there was a child in her, she could expel it through the sheer force of her *will* (Kincaid 81). Driven by an analogous impassivity, Xuela *wills* her sister's fetus out, sparing her potential marginalization. Indeed, "the folkloric admiration of the

female abortionist” that permeates the novel “derives from a sisterhood that protects its underground community from male oppression and sexual mastery” (Snodgrass 145). Similarly, menstruation is another stratagem employed to resist subjugation. Often welcomed by Xuela, the monthly occurrence “strikes (Roland’s) manhood and weakens the very foundation of his sense of self as he can only define himself by the power he exerts over women” through bringing menstruation to a halt, a sign of pregnancy (Edwards 129).

Xuela’s resilience further manifests itself in her celebration of womanhood as differentiated from ladyhood, after a period of time she spent living “not a man, not a woman, not anything” (Kincaid 102). In her account of what constitutes a woman, Xuela provides a succinct definition: “two breasts, a small opening between my legs, one womb; it never varies and they are always in the same place” and accentuates how it has at “its core the act of self-possession” (Kincaid 159). The concept, then, implies self-referentiality which distinguishes it from its counterpart that is pre-conditioned by dynamic societal norms. Her ability to differentiate between the two concepts evidences her critical and analytical skills and it is indeed this inclination of hers to employ logic rather than give in to emotionalism and sentimentalism which further distinguishes her from the other female characters.

The female protagonist then reflects a level of consciousness that self-knowledge is the foundation of an independent individuality that does not abide by “the sense of order that confuses and betrays the world” (Snodgrass 171). A source of all that is new to the Dominica of the novel, Xuela is the disruptive force that is strategically introduced by Jamaica Kincaid.

Kincaid attributes to Xuela the profile of the ultimate rebel who inflicts disorder into the fallacious patriarchal order, echoing N. Katherine Hayles who affirms that “chaos [is] not an absence or lack, but as the source of all that is new in the world” (306). In her “Chaos as Orderly Disorder: Shifting Ground in Contemporary Literature and Science,” Hayles thoroughly examines the correlations of order and disorder, emphasizing their dialogic aspect. Negating their oppositional nature, she unequivocally foregrounds the conception that the two are rather dialectically configured. Her view on the matter echoes the chain reaction principle as she believes that from order comes disorder, which allows room for “a more complex kind of order” to emerge (320).

Through *The Autobiography of my Mother*, Kincaid accounts for the ability of women to rise like the phoenix from the ashes of a dwindling order. By writing this matrifocal piece of fiction, the author aims at subverting the traditional conception of the Caribbean society as patrifocal, instead adhering to a view that foregrounds women as potential compeers. Her feminist stance is evident insofar as she promotes women’s rights to be active participants in the public sphere whether academically or professionally, thus deconstructing the conventional public versus private spheres dichotomy.

Her intentional portrayal of Xuela as the powerful female, who entertains not only a mind of her own which often assists her in critiquing and analyzing phenomena in her surrounding environment, but also an adamant will of her own that permits her to venture on the unknown, echoes the implied invitation for West Indian women to follow Xuela’s lead in breaking the imposed manacles.

With a society comprised of more women who share Xuela's breath, a new order would surface, an order that introduces a novel community which voices the long marginalized, victimized and obliterated minority. According to Kincaid, it is on the remnants of the *old* order which strictly permeates the will of the Father that the *new* order would emerge.

Conclusion:

By writing *The Autobiography of my Mother*, Jamaica Kincaid lashes out at irrational allegiance to a suppressive society that propagates perpetual series of discriminatory acts, deemed harmful to subjectivity. Through Xuela, who displays awareness about the paramount importance of political action and a subsequent ability to redefine her roles in the community, Kincaid "begins to write the history of the Caribbean women as one of resistance to the patriarchal trend of Caribbean motherhood" and womanhood (Seanor 7). Instead of subscribing to patriarchal conception of gender hierarchies that is solidified by a definite set of mechanisms and forces whose agenda is the marginalization of West Indian female voices, Kincaid talks back. She not only subverts "the patriarchal forces that have shaped the West Indies and subjugated West Indian women" (Seanor 7), but also questions the legitimacy of a traditional sense of order that is based on modals of exclusion and inclusion, permeating the will of the Father. With her unpredictability, Xuela is then the embodiment of that desired disorder which Kincaid aspires for in a limited and limiting paternal society, culminating in the emergence of a more complex type of order, namely *orderly disorder*.

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Cultural Embedding of Environmental Consciousness and Conservation

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Abstract

The practices of a community express its worldview, values, belief systems and attitudes. This paper explains the central concept in Hinduism pertaining to the relationship between the creator, humans and nature. It examines how these Hindu beliefs have been translated into everyday rituals and practices that express the relationship of interdependence between humans and their natural environment. These rituals, beliefs and practices instill Hindu values pertaining to the earth, natural phenomena and human beings. Thus they encourage environmental sensitivity and promote conservation.

Keywords: Hindu beliefs, practices, environmental concern.

निर्वनो वध्यते व्याघ्रो निर्व्याघ्रो छिद्यते वनम् |
तस्माद्व्याघ्रो वनं रक्षेत् वनं व्याघ्रं च पालयेत् ॥

Without the forest, the tiger cannot survive. Without the tiger in the forest, the forest will get destroyed by people. Hence the tiger must protect the forest and forest must protect the tiger (and other animals) (Sanskrit Proverb, 2015)

Hindu concepts of nature

Environmental concern and protection are embedded in the Hindu tradition because of the concept of the fundamental unity and interdependence of all creation including humans, flora and fauna. These religious concepts are translated into daily rituals and practices. This paper examines a number of such beliefs that are manifested in simple daily practices that inculcate respect for the earth, water and living organisms. These practices derive from three basic beliefs of Hinduism.

The first belief is the Hindu concept of the nature of matter. Although it is generally mistaken for animism, the Hindu belief system draws from the unique concept of Parabrahman. Parambrahman is the Origin of all matter and of the life force. Parabrahman is thus the SOURCE of the infinite universe which It (Parabrahman is beyond gender) brings forth, sustains and then withdraws into Itself. This cycle is repeated infinitely. Parabrahman is the substratum of all things: everything in the universe is made of Parabrahman just as all the golden ornaments in the world are made of gold. Parabrahman **manifests** this entire universe out of Itself and there is nothing in the universe except Parabrahman. This is the fundamental unity between the Source, humans and nature. Because of this concept of origin, all things are worthy of being cherished and worshipped.

This sophisticated philosophical concept, translated into religious tenets and daily observances, forms the essence of Hindu attitudes to the environment.

The second Hindu belief that creates environmental consciousness is the concept of dharma. Everything in the universe has a dharma, a sacred duty. This dharma is to perform its function faithfully for the benefit of all. For example, the sun has a dharma – it must rise and set routinely, hold the planets in orbit, give warmth and light, and enable photosynthesis and evaporation. This is its dharma; it must play this role for which it was created. Similarly, each thing, from the smallest to the biggest, from the inert to the animate, follows a universal divine order, which is its dharma. By following its dharma, each thing upholds the universe and keeps it functioning.

In the very distant past, our Rishis deduced that every atom of the universe works in harmony, consequently there was universal order and thus human life was sustained. So they concluded that humans must act in such ways as to contribute to the universal divine order, *rita*,

the basis of *dharma*. Humans alone have free will therefore they need to learn their dharma. All right action is *dharma*, which protects us when we protect it, *dharmo rakshati rakshitah*. The truth of this axiom is evident from the way the earth is punishing humans for the environmental degradation we have caused.

The third concept is that of *samasara*, the cycle of rebirth which states that we take millions of births in many forms – as insects, animals, plants. This belief creates a bond between humans and other living organisms and finds expression in the *bhuta yagya* of Manu's five *mahayagyas*.

These three fundamental beliefs have given rise to the concept of *vasudhaiva kutumbhakam* which means the entire earth is one family. Therefore plants, animals, humans and non-living things are all related because they come from the same source, Parabrahman. Secondly, they are interdependent and interrelated; therefore, all things must be respected and not exploited.

Due to these beliefs, Hinduism has developed many practices and rituals that express environmental consciousness and respect.

Worship of the earth and the sun

The earth is revered and worshipped as a deity *dharti maataa*, Mother Earth. Human survival is made possible by the gifts of the earth in the form of air, water, food, clothing, shelter and medicine. Therefore, humans owe a great debt of gratitude to her.

This gratitude is expressed in many ways: for example, upon stepping out of bed, traditional Hindus show their respect to the Earth by doing *naman* – bowing reverentially, touching their hands to the earth, and bringing them up to their foreheads in a gesture of veneration. Every ritual prayer ceremony, called *pooja*, also begins with a prayer of gratitude and offering of flowers. Before any construction is undertaken on a piece of land, Hindus must perform *dharti pooja*, *worship of the earth*, to respectfully seek permission to commence work, to thank her for all her kind gifts and to apologise for the injuries that will be inflicted upon her during the works. In the conclusion of all *poojas*, a prayer of forgiveness is recited to seek forgiveness for killing insects and microscopic organisms during the preparations for the ritual. This concept of gratitude to the earth is pervasive among all Hindus.

The sun is worshipped daily by offering water and reciting mantras that recognize our dependence on the sun as the source of all life. The sun god, *Surya*, is invoked and thanked in every *pooja* and there is also an annual festival, *Chhat*, in adoration of the one who sustains all life on earth. This, clearly, is a recognition and appreciation of the interrelatedness and interdependence of all creation which contribute to the survival of human beings.

The worship of waters, flora and fauna

Waters, many plants and animals are also worshipped by Hindus. An ancient mantra explains that the earth is a mother and rivers are her life giving milk. The analogy is self-explanatory: would life be possible without rivers? So Hindus not only have ritual *poojas* to honour rivers for their precious gifts, but all rivers are sacred to them. One well known example is the Ganges. The goddess Ganga came down to the earth as a blessing for humans as a result of severe austerities undertaken by a particular royal family. Similarly, wells and ponds are worship worthy because water is essential for life. Thus, numerous traditional practices sought to instill environmental consciousness into the socio-cultural psyche through such practices, although, at present, water bodies are in a deplorable state due to the pollutants and the pressure placed on them by a huge population.

Numerous trees and plants are holy to all Hindus because of numerous religious associations. *Tulsi*, *mango*, *peepul*, *bael*, *neem*, *kush* and *durva grass*, *paan* leaves, marigold, lotus and many other flowers are sacred flora. The *tulsi* plant, is worshipped daily in every household. The kind of respect Hindu have for plants is shown by a common practice that even the most illiterate observe: if we need fruit or leaves from a plant after dusk, when the plant is 'sleeping', we join our hands together in *namaskaar* and humbly apologize for disturbing the plant. After this, we request permission to take what we need and help ourselves to the leaves or fruit. Another very touching practice is that we do not kick at plants, nor do we cross over them – they are living beings and our benefactors, and therefore entitled to respectful treatment.

All the gods have their favorite flowers, plants, grasses, leaves, fruit and animals. During worship, the requisite, fruit, seeds, grains, leaves etc., must be offered to the deity or deities. This practice imparts in the worshipper, who is an ordinary human being, a vital and deep respect for plants and trees that yield these leaves, seeds, and grains. Shiva must be offered *Bael* leaves, *dhatura* flowers and other white flowers. The Goddess Lakshmi, is offered lotuses. The *peepul* is so sacred that it cannot be cut down no matter where it grows.

Animals are also associated with the gods. Vishnu rides an eagle, while Brahma and Saraswati are seated on white swans. Shiva wears snakes as ornaments, and rides an old bull. His consort, Shakti, rides a tiger or a lion – for whom the bull is natural prey. Their son, Kartikeya's, vehicle is a peacock who is the enemy of snakes. And the other son, Ganesha, rides a helpless little mouse – who is also the prey of the snake. All these animals are sacred due to their association with gods, while simultaneously expressing the contradictions underlying co-existence in nature.

The four mahayagnas

The great lawgiver Manu has laid down five sacred duties 'nitya dharmas', which must be performed daily in all circumstances. These are called the five mahayagnas, the great sacrificial performances [Primer of Hinduism, 1929]. Hindus believe that all humans have innumerable

debts to society and nature. We have to repay these by performing the five mandatory sacred duties, one of which is *bhuta yagya*, which is performed by offering food to animals and water to the tulsi plant.

Watering the tulsi plant is symbolic of concern for all plants which is tantamount to environmental conservation. Ritually, concern for animals is shown by offering food to insects, birds and animals. It is a common practice in India to place leftover rice and roti (unleavened Indian bread) on a bird table as birdfood. Leftover food is not 'chucked', but fed to fellow creatures. Many people ritually break bits of roti and feed it to birds each day as a sacrifice, a good deed to cancel out bad karma. In South India, every morning a geometric design, called *kolam*, is drawn on the floor at the front door. This is a beautiful custom to feed the ants - rice powder is used to draw the design.

Prayers

Hindu prayers also evidence a pro-environmental consciousness. The *Shanti path*, prayer for peace, which is repeated at the conclusion of every prayer ceremonies. And nowadays also at the beginning of meetings and other gatherings, reads:

*Om dyauh shaantih Antariksham shaantih
Prithivee shaantih Apah shaantih*

*Oshadhayah shaantih Vanaspatayah shaantih
Vishvedevaah shaantih Brahma shaantih*

*Sarvam shaantih Shaantireva shaantih
Saamaa shaantiredhiih Om shaantih, shaantih, shaantih!* (Shanti Mantras, 2015)

This verse in Sanskrit translates as: May peace radiate in the whole sky as well as in the vast ethereal space everywhere. May peace reign all over this earth, in water and in all herbs, trees and creepers. May peace flow over the whole universe. May peace be in the Supreme Being Brahman. And May there always exist in all peace and peace alone. Om peace, peace and peace to us and all beings! [<http://www.hinduism.co.za/shanti.htm>].

Conclusion

Everything is sacred to Hindus not only because they have come from the Maker, but because Hindu thought discerns and appreciates the interdependence of all creation. Due to the beliefs of the religion, Hindus are made conscious the interdependence of all life and matter. These beliefs are translated into practices, customs and rituals which become a daily reminder that all humans are beholden to nature. Such customs inculcate a sense of oneness between humans and other living creatures and instill a sense of concern for their well-being. Thus they encourage protection of plants, kindness to animals, and gratitude to the earth and rivers.

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Investigating the Nostalgia Manuscript of Rafiq Yazdi's Poems

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Abstract

Nostalgia is a feeling and grief that is naturally inherent in every individual of human society exists and will develop among people. In this paper, after defining nostalgia and its origins and psychos views of experts, it provides the causes of this phenomenon. Firstly, the themes of nostalgia, history and memories of Rafiq literature, nostalgia and romantic, social and personal nostalgia are individually checked and then speech and thought and spirit of Comrade Yazdi and the impact of these factors are addressed.

Keywords: Nostalgia, Homesick, Memories, Separation, Rafiq Yazdi.

Introduction

Sorrow theme is that all human naturally buckle it in every period of history and men host many sad memories pointing to their soul. But the pain and regret with regard to intellectual horizons of people are different. Factors such as childhood memories, youth, loss, sadness, and lack of food, loss of authority, Love and obsolete sweetheart make the requiem and sorrow become emotional issues that teem with psychological nostalgia and sadness. In this article, we will study Yazdi poems from this perspective.

Mohammad Hossein Rafiq, who some have called Molla Hossein is of the poets of the first period of Iranian literature accompanied by SHoleh, Mosshtaq ,Asheq and Azar and Sabahi and Htef. He was born in 1150 in Isfahan. In the beginning, he was a young man selling vegetables. But he considered his innate talent and original nature in poetry; he was engaged with study so that he became a well-known poet. Hafez was influenced more on Lyricism by Saadi. Many themes in his lyrics are complained of Joe and injustice complained of the lover. It was a kind of expression of depression and dejection. His Death was in 1226. In addition, his body was taken to Holy Shrines were buried in that same place (Khatami, 1995).

Nostalgia is a French word with diverse meanings as homesickness, nostalgia for the homeland and the pain of separation. While there are limits and boundaries in human sciences, but somehow they linked together. In particular the relationship between literature and psychology is close; so anyone through words reveals the mysteries of character. So, the Secrets of Personality of anyone can get out through his words. Nostalgia is a discussion of the psychology but has also been discussed in literature

1 - Nostalgia and Romanticism

The School Romanticism created a significant impact on West literature. It had a great intellectual emphasis on the imagination processing. Religion and faith are of particular interest. The word "romantic" is a reference to particular past. Medieval period for Friedrich Schlegel is period of heroes and legends of the elves. The root of the word goes back to medieval ages. Nostalgia in the literary schools of Romanticism is specific and controversial. The school of romanticism is a travel getaway: travel into geography and history. Hurt by environment and the time and escaping into another spaces and times and traveling to other real or imaginary trips are the profiles of romantics. The writer and reader fly to distant lands and travel to the far-fetched skies. Time diary trips are reflected in the romantic works. The purpose of these journeys whether real or imaginary is depicting and experiencing beautiful surroundings, upscale, fresh and beautiful landscapes that are ideal for the Romantic desires of the artist.

The following poem is like that of the Shafi'i Kadekani relative to their location does not have a happy heart and a desire to shine; the breeze is considered an imaginary trip:

"Where such a hurry"

Milk vetch asked breeze:

"My heart was fit saddle
Do you desire to travel?
Of The dust of the desert"
All my wishes but
I closed both my foot ..."
"Where are all those except this place »
"Good trip but you and love God
When has ended in terror of the desert,
Bloom, the rain
Deliver our Hi

When the intellectual is frustrated about the current atmosphere of society, nostalgia turns out to be a type of relief, a kind of mental therapy.

Another Basics of Romanticism is what can be named "nostalgia away from Heaven". The poet feels that he is away from his original home and lives in an exile as a rover (Sharifian and Teimuri, 2007).

Persian classical poets whose poetry has been a source of great spiritual and romantic views have known exile. For example, Hafez in few sonnets shows his exalted sense that the world is a cage with no divine attributes. He considers men as flying birds that far away from their original home are caught in the ruin.

A poem by Hafez

The eternal flying bird cannot describe separation when he fell in the trap.
The Romantic poet Schlegel says:

"The human spirit is tearful of separation and soul-which is a place of spirituality-lives away from paternal and real home in this world."

Manovians in Iran before Islam believed that "our soul is a particle light captured in darkness of human body. Man is "Reed" who is remote from his original home that should go back to his original position "(Dastqeib, 1995).

Moulavi, a seventh-century poet and mystic, took samples of the best nostalgia, eternal separation from God in heaven. In these poems, "reed" is Molana a perfect symbol of himself and stayed away from its source when separated from its source he raised:

Hear the story of the straw to complain about separation
When they cut me from the reed, men and women have been of my crying and separation /
I want someone who will listen to my passion of pain

Anyone who is separated of his origin finally finds his origin (Rumi, 2001).

2- Nostalgia of Memories

Memories are mind accumulation that can unconsciously make a significant impact on the psyche of a person. Since persons are one part of a community and a nation, memories may be a culture that influences many peoples of society. Memories may be personal, like all memories that people have in society. Memories can be hidden and private as in family and environment, such as pleasant or unpleasant personal memories of one's childhood. Memories are mental transitions of origin of a person with dyslexia and those with nostalgic reminders or nostalgic memories have been called the density of memory (recollection). Whenever humans are aware about the environment, they have pleasant memories. Being less aware about environment, they lead lower unpleasant lives. This position occurs more in childhood, which is free from any anxiety.

When humans become more aware of intellectual, economic, political difficulties, and become more engaged with problems, beautiful colors lose their meaning. That is where man recalls good days of childhood with nostalgia and unconsciously pulls out a sigh. Configuring a society, a nation, a civilization has liked people and their memories, though different, together. To form a whole of that shared memory or relay to it will be the cause of the social status. To escape the ravages of social, intellectual and political surroundings, people take refuge into the past memories of childhood. They take shelter in the imagined beautiful world.

Nima said:

I'm in imagination of good days that been spent / I can look at the trends of the sea
"(Haqiqi, 2005)

Yazdi in nostalgia or past memories says:

Once I had good day and a good time beside beloved, I had a great day/

Free from fear, not pain and not worry about separation/

My face on beloved face and hand on beloved arms, dared to kiss and hug my beloved.

My heart wasn't less patience nor my soul /both in my heart and in my soul was full of peace

Welcome to my homeland and had sweetheart and friend and my homeland.

3. Nostalgia or Homesickness

Homesickness causes a kind of nostalgia. Certainly, being attuned with anything creates a devotion that separates for whatever reason. Shamlou believed in a large number of individual and collective human behaviors based on conditions and environmental factors, social and cultural society (Shamlou, 1997).

Education, finding a job and earning money, getting rid of the unpleasant atmosphere in a particular environment include the factors that cause change and displacement of the personal residence in the community.

Today living and handling features of change are natural but these changes may be associated with physical and mental disorders. Consequently, the need for adaptation or change is greater.

The phenomenon of "homesickness" is a complex motivational state; it relates to longing for home and the heart is preoccupied or distracted by such thoughts. It is a mournful response to change location and defines it as attempt to survival of house and family.

I have been in separation of my own town and fall on a place full of injustice.
Because did not thank my own land, got separated from my sweetheart and away from my land.

Sometimes the poet, however, though in his country still has a strange feeling, which Rafiq says:

From a country people are friends but me as odd in my country as Nightingale never saw anyone else privacy exotic grass

Rafiq says tells the separation of his city Esfahan and expresses his passion for the country so far.

My goal is to state my love and passion toward Esfahan and friends be retelling/
exotic stories be told to my friends /
through the friendship is not valid in the days of persecution be left alone/
home chooses exile from his wish to leave home, the place where it will/

Now, the questions that emanates from his inquiries and worries can be:

“How long must one wander to find the beloved?”

4 - Nostalgic of Memories of Childhood and Youth Serving Life

Like many other fellow poets Rafiq also wept old bygone. The old saying is that youth is a treasure only the ages can appreciate is utterly true. The old aged are aware of it and its contents because they tasted the hot and cold days of late age:

Know the do's and don'ts ,
know the value of Shabab power,
though it is too late .

In this regard, Etesami Parvin says:

Young said to the old how they pass your old life/
In this letter is an ambiguous word that means not been understood till aging /
Be careful about youth because this beautiful young chicken not remain in this bone house/
thing that I loss free/you don't loss it free (Etesami, 1995).

Rafiq expresses regret that is far away of the beloved and the beloved is not tenable for him; he is always anxious about not being able to achieve the beloved.

Rafiq who has spent a whole life in telling verse and poetry regrets:

Over my lifetime I spent on order, but my life hadn't find any order.

The following verses depict him as a gardener that spent a lifetime to guard the garden, but flowers and fruit are not achieved:

Over my lifetime I was your gardener but I couldn't pick even one flower of your garden/
How long your gardener be empty handed /
In verse below it is in aging been disappointed about passing of youth it is sad:
Days passed but I cannot understand how youth days passed and aging days come

Or in the verse below where he regrets his loss of the beloved:

I hope to fulfill a life of persecution but it is wrong, I thought that not be fulfilled

Or the following quatrain says:

Morning to dinner I look for you together in the evening and I am at dawn around.
It is long time I come and go to achieve joiner but come back disappointed.

Also, in the following quatrain, he describes himself as saddest man who spent his life in vain:

Nobody like me not been such disappointed and unhappy of passed days /
One night in agree of my heart not been day and one day not been night/

5 – Nostalgia of Sadness, Love and Separation

Most common themes of lyrics are about grief and sorrow, about separation and the impossibility of rejoining. What is evident is that love is a recurrent theme in Rafiq's lyrics and the same for grief. Apparently, he has spent his life in love. Therefore, his life is full of love, sorrow and separation without which his poetry is senseless. Sadness and fear come when he tries to reach a glorious target or loses an acceptable position. Rafiq's major goal is to achieve a beloved comrade. He is always in the fear of sadness of separation from his beloved. In the following lines with repeated words of grief, he is highly nostalgic.

In the world I haven't anything but of sadness/
I have not any companion but grief in the world/
I' so accustomed with sadness that if I haven't grief my soul become uneasy /
I've seen persecution of beloved so i do not expect loyalty from the people

Or when he says

God taught Adam Eve sympathy, taught Joseph sorrow to Zoleikha
God taught us Beautiful lesson of beloved loves, we can't reteach the lessons

In The following sonnet, he is in love with the lover that cannot reach. He felt separation each time he received a message from her. He wrote poetry in tears. His eyes like Prophet Jacob turned white because of crying.

I decide to write about beloved my woe dried the ink and my tears wet the paper.
My beloved as Joseph been taken by time cannot as Joseph write a letter for me.
By sending, a letter does not make my heart happy, beloved send message to each other.
My eyes as paper been whitened me beloved do not write a letter for me.
Now spray of blood from the eye before writing because man cannot figure out beloved
in any paper.

Therefore, love is the most important and fundamental theme of the sonnet. It was the main consideration of scholars, mystics and society. Many books were written about it. Most precious and valuable treatise on "Disaster of lovers" was composed by Ahmad Ghazali in Persian. His deep study deals with the subject of love, so that his ideas used and took the advantage of mystics and poets. As Ghazali says: "Love is pain and without it, it is a strange familiarity and borrowed comfort."

Rafiq also benefits from grief poetically:

My crying is not for your bother but I am cringe to do not bother me.
My job is your love and your job is my loathe
My job is your Troth, Your job is to persecute.

Anyone who does not try sorrow is unable to feel. Sorrow and grief turn out to be a type of therapy

My mind without sorrow is not happy/
My pain is equal to treatment and my grief is equal to treatment/
When I close contraction of love I said I haven't a beloved such as you in world./

However, in most of Rafiq's sonnets, we notice that separation from the beloved is similar to Jacob when his eyes were whitened or similar to Majnoon who was homeless. Separation and love are thus twins or two faces of the same coin. Or sometimes his relation to his beloved is similar to Jesus relation to a patient: a source of cure

I was sick but my partner don't come on my beside to cure me

Or:

You are more beautiful than Leili and I am in love more love than Majnoon
He adds

I was a falcon a day and the entire world was under my wing
Now in separation day is as a wingless bird

Separation from the beloved makes his lifetime short:

Because my life is not short of saying to me, without you every night is a year and every day
pass as a month

The following eight-verse sonnets express glory and woes of love. He finally reached the
limit of hope. He shows his sorrow and nostalgia by repeating words «I did wrong, wrong,"

Waited for partner injustice I am wrong was wrong, lay hearts on his promises I was wrong, wrong
I found my heart in his troth vain, in vain sacrifice my life for her I was wrong, wrong
I know got a head-to-head error, Error / I go mountain to mountain mountains I was wrong I was wrong.
I became her servant without payment I became her beggar I was wrong, wrong

In The following sonnet, Rafiq lost his patience and raised his woes and crying:

Only your imagination is on my mind and only your words is on my tongue /
Because of his separation night and day my Oh and shout go to sky/

Conclusion

Nostalgia is a process that psychologists consider as synonymous with regret and it is a
general emotion that is naturally and unconsciously created in individuals. When humans recall
their memories they become interested in writing about those memories with woe and shot. This
process was in the poetry of different societies and in Rafiq it has a special place. Prominent
themes of nostalgia in his poems are: the separation of the lover, homesickness and past
memories.

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The Compilation of Pattern of Deployment of Health and Religious Damage Training in the Realm of the Youth Resurrection Belief (methods)

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Abstract

Pathology and vulnerability of religious training and the introduction of the sound points of these threats is a topic which in spite of the old existence of religion and religious damages proves novel and untouched. Not many studies and scientific research have been done on this topic. By pathology of religious training, we mean the recognition of threats, crises and challenges on the way of individuals' religious training. By the health and equality in religious training, we mean the recognition of religious concepts and criteria regardless of the said concepts and examples so that it would reveal what the positive results of the deployment of religious training are. Nowadays, due to the misunderstanding of religious concepts, they are prone to many threats and in case they are not investigated, they can pave the way for enormous problems. Resurrection belief is one of these concepts. The present study aims at the investigation of the threat and health of religious training in the realm of the youth resurrection belief emphasizing philosophical mentality and pattern designation with this regard. The research method is qualitative and as the concepts and the conditions alongside the description of the phenomenon have been dealt with, it can also be called a quantitative-qualitative one. For the designation and compilation of the pattern of the deployment of the health and threat of the religious training in the realm of the youth resurrection belief, many references including the researches and sources as well as the opinions of the experts have been utilized. For this reason, an interview was done with 20 experts of education and training and related specialties. Based on the data from the mentioned sources, the pattern of the deployment of the threat and health of religious training in the realm of the youth resurrection belief was developed and for its validity establishment, the opinion of 150 experts was exercised upon it. The pattern included some major elements including: the threat of

religious training in the realm of the youth resurrection belief, the sound points of religious training in the youth resurrection belief, philosophical mentality, the threat and security of religious training in the realm of the youth resurrection belief, and the pattern validity. Among the many features of this pattern, we can have a reference to its empiricism, simplicity, novelty and its training viewpoint.

Keywords: Pattern, Threat and health of religious training, Resurrection, Philosophical Mentality.

Introduction

A snapshot view of Quran's verses shows that between religions issues, any issue in Islam in terms of monotheism is not as important as resurrection issue, life after death, and auditing of servants, reward and penalty and performing justice. 1200 verses about monotheism formed one third of Quran's verses. Many of the final chapters of the Quran determined monotheism completely or mainly, its introductions, signs and results. Quran correlates the theme of faith in God and faith in the other world particularly in verse 30. Belief in God, or words of similar subjects was mentioned. More than 100 cases referred to the day of afterlife. The holy Quran said: "the unbelievers say: 'shall we direct you to a man who will tell you that you have been utterly torn into pieces you will be raised in a new creation?'"(7, Saba) what, has he forged a lie about Allah, or is he mad! No, those who do not believe in the everlasting life are in the punishment far erroneous.(8, Saba).God, he either lies or gives false or has suffered from insanity and madness. It's actually not the case, but those who believe not in the severe punishment and suffer profound error. Problem of resurrection and the Hereafter has always been the cornerstone of the prophets' missions despite fierce public opposition.

Knowledge of the problem Resurrection has direct impact on individual and community behavior; it will shape our lives be more considerate (Tehrani, 1361). Although it is possible to train people in different periods of life, but the value and importance of education in early childhood, especially the discipline (7 to 14 years) is incomparable. In this period students are ready to accept any training whether good and bad. What they learn remains within their character till old age (Philosophy, 1368). Imam Ali (as) in the Hadith says "baby hearts is vacant land where every seed that is dredging (Nahjolbalagheh21). During this period, marked changes in tone and mental discipline arise. Relatively stronger than his body, his mind and understanding grew steadily. Children at this age can understand somewhat the good and the bad, but it is still wise enough to recognize that their growing interest have not reached an awareness of direct training.

Prophet Muhammad ordered second seven years old children to learn compliance and obedience to religious teachings. Imam Jafar Sadiq, thought that "his seven years son can learn the customs and ways of useful and necessary to training." The importance of the correct procedures to children and raising questions develops their imagination, something very necessary to establish a balanced and intellectual development of their personality. The basis for this argument can be spontaneous in nature. Background researches on some aspects of the subject have studied from various perspectives such as Amin (1384) in his thesis, entitled: "social education of student on the basis of principles and methods verses of the Qur'an Scheme" that encouraged to consider prevention of modeling. Niyazi (1375) in his study entitled "Moral education student and the Quran" has been a model method. Motamedi Barabadi (1385) in his study entitled "Evaluation of the child's upbringing and understanding of the Qur'an" makes and controls the pattern of the methods in the education of students. Nevertheless, this article does not meet any of the previous studies and earlier research on several different directions. Nahjolbalagheh stated the method of teaching these concepts to student aged between 7 and 14

years. The author summarized the results of research and introduced some practical tips on ways of enjoying such education. Resurrection literally means "return». The word is usually understood in term of time or place that a return to life after death. Death is not the end point of human life. In the doomsday, divine justice upon man must be imposed and Man has to be able to respond. So in terms of a return to the world hereafter, resurrection to life occurs after death. From this perspective o, "Education is the transfer of knowledge and skills to others, so that the knowledge and skills contribute to changing behaviors."

Conditions that influence the debate of students

God can be a vehicle for moral conclusions and punishment of children to mind their practices and encourage them to be good and avoid evil deeds (Bahonar, 1378). Heaven and Hell teachings abstract these discussions and should take a series of rows of formulas that can be induced without the familiarity and love.

Original ease

The primary purpose is to facilitate the training of religious concepts in resurrection debate especially for children. This process should take cognitive, emotional aspects of children to help them avoid violence and master rigor in the process of training. The purpose of the training of religious concepts is to stimulate children's enthusiasm and willingness to learn religious doctrine rather than religious knowledge. Hence, the Prophet PBUH , has always repeated these words " educate easily and not hardly. Martyr Motahari also quoted: «when the Prophet Muhammad PBUH promoted religion, he sent Moaz bin Jabal to Yemen in order to propagate Islam. The Prophet pointed out not to do anything that alienate people from Islam and then make them hate Islam. This would make so people escape the psychological reactions of Islam.

Now, according to the principle of leniency in Islamic education, respect for the principle of the Resurrection in student education is more important. Because the characteristics of children, religious concepts may be contrary to the child's innate desire and the nature of children are not compatible with the need to impose austerity. Austerity is when the child has to repeat and learn doctrines without critical thought. In addition, simple religious concepts, within the context are necessary to provide the child with. He would be interested in learning the concepts and truths. The use of violence and rigor in teaching religious concepts would make students skeptical of religion and its teachings which would produce adverse effects and consequences on his gentle spirit (mofid, 1384). Therefore, it is important to respect this principle in teaching religious concepts to student. According to the narrative context, Imam Muhammad Sadiq quoting the Prophet Mohammad PBUH said «doing as parents, it is easy for children to accept and follow what they do; that is easily tolerated.».

Gradual basics

Students should be gradually taught talents and other principles. Humans from birth to

adulthood go into different mental, emotional and physical abilities. Each period has its special properties.

The Quran was revealed to the Prophet gradually during the 23 years that God in verse 106 of chapter "Asra" notes says: and verses from the Quran we separated, so people can read it immediately, and it was gradually revealed.

Commentators have written many articles that examine the words of Quran. We will refer Allamah Tabatabai . According to him, the revelation of the Quran began to mature and grow its practical teachings and beliefs to minor people and treated their minor orders.

In short, the Qur'an with regard to the level of understanding of the people, expressed its message gradually to make it is possible for people to understand and accept it. Thus, teaching the meaning of the Resurrection to students should be gradual and religious concepts should be introduced gradually and slowly.

Hadith of Imam al-Baqir or Imam Sadiq Lyhmaalslam detailed teaching children of all ages to express religious concepts. He said: "In three years, teach the word monotheism ", there is no God but Allah ". Then drop him to the age of three years and seven months, then, teach him "Muhammad Rasul Allah".

Accordingly, scientists have suggested that in terms of learning and education, which are regarded as an important issue, strict principle teaching and the neglecting of gradual principle in teaching would have irreparable consequences. In this paper, we will refer to the views of some of them.

Accordingly scientists have given special abilities childhood education in terms of learning and education, which are regarded as an important issue strict principle to gradually neglect it would have irreparable consequences. In this paper, we will refer to the views of some of them.

According to the Swiss education expert Pestalozy great coaches teach child according to the normal development of human beings (Kowsar , 1367). Accordingly, the child achieves the next stage, then he or she knows the first step to be taken. He gradually, according to the pace of learning, says: «Nature has superior competence. Man is like a hidden gem in the shell, he is hidden. If you break the shell ahead of time, you will find a flawed gem. Ghazali in his book writes:" Another teacher's task is to give a comprehensive understanding of how to speak and grasp the public debate and understand the light of knowledge. "

Thus, the process of teaching religious concepts consists of many stages and levels and growth rates due to differences in cognitive abilities and emotional, motivational differences in students' knowledge and experience. This why is gradual teaching is crucial. The content should be tailored to students' understanding and their power of thought. For example, despite the teachings of God, monotheism, resurrection, and the primary rational complex reasoning and

abstract concepts cannot be easily taught. Only simple and attractive and easy expressions can be grasped by young students.

The principle of consistency and continuity

In Islam, education is a continuous process. Muslims should always be in the valley of teaching and learning. As the hadith says: «Have knowledge from the cradle to the grave»

The Prophet said: Look for knowledge from cradle to grave

Learning is permanent and has no specified time. So that Imam Sadiq said: «Seeking knowledge is obligatory on every case " and Imam Ali says: does not acquire the knowledge, but he who does consistency in their education because the Prophet said that knowledge does not end”.

So, according to Islam, teaching concepts and facts of religion is a matter which should persist to the end of the human life. Gallant endurance during childhood and adolescence can be religious and it should be under the guidance of parents and educators (Naghibzadeh , 1375).

Therefore, within Islamic traditions, the teaching of religious concepts in early childhood education is very important. If you do not accept religious teachings in this period, in adulthood their education would be hard. In other words, the continuity and consistency in teaching religious concepts to children are needed. Hence, the intellectual and emotional development of students consistently and continuously grows and religious concepts can easily be understood and internalized.

Awareness principle

Insights and knowledge of the principles of the Islamic educational system are based on learning. In Islamic sources, there are many verses that encourage people to read and discouraged blind imitation without thinking and reasoning. God wants humans to base their vision and knowledge on education. The behavior and the true religion of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH invited people to be aware of the processes of education and learning.

Hence, the Islamic educational system does not impose coercion of conscience and consequently, does not encourage blind imitation. The religious concepts are essentially based on the acceptance of the insight of the concept. In some traditions, it emphasized education that is based on understanding and training awareness (Shariatmadari, 1370). Followers of Gestalt theory believe that what the student learns in school compared to really understandable reality make him move to a new and easily perceived positions. Scholars of Islamic education understand the importance of awareness training. But also some understanding of the distinction between concept and vision would constitute the basis of learning and awareness principle. Martyr Motahari’s perspective states that the goal of Islamic education is the intellectual growth of students. From the other perspective, growth of student’s knowledge is the process of education not the accumulation of information .

The principle of individual differences

Researchers accepted the principle of individual differences in psychology, education and religious education. This means that humans do not have similar cognitive, emotional, motivational characteristics. IQ impression and the effect of environment and personality traits differ from one to another. For this reason, one of the major issues in psychology is the question of individual differences and even some psychologists say that the psychology is basically interested in individual differences. Accordingly, individual differences are evident in education as well. For example, Sani martyr believes that teachers treat students according to their level of understanding and ability to speak, and to address. Tusi would prefer that teacher education must precede any action. Child's talents and capabilities and the identification accuracy have to be the priority then comes the teaching of science and technology. Late Allameh Jafari, teachers and students have different characteristics as a garden that has different flowers and trees with different needs. The gardener should carefully understand the needs of each of them, the extent necessary to irrigate, and their exposure to light and air. The teacher should also identify the cognitive and emotional features of students in order to recognize each student's character and be tailored to their particular behaviors.

In short, individual differences in education have to be considered positively by teachers. They should be familiar with them during training. Accordingly, consideration of individual differences in teaching religious concepts is of great importance, particularly in the selection and use of teaching methods. Teachers should have more flexibility in teaching religious concepts to children according to their cognitive, emotional, and motivational characteristics. They have to effectively use a variety of methods that respond to their family history, environment and personal traits. For example, teachers need to know that teaching religious concepts of poetry and fiction is a very useful method for some students. Some religious concepts need to understand more explanation and clarification.

Educational methods

Course of nature

The concept of resurrection and its significance according to the hadith «World from afterlife» is the explanation that this world is like a garden or farm and our actions as a seed that is planted in the field. As a result our efforts shape the next world some are good and some are bad. Bakrandv thinks that various products obtained from seeds of corruption are inconclusive. Experienced teachers conclude that the actions of each of us are different in this world. Life and death are part of nature. This field can be used for a variety of images or videos.

Using the analogy

Analogy is used to convey concepts, and ideas to the reader or listener. To demonstrate the issue, we provide an analogy to what we have done and rely on the experiences of young students that will clarify the issue and the need to treat it (Bahonar , 1378). Thus the race to heaven is an analogy that reflects religious piousness and obedience to God. In the contest, the winner will be that who takes the advice given to us by the prophets of God. But have to take care of their words and deeds. Allah awards the prize to the winners to the world hereafter resurrection. It was not a record at the end of the year and the students were not appreciated, those diligent efforts will be futile, and between them and others there will be no difference. God is evil and good in the hereafter, in proportion to each person and gives each person a score. There are those who have received a good score on the test and those who have been rejected by God because they have a poor score. The process of teaching is by analogy like that of judgment and resurrection. Good scores mean success, prize and heaven while bad scores result into failure, blame and lead to hell. Referring to the historical facts of life and death of man like that occurred in AZIZ, the story of the Prophet, the companions of Kahf, the cutting of live bird into pieces are examples that can be used by teachers as method for teaching this concept to students. Such divine revelation tells the resurrection story of Rqym companions of Kahf. These are verses of Surah Kahf from the sixth to the twenty-sixth verse.

Do you think that these companion of Kahf and Rqym tales are strange revelations us? (Kahf, 9). Fzrbna Ali Azanhm mischief Alkhf numerically ages, and we therefore pray and ask them for years on their ears opened that Bkhftnd and easily drowned "(Kahf, 11), and their dog went to sleep with them, and for three hundred and lunar year of three hundred years AD will not go to sleep:

We raised them up for us and they talk among themselves and engage in conversation. One of them said to the other, how promptly you did? A day or a day! A few others, they said, Lord, and your Lord knows best value to you immediately! (Kahf, 19). And the story continues until the Holy Quran says, and so our people and the people of Medina and the city were aware of their condition so they know the promise of Allah is true , and the arrival times and the arrival of doomsday date is agreed doubts that (Kahf , 21). And here comes the story of Ashab Kahf , hiding in caves and three hundred and nine years, and motivate them to sleep after a long time, and coming to the city to buy food, and tell people this story. He announced the resurrection story and its quality. Students have to be mentally prepared to accept the concept of resurrection. Visualization methods present subjective images in the education of students.

Some of this period of "fantastical religion" is called. The period that is required by the fantastical figure Afkar student stimulation Vkshf and religious notions are attached. Imagination of the thoughts is scheduled to the next period.

1. The content of the story should be such that the child is supposed to destroy the religious concepts, such as the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Ismail by his father, or the story of Noah's

ark. Since the story deals with aspects of cognitive and emotional aspects, it should be used alone with a beautiful face, charming and gracious Prophet and Imam Azkhda displayed. Stories like the two examples above should be implemented when the child's ability to create a comparative approach is mature. They should be delayed to school age (Bahonar , 1378).

Two: Stories with a creative expression, understanding Vashtraky that keep children reading or are told.

Three: Stories, advising and explaining the issues should not be an excuse. But their message of self-boiled fiction should affect to the audience. Easily this method can be used to discuss some stories, like the story of Jesus's resurrection to student.

Applied suggestion:

1. The reason that teaching religious concepts to student at an early age is that at that age children acquire quickly new information. The teachers of religion must have proper knowledge of Islam and Islamic values to effectively teach doctrinal concepts to children.

2. Desired features in the course of mental development are included in the design arguments. Students believe that education is the right job and they do their best to learn. Qualified teachers teach religious concepts more worldly and otherworldly which have consequences on the Islamic faith principles.

3 . Since the discipline of students (especially first years) have a tangible sense of things, teachers are advised to teaching aids such as photographs , slides and instructional videos while teaching concepts such as monotheism and resurrection.

4 . Teachers have to preserve freshness and vitality of children's education of religious concepts. The use of harsh confrontation must be avoided.

Discussion and conclusions

The purpose of this study (method of teaching the concept of resurrection to students in the discipline (7 to 14 years)) was carried out on the available resources in all 4 ways listed the full extent of the topic that included following items: Garlic in nature, using analogy , referring to the historical reality , visualization and education through visuals (images) . For any of the above mentioned methods, Quran was brought to correct and give detailed explanation of the procedures to be applied. Concerning the nature of the application process for teaching the concept of resurrection, students using this method can enjoy an opportunity to see the plantation. Students taught by an analogy of /with agriculture to talk about the conserved good and bad. The Bkarndv various products obtained from seeds of corruption are inconclusive and the feeling of happiness and sadness experienced by teacher lead him to conclude that the actions of each individual are like the seeds in this world. At school Dnyanyz, wise and caring teachers at this school are the messengers of God. This implies such divine revelations of resurrection story of Kahf and Rqym companions. Though visualization methods and the use of mental images students can be sensitive to religious concepts, as discussed in the resurrection story, especially tablet illustrated stories. So students can also excel in poetry, painting and sculpture concepts.

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Learning and Retaining New Vocabularies: The Case of Monolingual and Bilingual Dictionaries

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Abstract

The present research aims at measuring the effects of using bilingual and monolingual dictionaries as well as pictures regarding the retention and recalling new vocabulary items. To this end, eighty intermediate Iranian students studying English as a Foreign Language (EFL) were selected as the participants of the study. To determine the homogeneity of the participants Preliminary Placement Tests (PET) was administered and sixty students were selected and divided into three groups each using a different kind of the above-mentioned techniques. For that purpose, the students were given 14 passages of intermediate select-readings book in 14 sessions. Each group was supposed to read the passage and look up the meaning of the underlined words through using one technique. The results indicate that the group that used pictures had a better performance on recalling and retaining the underlined words. The research concluded that using pictures as a tool for learning vocabulary items plays a more significant role.

Keywords: Bilingual dictionary, monolingual dictionary, picture dictionary, vocabulary retention, vocabulary recall.

I. Introduction

There has been considerable debate during the last several decades regarding child and adult vocabulary learning to find a way for using the most significant strategy in this regard through the data gathered from the learners in this domain. Although syntax and background knowledge play a very crucial role in second language learning, it is not that important as the one played by vocabulary considered as a component of reading comprehension (Laufer, 1997). Facing an unknown word not to be inferred from context, the learners can either ignore it or consult a dictionary. Research shows that learners use dictionaries excessively though they adopt different strategies for using it based on a number of variables (Gu & Johnson, 1996; Holstein, 1993; Zhang, 2001). Different second language methodologies adopt different strategies regarding the effectiveness of using dictionaries. As an example, reading instructors following traditional grammar-translation method focus on decoding texts whereas current communicative practices focus on obtaining the meaning of unknown words from context (Grabe & Stoller, 2004; Knight, 1994; Laufer, 1997) and ignore using dictionaries altogether in the reading classroom (Bensoussan, Sim, & Weiss, 1984).*

According to Luppescu & Day (1993), teachers rarely rely on empirical evidence regarding the use of dictionaries. On the other hand, researchers have recently highlighted the usefulness of using dictionaries. Both using and not using dictionaries have been taken into account while the learners' scores on post reading vocabulary and comprehension have been under investigation (Bogaards, 1998; Knight, 1994; Luppescu & Day, 1993; Summers, 1988). More proficient learners showed little or no gain when using dictionaries in the studies by Bensoussan et al. and Knight, indicating that the extra time used to look up words was used inefficiently. One concern is that the time it takes to look up words interferes with readers' short-term memory and prevents them from focusing on the text as a whole. In addition, learners with access to dictionaries sometimes locate the wrong dictionary entry; leading to miscomprehension. The results of these contrasting studies indicated that dictionary use can enable comprehension. Therefore, the question raised here is what type of dictionary will improve learners' vocabulary.

This study tends to emphasize what type of dictionary is needed to enhance vocabulary learning. Specifically, it will be considered under what circumstances unknown lexical items should be looked up, as opposed to using other strategies such as ignoring words or trying to infer meaning from context. To define and describe selective dictionary use, the relevant literature concerning vocabulary learning will be analyzed. Moreover, the present research describes an experimental study on the type of dictionary Iranian learners of English use and then elicits which type of dictionary is more effective concerning improving vocabulary learning.

There are many ways to deal with unknown words but using dictionary is a conventional way in both first and second language learning, Marckwardt (1973), for example, comments:

“Dictionaries often supply information about the language not found elsewhere. Dictionaries often supply information about grammar, usage, status, synonym discrimination, application of derivative affixes, and distinctions between spoken and written English not generally treated in textbooks, even in a rudimentary fashion (cited in Bensoussan, Sim & Weiss, 1984, p. 263).”

II. Review of the related literature

Dictionaries are considered as one of the most vital learning instruments. Rizo-Rodriguez (2004) asserts that dictionaries as well as grammatical studies are two useful tools helping teaching and learning English.

1. Different types of dictionaries

Each major has its own special kind of dictionary covering all subject matters in the field. Moreover, for some majors more than one dictionary can be found. As quoted in The History of Dictionary, Britannica Encyclopedia (2007, p. 19) dictionaries are categorized according to difficulty level namely abridged and unabridged ones. They can also include those related to biography and history, real and fictitious, general and special, relating to outstanding countries and their peoples. They can also include those related to philosophy, mathematics, natural history, zoology, botany; of chemistry, geology, architecture, painting and music; of medicine, etc.

Although there are different kinds of dictionaries related to different subjects, these dictionaries cannot be used interchangeably and the meaning of the words and symbols used in the text cannot be easily conveyed. Littman, (2006) recommends an idea to tackle with this problem: As the dictionaries get more difficult, you should also get more information to help you more fully understand the word you are looking up. The ideal dictionary would communicate all the information you need to know to fully understand the usage and use of the very few words and symbols that you have to look up.

In Yorio's (1971) and Bensoussan *et al* (1984) study, when students are free for choosing types of dictionaries more than half of them are interested in using bilingual ones. Yorio (1971) concludes that although frequently inaccurate or misleading, the bilingual dictionary seems to give them security of a concrete answer, while the monolingual dictionary often forces them to guess the meaning, adding more doubts to the already existing ones.

Another study conducted by Hayati and Fattahzadeh (2006) came to the conclusion that dictionary type has no significant effect on learners' vocabulary recall and retention. Some researchers have supported the contribution of monolingual dictionaries to vocabulary learning.

Underhill (1985) states that appropriate treating of the words in monolingual dictionaries is based on their frequency. Baxter (1980) claims that the good point of a monolingual dictionary is that it provides the way a word is used in a context and helps students to produce definitions for the new words. He believes that the instructor should make students aware of the fact that using a monolingual dictionary can promote their fluency; on the contrary, a bilingual dictionary just offers a single word for the source language word while the students are totally unaware of how that word should be used in the real context.

So far, with consideration to the above-mentioned discussions, this article attempts to analyze the effects of using three kinds of dictionaries to find out which one has the most effect on retaining and recalling new vocabularies. To this end, the following question is raised.

2. Research question:

Which of the three types of dictionaries can most effectively improve the learners' retaining and recalling the vocabularies?

III. Methodology

Eighty EFL learners were asked to participate in this study. They were from both genders, in the range of 18 to 22. To determine the homogeneity of the participants PET was administered. This test comprises of two parts, namely, reading and writing. Since the present study deals with the role of vocabulary learning related to reading skill, the writing part of the PET was totally omitted. This test consists of three different subcategories as reading comprehension, cloze test, and grammar; and based on the participants scores sixty out of the eighty participants were selected as the subjects of the present research. The participants were divided into three groups of twenty, each providing with one of the three different techniques for retaining and recalling vocabularies, namely monolingual dictionary, bilingual dictionary, and a list of related pictures. The data were collected for three months and half having two sessions per week. In order to catch the participants' attention, Text Enhancement (TE) technique was used in the passages. According to Zyzik (cited in Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics: 2010), this technique involves the use of boldface, italics, or other typographical alterations (e.g., underlining, highlighting) that are designed to promote noticing of the target language form. They were given one reading passage per session and some words in the text were underlined. Two types of dictionaries including monolingual and bilingual ones as well as the pictures were represented separately for each group. The passages were selected from *intermediate select readings* book. The classes were held twice a week. In the first session, the participants were supposed to find the equivalents of the underlined words through using one of the above-mentioned techniques. For the group using pictures, the researcher would provide them with the related pictures on a separate sheet. The next session the three groups were given a test consisting of those underlined words to measure the amount of retention and recalling the vocabularies. This method was repeated for three months and half and the data were gathered from their tests.

IV. Data collection procedure

The data were collected longitudinally once a week during three months and half. As already mentioned, in every week two sessions were held. In the first session, a reading passage from one unit of *Intermediate Select Readings* book was given to the students. Some words which were supposedly difficult for the students to know the meanings were underlined. In addition, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries as well as pictures related to the underlined words were given to the learners. Each group was provided with one of the following dictionaries, namely, monolingual dictionary, bilingual dictionary, and some related pictures, respectively. The time devoted for answering the questions raised on the basis of the given reading passage was twenty minutes. The next session a test consisting of ten underlined words was administered and the learners were asked to answer the underlined words using the dictionaries allowed to. The scores each of the groups obtained were recorded every single session. This procedure repeated for the other weeks as well and the results were recorded separately. Table 1 shows the percentage of correct vocabularies produced by each group.

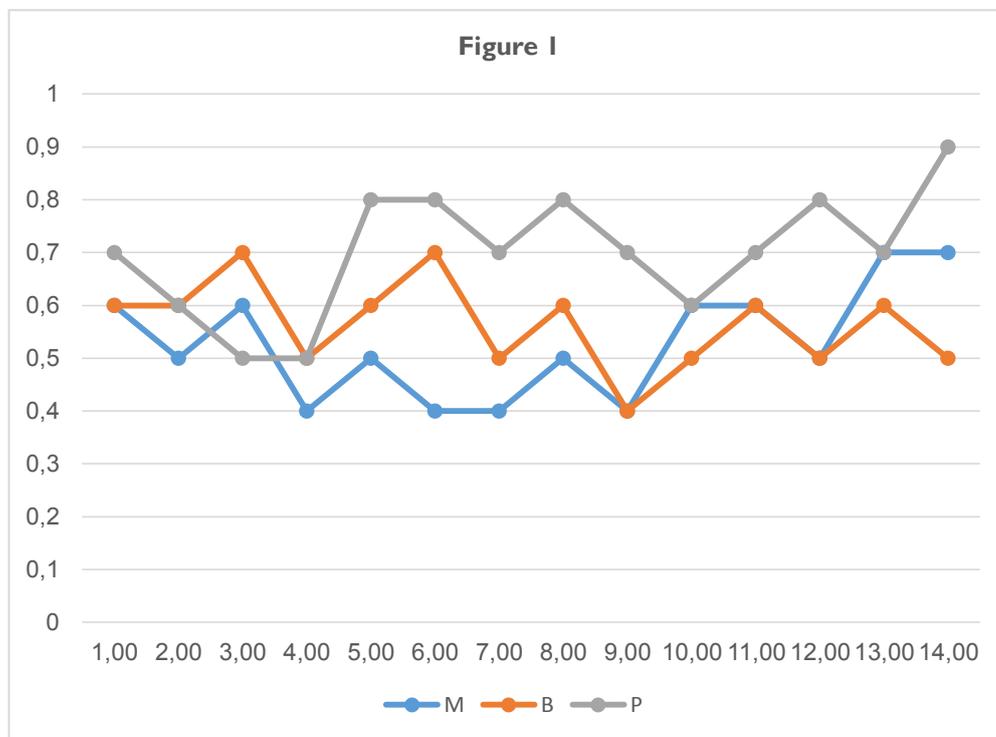
Table 1 shows the mean of correct vocabulary production of each group.

Table 1. The mean of correct vocabulary production by each group

Sessions	Monolingual	Mean	Bilingual	Mean	Pictures	Mean
1	120 out of 200	0.6	120 out of 200	0.6	140 out of 200	0.7
2	100 out of 200	0.5	120 out of 200	0.6	120 out of 200	0.6
3	120 out of 200	0.6	140 out of 200	0.7	100 out of 200	0.5
4	80 out of 200	0.4	100 out of 200	0.5	100 out of 200	0.5
5	100 out of 200	0.5	120 out of 200	0.6	160 out of 200	0.8
6	80 out of 200	0.4	140 out of 200	0.7	160 out of 200	0.8
7	80 out of 200	0.4	100 out of 200	0.5	140 out of 200	0.7
8	100 out of 200	0.5	120 out of 200	0.6	160 out of 200	0.8
9	80 out of 200	0.4	80 out of 200	0.4	140 out of 200	0.7
10	120 out of 200	0.6	100 out of 200	0.5	120 out of 200	0.6
11	120 out of 200	0.6	120 out of 200	0.6	140 out of 200	0.7
12	100 out of 200	0.4	100 out of 200	0.5	160 out of 200	0.8
13	140 out of 200	0.3	120 out of 200	0.6	140 out of 200	0.7
14	140 out of 200	0.6	100 out of 200	0.7	180 out of 200	0.9

Figure 1 shows the mean of correct vocabulary production of each group. This mean is shown in the below figure.

Figure 1. Mean of correct vocabulary production for each group



V. Results and discussion

Having a look at Figure 1 there is no significant difference among the mean scores of correct vocabulary production by each group in the first three sessions. From Session Four on, the rate of correct vocabulary produced by monolingual and bilingual dictionaries groups is somehow the same, whereas this rate is significantly higher for the group provided with related pictures.

This high retention and recalling rate for the group provided with pictures was always higher compared with the other two groups (with the exception of Session Ten). To justify the reason behind this high production and to support these findings the researchers concluded that it may be due to the fact that by increasing the difficulty level of the provided vocabularies, there is an increase in the production rate of the group having the related pictures. With regard to the other two groups, although there is not much difference between these groups, at the initial state of vocabulary retaining and recalling those using the bilingual dictionary had a better performance. A brief look at the succeeding sessions shows that the superiority of the bilingual dictionary fades away from Session Eight on. What comes to the mind of the researcher is that the learners gradually learned how to deal with a monolingual dictionary. They initially had little knowledge about different kinds of information this dictionary would provide them with. Getting more familiar with the abbreviations, parts of speech, usage, and structure, they gradually get used to make use of working with a monolingual dictionary.

VI. Conclusion

This study aimed at finding the probable priority that each of the three techniques namely using monolingual dictionary, bilingual dictionary, and pictures related to specific meaning may have over the two others with regard to retaining and recalling vocabulary items. Three homogeneous groups of 20 intermediate learners were collected based on their scores obtained in a PET. Each group was provided with one of the above-mentioned techniques. By comparing the average production rate of correct vocabulary items, the present research came to the following conclusion.

First, during the first four sessions no significant difference among the three groups was noticed. It may be due to the fact that the underlined words were not that difficult to be beyond the learners' vocabulary domain. As the difficulty level of the underlined words gradually increased, a high production rate of correct vocabulary items through using related pictures resulted. This means that using pictures facilitate retaining and recalling difficult words. This priority remains stable up to the end of data collection procedure.

Second, the results of comparing the other two techniques show that there is a little superiority of using bilingual dictionary over the other ones during the first eight sessions for the purpose of retaining and recalling vocabularies. This may be related to the fact that the learners did not have sufficient knowledge about using monolingual dictionary. From Session Nine on, learners showed a better performance regarding using monolingual dictionary as a result of familiarizing with abbreviations, parts of speech, structures, and usage of the dictionary considered as the most important aspect of the monolingual dictionary.

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Media Preferences and Uses: Radio Listening Habits among Students in Kenya

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Abstract

Media like radio plays a very significant role in the society. The main objective of this paper was to understand media preferences and choices of university students in a large public university- University of Nairobi. Survey research method was used through questionnaires to find the listening habits and their favorite radio stations and programs. A total of 103 students of University of Nairobi were the sample size for this paper. From this research work, it was found that students have an easy access to radio in the campus through their mobile phones, in the vehicles they travel to and from campus, at home and in their neighborhoods. The programming pattern adopted by radio stations, timing of programs, topics of discussion, the radio host, type of music played and language of broadcast influence radio listening habits of university students in Kenya.

Keywords: Radio, Listening, Programming, listening habits, University students, Kenya.

1.1 Introduction

Radio is the most effective, popular and credible medium for reaching a large and heterogeneous audience. (Nwabueze, 2007). The media is an essential part of our everyday life, as it aids in the navigation of our social reality in particular (Alasuutari, 1999). Radio is an extension of us with our external world. Radio has an invisible role as a “mind-altering device,” we tune in to a station which corresponds to our current frame of mind, this enforces or stabilizes our mood or we may select a station to listen which invokes and entices different emotional state (Alasuutari, 1999). According to Oliveira, Portela, & Santos (2012), it is assumed that listeners make their own interpretations of a radio programme – if the presentation includes something they can relate to, something familiar.

The encounter between the radio programme and the listener is regarded as a meaning making process within a cultural context. This meaning making process is influenced by a variety of factors, such as the radio programme topic, design and the socio-cultural variations in experiences, knowledge and cultural dispositions. Radio plays an integral role in providing its listener with news, music and other programmes, while also acting as a voice that represents them as well as the society at large.

A radio, or any other media, is actively chosen by its audience and is done so with "motives that underline media consumption" (Peters, 2007, p. 130). The reasons, or gratifications, for media consumption are: to pass time, as a habit, for companionship, for excitement, for relaxing, as an escape, for entertainment, as a social interaction, for information, and for specific content (Stafford & Stafford, 1996).

Radio was built on the idea to entertain and inform. Users of radio have added to that list with the reasons why they listen to radio: local news, it's personal, it's portable, and it's inexpensive (Richter, 2006). The perceived demise of radio can be linked to the uses and gratifications theory; radio is not satisfying its audience enough, to the point where the audience begins to seek these gratifications elsewhere, like Internet radio. Users of media are "aware of their needs and select media to gratify those needs" (Ayyad, 2001, p. 44. Gratification from media use can be broken into two categories: process and content (Urista, Qingwen & Day, 2009). The process category is gratified by the active process of seeking information. The content category is gratified by acquiring the information. Uses and gratification is goal directed, purposive, and motivated action (Rosengren, 1974). Radio listeners and other media consumers choose specific types of media to gratify individual needs.

1.2 Radio in Kenya

Radio in Kenya continues to undergo complex and rapid transformation, dating back to 1927 when transmission by Radio in Kenya started with the advent of the East African Broadcasting Corporation (EABC). EABC relayed BBC news to the colonies under a contract with Imperial and International Communications which earlier had operated as a subsidiary of Cable and Wireless Ltd (Omwoha, 2014).

The broadcasts targeted white settlers who monitored news from their homes and other parts of the world. In 1953, during the Mau Mau emergency, the colonial government created the African Broadcasting Service (ABS). Its programs were aired in Kiswahili, Dholuo, Gikuyu, Nandi, Luhya, 4 Kamba and Arabic¹ to propagate obedience to the colonial government during the height of the Mau Mau (freedom struggle) insurgency, (Wa Njogu Kiarie, 2004:59). Imperative to note, as Carla Heath (1997:37) observes that by the time of Kenya's independence, assumptions that broadcasting was a powerful weapon and an essential instrument of modern state administration were part of Kenya's bureaucratic and political culture. Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), the state broadcasting station, was nationalized in 1964, and switched propaganda masters from colonizers to independence leaders (Kiarie 2004:62).

Until the 1990's, those who disagreed with the positions passed through these media were consequently branded saboteurs/enemies of the state leading to detention, assassination or forced exile (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1987, Ochieng, 1992).

For most of the period between 1992 and 2006 when the media began to be a thriving industry, it has played a substantial role in mediating relationships between citizens and the state, in shaping the democratic dispensation in the country, and in radically transforming how some of the most marginalized members of society access information on issues that shape their lives (Maina, 2007).

Steadman Research group's (2008) statistics reveal that audience reaches noting that about 16.7 million Kenyans listen to radio (12.4 in rural and 4.4 % in urban areas) (Oriarie, 2009:8). These statistics, informed by radio's characteristic as a dominant communication medium because it is inexpensive, available to citizens at all. These groups characterized by their strong affiliation and support for KANU. They were meant to unite regional elites to coalesce around KANU in exchange for socio-economic favors and opportunities.

Media liberalization led the media to be particularly instrumental in exposing the weaknesses of the government and giving the pro-democracy forces a channel through which they engaged the government and the conservative forces that supported the status quo (Wanyande, 2009:14). As of June 2011 Kenya had approximately, ninety-six licensed FM radio stations on air, some broadcasting regionally while others nationally (Media Monitoring Report 2011:3).

Since then radio broadcasting in Kenya has grown by leaps and bounds. The size and nature of the marketplace for radio has also enlarged significantly since 2000, with 34 new stations coming on-air, bringing the total in 2005 to 49 (Republic of Kenya, 2006b; CCK, 2005b). In particular, there has been an increase in vernacular-language stations, and the proliferation of these stations reflects a push towards addressing the various interests groups in the country. There are now a number of radio stations serving different ethnic groups and major religions in the country, and the interests of the youth (the largest segment of the population) are now being targeted by stations such as Kiss FM and others. Radio listenership in the country is quite high. It is estimated that by 2017, there would be 24 million youth aged 18-35. In Kenya, a youth is taken to belong in the age range 15-35 with the voting age being 18 (Mkandawire, 1996).

2.1 Uses and gratifications theory

The uses and gratifications theory proposed by Blumler and Katz (1974) assumes that media users are goal-oriented. They play an active role in selecting and using the media to best fulfill their individual needs. The uses and gratifications theory shifts the emphasis of media communication studies from an effect perspective to an audience perspective. The uses and gratification theory assumes that the media users have a variety of choices to satisfy their needs and each medium can have different functions. Uses and gratifications theory is now widely accepted for nearly all kinds of mediated communication tools (Lin, 1999). Elliott and Rosenberg (1987) remarked that audience's motivations to use a certain type of mediated communication have been studied through this theory whenever a new communication technology is introduced. For example, the uses and gratification theory was adopted in the study of how adolescents used new technology including VCRs (Lin, 1993), the impact of VCRs and cable TV on the passing-time and companion gratifications from watching television (Perse and Courtright, 1993), and the relationship between motivations and consequences of using the Internet (Ko, Cho and Roberts, 2005). A recent study of 189 teenagers aged 14 to 19 in U.S. found that the major use of the Internet was for research and homework. Respondents found out websites mainly by using search engines and asking friends. Respondents considered the Internet the most preferred sources of communication about sensitive issues when they need information fast (La Ferle, Edwards and Lee, 2000).

2.2 The youth market

The global youth market is important to international marketers and advertisers because of its size and its homogeneity. Giges's (1991) study found the life styles and consumption habits of people age 14 to 34 around the world to be similar, especially in the consumption level of soft drinks, beer and footwear.

A survey was conducted to examine the use of radio among students at University of Nairobi. The target population was young people aged 15 to 24. The study targeted

undergraduate students at the institution. Hard copies of the questionnaires were distributed through face-to-face interactions. Respondents were requested to fill out the questionnaires by themselves. A briefing session was conducted with the interviewers about the objectives of the study and the exact meaning of all the questions. All the questions in the questionnaire were close-ended. A questionnaire was drafted based on La Ferle *et al.*'s (2000) study about U.S. teens' use of the Internet and traditional media. A pilot study of five respondents aged 16 to 21 was conducted. Some wording of items was revised according to the pilot study. The data was collected in June 2015.

3.1 Methodology

The study was descriptive in nature, with the use of a survey to gather the data. The research method selected survey approach because it allowed for a larger sample to be gathered, as opposed to interviews or other forms of data gathering (Welman et al., 2005). The survey was used to obtain the media uses and preferences on radio listenership among University of Nairobi students.

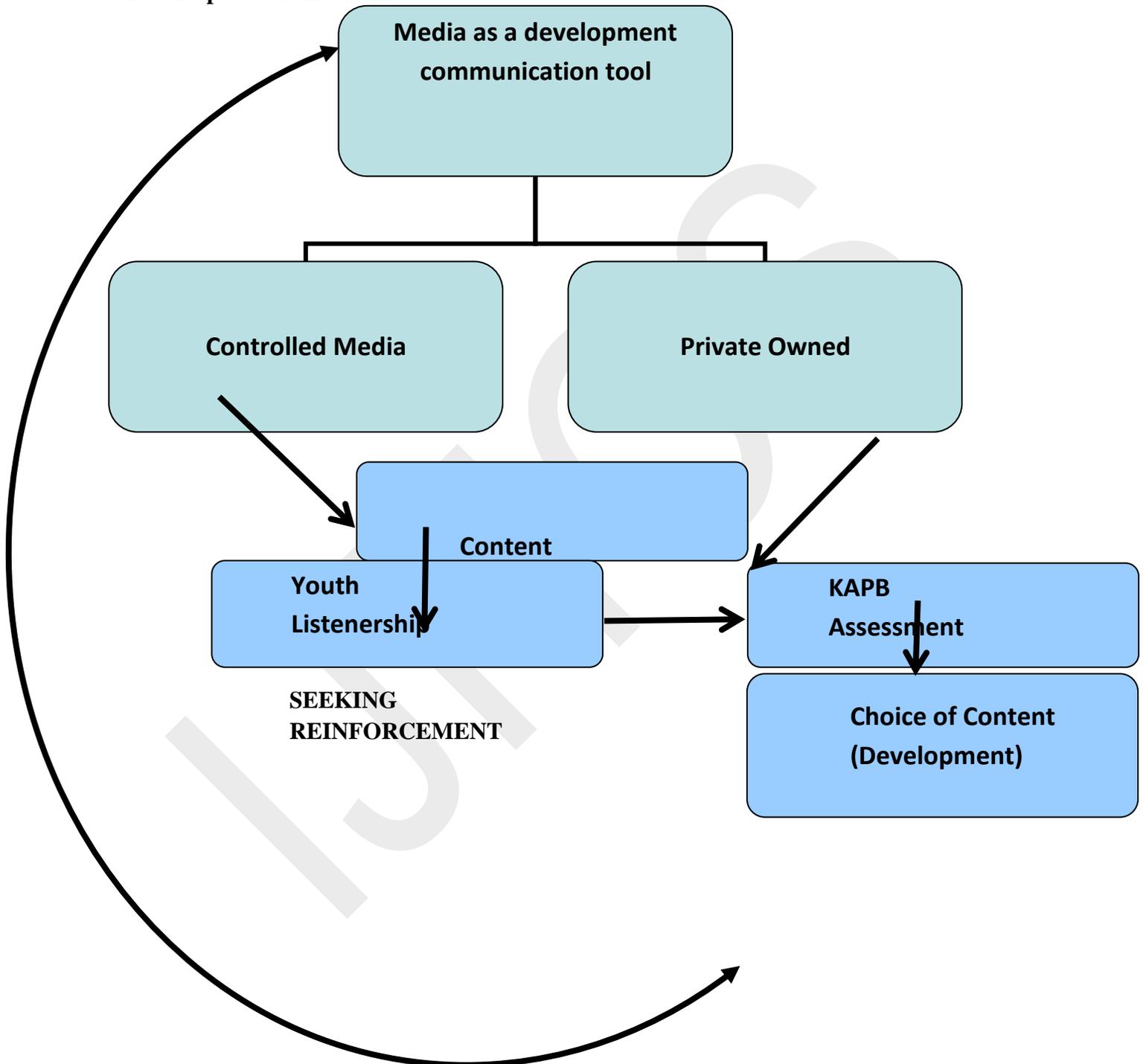
3.2 Research Design

The research design to be employed is that of a quantitative study. The research was conducted through a survey methodology in which self reported questionnaires were issued out to 300 university students who had been carefully sampled. The study was conducted within a four month period, September-December, 2014.

3.3 Population and Sampling

The target population for this study consisted of 103 students from the top and largest university in East and Central Africa. These students were undergraduates selected from the entire university. This target population was chosen to represent all university students in Kenya because the University of Nairobi has a total population of about 70,000 students. The sample size for this study was 103 respondents who are all undergraduate students. The self reported questionnaires were issued out to all University of Nairobi Campuses, in and out of Kenya's capital city, Nairobi. The study employed probability sampling techniques in which simple random sampling was used to collect data among the University of Nairobi undergraduate students in all campuses. The technique enabled the researchers to produce a random sample that informed the understanding of the whole population. The instrument for data collection used in this study was the questionnaire.

3.2 Conceptual Framework



Source: Researcher 2015

The above conceptual; framework explains the study in a diagram. The media as a development communication tool, specifically the radio may be grouped into two broad categories; controlled media and privately owned media. The controlled media is strictly regulated by the media policies and laws that govern the media industry. In essence this category is confined to content that is subject to scrutiny and regulation. On the other hand the privately owned media better known as commercial media is more liberal and flexible in the content they broadcast. This kind of media is also regulated by the policies set by the communications authority in this case Communication Authority of Kenya (CA).

The media airs content available to the youth and which resonates with them. The attitudes, perceptions and behavior guide the youth in the content they listen to and the stations they tune in. if a station airs content that resonates with the KAPB of the youth, then they tend to frequently listen to the station.

4.1 Findings

The pie charts and bar graphs below are a reflection of how sample of 103 answered the different questions set out in the questionnaire.

Table 1: Year of study of respondents

Category	Frequency	percentage
First year	35	34%
Second year	16	16%
Third year	28	27%
Fourth year	21	20%
Firth year	3	3%
Total	103	100%

Figure 1: Years of study of respondents

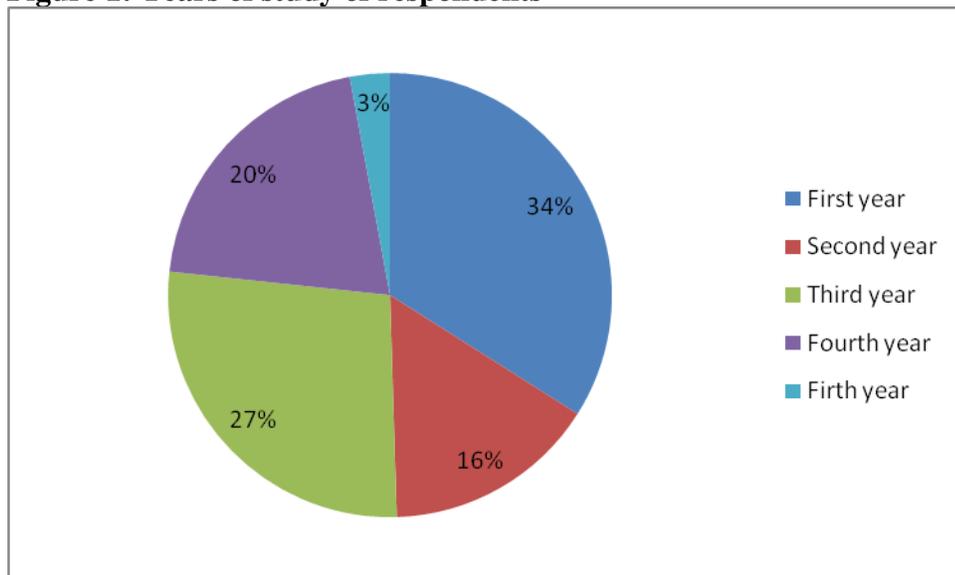
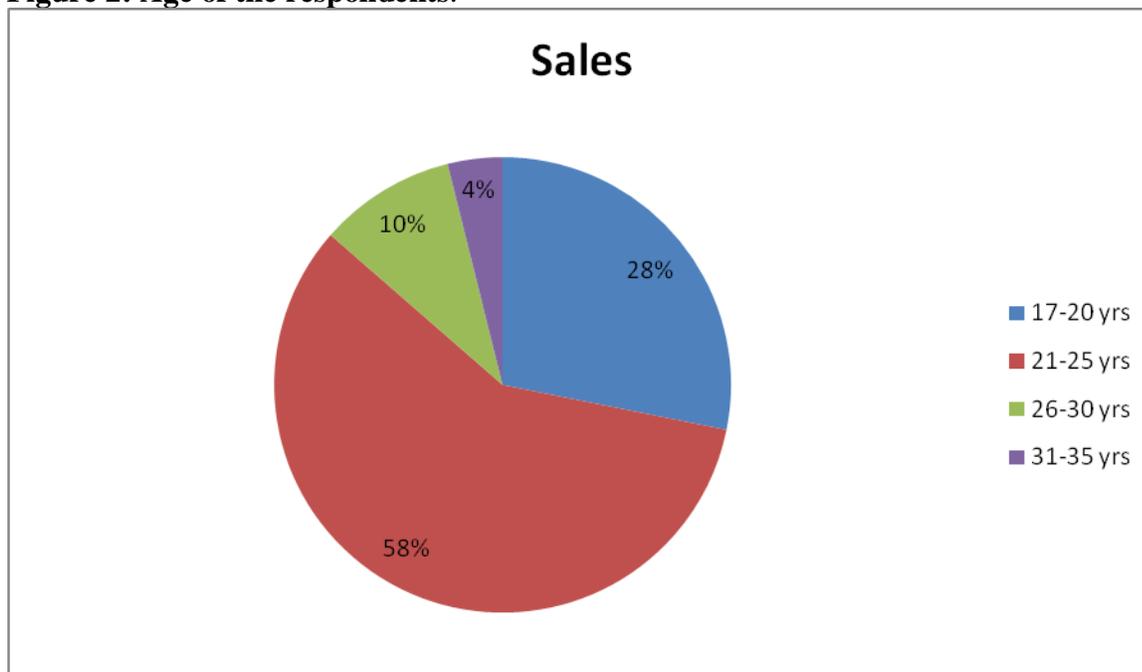


Table 1 and figure 1 show that 34% of the respondents were first year students, 27% second year, 20% third year, 16% fourth year and 3% fifth year. The findings of the study show that the research covered all years of study with the high percentage being first years.

Table 2: Age of respondents

Category	Frequency	Percentage
17-20 years	29	28%
21-25 years	60	58%
26-30 years	10	10%
31-35 years	4	4%
Total	103	100

Figure 2: Age of the respondents.

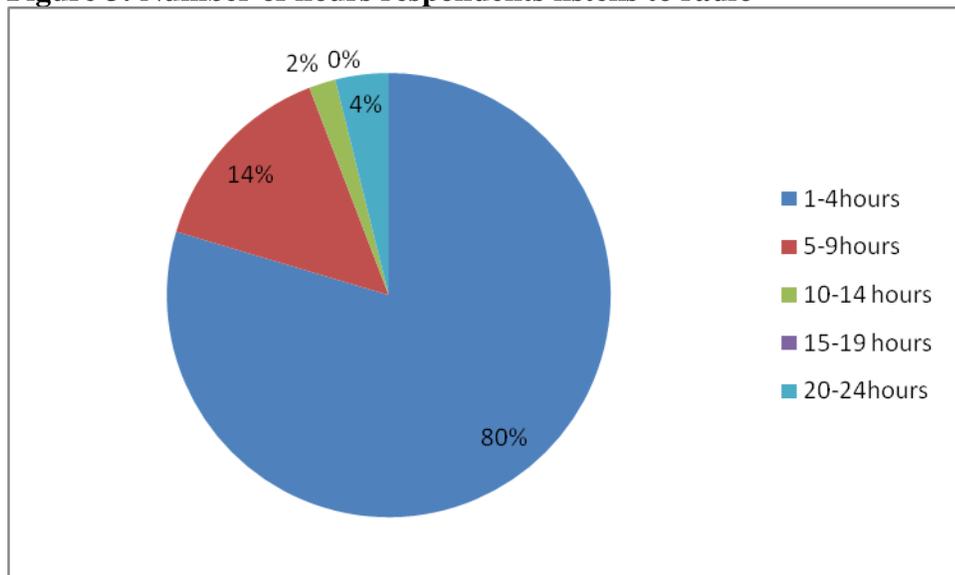


The table 4.3 and figure 4.3 show that 58% of the respondents were between the ages of 21-25, 28% between the ages 17-20 10% between the age 26-30 and 4% between the ages 31-35. The findings of the study show that most of the respondents were between the ages 21-25.

Table 3: Number of hours respondents listens to radio

Category	Frequency	percentage
1-4hours	82	80%
5-9hours	15	15%
10-14 hours	2	2%
15-19 hours	0	0%
20-24hours	4	4%
Total	103	100%

Figure 3: Number of hours respondents listens to radio

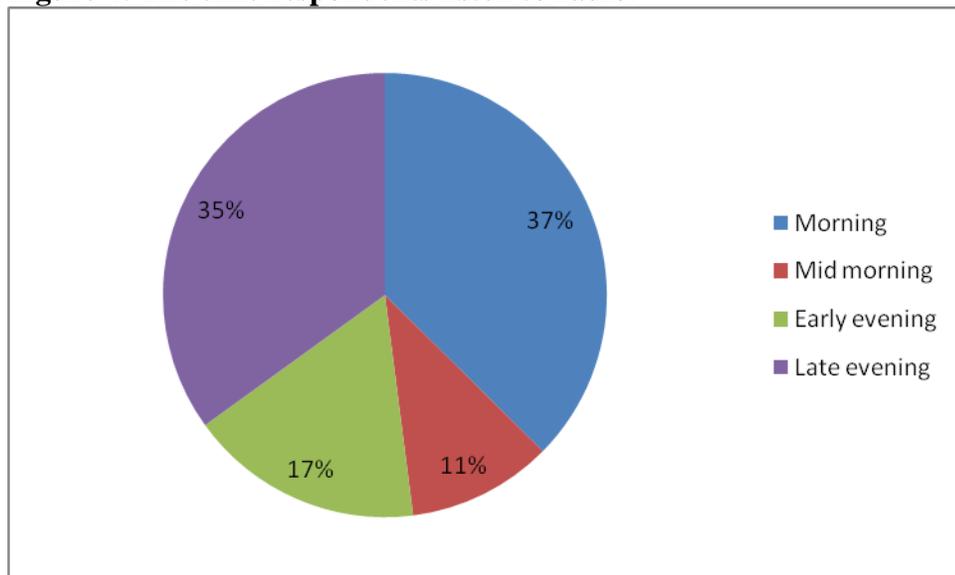


The table 4.4 and figure 4.4 show that 80% of respondent listen to radio for about 1-4 hours, 15% 5-9 hours, 2% 10-14 hours, 4% 20-24 hours and 0% 15-19 hours. The findings of the study show that most respondents listen to radio for about 1-4 hours and none listen to radio between 15-19 hours.

Table 4: The time respondents listen to radio

Category	Frequency	percentage
Morning	46	37%
Mid morning	13	11%
Early evening	21	17%
Late evening	43	35%
Total	123	100%

Figure 4: The time respondents listen to radio.



The table 4 and figure 4 show that 37% of respondents listen to radio in the morning, 35% late in the evening, 17% early in the evening and 11% during mid-morning. The findings of the study show that radio is mostly listened to during morning hours and that morning hours is a good time to pass information to radio listeners.

Table 5: The place where respondents listen to radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
At home	61	54%
In the car/matatu	44	39%
At work	2	2%
At college	3	3%
Other places	2	2%
Total	112	100

Figure 5: The place respondents listen to radio

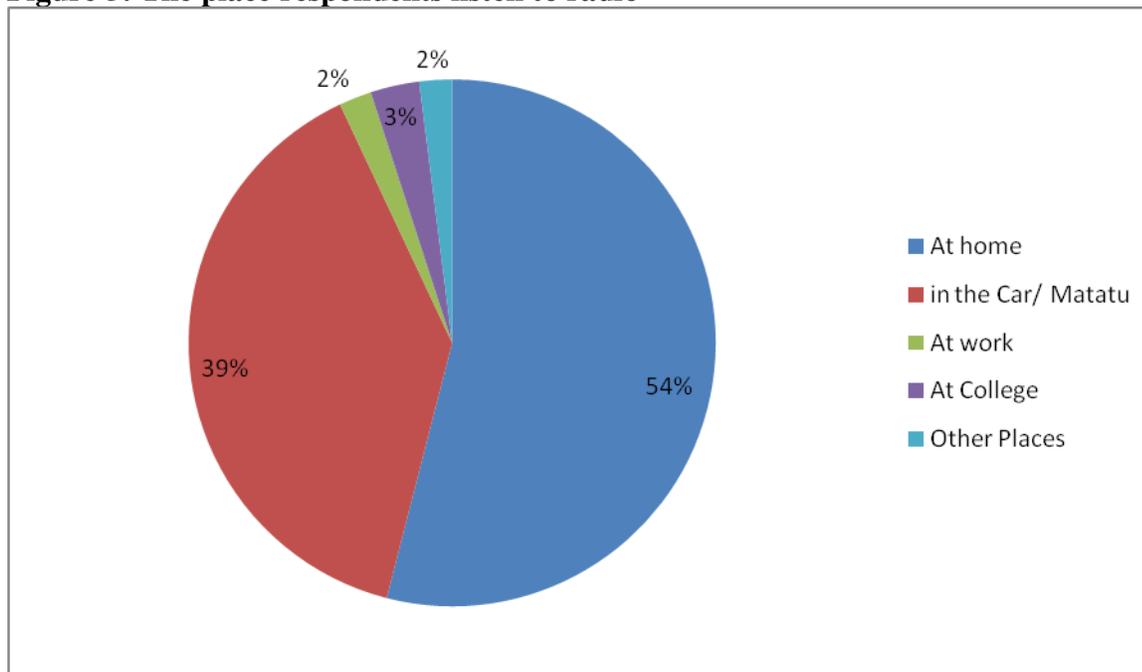


Table 6 and figure 6 show that 54% of respondents listen to radio at home , 39% in the private car or matatu (public transport) , 31% at work 2% at college / school and 2% at other place like in their hostel and outside while jogging .The findings of the study show that many people listen to radio at their homes.

Table 1: How respondents listen to radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Fm radio	71	58%
Online radio	2	2%
Digital radio	4	4%
Mobile radio	42	34%
TVs	3	3%
Total	122	100

Figure 1: how respondents listen to radio

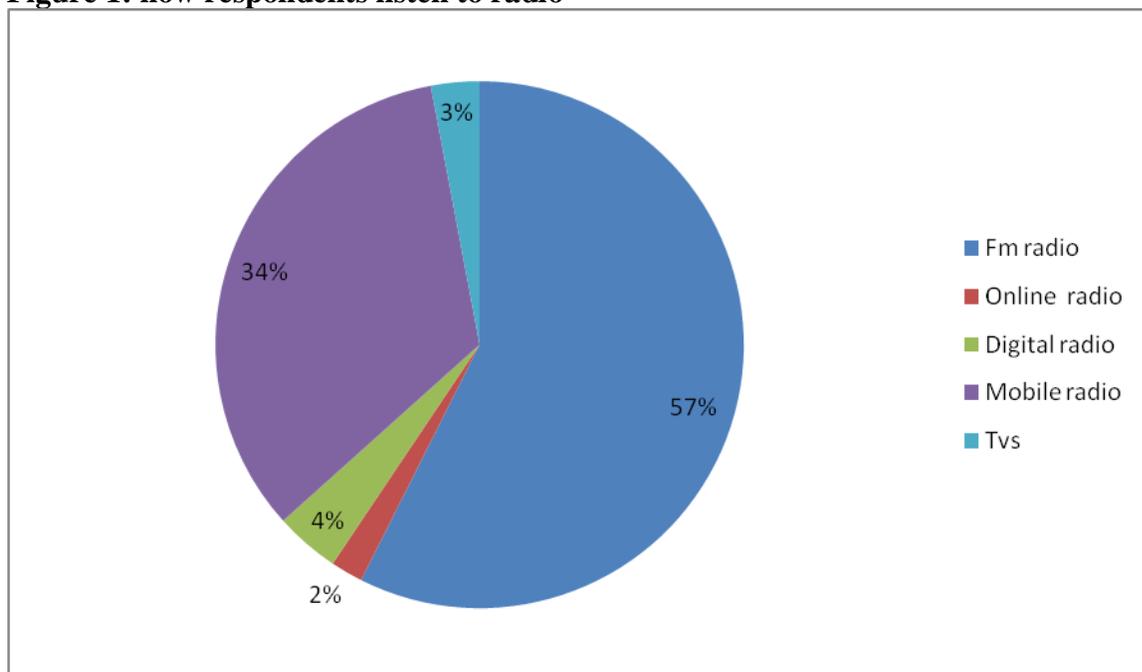


Table 7 and figure 7 show the 58% of the respondents listen to radio on FM radio, 34% throughout mobile phones 4% through digital radio, 3% through TVs and 2% through online radio. The findings of the study shows that radio is mostly listened to through FM radio.

Table 2: The station respondents regularly listen to

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Capital FM	35	18%
Classic FM	51	26%
Kiss 100	39	20%
Radio Jambo	14	7%
Nation FM	10	5%
Q FM	7	4%
Radio Citizen	11	6%
K.B.C Radio	2	1%
Others	31	16%
Total	200	100

Figure 2: station respondents regularly listen to

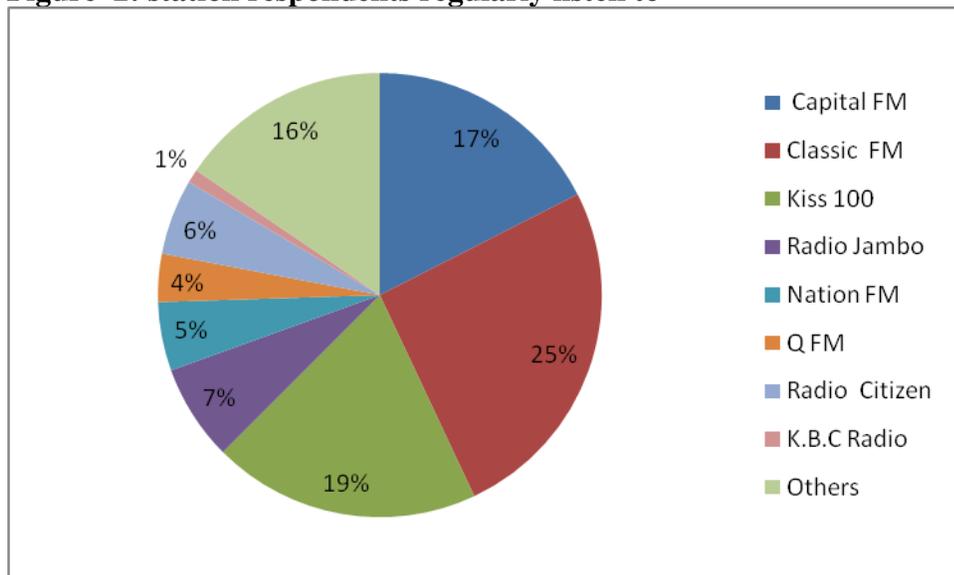


Table 8 and Figure 8 shows that 26% respondents listen to classic FM, 20% Kiss 100, 18% Capital FM, 7% Radio Jambo, 6% radio Citizen 5% Nation FM, 4% Q Fm, 1% K.B.C Radio and 16% listen to other radio stations for example Hope Fm, XFM, HomeBoyz radio, ZFm, radio 316, Ramogi FM, Iqra FM, B.B.C, Easy FM, Musyi FM, KamemeFM, One Fm.

The findings of the study shows that classic FM has the highest number of listenership and it is the station most youth regularly listen to, K.B.C radio despite being a national and governmental station it has the lowest number of listenership.

Table 3: respondent's favorite station.

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Capital Fm	11	11%
Classic Fm	28	28%
Kiss 100	24	24%
Radio Jambo	3	3%
Nation Fm	3	3%
Q Fm	2	2%
Radio Citizen	4	4%
K.B.C	0	0%
Others	25	25%
Total	100	100

Figure 3: respondent's favorite station

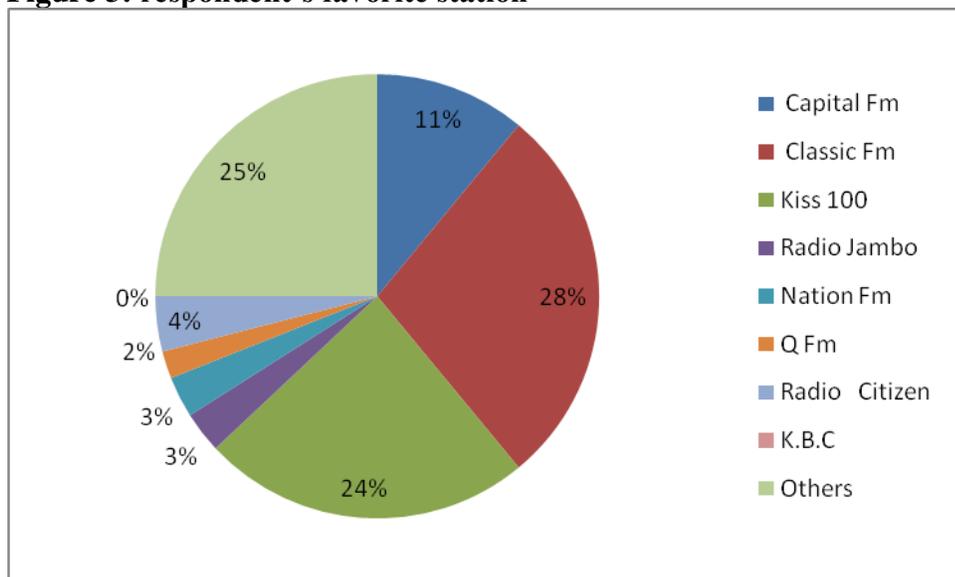
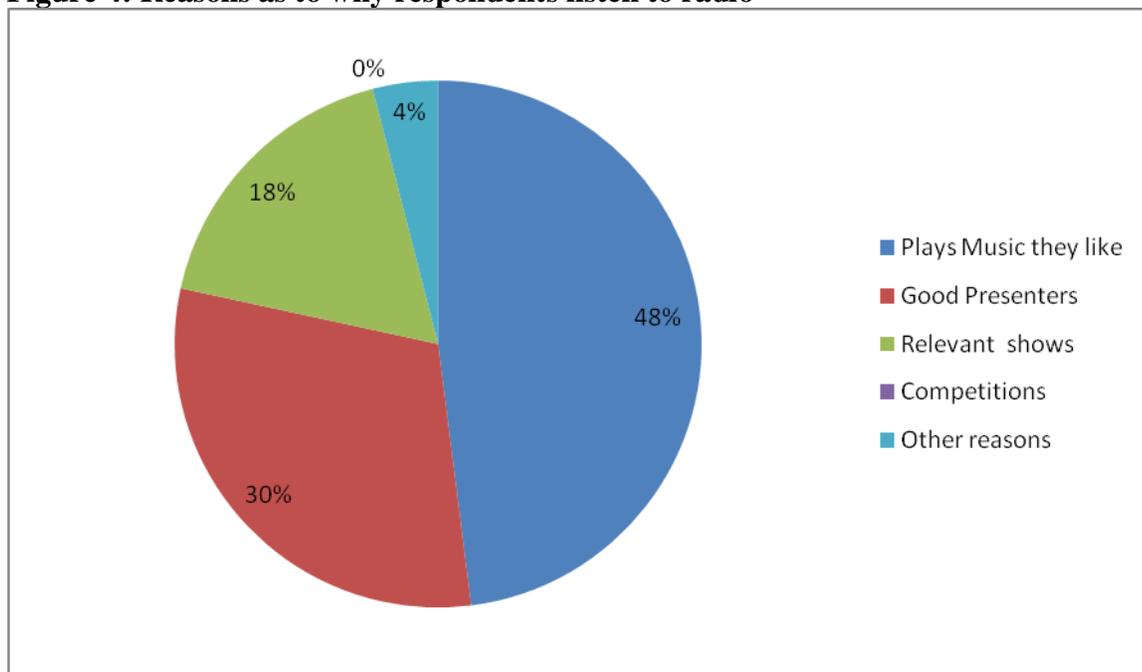


Table 4.9 and figure 4.9 shows the findings of the study is that classic FM is people's favorite radio station and that K.B.C radio was no one's favorite station. Respondents also had other radio stations as their favorite and this station included; radio 316, homeboyz, hope FM, Xfm and Kameme.

Table 4: Reasons respondent listen to radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Plays Music they like	60	48%
Good Presenters	38	30%
Relevant shows	22	22%
Competitions	0	0%
Other reasons	5	5%
Total	125	100

Figure 4: Reasons as to why respondents listen to radio

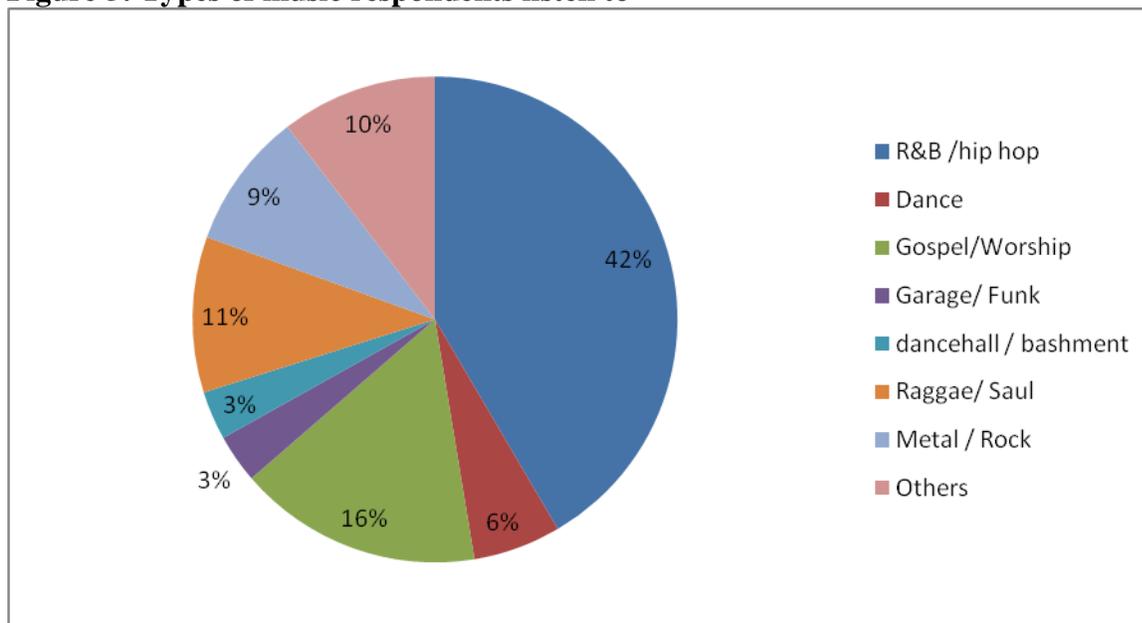


The findings from Table 4.10 and Figure 4.10 show that most respondents listen to radio mainly because radio plays music they liked. There are other reasons that makes people listen to radio for example sport shows like football, News and others are forced by circumstances to listen to radio.

Table 5: Types of music respondents listen to

Category	Frequency	Percentage
R&B /hip hop	64	39%
Dance	9	5%
Gospel / worship	25	15%
Garage /Funk	5	3%
Dancehall/Bashment	17	10%
Reggae/Saul	16	10%
Metal/rock	14	8%
Others	16	10%
Total	166	100

Figure 5: Types of music respondents listen to

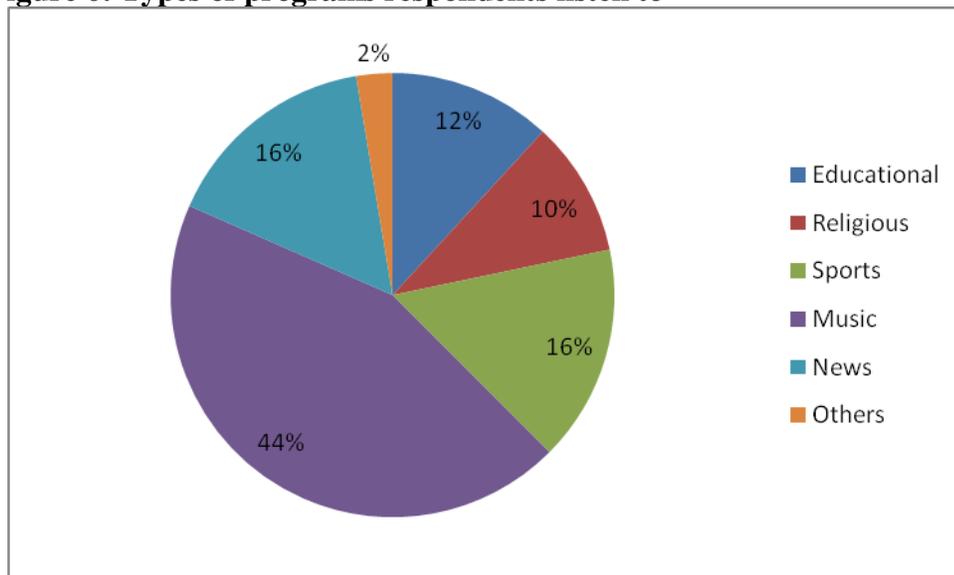


The findings from Table 11 and Figure 11 shows that most people love to listen to R&B/hip-hop music and others have other preferred types of music like bongo, Neo soul, jazz, country music, techno, Blues, classic music and African songs.

Table 6: Types of program respondents listen to on radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Educational	18	12%
Religious	15	10%
Sports	24	16%
Music	67	44%
News	24	16%
Others	4	3%
Total	152	100

F
figure 6: Types of programs respondents listen to

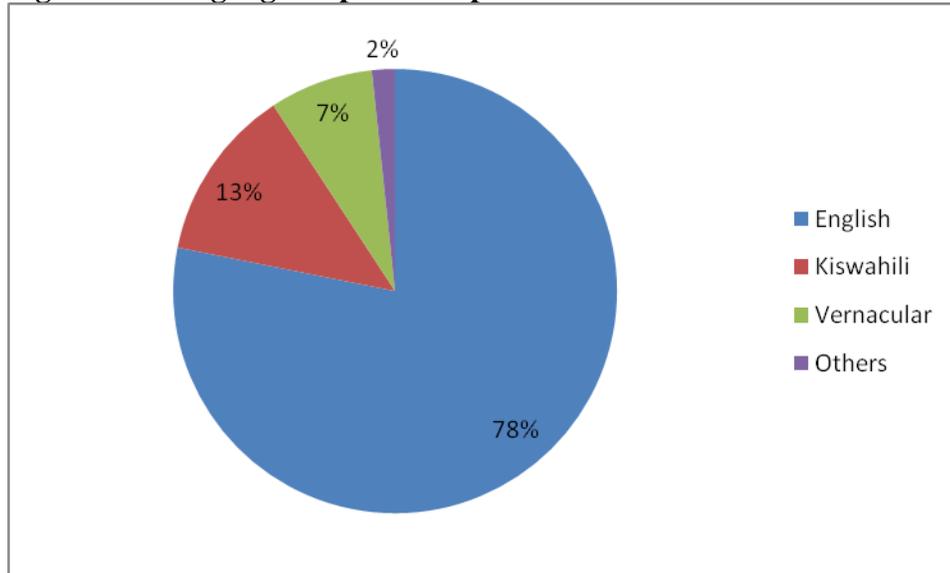


The findings from figure 12 and Table 12 show that most youth prefer to listen to music than any other programs on radio. Some youth preferred to listen to programs that are about relationships and other social issues like comedy and trending topics.

Table 7: Language respondents prefer to listen to on radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
English	93	78%
Kiswahili	15	13%
Vernacular	9	9%
Others	2	2%
Total	119	100

Figure 7: Language respondents prefer to listen to on radio

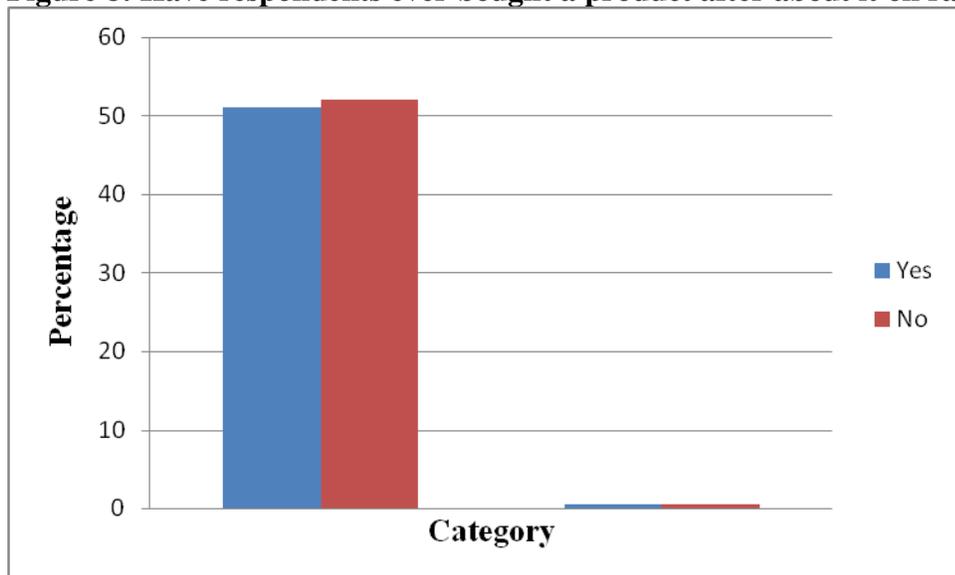


The findings from Table 13 and Figure 13 shows that most youth prefer to listen to English on radio station as compared to any other language. There are others who had different preference of language like French.

Table 8: shows if respondents have ever bought a product after hearing about it on radio

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	51	50%
No	52	50%
Total	103	100

Figure 8: Have respondents ever bought a product after about it on radio



From the Figure.14 and Table 14 out of the 103 respondents sampled 52% of them said that they have never bought a product after hearing it on radio , while 51 respondents said they had at one point bought a product after hearing it on radio . The findings of this study show that radio is a good avenue for advertisements.

Table 9: Do respondents think radio is a good avenue for advertising or passing information?

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	94	91%
No	9	9%
Total	103	100

Figure 9: Do respondents think radio is a good avenue for advertising or passing information

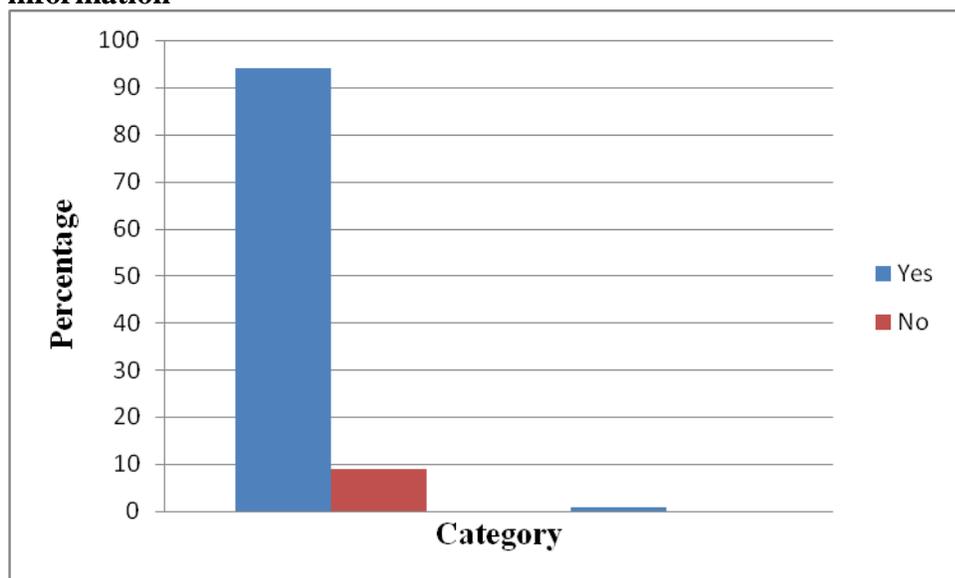


Figure 15 and Table 15 shows that 91% of the respondents sampled think that radio is a good avenue for advertising products and services and for passing information while 9% think that radio is not a good avenue for passing information. The findings of the study shows that radio is a very good avenue for passing information especially to the youth.

4.2 Discussion of findings

Radio is a medium or a means of conveying certain kinds of information. It can be a powerful tool in assisting in the development process of countries but its effectiveness depends not only on its intrinsic qualities but more importantly on how it is used and for what purposes it is used. Behind each use to which radio has been put are certain assumptions about radio's effects, about the structure of reception and about learning and social change. There are a number of strategies, all of them effective in certain circumstances. The success of radio as a medium will depend upon trying to clarify these assumptions of the various utilization strategies so that a country's needs are fitted to appropriate uses of radio.

The discussed different radio stations presented above may not be the only development-oriented programs. But at least they give a fairly broad scope of the kinds of developmental programs running on different radio stations. Some of the programs on these radio stations like the religious ones, peace and reconciliation, and cultural awareness have had direct impacts on the community.

Different radio stations have also been able to promote local singers and dramatists, as well as raise community awareness on the need to nurture indigenous knowledge. Other radio programs such as farming and self-help projects have been able to stimulate rural development by providing useful information on loans, and tips on how to start or improve income-generating projects. The news programs have greatly improved the flow of information in the rural areas; while the programs about human rights, family values, democracy and political awareness, have raised the level of understanding about those issues.

Other programs, like environment alert, and health education, may not have directly contributed to tangible development, but they have helped to raise public knowledge and observation of the prescribed codes of behavior. This is good for communal development. Some of the genres were stimulated by the developmental goals of the radio stations, and therefore are closely related to some of the development-oriented programs in the first section of this chapter.

For instance, cultural awareness was responsible for the music, dance and drama genre; talk shows were stimulated by the need to broaden public awareness on politics and democracy; expert programs and special interest groups were kindled by the need to serve specific interests of the public; news genre was stimulated by the need to provide useful factual reports as opposed to opinion.

5.1 Conclusion

The findings of this study have shown that students of the University of Nairobi listen to radio. Most of them listen to radio in the morning and late evenings. Although most of them have mobile phones that have fm radio stations, a big percentage listens to radio from a radio set. It is no doubt that most of them are seeking entertainment from radio while another significant percentage seeks information and uses radio as a means of research for their education as well as on issues affecting them. The responses from the students applauded the fact that radio presenters are very influential in their lives and therefore, highly influence their social choices in terms of music, dressing and favorite topics of discussion.

From the findings, most University of Nairobi students are between the ages of 21 to 25 years and listen to radio. Therefore, from the study, we can generalize that most of the youths who listen to radio seek entertainment rather than education. Therefore, as development communication practitioners we can take advantage of this and use Edutainment which would be effective to reach the youth with messages targeted for their behavior change.

The study further shows that most of these students listen to radio for entertainment and thus making music playing radio stations more popular than those that are flooded with

information. It is also very clear that most of these students prefer radio stations that use English as their means of communication which is composed of 92% of all respondents. This makes the Kiswahili and other languages using stations less popular among the students of University of Nairobi.

This researcher wanted to find out whether radio is a strong means of advertising and from the information we collected, we can confidently conclude that radio is a powerful means of advertising given its powerful influence on its audience. This conclusion was arrived at after most respondents admitted to have purchased an item after it had been advertised on radio as well as developing a love for something after realizing that their favorite radio presenter had consumed a product.

Across many countries and in different regions, radio stations foster community participation and create an appetite for transparent and accountable governance, even in challenging regulatory environments. Good governance and effective leadership, especially in impoverished communities, are collective processes, which depend on the development of an engaged, analytical, informed, and robust civil society. Radio in particular has proved to be a sustainable and interactive medium for poor and marginalized populations to be heard and informed, shape knowledgeable opinions, learn the give-and-take of informed dialogue, and become more decisive agents in their own development. Good practice demonstrates that support for radio includes the development of capacities in programming, credible local reporting, station management, and resource mobilization.

According to the World Bank (2003) a needs assessment must be undertaken before larger support programs for the radio sector are developed. This preliminary assessment may help to clarify how best to support the participatory planning and establishment of radio, especially community radio on how to enhance the capacities of its staff and volunteers, and the likelihood of station sustainability.

The World Bank's community broadcasting activities have been varied, with a focus on providing robust, ongoing vehicles for people—including the very poor—to influence decisions at local and national levels, to voice their individual (and community-based) concerns, and to hold government institutions accountable. There is also a strong focus on analysis of the enabling environment of policies and regulations for information and voice, to enable the Bank to support policy, legal, and regulatory improvements.

Further areas of involvement as Gumucio 2001; Tripp and Warren 1996 include facilitating networking among community radio stations and support to national community networks, and provision of technical assistance to help station personnel produce better radio content, diversify their sources of revenue, interface with complementary ICTs, and play a proactive role in the development of the communities served in Kenya and East Africa at large.

Additionally, the study depicts that most respondents preferred listening to comedy, relationship and other social issues among other trending topics. The study has shown that most youth are attracted to programs that deal with relationship and other social issues. In view of this, it is important that radio stations should broadcast advisories before airing content specifically sexual content. This will be a way of preparing the listeners or audiences of the upcoming program. Furthermore, it is necessary that the time designated for the programs to be stratified for the different audiences.

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Colonial Languages, Indigenous Languages and the Question of Development in the Fourth world: a Nigerian Literary Perspective

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Abstract

Language is central to a peoples' definition of themselves. Indigenous languages are means of improving educational quality by building and developing knowledge and experience gained from the immediate cultural environment of the learner. Language therefore becomes not only a tool for communication and knowledge, but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment both for an individual and the community he belongs. This paper seeks to prove that the literature of a people can best be expressed in their indigenous languages. This is principally so, if the literature is to have relevance to the vast majority it represents. The paper seeks to expand the notion that indigenous languages symbolize a deep, Lord-like connection between speakers of a language and their cultural identity. It also seek to further bring forward the argument that, maintaining first language abilities and enhancing them through the development of literacy and academic language skills actually leads to better academic outcomes. This by extension naturally brings about the much needed developments in the fourth world nations. From a Nigerian literary perspective, the paper attempts to show the 'disconnect' between the body of colonial and post-colonial literatures in English and the actual need of the peasantry. The mis-representation, mis-interpretation of the yearnings of the common man through European languages' deliberate misadventure in Africa, is also to be elucidated in this paper as illegitimate and accidents of history. This misrepresentation and misinterpretation of peoples' need is what compound the catastrophe of the fourth world people in Nigeria and Africa in general.

Keywords: post colonial literature, Indigenous languages, Fourth World.

The Post-Colonial Literature in Nigeria and European Languages

Undoubtedly, intellectual activity is culture bound and conditioned by the social and physical environment in which the culture is based. No developed nation in the world today uses a foreign language for education, administration, commerce and literary interaction. Linguistic homogeneity correlates with higher Gross National Product. Also, no language in the world can be regarded as primitive or inferior to another – structurally, or as unable to serve the communicative needs of its users if given ‘the chance to do so’. This lack of ‘chance to do so’ – to exercise intellectually the capacity of the indigenous colonized Nigerian peoples’ languages to express themselves in the domain of literature, was a deliberate colonial project. The project was set in motion right from the colonial days and in post-colonial Nigeria, it persists to the detriment of our intellectual and academic growth both locally and internationally. The English language in the case of the common wealth nation states becomes a tool for masking lies; extortion, exploitation, and theft of our natural resources, human capital, and intellectual/technological abilities. Foreign languages therefore, ensure ‘intellectual Dependency’.

There is no getting away from the conclusion reached by the African educationist, Abdou Moumuni that ‘Colonial Education corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes’. These abnormal complexes have pushed the Nigerian literary artist in the post-colonial era to miss-prioritize the needs of his people; the need to look at the structure from within using a language the peasantry understand. This is because he is also a product of that cultural dilemma which creates the inferiority complex in him should he venture to communicate in his mother tongue!

In literary discourse, one’s language must match ones – intended audience. Thus, according to Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, (1991) ‘the language issue is the key, not the only one, but definitely a very-very important key to the decolonization process’. The colonial project, derailed and marginalized African languages with the sole aim of not only under-developing, but ensuring our domination and subjugation.

Unfortunately, the post-colonial African writer and Nigerian writer in particular who inhabits the birth place of African literature together with South Africa is yet to be brave enough to come face to face with the realities of this colonial project. Writers like Achebe have consistently maintained that ‘if the white man is not ashamed of colonizing us, we should not be ashamed of colonizing his language’ but the issue is, our supposed colonization of his language is further colonizing our culture, history as a people, way of thinking and viewing things and most importantly the root cause of our permanent under-development. For as pointed out by Ngugi (1991), this European language, is ‘a cultural bomb’ used by the colonial masters in annihilating a society’s belief in themselves; their origin, their past, their languages, so that someone somehow will determine their future’.

To determine our future simply means perpetration of our backwardness, by ensuring a separation between us and our psychosocial growth – a creation of a confused class of

intellectuals, trapped in complexes, uprooted from the society's needs, and boxed in perpetual debate of expressing his culture through a medium that nature itself did not saddle with that responsibility.. In other words, attempting the impossible – trying to make the language of the colonizer carry his burden of neo-colonization. For, as observed by Albert Memmi (1965),

'by what else is the heritage of people handed down? by the education which it gives to its children and by language, that wonderful reservoir constantly enriched with new experiences., tradition and acquisitions, habits and conquests, deeds and acts of previous generations are thus bequeathed and recorded in history .

The questions here are: whose language? The European language? The African languages? Which literature? The European literature? the African literature in English or the African literature in African languages? Which literature is best suited to carry this heritage? The answer is simple that literature written in the language of the people since language is central to peoples' definition of themselves.

Literature is therefore a most indispensable discipline to humanity, considering its objectives. Austine Amanze Akpanda explain that the relationship between literature and society is such that while literature is used to ensure and aspire to order in the society, it is what happen in the society that provides art with the materials to exist. Art can therefore not be separated from the society because it is the society that has its supreme obligation. According to Akpuda:

Such an inseparable relationship between literature and society can be explained in two ways. The first is that art is a product of a given society. Similarly, it is an imaginative recreation of certain aspects of a particular society's life. Thus, we have such forms as literature, music, painting, sculpture, film and other varieties of art which imaginatively recreates life as lived in specific or probable societies (2002:90).

This product and imaginative recreation can best be presented using the language of the people. This is because creative writing as an imaginative act is dependent of the imagination can best describe those experiences of the writer better than borrowed ones from an alien culture.

A literary artist is like a seer, a Prophet, the conscience of the society. He should be able to guide the society towards certain directions through aesthetic means. The guide should be for improving the audience awareness in themselves, believing in their strength, identifying their weaknesses for the purpose of improvement and strategic planning. It is through exercising this responsibility that the African writer will be viewed as a savior of the black race using his natural talents and God-given tool – his language as a device for initiating a natural growth and sustainable development. For as rightly observed by Fafunwa, (1990), 'there seems to be a correlation between underdevelopment and the use of a foreign language as the official language of a given country'.

Fourth-World Literature and the Economic Needs and Development of the fourth world nations – The Nigerian example.

What is the use of painting the truth? At the start colonization was not an act of civilization, nor was it a desire to civilize. It was an act of force motivated by interests. An episode in the vital competition which, from man to man, from group to group, has gone on ever increasing; the people who set out to seize colonies in distant lands were thinking primarily of themselves, and were working for their own profits, and conquering for their own power. The origin of colonization is nothing than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egotistical imposition of the strong upon the weak.

- Albert Sarrant (1923:46).

An egotistical imposition indeed! But why should the African writer (supposedly the conscience of the fourth world) continue to talk in the language of the colonizer? The colonizer who without mincing words states unequivocally that his mission was never to civilize, but an act of force motivated by interest?

The way in which the early Nigerian writers like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and a host of others responsible to the linguistic and literary challenges of their time shows that they were either ignorant of those 'egotistical imposition' to serve the colonial masters' interest, or they felt they were too good for their tribes and indigenous languages. Here in lies part of the major set backs and the complexes imposed by colonization. The colonial exercise was not just about conquering territory and economic development of Europe, but also about conquering minds. During the transition from the colonial to the post- colonial era, the British government saw the advantage of promoting English to a world class language.

Unfortunately by pursuing the policy of attempting to reach an international audience, the Nigerian writer has lost touch with the realities – the reality of his cultural growth, intellectual growth via his mother tongue and by extension his physical environment. The latter is supposed to be the basis for his aesthetic, academic and economic growth. The population inhabiting the fourth world would have been more enlightened; would have felt more incorporated, cared for, if they had been offered literature in their languages with themes that directly deal with their plights as people marginalized. This would have not only eased some tension in them, but would have given them hope that one day there will be a better tomorrow. This would have also given the people in the fourth republic some sense of pride, of involvement, of intellectual exercise through the medium of literature in their tongue.

Furthermore, literature in the fourth world's people language would have bridged some gaps, narrow down the clear divide between the so called academia and the masses. The dichotomy that exists between the literates and the illiterates would have naturally disappeared with the result of better understanding, unity and a feeling of common destiny. That literature in indigenous language, in the language and culture of the people inhabiting the fourth-world will

raise peoples' consciousness so that they understand the root of their oppression, and the need to first develop themselves through advancing their culture and feeling of togetherness which will consequently breed a yearning for natural growth and economic development. For what is the essence of literature if it does not attempt to mirror a society's socio-economic problem and proffer solutions through the medium those most affected can understand? Anything short of this, signify that our literature is pursuing nothing but a dead end and moving towards cultural genocide.

According to Nkrumah, 'one of the worst legacies of colonialism has been the absence of a trained body of African technicians and administrators as at the time of independence'. But one may ask what of today? After more than five decades of Nigeria's independence, the story is the same. The same answer to be expected from notifying a literary artist when asked why you are expressing your cultural experience through the colonial Language. Because I am not a local man, I am an international scholar, targeting international audience! Mr. Scholar, to the detriment of your culture? your experience, your people, even to your own detriment. Because that International audience will always rate you fourth world, trying to play the first or second world with very little success or esteem in their eyes. 'The African writer', as noted by a Guyanese scholar, O. R. Dathorne, has become '...in the twentieth century,...a cultural entrepreneur who manipulates the apparatus of culture for export,'.

What is clear from the forgoing is that the colonial/language weakens the colonized Languages; thereby further distancing the fourth world nations from the centre and ensuring that they remain in the periphery. This has adverse effects on their mental perception and their socio-economic status. To uplift them mentally, socio-economically, their literature should address them in the language they understand so that they will have a relief and get the foundation for an effective economic growth. Non-industrialization and the absence of technical development in the fourth world lead to a slow economic collapse of the hidden nation.

This collapse threatens the standard of living of the hidden nation in Nigeria, keeping the technicians from existing and the artist from perfecting himself and his creations. The system works within a vicious circle with the neglect of indigenous languages to express themselves as the root cause of that quandary.

In practical terms, just like the Europeans weaken industrial growth, so that the raw materials must constantly be exported, so also is the case of literature, the raw material is the indigenous language which the African writer is supposed to mould for his needs and eventual literary growth in the international scene. Rather than that to happen the complexes were set in motion and we battle with our culture, our nationhood, our customs, beliefs and entrenched long traditional values in the European language looking for an international market that is imaginary and elusive. This is because the market is not a free market. It is a linguistic market with foreign languages dominating and given excess breathing space if they have white coloration. **And the more freely the English language breathes, the more the indigenous languages are choked.**

Conclusion

There is no sense in pondering over the function of literature without relating it to the actual society that uses it, to the centers of power within the society, and to the institutions that mediate between literature and the people. No man or woman can choose their biological nationality. A people united can never be defeated. But united by what? Foreign Languages? Foreign cultures? Or foreign values? The forces of unity for permanent development must come from within.

Principally, it should come from a collective conscious effort to forge a lasting unity by speaking a language the members of the fourth world understand – the language of the ordinary farmer, the language of the local fisher man, the language of the taxi and bus drivers, the language of the Nomadic Fulani women in the bush, and the language of million children who roam the streets of the fourth world without access to education. The neo-colonial engine turns in a circle; the onerous engine suspends between life and death; the excluded fourth world nationals will affirm their exclusivity in national self hood. Having been kept at the level of talking beasts for long, by an oppressive system, the fourth world nationals are given no right, not even the right to live. Their condition worsens daily. When a people have received from its oppressors only the gift of despair, what does it have to lose? A peoples misfortune will become its courage to use the only available tool at its disposal – its language – indigenous language and re-trace its steps with its intelligentsia carrying the torch to where it got lost and find a new bearing; a new direction; a new international outlook, this can be self-development through conscious efforts. This will ultimately pave way for scientific, technological, cultural and literary development. For; the secret of the Proletariat, Marx said, is that ‘it bears within it the destruction of the bourgeois society.’

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Macbeth Couple: A Declining Family Tree and Tradition

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Abstract

Plays and theatrical acts are in a sense considered to be efficacious on the stage for their use of soliloquys, supernatural turns, and different forms of literary concepts. They convey social pressures not only inside the minds of characters but also in the form of emotions provoked from the audience. Shakespeare's plays treat universal themes which consist of different eminent dynamics which do not alter through time. Shakespeare's works are always critically blurred by falling within the scope of psychological and social tendencies. The main characters can be examined through different point of views. There are certain Shakespearean plays where the playwright challenges prevailing views on gender and power. Macbeth can be considered as a play open to examination through different psychological and social interpretations. Lady Macbeth and Macbeth stand among those complex dramatic characters who are open to psychological and feministic interpretation. This study attempts to illustrate the dark side of the challenge between gender and power, the consequences of crime, and the guilt felt inside the characters' minds, all to show the main characters condition as that of declining characters.

Keywords: Feminism, Gender, Inescapable guilt, Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Natural hierarchy.

1. Introduction

William Shakespeare was an English playwright who reflected all the characteristics of a Renaissance Humanist with an exceptional determination to gain the truth about human sorts. Shakespeare's plays are reliable mirrors of manners and of life to his readers. His characters are common people with universal passions and principles. Grebanier (1957) remarks that Shakespeare is imaginably the seamless manifestation of Renaissance humanism, for his profound sympathy for humanity enables him to penetrate the very essence of his characters, and his unexcelled gifts as a poet make his men and women unforgettable beings of flesh and blood.

Shakespeare's plays are deeply moral and deal with man's ethical and moral responsibility for their acts. Shakespeare is a psychologist who believes that it is we who think and label some things as good and others as bad, because there is no such thing as good and bad. Hence, these views and principles are susceptible to fault as a result of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. Montaigne (1811) remarks that if what we call evil and torment is neither torment nor evil and is only a figment of our minds and fancy with such an assumed quality, then we are capable of changing it, and having the choice to create and destroy it, if nobody compels us, it would be very unwise of us to bend for that party which is draining us. Therefore, the recognition of events and their later significance based on one's understanding or belief causes one to act. In *Macbeth*, Shakespeare indicates the depth of the human mind and spirit, the morality and immorality of human acts, and their share in the play.

Fate is a very important influence in Shakespeare's plays. Especially in *Macbeth*, fate is represented through the three witches. The three witches are Shakespeare's voice implanted within the play. Although Shakespeare himself wants to relate the three witches to supernatural forces, Lady Macbeth recognizes them as agents of fate. Lady Macbeth is psychologically examined and her character acts as a parallel to Macbeth.

Shakespeare instructs his readers of their true responsibilities in this world. In *Macbeth*, the characters encounter many universal apprehensions. Shakespeare believes that the adverse doom of humanity lies in its failing or the delusional side of its own character. He states that Macbeth is a symbol of the noble man with high esteem who does not abolish his illusions as his own immediate enemy, what eventually results in killing others and himself. Sigmund Freud asserts that human acts are rooted in their minds as the origin of human characteristics. Freud believes that there are three parts in the human psyche which shape his personality for the best or worst, so he proposes that the human psyche be divided into three parts: Id, ego and super-ego. Freud discusses this model in the 1920 essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, and fully elaborates on it in *The Ego and the Id* (1923), in which he develops it as an alternative to his previous topographic schema (i.e., conscious, unconscious and preconscious). The id is the completely unconscious, impulsive, childlike portion of the psyche that operates on the "pleasure principle" and is the source of basic impulses and drives; it seeks immediate pleasure and gratification (Hothersall, 2004). Therefore, the darkest part of the mind, the id, incites the character to plan evil action. He assumes that the mind has internal psychological obstacles in learning. Accordingly, the problem of the mind is a central matter to human life. Hence, drawing on Freud's model, *Macbeth* is a psychopathological tragedy that refers to the conflict between humanism and counter-humanism. The conflict is between reason and evil, ethics and darkness, and as such Shakespeare explains that the sins of man stem from his so-called unconscious dark desires, which are repressed by his conscious mind. According to Bloom (2004), Shakespeare's dramas are the wheel of

all our lives and teach us whether we are fools of love, or of times, or of fortune, or of ourselves, or of parents.

2. Discussion

Lady Macbeth becomes Macbeth's alter ego, and such a disturbance of traditional characterization signifies the disruptive force of evil operating upon the hero. The very concept of manliness is associated with criminal and depraved acts, and womanliness is a term of opprobrium, that is, shame and insult. Lady Macbeth serves the supplementary function of bringing into the national and political arena of the play certain domestic and familial scenes. (Lawrence, Seifter, & Ratner, 1985)

As the sentence "fair is foul, foul is fair" shows, the atmosphere of the play is blurred between different forces such as fate, the unnatural, violence, courage, fair, unfair, and valor. It is a very difficult task to distinguish between fair and foul. It is similar to the two sides of a coin acting as good and evil. The characters are shaped much real to life. They are mixed of different qualities. Thus, real characters can successfully arouse emotions from the audience, because the characters are close to life, and they are more tangible. According to Boyd (1952), we can consider Lady Macbeth from a feministic point of view, because she both cuts herself off from all sympathy, consolation, and companionship by her passionate cry and feels Macbeth's nature is "too full of the milk of human kindness to catch the nearest way" (I. v. 16). She calls upon the spirits "that tend on mortal thoughts" (I. v. 39) to deprive her of her remorse, compunction, and kindness, to fill her from "the crown to toe top full of direst cruelty" (I. v. 40), to "unsex her" (I. v. 39).

Lady Macbeth reveals a protest against the complications of gender relations in society. She protests against the deep meanings of the play, against the confinements barred on women by the social conditions of the time. Women are considered in society to be inferior, to be unable to do cruel deeds. Lady Macbeth utterly breaks the stereotype of women in the first act. She is full of ambition, regarding her love for her husband. Once Macbeth's ambition is at its highest, Lady Macbeth keenly stakes all to assist him get the crown. She acts against her husband, requesting from spirits, to release her from the consequences of the crime, thus compensating Macbeth's irresolution with a merciless thirst for command and riches.

Lady Macbeth thinks that she cannot commit violent acts because a woman is born with a nature full of kindness and tenderness, the same characteristics that she relates to Macbeth in "Yet do I fear thy *nature*, It is too full of the *milk of* human kindness" (I. v. 15-16). The fact that she doesn't have a name shows that she is considered to be empty of identity and dependent on her husband. She does these transgressions in order to justify her love to her husband. In Act I, she is shown as a self-authoritative woman, who happens to know that Macbeth's conscience will stand in the way of his ambition; however, this results in her isolation from the society, because she breaks the natural law. Thus, as a result of the violation of the hierarchy, she suffers both mentally and physically. An unnatural act shows itself in nature by chaos:

- Tis unnatural, / Even like the deed that's done. On Tuesday last / A falcon towering in her pride of place / Was by a mouse hunting owl hawked at and killed. (II. iv. 11-4)

Lady Macbeth is suffering from womanish borders and feelings. Pay attention to this part from the play:

- Come you spirit / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here / And fill me from the crown to the toe topful / Of direst cruelty! Make thick my blood / Stop up the access and passage to remorse, / That no compunctions visiting of nature / Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between / The effect and it. (I. v. 38-46)

There are two outcomes of this sad soliloquy. First she is unsexed and freed from her tenderness and delicacy. She's is full of supreme cruelty. Second, the access and passage to remorse is only attained by her through a recognizable suicide and suffering.

According to Williams (1973), Lady Macbeth taunts her husband with being as cowardly as the cat in the adage, in addition to the recognition of blood as the visual manifestation of an inescapable guilt which is consuming her being. Williams describes the dominance of Lady Macbeth over her husband and how she makes him her slave. The humeral disturbance is considered one of the most important reasons of crimes in Shakespeare's plays. Macbeth is under humeral pressure from his wife and there exists master/slave relationship based on the bilateral love between them. Different symbols act upon different ideas in the play such as blood, dagger, withes, etc. Imagery in Macbeth is one of the means of concentrating on key ideas. For example, the repeated images of blood reinforce the themes of violence and unnatural upheaval.

Lady Macbeth acts to show us the inner desires in the human race, and she doesn't think of the consequences as Macbeth does; therefore, she is troubled at the end. There is a great distinction between the surface meaning and the deep meaning of this play, the deep meaning being the war between sexes. Lady Macbeth wants to prove herself not to be inferior to the opposite sex. She is literally playing the roles of men to prove herself. She is acting violently to hold pressure against the inferiorities oppressed by men toward women.

Munro (1887) believes that lady Macbeth lives in her mask, as if she is playing parts in life:

She who, when awake, restrained her will with such indomitable power, had at last, when pressed by the shadows and the suggestion of the night, to yield, and throw off forever the mask she had worn so long. Life has its nightly side as well as the side that is to its day. (p. 36)

Lady Macbeth seems to be unaware of her weak points and she speaks lightly of the crime:

- The sleeping and the dead / Are but as pictures, 'tis the eye of childhood / That fears a painted devil. If he do bleed, / Ill gild the faces of the grooms withal, / For it must seem their guilt. (II. ii. 53-7)

- A little water clears us of this deed / How easy is it then. (II. ii. 67-8)

Shakespeare is considered very clever and also very religious, and he considers the soul to be apart from the body. Shakespeare expresses his own idea through the doctor after the sleepwalking scene as argued in Kocher (1954) the doctor confessed that this disease being beyond his practice, at its end he wished that he be replaced by a clergyman:

- Foul whisperings are abroad: unnatural deeds / Do breed unnatural troubles; infected minds / To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets: / More needs she the divine than a physician / God, God forgive us all! Look after her, / Remove from her the means of all annoyance, / And still keep eyes upon her. (V. i. 63-9)

Lady Macbeth is suffering not physically but spiritually, and the treatment can come from within the repentance for the sin. In the sleepwalking scene, the cause is the conscience but her character is

very open to criticism. Lady Macbeth is one of the unique characters that can be examined from different point of views. The sleepwalking scene shows that Lady Macbeth has paranoia in place of the course after the crime. If human conscience, is harmed after such a crime based on the gender differences, women are more fragile according to conscience, so Lady Macbeth is suffering more than Macbeth himself and she doesn't have a way to escape her fatal thoughts. The sexist point of Shakespeare is crystal clear throughout his major works, especially in the declining character of Lady Macbeth.

Two kinds of people reside on the earth. The first group are the people who have curiosity and ambition and deserve higher places but are not determined. The second group are the people who are determined to go on whether the way is dangerous or not. They don't know what is at the end of the action: whether loneliness or happiness is awaiting them, but these relentless people continue their acts. Lady Macbeth falls in the second group.

Lady Macbeth is made in the first act a woman with a great determinism, cruel, and very dominant over Macbeth. Shakespeare makes her far from human nature and dehumanizes her in order to show the human inner desires. But in the next acts she is more close to human nature and less determined. She unmask herself, and introduces us into the natural desires of humankind such as fears, worries, and guilt:

- Alack, I am afraid they have awaked / and 'tis not done. The attempt and not the deed / Confounds us. Hark! I laid their daggers ready / He could not miss 'em. Had he not resembled / my father as he slept, I had done't. (II. ii. 9-14)

Lady Macbeth and Macbeth foil each other in their characteristics. She is one of the rare characters of literary works that has a voice within the play. In that time, women were considered passive, but Lady Macbeth through the protests against gender and role in the society proves the opposite. Shakespeare breaks the usual character types in the play.

Lady Macbeth has good and bad qualities, and is not a one-sided character. She is a dominant, ruthless heroine who doesn't pay attention to her conscience, but throughout the course of the play she is turning toward her nature. She feels remorse for what she has done under the mask:

- Here's the smell of the blood still: all the / Perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little / Hand. Oh, oh, oh. (V. i. 43-5)

- Wash your hands, put on your nightgown; look not so / Pale. I tell you yet again, Banquo's buried; he / Cannot come out one's grave. (V. i. 54-6)

- To bed, to bed! There's knocking at the gate: / Come, come, come, give me your hand. What's / Done cannot be undone. To bed, to bed, to bed. (V. i. 58-60)

She is at last completely unsexed, being neither male nor female, whose sole substance is cruelty, conscious sadistic cruelty that has become so supreme it has for the nonce no faint excuse of being. It is the tragic common knowledge of wrong, the consciousness of violation of laws of God and man, and the full awareness of insecurity of power gained by evil. It is accompanied by falling apart in loneliness of this sinful man and woman. (Boyd, 1952)

Macbeth, the hero of the play is a very favorable and respected member of a social group. He is a man with a nature "too full of the milk of human kindness" (I. v. 15-16) who has a secure home and a

loving wife. The plot of the play is set in darkness. Darkness forms the evil atmosphere of the play. This darkness is combined with blood, death, destruction, destiny and evil. Bradley (2006) regards darkness in Macbeth as such blackness that broods over the tragedy with almost all the remarkable scenes taking place either at night or in some dark spot. The vision of the dagger, the murder of Duncan, the murder of Banquo, the sleep-walking of Lady Macbeth, all come in night scenes. The witches dance in the thick air of a storm, or, 'black and midnight hags', receive Macbeth in a concern. The blackness of night is the hero, a thing of fear, even of horror; and that which he feels becomes the spirit of the play. The faint glimmerings of the western sky at twilight are here menacing: it is the hour when the traveler hastens to reach safely in his inn, and when Banquo rides homeward to meet his assassins; the hour when 'light thickens', when night's black agents to their prey de rouse. When the wife begins to howl, and the owl to scream, and withered murder steals forth to his work. Macbeth bids the stars hide their fires that his 'black' desires maybe concealed; Lady Macbeth calls on thick night to come, palled in the dunnest smoke of hall.

The Superego is conspicuous in Macbeth's charisma, and can be specified by Macbeth's fantasies, dreams, and fears. Macbeth's Superego is in his mind and making him remember what wrong he had done. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth recognize their own irrational deeds. This exhibition is achieved with the struggle between Macbeth's ambitious side and good side of his character. Macbeth experiences the false effect of prophecy which distorts his understanding of reality where the conception of weird sisters' prophecy made him murder the king. It is possible that the evil may be connected to the supernatural powers as it may be the deeds of the criminal souls or both. The hallmark of evil lying dormant in Macbeth's soul indicates itself at the words of the witches. Bradley (2006) argues that the witches and their prophecies, if they are to be rationalized or taken symbolically, must represent not only the evil slumbering in the hero's soul, but all those obscurer influences of the evil around him in the world which aid his own ambition and the incitements of his wife. Such influences, even if we put aside all belief in evil spirits' are as certain, momentous, and terrifying facts as the presence of the inchoate evil in the soul itself; and if we exclude all reference to these facts, from our idea of the witches, it will be greatly impoverished and will certainly fail to correspond with the imaginative effect. The union of the outward and the inward must be realized here.

The blackness dominate his character when he commits crimes and plots the murder of Duncan. In fact Macbeth is the victim of the dark side of his mind which Freud refers as "id" that causes to do evil action where he says: "O; full of scorpions is my mind" (III. ii. 41). Although Macbeth's id form ambition and greed, his conscience is combined with loyalty and fear. He fears to kill Duncan but his ambition forces him to kill. He is between conscience and ambition, when he says: "I have no spur/ to prick the sides of my intent, but only/ vaulting ambition, which overleaps itself. /and falls on the other" (I. vii. 25-28).

Trieu maintains that darkness affects the characters by refereeing to Shakespeare's use of darkness to emphasize evil, wickedness, and negativity. Macbeth's initially thinks of darkness as a blanket which covers his evil and manslaughter; therefore, darkness is a tool as the three witches conjure darkness with thunder to give the readers an impression that vile is to take place. Banquo, a noble thane, describes the wicked witches as "the instruments of darkness" (I. iii. 133). Lady Macbeth, too, employs darkness as an aid to accomplish the murder of King Duncan. An example can be found in Act I, Scene V when Lady Macbeth calls onto the night, "come thick night, and pall thee in the dun

nest smoke of hall, that many keen knife see not the wound it makes, nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark to cry, Hold, hold!" (I. v. 52-55). As the play develops, darkness advances as a personality that plagues both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth transforming them into more ruthless characters who inflict further malevolence. (Trieu n.d., cited in Malas, 2012)

Macbeth's miseries have turned him into a tragic character that his physical failure is threatening. After the death of Lady Macbeth, he gradually enters into the light of dignity as a warrior, which existed before meeting the three witches and get to its point of completion, turning Macbeth into a tragic protagonist. The two selves of the same person are developed through the play. The first one stays in the dark and gets to the climax when Macbeth is prepared for death, and the second one progresses in the gleam of heroism and reaches a climax with the death of Macbeth in the hands of Macduff. Macbeth is deal with the tragic flaw, hamartia, of ambition who forces him to commit the crimes and enter the realm of darkness and it becomes very difficult to sympathize with him. The soliloquies of the play show this darkness. Macbeth in Act II, Scene I arrive into the scene of darkness, before murdering of king Duncan and shows the conflict in his mind,

Macbeth...Is this a dagger, which I see before me, / The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch / Thee:- / I have thee not, fatal vision, sensible / To feeling, as to sight? Or art thou bed / A dagger of the mind, a false creation, proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain? / I see thee yet, in form as palpable / As this which now I draw. (Muir, 2004, pp. 47-48)

Macbeth is totally aware that darkness is in his mind to achieve his criminal desires. This darkness helps Macbeth to hide his criminal acts of his ambitious soul. In Act II, Scene I, before going into the chamber of King Duncan, Macbeth discloses that part of his evil ambition which encourages him to murder Duncan. He says,

- Macbeth...Now o'er the one half-world / Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse / The curtain'd sleep: witch craft celebrates / Pale Hecate's off'rings; and wither'd murther, / Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf, / Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace, / With Tarquin's ravishing strides toward, his design / Moves like a ghost. (Muir, 2004, pp. 48-49)

In Act I, Scene IV, Duncan claims that his son, Malcolm to be the prince of Cumberland. It was an obstacle for Macbeth in reaching to throne. He starts thinking about murdering Duncan and his sons in his soliloquy where he says:

- Macbeth. (Aside) The Prince of Cumberland! That is a step / On which I must fall down, or else o'erleap, / For in my way it lies. Stars, hide your fires! / Let not light see my black and deep desires; / The eye wink at the hand; yet let that be, / Which the eye fears, when it is done, to see. (Muir, 2004, p. 25)

Lady Macbeth is also a product of this darkness. In Act I, Scene V, after informing about Macbeth's future from the prophecies of the three witches, Lady Macbeth exhibits the dark side of her mind:

- Lady Macbeth...Come, you spirits . / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here, / And fill me, from the crown to the toe, top-full / Of direst cruelty! Make thick my blood, / Stop up th' access and passage to remorse; / That no compunctious visitings of Nature / Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between / The effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts / And take my milk for gall, you murth'ring ministers, / Wherever in your sightless substances / You wait on Nature's mischief! Come, thick Night, / And pall thee in the dunest smoke of hell, / That

my keen knife see not the wound it makes, / Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark, /
To cry, 'Hold, hold.' (Muir, 2004, pp. 30-31)

Evil in Macbeth's character is let loose and enables him to commit vices. Malcolm says: "I grant him bloody, / Luxurious, avaricious, false, deceitful, / Sudden, malicious" (IV. iii. 58-60).

Finally Macbeth understands his dreadful sin. Nothing left for him and no event could put him in dignity. The sorrow of his words are totally clear:

- To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow, / Creeps in his petty pace from day to day; / To
the last syllable of recorded time; / And all our yesterdays have lighted fools / The way to dusty
death. Out, out brief candle! / Life's but a walking shadow; a peer player, / That struts and frets
his hour upon the stage. / And then is heard no more: it is a tale / Today by an idiot, full of
sound and fury, / Signifying nothing. (V. v. 19-28)

The annihilation of evil and reconstruction of goodness is accomplished in the role of the Macduff, Malcolm and King Edward, the confessor. Macbeth becomes punished as the evil-doer when Macduff arouses against him, Malcolm claims his legitimate kingship, and King Edward take arms against him. In Act IV, Scene II, King Edward as an agent of God cures a dreadful disease from the body of the individual man. He tries to remove the unnatural evil in the state. Malcolm's kingship to Scotland restores peace and truth. He says: "we will perform in measure, time and love" (V. ix. 39) indicates the reconstruction of order, peace and harmony.

3. Conclusion

Shakespeare uses traditional allegorical images of light and darkness to emphasize the Elizabethan concept of the Great Chain of Being in his play. As well as the Chain is held in accordance with the other members of it, everything is pleasant and right, but when the Chain is violated, evil and darkness becomes the dominant force. The Great Chain of Being was broken, when Macbeth killed King Duncan and embraced his throne. After Macbeth broke the Great Chain of Being, light was destroyed and darkness was ever-present. Shakespeare defines mankind through their internal characteristics which head to their greatness or even to their misery. He has explained how man's irrational and unknown thoughts can be threatening. On the contrary, if man knows his dignified situation as the archetype of animals, he does not let dark desires occupy his mind. Humans are capable of change, and they can do both good and evil. Shakespeare tries to warn the audiences and readers about the illusive nature in all humans that lead to annihilation. Macbeth's race to regain his former heroic stature and his death makes him a tragic protagonist. Although Macbeth is conquered physically he has succeeded in conquering the darkness that was there in him and has turned into a heroic figure. This play mirrors realistic and universal view on psychological and psychoanalytical human features in life affairs.

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Trends and Patterns in African Church Historiography: From Antiquity to Present

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Abstract

An easy assumption that African Church historiography is straight forward without branches and phases is incorrect. The science of Church history in Africa is rather uncertain, fluid and in the process of transition. The pattern and strategies in missionary expansion changes vastly through time, so is the pattern of African responses. Quite often, Church history in Africa tends to be understood in terms of what the missionaries did or continue to do. Sight is often lost of the contributions of native agents in the expansion of the gospel in Africa. Equally neglected is the fate of Christianity in the post-missionary period in Africa when the vestiges of missionary period have nurtured the debates on indigenization, moratorium, Church unity and ecumenism. This task of creating new structures in African Church produced new concerns for the Church and new perspectives in her history. Closely related to this is the emergence of new forms of Christian expression. The Independent Church movement is not actually new. Rather they characterize an important African contribution to Christianity. Their emphasis on the charismata correlates with African spirituality as well as the spirituality of the New Testament. The Independent Churches have splintered, grown very rapidly and permeated mainline Churches, drumming, healing, fasting, reliance on spiritual gifts and so on, are now regular features of worship. The tasks of the African Church historian, therefore, include the study of these new religious trends as forms of the continuing revelation of God in the African context. Church historiography in Africa, therefore, has come a long way. The contribution of this present research, therefore, is the articulation of the trends and patterns in doing Church history in African. The paper has presented a balanced view of African Church historiography, not necessary as the record of past events in the Church, but as an interpretation of the meaning of Christ in their midst.

Keywords: Trends, Patterns, African, Church, Historiography.

Introduction

One of the important currents in the life of the Church in Africa is a growing interest in Church historiography. Admittedly, the incidence differs from country to country but most interests can be traced to some common sources. Furthermore, African Church historiography is marked with variations as regards opinions and presentations from various categories of historians with each category betraying a particular bias that imaged African Christianity either as God's intervention to redeem Africans from the citadel of Satan through the agency of Euro-American missionaries who sacrificed the comfort of their countries to preach Christianity and civilization to the benighted Africans, or a genre of history that sees African Christianity as an outcome of the combined efforts of Europeans and African agents but even more of an African initiatives and zeal. Kalu (1993) enumerated four categories of missionaries which inevitably suggest the existence of various forms and patterns of record of their apostolic works. There were those who nursed the fellowship, formulated policies and appointed missionaries, but were not necessary present in the mission fields. This category he called Missionary 0 (M.0). There were also those who were engaged in cross-cultural mission such as the British C.M.S. missionaries and the Irish Roman Catholic missionaries who undertook to evangelize Igboland and else were in Africa. This group belongs to the category of Missionary 1 (M.1). There were still those who undertook to preach the gospel afield but within the same culturally homogenous zone, like the ex-slaves who took the gospel to different parts of West Africa from Sierra-Leone and Liberia. This group constitutes the category of Missionary 2 (M.2). And finally, there were those who evangelized contiguous areas like the native agents of the missions who served in their local environments. Such native agents included men of note and influence who used their personal charisma to attract their relatives to the gospel. Some were lay converts who, acting individually, carried the gospel message to the hinterlands. Others were the interpreters whose ability to bridge the communications gap was commendable. Some included the catechists, evangelists, teachers and preachers who gave full-time service to the missionary work. Yet others were noble patrons who invited the missionaries to their towns and housed them; they make up the category of missionary 3 (M.3). All were engaged in mission and all were missionaries. All writings emanating from M0 to M3 missionaries privileged different images of missionary enterprise and African response to Christianity. This fact alone calls for a wide range of lens in capturing the images in their different historiographies.

This matter is confounded further by the close connection between the nature of records and the nature and dynamics of missionary structures. Put simply, the way in which a group of missionaries organized themselves would decide on the type of sources or records produced. Other determinants are polity, policy and strategy, personnel and material resource capabilities and range of operation. It is against this background that this study has undertaken to comb through the trends and patterns of these historiographies for the image of Africa which they portray with the view to capturing a comprehensive and balanced view of African Church history.

The proper framework, therefore, for examining these genres of literature will be in manifold form. Firstly are the writings generated in Euro-American mission bases and organizations and from those engaged in cross-cultural mission, which are the M0 and M1

categories. This is the external perception or image. Secondly is the writings emanating from the inside, by those engaged in M2 and M3 categories of missionaries. This is internal interpretation and reconstruction. Then thirdly is the materials generated from critical analyses of those who were not missionaries but were engaged and still engage in reconstructing local Church history. This is the dialogical pattern of the study of the history of missionary enterprise and African response to Christianity. Thus, in this pattern of the study of Church history in Africa, every period, every aspect of culture, every community, every class of people is an ingredient. However, it must be acknowledged here that in dealing with an African-wide Church history, it would be impossible to deal with each of the myriad forms of Christianity or with every community. It is for this that this paper has undertaken an ecumenical large terms about the presence of Christianity in Africa, in which case Christianity in Africa is examined in the light of religion, politics, economy and cultures of the society in a holistic form. The theme of religious encounter which has become topical in recent times, the history of the Church as a story of an encounter between two viable cultures and world views, all make up this ecumenical approach to African Church historiography.

Conceptual Clarifications

Church historiography refers not simply to history written by Christians, not to historical studies of the Church and theology, but to a historiography which itself examines the histories of people's societal structures and patterns of life according to the sort of insights and values provided by a Christian view of history, the world and the why of created reality. It is a means of showing the unique Christian perspective of reality. Church historiography interprets facts from an understanding of what God was doing in Jesus in each peculiar environment or ecosystem. According to Kalu (1998):

Church historiography involves self-conscious reflection on foundational things in order that the vocation of the historians may more readily be transformed by the motivation of the gospel and that the product of their labour may carry implicitly the mark of the gospel. (p. 13).

Church historiography imposes a certain underlying meaning which forces theological perception of historical events. It subjects our understanding of the past to the ultimate reason for creation as well as the future of creation. It is in this underlying conceptual scheme which lays the difference between Church history and other genre of history.

Church history further refers to a scientific study of history with a religious or theological bias and goal. The root is in the Genesis myth of creation. The implication is that human history consists of the outworking of divine creation and continued revelation of God in human lives, human situations and nature. Church history, therefore, is the story of God's presence in human communities and the responses to divine love in time perspectives and according to cultural patterns and age.

African Church historiography, therefore, is not merely the story of the role of white missionaries in cross-cultural missions, in which case one might be in danger of assuming that Euro-American initiatives dominates the history of Christianity in Africa, and that the African role has merely been one of passive receptivity. It is rather the study of the past and present experiences of the people with the gospel, both during and at the end of the missionary period. This genre of African Church historiography exposes the extent to which Christian evangelism was a joint Afro-European undertaking, in which Africans often held the dominant role. Gray (1968) holds that:

Not only did African ministers and evangelists supply a leadership and continuity which a rapid mortality prevented most Europeans from providing, but African Christian traders and craftsmen were also often effective pioneers far beyond the radius of European missionaries, Christian nuclei and arousing a demand for teachers and an interest in their message. (p. 26).

This genre of historiography triumphantly recalled from near-oblivion the achievements and initiative of Africans in missionary enterprise in the continent, extending to the study of new dimensions in African Christianity.

Historiographical Traditions of African Church

Institutional Approach to Writing Christian History in Africa

The first stage in African Church historiography was the institutional approach. It was African Church history emanating from missionary base and was often written by missionary leaders and policy makers who sent missionaries to Africa but did not necessary embark on mission works themselves. This genre of historiography assumes that Christian history begins when a particular missionary arrives in a community, sets up shops and builds up a congregation or a Church. From that point, Church history was about what the missionaries did for the vertical and horizontal growth of the institution, the pattern of responses and the impact of change agent in the communities. However, a number of problems arise from the institutional understanding of Christian history. It reinforces the notion of Christian history as an extension of salvation history. The Church is portrayed as the custodian of saving grace. This is a short step from the exclusivist clause, "there is no salvation outside the Church". The Church is idealized, and a dichotomy is created between the institution and the people. Nevertheless, to state the central premise, the organizational structure does not constitute the total character of the Church, even though it is undeniable that the Church operates as an institutional organization. Thus, Church history is more than the history of institutional structure. It is the story of the pilgrim people of God and their experiences of God redeeming grace in the midst of their existence in various cultural and ecological milieus. We must be recalled to Livingstone's assertion, as preserved by Kalu (1988) that already Africa is God's. God did not wait for the missionary to bring Him to Africa. The missionary found Him in every African village.

Another future of institutional approach to African Church historiography is that they detail the labours of nurturing the message and the level of success. The ulterior motives might be to

preserve and record, boost morale and material support, provide entertainment or build up the ego of the author. The motivation may also be evangelical or the work may carry the hidden agenda of showing how Europeans have born the white man's burden which manifest destiny laid on them (Kalu, 1988).

A worse effect of the institutional approach is that it supports denominationalism. Many contemporary parish histories are forms of denominational propaganda. They make it difficult for Africans to see themselves as Africans instead of products of warring confessional groups in Europe. It is in this context that the nationalists perceived the Church as the handmaid of disruptive foreign agents. This position has been strengthened by the exposure of the sad history of Church cooperation with oppressive regimes and the increasing tendency towards leftist ideology in the politics of liberation. Kalu (1993) intensioned that the missionaries nailed their colours to the most of colonial rule, sang about the glorious security provided by government and discovered theological bases for their sense of moral superiority over Africans-clerical or lay.

Again, the institutional approach to Christian history imprints the image of God as a stranger to the African's world. The argument is that the gospel cannot be indigenous to Africa in the true meaning of the world because the arrival of the missionaries could be dated. So the gospel is imported.

Another feature of institutional approach to Christian history in Africa is the biblical image of the Church which tends to pay more attention to a people (the white people) who have discovered something precious and are joyfully sharing, proclaiming and publishing the good news. Such history is written as if Christian history operated in closed plane with no underlying meaning and lesson. Thus, they fail to relate the history of the Church to the secular political, economic and social realities of the day. Their approach to the question of religious change has been a partial one. They have concentrated on its outward manifestation in the form of change of religious adherences, registered in the growth of station society and Christian congregations. Without discarding purely religious motives we have to try to define the role played by African material and political needs and the missionary offer in this respect. This is particularly so because in the African world, the religious is inextricably intertwined with the political, economic, ecological and other social forces. Therefore, there must be a balanced concern with the inward level of the religious as well as the outward level of political and economic interest, because religious expression as opposed to experience operates within cultural forms. The explanation for religious change must consider both purely religious factors as well as the ecological, political, cultural and economic factors. The reactions of African communities to Christianity were influenced by a host of these factors. Thus, Christian history is more than the history of the institutional structure. It is a people's history of their perception of God's saving grace in the midst of their struggles for survival.

Thus, this genre of literature betrays the fact that most practitioners were not trained historians. Often time Church bodies roll out self-justificatory, confessional histories which are myopic and churchy. These works pay no regard to the canons of historiography and ignore both secular history and the realities of cultural contexts. Official writers who must win an

official nod before publication are the least likely to be critical. They are so narrative that they lack interpretations welded to larger issues of significance.

The Imperial Tradition/Missionary Historiography

The second stage in the writing of African Christian history is the imperial tradition, whose main feature was its European orientation and approach. Very close to the imperial tradition is a genre dubbed missionary historiography. This refers to histories of missions written by European missionaries and their protégés. The missionaries were the first Europeans to study, observe and record African history, culture and languages.

Missionary historiography, according to Nwosu (1993), “claims that the benighted people of the citadel of Satan, under the perpetual clutches of the devil, needed to be liberated by the active presence of the gospel of Christ” (p. 65). Serious attempts were made in this genre of literature to show how God helped the white missionaries to accomplish this difficult task of bringing the gospel to “hostile” indigenes. Such books as Fred Dodd’s *Tales of African Wilds* (1911), F.D Walker’s two volumes, *Call of the Black Continent* (1992) and the *Romance of the Black River*; H.G. Brewer’s *Invasion of God* (1944); J.P. Jordan’s *Bishop Shanahan of Southern Nigeria* (1949); Jacob Richard’s *The Cannibals are my Friends* (1957), are few examples of this genre of literature. The pictures of African hostility and the pre-eminent position of the missionaries in the evangelization enterprise were recurring decimal in missionary historiography.

The 19th century missionaries not only subscribed to the imperialist idea but actually saw it as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Despite their noble intentions, they wrote African history in terms of the attitudes and theories current in their time, such as the Hermetic theory. To focus on the Anglicans, for instance, there was a certain degree of unanimity by all concerned-whether the council at the home base or infielders-that Igboland was a difficult mission field which was more or less intriguing because of the character of the people.

Equally eye-catching was the evidence of human sacrifice which along with mosquito turned the terrain into the white man’s grave. In his report for 1881, Archdeacon Henry Johnson said of Onitsha, as recorded by Kalu (1993) thus:

The time has not much gone by, if at all, when a native of Onitsha, in quarrelling with his companion, would say to him in a tune of superiority, what do you mean to tell me? I have killed about six men in my time, how many have you killed? It is true; the feathers on his cap prove that the boast is not an idle one. (pp. 14-15).

All these reports were carried in the missionary intelligencer, a fund raising journal which circulated among subscribers to the missionary endeavour. They aroused curiosity and yielded material resources for combating such atrocities.

The image of a barbaric culture purveyed by an aggressive enterprising race prevailed in missionary historiography. The missionaries accepted the image of Africa painted by secular

authority and her anthropologists. As self-acclaimed, self-righteous experts, they paid little attention to African oral traditions and relied on guess-work, hearsay and excerpts from other missionaries, explorers and colonists. These accounts are usually suffused with missionary ideology, based on missionary sources and designed to tell the story of how a particular missionary or a group crossed the culture barriers with the gospel. Missionary ideology tended to share the scientific racism of the 19th century, thus, missionary historiography is often hagiographic, triumphalistic and disdainful of indigenous non-European cultures. A premium was upon distortion and degradation of receiving cultures. One then gets the impression that they were portraying African history to prove that the African had no civilization and that he needed Christianity and Europeanization (Hofmeyr, 1988). Like colonial historiography, the aim of missionary historiography was to justify the missionary incursion to Africa.

The missionary approach to the concern of African Church historiography was a partial one. In most cases, missionary historiography tended to ignore the roles of the African agents, such as men of local prominence who on their own initiatives invited and patronized the missionaries; interpreters and wards who influenced expansion; converts, including traders, acting in groups or individually to use their social powers in aid of missions; catechists, evangelists, Church elders and school teachers who bore the brunt of running new parishes; poorly paid and poorly trained; congregations which pioneered expansion through evangelical crusades to neighbouring areas and paid for the upkeep of ministers; local communities who built and maintained Church and school infrastructure; charismatic, prophetic figures who quickened the pace of Christianization in their brief careers.

The role of those engaged in cross-cultural mission in spreading the gospel and message of salvation is undeniable. However, the idealization of missionary agents and structures distorted the history of the Church. The irony with missionary historiography was that the authors failed to see that Africans were the real agents who spread Christianity.

Many of them also betrayed a lack of concern with methodology and secular history. In missionary historiography, archival sources constituted the most important source of information. However, the use of these sources is the bane of African Church history, because the myriads of missionary bodies from far-flung nationalities with their jealous secretive attitudes have made the data extremely fragmented. Denominational histories have turned into important sources of data gathering. They were the only means of peeping into many closed archives. But their dangers are palpable. A historian may slice and hack the sources to fit his interpretation. Only insiders may know of the distortions. Cost of access also deters research. Archival sources have been lost in wars, accidents and thefts. Some missionaries stole diaries and other papers en route home. Moreover, there are few concerted efforts to collect, house, and document fragments of archival sources. Consolidation of archival sources constitutes the first challenge in African Church historiography.

Thus, with eyes closely fixed on archival sources, they pose non-relevant, non-creative questions and fail to relate the history of the Church to the secular political, economic and social realities of the day. It is as if Church history operated in closed plane with no underlying meaning

and lessons. This failure bred reflection and the willingness to dialogue with the cultural contexts. Unburdened by concerns of time frame and the drudgery of facts, nationalist historiographers waded into the matter.

African Nationalist Historiography

Christianity in Africa has had more than its share of the attention of western writers, including throngs of social scientists and their disciples. It has largely concentrated on the outward manifestation in the form of religious adherence, registered in the growth of station society and Christian congregations. This impression resulted in the emergence, towards the end of the 19th century, of an African nationalist historiography which differs from other traditions in that it lays claim to being a national history. This new genre of African Church history endeavours to redress the imbalance and the partisan character of much of the source of materials that adorns the missionary historiography. The decided change towards this new African Church historiography came with the movement towards independence as Africans began to experience their history as a struggle against European imperialism. They rejected the European appraisal of their past and demanded a new orientation and improved educational facilities to effect this re-appraisal. Thus, nationalist historiography is a type of African Church history that was designed to give Africa a strong voice, enable her to recover self-identity and serve as an empowerment for the future.

Nationalist historiographers availed themselves of certain non-religious literature to gather facts about African Church history. Indeed, novelists and sociologists have made more contributions than historians in redressing the sad situation of European presence in Africa. Kalu (1988) argues that the Heinemann based African writers series has a number of novels which have focused on the religious change agent in the encounter between Europeans and Africans: Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958), and *Arrow of God* (1964), Mongo's *Betis Poor Christ of Bomba*, Ngugi's *The River Between* (1965), Munonye's *The Only Son* (1966), Nzekwu's *Blade Among the Boys* (1962) and Echewa's *The Land Lords* (1976), are only but few examples of such non-religious literature that laid the foundation for the emergence of African Church historiography.

Ogunsanya (1984) intensioned that "the main aim for the emergence of African Church historiography was to tell the story of the establishment and growth of Christianity in Africa from African point of view stressing the roles played by the African peoples and their indigenous cultures in the Christianization enterprise" (p. 12). This shift of emphasis from missionaries and their structures to indigenous agents and the traditional culture produced new themes that characterized the religio-cultural nationalism of the period. The role of traditional rulers and native evangelists, the role of the indigenous religion in the story; the peoples' traditional world view and its influence on the missionary task, the place of indigenous institutions in the spread of Christianity, all were the concern of nationalist historiography.

Initially it was no more than a variation on the missionary tradition. The exponents of this tradition were Christian intellectuals, educated at mission schools and dependent on missionary

printing press. Most of them were ministers and teachers, who had become psychologically alienated from African culture and thus from themselves. They shared the universalism and utopianism of the missionary tradition and believed that through the Christian religion, education and industrial schools they could elevate their black brethren to the level of civilized Christianity. Their historiography was motivated by intellectualism and religiosity. They set out to fill the gap created by the missionary tradition and point out the roles of African agents of the missions. They were concerned with unsung native agents, while cultural revivalism is a predominant motif of their historiography. The main thrust of their theses was to emphasize that Africans were the real agents who spread Christianity because the existing accounts were generally partisan, uncritical and biased in favour of expatriate missionaries. Local African missionaries (teachers, catechists and evangelists) who bore the heat of the grass-root evangelization in the towns and villages received scanty and token references in missionary reports, journals and diaries. These accounts give all the credit for the missionary successes to expatriate missionaries. These accounts sparked off a new interest among African historians to redress the imbalance and partisan character of much of the source materials that adorns the missionary archives.

Another significant feature of African nationalist historiography is the use of oral sources. Since the renaissance on African historiography in the late 1950s, the validity of oral sources has been accepted. Historians have held the methodology and a good number have produced useful works on the matter. According to Ajayi (1965), by the late 1940s, African research students were insisting that African history must be the history of Africans, not of Europeans per se in Africa, that local records and historical traditions must be used to supplement European metropolitan archives, in short, that oral traditions must be accepted as valid material for historical reconstruction. Even in the studies of European impact on African societies and cultures, where European archival material still remains the major source, this source should be checked and supplemented by oral tradition, material artifacts and other sources of history in Africa. The Church historian would find oral sources as important as oral theology in dealing with predominantly non-literate societies. Use of these sources would enable a more holistic approach to Christian history. This is particularly so because it is still possible to obtain abundant and reliable information from numerous and informed eye-witnesses. There are many elders who were young men and women when the first Christian missionary entered their villages.

Furthermore, a careful study of the social, political and intellectual environment into which Christianity entered in Africa will yield a good deal of useful and corroborative evidence. Thus, oral traditions, according to Agbodike (2004) are not only mere recountal by word of mouth of the remembered history of a people, it is also a presentation, in various forms, of the ideals and values of the society and of the ideological and spiritual patrimony handed down by the ancestors whose memory the present generation cherishes and reveres. Even in literate societies, no small part of culture is transmitted in conversation and by practical example; hence the perennial and nagging problem of studying the totality of the culture of any people, at any point in time, by mere reading of books and documents.

From the start, Christian missionaries tended to ignore the African traditional society and culture. The prevailing social systems and religious ideas and practices were deprecated and rejected without due examination. However, with access to more and better information, the short comings of the missionary historiography were overcome. Hence, Achunike (2002) insisted that oral history is particularly valuable to Christian history in Africa since a great part of Africa was happily evangelized after 1900. He further suggested that since some people who interacted with the colonialists and white missionaries are still alive with us, Church historians, therefore, must hurry before these old people are no more since some important information about Christianity can still be obtained from them.

Contemporary Patterns in African Church Historiography

The story of what the Euro-American missionaries and African agents did and did not do adorned the genre of both the missionary and African nationalist historiography. However, there is a new and more contemporary dimension in the study of African Church history which rebel against both missionary historiography and nationalist approach to the study of African Church history. This pattern is dialogical in methodology and ecumenical in approach. This approach rejects the easy condemnation of non-Christian religious and spiritual traditions, and in order to respond more emphatically to the concerns of the people of Africa, the approach emphasizes a clear profile of the African peoples before their encounter with Christianity, a clear understanding of the missionary-bases and their mentalities, and an identification of the varying response to it. It is a pattern of African Church historiography that tends to weave the activity of the Church into the fabric of the life of African communities. Indeed, there must be a balanced concern with the inward level of the religious as well as the outward level of political and economic interest, because religious expression as opposed to religious experience operates within cultural forms.

Additionally, this historiography suggests that Christianity should be expressed in terms of African culture. To this, Casely (cited by Nwosu, 1993) maintains that “the Christianity of Europe and America, with its oppressive hierarchy, its race prejudices and limitations, its pecuniary burdens and exactions, its injurious meddling in the harmless customs of alien peoples; is not the Christianity of Christ” (p. 67). The crux of the matter was the extent to which Christianity will be made an African religion.

Kalu (1988) insist that “African Church historiography starts with African religions and material cultures not simply as an introductory background but because God had created those communities in His own image. Hurling derogatory epithets at them is to regard what God has created as unclean and to disregard the force of the persistence of African religiosity among Christians.

Closely related to this is the fact that the explanation for religious change in Africa must consider both the purely religious factors as well as the ecological, political, cultural and economic factors. The reactions of African communities to Christianity were influenced by lots of these factors. The key questions in African Church history, according to Kalu (1988), therefore, are why and how Africans abandoned the gods of their fathers for Christianity. The

answer cannot come from looking at the straight religious aspects of Christianity. However, without discarding purely religious motives for conversion to Christianity, ecumenical approach to African Church historiography tries to define the role played by African material and political needs and the missionary offer in this regard. It further takes cognizance of the materialistic or instrumentalist root of African conversion to Christianity. It studies extra-religious motivations for conversion such as education, status, wealth and jobs, for escape from colonial violence or for refuge from traditional bondage such as slavery, caste ostracism or ritual murder. Hence, Ayandele (1966) is of the opinion that in statistical terms and in the desire to appropriate all the material and social opportunities that the missionary enterprise could afford, it was the African who have responded most enthusiastically to Christianity. Conversion in this sense was an instrument for gaining some benefits. The mass conversion missionary strategies intensified these possibilities.

There is also the functional and structural pattern of African religiosity. Ecumenical approach to African Church historiography advocates the need to understand the inner history of African religiosity as a means of assessing their encounter with Christianity. The argument is that conversion to Christianity was possible because of the general openness of African religions to new myths, rituals rites and symbols and techniques. Hence, responses to missionaries varied because what was needed from them in terms of myth, ritual, symbol and techniques varied.

There is also the growing interest in the study of the role of the Holy Spirit in evangelization and Church dynamics. The emergence in the 20th century and onward, of dynamic and charismatic indigenous prophets and their role in the evangelization of Africa demanded the scholarly attention of Church historians. These developments gave rise to the study of African Independent Church movements that characterized the history of Christianity in the 20th century Africa. These Independent Church movements are not actually new in many countries of Africa; it emerged in the colonial period. Thus, some viewed it as a form of political opposition or a religion of the oppressed and politically and economically marginalized. Others interpreted it as the syncretistic reaction of African religiosity in their encounter with Christianity. Early studies struggled to test the theological validity of the independent Churches and thus sparked off a reappraisal of their belief system and practices. However, the independent African Churches should be regarded as an important African contribution to Christianity; their emphasis on charismata is seen to correlate with African spirituality as well as the spirituality of the New Testament. This has now spurred African Church historians to study these new religious trends as forms of the continuing revelation of God in the African context.

Conclusion

Quite often, Christian history in Africa tends to be understood in terms of what missionaries did or continue to do in the introduction and growth of Christianity in Africa. Sight was often lost of African contributions to the Christianizing enterprise both in personnel and in material resources, as well as the fate of Christianity in the post missionary period when African states had grown fangs and the character of Christianity had been much modified by secular

forces and pressures. There was therefore the need to clarify the understanding of Christian history in Africa because the existing literature betrayed the uncomfortable fact that there has been lopsided reflection on African Church historiography. Consequently, vestiges of missionary historiography and the institutional approach to African Church history nurtured such genres of historiography like nationalist historiography and dialogical approach to the study of African Church history. The use of oral sources also emerged to make up for the short-comings of both institutional approach and missionary historiography. The rise in the 20th century of new Christian movements in Africa and various misinterpretations given to them also beckoned on historians of African Church to take critical look on the new movements with the results that the new movements became adjudged as unique contributions of Africans to universal Christianity. The on-going debates on indigenization, moratorium, Church unity, and ecumenism and the problem of the extent to which existing literature in African Church historiography reflects the areas of economic, political, social, religious and cultural character of African societies posed a new spur for further reflection on African Church historiography. The literature in this regard was thin and therefore called for honest research into these areas in African Christianity. The study of the domestication of Christian values is another interesting way of doing Christian history in Africa because it questions the ultimate relevance of Christianity amidst urgent contemporary issues. The task of creating new structures of ministry and ministerial formation will ultimately produce new concerns for the Church and new prospective on her history. The present study has, therefore, x-rayed these various dimensions in African Church historiography and a relatively balanced view of African Church history has been arrived at.

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Participation Configuration of *Who Deserves To Be a Millionaire*

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Abstract

*Studies on participation configuration and spacial categorisations have taken different aspects such as TV shows, interviews, talk shows, presidential media chats, virtual game setting, social academic background etc. but hardly has any been devoted to a reality Nigerian TV game show in an attempt to show how the host, audience (station and studio) are categorised based on their participatory roles. This research therefore attempts on analysis of the participation configuration of **who deserves to be a millionaire** show using Goffman's participation framework and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's Conversation Analysis as its theoretical framework. For data, 3 editions of MTN **who deserves to be a millionaire** TV game show were studied and excerpts were extracted and scrutinized for participation forms and spacial descriptions. Owing to the beautifully complex participation structure of the game show, two types of unaddressed ratified hearers were identified- registered and unregistered. The registered unaddressed ratified hearers are the station audience who are within the participation space while the unregistered unaddressed ratified hearers are the studio audience. This study of participation orientation in **who deserves to be a millionaire** expands the Goffmanian categorisation of participants in interaction and it is also an improvement on the existing literature on Nigerian genre of game shows.*

Key words: participants, game show, ratified, participation, configuration.

Introduction

Who wants to be a millionaire, is originally a British television quiz show that offered a maximum cash price of one million pounds for correctly answering successive multiple-choice questions, first aired on the 4th of September, 1998 and aired its last episode on 11th February, 2014. This show has been exported to many other countries all of which follow the same general format. This show was exported to Nigeria in 8th October, 2004. Who wants to be a millionaire is one of the most popular TV game shows in Nigeria. The show is anchored by Frank Edoho and both the game show and the host is a replica of what we have in the famous British and American editions. Having bought the franchise to replicate the game show, Ultima studios started the show in Nigeria. MTN's *who wants to be a millionaire* Nigeria is designed to conform to the norms of the game show. Each game session has fifteen questions which carries different monetary rewards attached to it. There are three lifelines in the game namely *ask the audience*, *50/50* and *phone a friend*. To get into the 'hot seat', ten contestants compete against one another on each episode in the *fastest finger first* in order to determine who gets to *play for ten million*. Also this game show has special editions where celebrities are called upon to play for charity. In other instances special editions like children special, valentine edition, mother's day special etc also come up periodically. But for the purpose of this study, *who deserves to be a millionaire* special edition is selected. This *who deserves to be a millionaire* special edition is selected because it centres on renowned individuals who have outstanding in their different endeavours but are at the moment faced with a challenge or the other and hitherto need help.

Theoretical perspectives

The theoretical framework employed for analysis of the show is Erving Goffman participation framework. Goffman was concerned with analysis of talk in relation to participation status of each participant in a social encounter. He posited that "When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it. The codification of these various positions and the normative specification of appropriate conduct within each provide an essential background for interaction analysis..." (Goffman 1981:3). It is argued by Goffman (1981) that the behaviour of a speaker while speaking and the behaviour of each person present in the social encounter whether engaging or not in that social action are significant to the interaction taking place in any social encounter. Goffman (1981: 137) opines that if one takes one of the participants in an interaction, the speaker, for instance, one can describe the role or function of all the several members of the encompassing gathering from this point of reference. He posits that the relation of any member of the gathering to this point of reference is his/her participation status. For Goffman (1981), when a word is spoken, all people in the visual and/or aural range of it will have a particular participation status relative to the talk and its speaker. Participation framework is therefore the sum of all the participation status of all the people in the aural and/or visual range of the speaker in that moment of the speech. If participants in interaction take turns, it implies that social roles in any interaction are indeed alternating, transient and dynamic. Goffman also deconstructed the traditional model of speaker-hearer of communication that had always been the model of interaction. He argues

that the dyadic speaker-hearer model is grossly insufficient for the categorisation of the everyday talk. It is also incapable of providing a proper representation of the various participatory roles performed by interactants in a conversation.

Goffman attempts a decomposition of the dyadic speaker role and he called it the *production format*. The dyadic speaker role was divided into two namely the *animator* (which is the sound box), the *author* (who is the agent who scripts the lines) and the *principal* (the party whose position the word attest). He however pointed out that the animator is not in all cases the same as the author. This is because the animator can be seen as a channel or a instrument through which the vocalisation of the utterance is done. Goffman also deconstructed the dyadic hearer role. He called it the participation framework which is also known as the reception roles. He subdivided this into two broad categories namely *ratified* and *unratified*. The ratified, according to Goffman (1981:226), can be subdivided into two namely *addressed recipient* (“the one to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over his speaking role”) and the *unaddressed recipient* (this comprises of the rest of the official hearers who may or may not be listening). He categorised the unratified into two namely the *over-hearers* or *bystanders* (who are the inadvertent non-official listeners) and the *eavesdroppers* (who are the engineered non-official followers of talk).

Another important concept in conversation analysis is the notion of recipient design. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) characterise it as “the most general principle of conversational interaction”. Recipient design refers to the idea that participants in talk design their talk in such a way as to be understood by an interlocutor, in terms of the knowledge that participants assume they share (Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). This means that talk is designed with a recipient in mind and the appropriateness of the talk for the recipient is also considered in the construction of the talk. Recipient design is not simply a resource which speakers use to design talk, but it is also a resource listeners can use in interpreting talk, as listeners are motivated to hear a turn that is designed for them, and participants track the trajectory of the talk to hear a turn if a turn is designed for them (Boden, 1994). This means that recipient design is a highly salient feature of talk and the organisation of talk, and therefore one aspect of the produced orderliness of conversation. Orderliness is a very important element in a result oriented conversation. Therefore, before the aim of communication is attained, proper turn allocation process must be put in place.

Existing studies

Onuegbu (2014) focuses on participation orientation in Nigerian talk show “Sunrise Daily”. She discovered that “the participation structure is context-dependent and constrains participants to act in certain institutional capacity while still allowing for dynamism of communication”. She also found out that “the audience has hitherto been classified as unratified over-hearer or eavesdropper”. She pointed out, from her analysis, that “the audience is cast as a ratified addressed participant who is also the target of talk”. She concluded by summarising that “participants’ roles and involvements are cast through several linguistic, non-linguistic and

paralinguistic means in different context”. She submits, likewise, that “situating analysis within a sequential context has made it possible to explicate roles of participants and goals of interaction”.

From a similar but different perspective, Adeniji (2013) looks at participation framework in the presidential media chat. He argues that most participation frameworks of television interviews are dynamic. This is because it is non-static as it is constantly in a state of flux. He opines that each stage of the interaction displays different participation framework as a result of the change in footing. He further observed that all participants are duly ratified, no bystander, eavesdropper or overhearer. He further strengthens the claim of Levinson (1988), Kerbrat- Orechioni (2004) and Odebunmi (2012) that the audience of television interviews are not eavesdroppers. This is a correction of the error made by Goffman who regarded the audience of television and radio interviews are actually the target of the talk. He also points out that “embodied actions such as pointing, smiling frowning, body postures and direction of gaze index a participant’s stance towards an utterance or question”. Furthermore, Adeniji points out that the host serves as the “hub” or the centre of the interaction “while other participants, including the viewers, are like nodes around this centre”.

Gordon (2008) focuses on reaffirming the Goffman’s claim that “Frame are laminated in various way in interaction”. Gordon does this by showing that the “work and play frames on inter related in two distinct ways in naturally occurring family conversation”. She is of the opinion that language is an important tool in reframing the conception of “play” to “work” for parents. She confirms this by analyzing excerpts of interaction from the everyday conversation between parents and young children in three families. She identified two distinct ways of laminating frames of work and play. She concludes by saying that the notion of laminated frames helps us better in the recognition of the linguistic dexterity and paradoxical nature of what we often understand simply as “play”.

Odebunmi (2012) looks at “how students’ participation structure together with the activities participants orient to at the participation spaces, evokes shared socio-academic backgrounds and cultural constraints, a major way to gain access unto the student’s cognitive and pragmatic tendencies. The paper focuses on the Nigerian college students and how they participate in conversation and the role they assume. Odebunmi makes it clear that Goffman’s participation framework is developed to cater for the inadequacies of the traditional “speaker–hearer” model of communication. He asserts that “these roles, which are tied to contextual factors in large measure, are almost impossible to describe, without considering spatial elements together with other pragmatic constraints such as discovers, reference, cognitive orientation and illocutionary force”. Odebunmi in this paper, attempts to show the legitimacy of the participants. By doing this, he coined the term “endospiality” and “exospiality” which he derived from the concept of “endophora” and exophora”. Endospiality captures the participants, events and other important component of a talk in the immediate participation space. While exospiality on the other hand, is concerned with objected which are outside the interactional environment of the talk. He observes that “two operational participation roles are performed in the interaction namely, unmarked and marked participation”. Odebunmi points out that in the unmarked participation; we

can have ratified and unratified participants. This will largely depend on their involvement in the talk.

Rettie (2004) in her paper attempts the definitions of presence and reality in a virtual game setting in the light of Goffman's frame analysis. Goffman's frame analysis is designed to explain the circumstances in which we consider an environment real or otherwise. Rettie argues that frames are used to interpret our experiences. Having considered what presence, types of presence, elements of presence, Reality, Immersion, frame analysis are and the point of divergence and convergences, she concludes that frame analysis helps to clarify the concept of presence and its relationship to reality. She argues that there are three different grounds for considering or determining the reality of an experience. These are "engrossment, containment within a frame, and use of an untransformed frame". When a phone call is made, this is clearly a part of reality. Although the environment where the interactants meet/converse is "a virtual space", it is still considered as being real. However, when playing a virtual reality game, the game is a real activity but the environment of the game, no matter how "engaging", is not a reality.

The study: Participation configuration and orientation in the game show

The analysis of the participation configuration and orientation of WDTBAM game show is viewed from the Goffman's perspective to the analysis of an interaction. The conversation of the episodes are analysed using the production format and the reception role (participation framework). This is because it will adequately cater, to some extent, for the configuration of the show.

Production format

The study reveals that out of the three parts in which the production format can be sub-divided, only two of the three are seen in the data. This two are the **animator** and the **author**. It is observed that the third production format, the **principal**, is not found in the data. This is because the game show comes in a question and answer format; therefore there is no room for any form of personal talks or attestation of anyone.

The Animator

The study takes a look at the configuration of the animator who happens to be the host of the game show. Frank Edoho is the animator through which the questions are asked. He serves as the voice box which carries out the main activity of each episode. He is the first speaker at the three selected episodes and is charged with the responsibility of ratifying the participants under the reception roles. He does this using a lot of means like gazing, pointing, direct naming or a combination of any of the three. Instances of these will be discussed below.

Gazing

Gazing is an important tool in communication. It is an indication that an alignment exist between the speaker and the hearer. The host uses gazing when introducing all the participants both in the studio and at home. This is evident in the plate and excerpt below.

Plate 1



Frank fixing his gaze on the camera (station audience)

Plate 2



Gaze fixed on the studio audience

Excerpt 1

Frank: ((gazing into the camera)) Good evening and welcome to who deserves to be a millionaire the second series in 2012 edition (.) and this programme is designed to help people we think deserves to be a millionaire and we bring a couple of celebrities to play and all the money is given to the person we're playing for (.) just as simple as that (.) so tonight I introduce you to erm::: a glorious actress (.) she has appeared on who wants to be a millionaire ↑who deserves to be a millionaire actually (0.6) and erm::: she played for Samanja (.) they won quite a bundle of money (.) it was an interesting episode people are still talking about it and now she needs our help (2.0) ((turning his gaze now at the seated audience)) ↑a round of applause for Ngozi Nwosu everybody

All: ((claps))

In the above excerpt by the host, he tries to give a welcome address and to formally welcome the viewers who are not located within the local participation space to that edition of the game show. This is revealed by the way he deliberately fixed his gaze n the camera which indicates that he is addressing the station audience (viewers at home). The host employs direct gaze at the camera to ratify the audience at home as co-participants and an intended recipient of talk. At each point where the host introduces the participants of the game show, he maintains a

direct gaze with the camera. This shows that the station audience is recognised as being part of the show, but a non-talk contributing participant. By doing this the host attempts to give us background information about the contestant in question. In this case the host is both the animator and the author while Ngozi Nwosu is the principal. The study shows that the host gazing is used by the host to indicate a change in addressee. This can also be seen in the excerpt above when the gaze changes as a result of a change of the target being addressed. The gaze changed from the station audience to the studio audience and the host also made use of the pronominal “everybody” to back up the new gaze direction. The difference between this two audiences will be discussed later on in this chapter.

The study also revealed instances where the contestants direct their gaze at the host, especially in anticipation of a question or the answer.

Plate 3



Gaze directed at the host by the guest and the celebrities

In the picture above, the three contestants fix their gaze on the host in expectation of the confirmation to the answer they supplied to a question. This shows their level of participation and alignment with the host.

Pointing

Pointing, which is noticed to be mostly accompanied by gaze and verbal utterance, is another means where the host shows alignment and also directs a question or comment at a participants. Some of the pointing gestures are used to realize deixis, identifying persons either within the participation space or outside the participation space. Some of the deictic gestures are used, in addition to vocatives, to select the next person to take the role of the speaker. This indicates that the occurrence of these two will allow adequate management of the interaction and prevent overlapping form being recorded. In the instance below, the host points to the quiz master, Babatunde Oni, in order to attain alignment with him. The host does this to get his undivided attention and to also ratify him as being the hearer and the target.

Excerpt 2

Frank: Yeah I remember you (0.4) ((pointing and directing his gaze at Babatunde)) the thing I remember about you in not how you answered the question (0.2) but how ugly your face looked when you won ₦5,000,000:00
Babatunde: @@@@ @@@

Frank: ↑Wow (2.0) ↓so (0.6) you want to use it to build a house or something?

Babatunde: Yes

Frank : So how is that going? (.) or you changed your mind and married a new wife?

Babatunde: [@ @ @ @ @ @ @]

Audience : [@ @ @ @ @ @ @]

Babatunde: [errr (0.8)]

Frank: [how is that going?]

Plate 4



Pointing and gazing at the quiz master

The use of the pronominal “you”, which is accompanied by the pointing and the direction of gaze to the quiz master all contribute to the realisation of the participation role. It is used to include the game master and exclude other participants from the interaction. With the gaze an addressee is singled out from the other side ratified participant.

Another function of pointing is picking out referent who or which is not within the communicative space. In the excerpt below Pa Ayodele recounts an experience he had in the early 1960s which happened in Ogbomosho, then Oyo.

Plate 5



Finger pointing to a distance

Apart from the above mentioned instances of pointing, it also is used as a strategic management of turn among the participants. Turn management is not only done by naming and/or gazing the next speaker only, pointing is also a tool employed by the host to manage turns among the participants.

Plate 6



Pointing to Ifeayin (who is seated among the studio-audience)

Excerpt 3

Frank: speaking about ring (.) I think I have your boxing gloves somewhere (.) Ifeayin ((*pointing to Ifeayin who is seated among the studio-audience*)) would you be kind enough to show me his boxing gloves? (.) let me see (0.6) let's just er::: check it out (.) boxing gloves (.) WO:::W (.) these are mementos (.) this should be put in hall of fame (.) literal hall of fame (2.0) there you have it

In the excerpt above the host points to a member of the crew who is seated among the studio-audience for the purpose of bringing the gloves on stage when the need arises. The host made use of pointing as a strategy because he intends to pick out Ifeayin from the crowd where

he is seated. Also he points to strengthen his turn management strategy in order not to have an interruption or overlap.

Author

The author in this game-show is the “computer”. The study reveals that the host continually refers to the computer as being the “producer” of the questions and also the one who actualises the “50:50” lifeline. The computer in this show is not just a physical entity but a programme which produces and validates the answers given by the contestants. The host looks at the screen when he addresses the computer since it does not have a physical representation.

Plate 7



Plate 8



Frank addressing the computer by gazing at the camera and the monitor screen

Excerpt 4

Frank: you have three lifelines (1.0) people

Bobby: let's go 50:50=

Frank: ↑50:50 computer take away two wrong alternatives and leave them the correct one and one remaining random wrong one ((*three minutes later the computer deletes two of the four options and left them with the remaining two*))

To further justify the assertion that the host is not provided with the answer before the contestant answers is seen in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 5

Frank: What do you think (4.0) now I'll have you know that erm:: (2.0) they probably (.) because it's like (.) since it's like this spread out nicely (.) it's like maybe it could be a guess but I don't know (.) I don't even have the answer here and I don't know personally (.) but you can walk away with one million but if it's right we double our winning to two million and we can continue.

Lilian: Yeah ((*continues talking*))

The above excerpts shows that the “computer” produces both the questions and the answers while Frank is just an animator, a voice box, who vocalises the scripts. it is worthy of note to state that the “computer” that we mean here is different from the producer of the show or any other crew member as they have a different responsibility for the “computer”. This will be better discussed under the reception roles in the next segment.

Reception roles

The reception role which is the same thing as the participation framework is a decomposition of the traditional hearer in the dyadic model of communication into smaller analytically coherent elements. In WDTBAM, the show’s reception role is a very complex and interesting one. This is because of the difference level of participation that exists in the show. The participants in the show can be divided into two namely ratified and unratified participants.

Ratified participant

Ratification of the participants on the show is done by the host in most cases and also partly by the orchestration of the show itself. The show is designed in a way that allows it to have an addressed audience and an unaddressed audience. The addressed audience are the contestants and the two celebrities who are the ones whom the speaker addresses both his visual and verbal attention to and to whom he expect to turn over his speaking role. The setting and the seating position of the addressed ratified in the game gives a hint on this.

Plate 9



The participation space

The ratified addressed audience are seated directly opposite the host. This seating position gives room for easy communication between this two parties and will also enable an easy management of turn between this two. The host introduces the ratified addressed participants only. This indicates that they are the major recipient of talk in the programme and also the more important of the two ratified participants.

Excerpt 6

Frank: ((gazing into the camera)) Good evening and welcome to who deserves to be a millionaire the second series in 2012 edition (.) and this programme is designed to help people we think deserves to be a millionaire and we bring a couple of celebrities to play and all the money is given to the person we're playing for (.) just as simple as that (.) so tonight I introduce you to erm:: a glorious actress (.) she has appeared on who wants to be a millionaire ↑who deserves to be a millionaire actually (0.6) and erm:: she played for Samanja (.) they won quite a bundle of money (.) it was an interesting episode people are still talking about it and now she needs our help (2.0) ((turning his gaze now at the seated audience)) ↑a round of applause for Ngozi Nwosu everybody

All: ((claps))

Here the host introduces the contestant who deserves to be a millionaire to the audiences at home as well as the studio audience. He does the same to the two celebrities who are to help the contestant in the question-answering process. The show is structured in such a way that only this four people (the host, the contestants and the two celebrities) are allowed to interact freely with one another without any constrains.

The unaddressed participants in this study can be divided into two categories which Goffman's classification did not cover. The configuration of this show affords the analysis with two levels of unaddressed ratified participants. These two levels are created by the discrepancies that exist between the two sets of audience on the show; the studio audience and the station audience. The main difference that exists between these two audiences is that the studio audience are registered to participate in the question and answering process when called upon to do so while the station audience are not. Also, the friend that is being called in lifeline "**phone a friend**" is also a participant whom the Goffman's classification did not cater for. This prompts the need for a revision of Goffman's classification.

The unaddressed registered participants, according to this study, are the studio audience and the friend whose number has been registered with the producer to be called when the need arises. They both play active roles in the game. This can be seen in the plate and excerpt below.

Plate 10



Lillian calling a friend

Excerpt 7

Frank: The city of Castelo Branco is located in which country? (0.8) Portugal (.)
Puerto Rico (.) Mexico (.) Spain (2.0)

Lillian: Let's call a friend

Frank: Alright so who do you want to call? (.) phone a friend

Lillian: Erm::: let's call Ngozi Sulaiman

Frank: Ngozi Sulaiman (.) okay (.) your friend right?

Lillian: Yes

Frank: Okay (.) let's put a call through to Ngozi Sulaiman please (10.0) ((there is a ten seconds pause which is caused by the call ringing and waiting to be picked))

Ngozi: Hello

Frank: Hello is this Ngozi Sulaiman please

Ngozi: Yes it is

Frank: Alright my name is Frank Edoho from who wants to be a millionaire how're you doing

Ngozi: (0.4) Wow! ((in surprise)) hello::::

Frank: Yeah hello (.) how are you::::

Ngozi: I'm fine thank you @@@@

Frank: Your friend asked me to give you a call (.) Lilian Amah (.) she says you may know the answer to this question

Here Lilian calls a friend to help her in answering a question. Although she has no idea in terms of the answer, she has still contributed actively in the show. The friend here is a **registered ratified non-audience participant**. Also the studio audience also participate in the show when the time comes for the contestants to make use of the *"ask the audience"* lifeline.

Plate 11



Plate 12

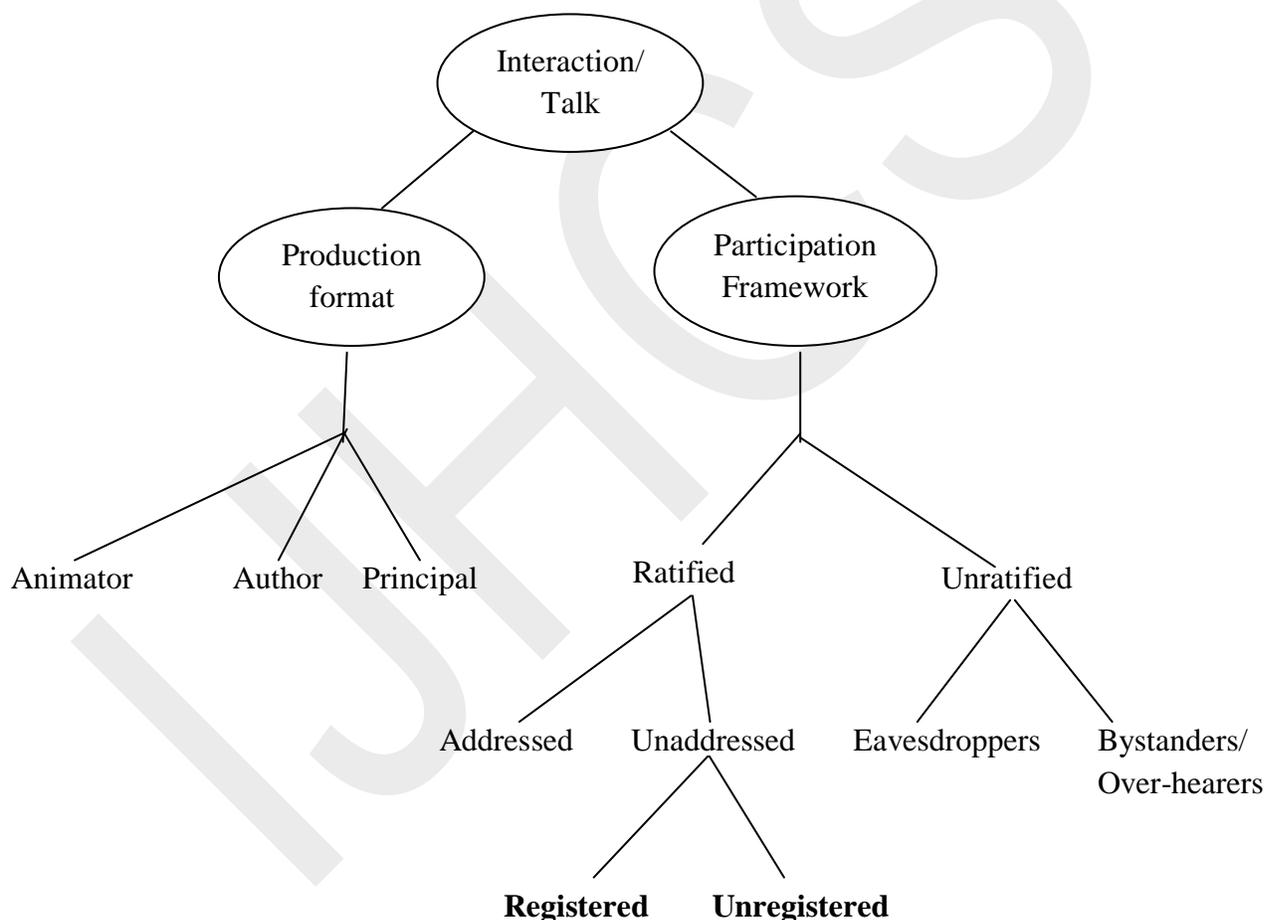


The audience answering the question

The plates above show the active involvement of the studio audience in the game. The audience play a major role in helping the contestants to answer a difficult question. At this point they cease to be just hearers of the talk to becoming a contributor in the process of the game. Their response is graded to know the option which has been the choice of most of the audience. The bar chart on the plate above is the representative of the audience's answers. The contestants can now choose the option with the highest percentage, if they so wish, to be their response.

Unratified participants

This game show is a well structured show which does not give room for bystanders and eavesdroppers at any point in time to be noticed. The show is not a life transmitted show which means apart from the studio audience outsiders do not get to intrude or eavesdrop in the show. But taking into consideration that there are a few production crew who may not have been sighted in the cause of the show but who are at the back stage and who make the recording and the lightening effect all come out good, they are the bystanders or overhearers. This is because they hear everything that goes on in the show but do not have any official role that is known to a viewer of the show. We can therefore represent the participation configuration of the game show with the schema below:



Participation configuration of *Who Deserves To Be A Millionaire*

Conclusion

This research work attempts an analysis of the participation configuration and orientation of a Nigerian game show, WDTBAM. The study has been carried out in an attempt to explicate the participation structure and participants' configuration in the game show. Having done this, it is observed that the WDTBAM has a complex participation and audience analytical structure which necessitated the categorisation of the registered and unregistered unaddressed ratified hearers under the reception roles. These shows afford the study a justification for the claim that the unaddressed ratified participants in this game show are of two types. This is because the two types of audience are duly acknowledged by the host in the cause of each of the episodes. Also, the recipient of the life line call is categorised as a registered unaddressed ratified participant. This is because he or she has been registered into the database of the programme therefore they known to both the producers (computer) and the contestant.

The over-hearers or bystanders do not play any role in the cause of the game show which is known to the audience at home (in which the researcher is classified as being a part of). The host, which is the animator of the questions, sometimes changes to be both the animator and the author when he gives us background information about the contestant and the celebrities.

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APPENDIX

Glossary of transcription symbols

Jefferson's (2004) transcription symbols are adopted for the transcription of the conversations.

- (0.4) number in parenthesis indicates elapsed time of silence between and within turns measured in tenth of seconds.
- (.) This indicates a short silence (\pm a tenth of a second within or between utterances.)
- @ This indicates laughter
- [A square bracket indicates the onset of an overlapping turn
-] A right square indicates the end of an overlapping turn
- $\downarrow\uparrow$ Vertical arrows provide information about local pitch movements within syllables or at the level of a single syllable. A downward arrow signals a falling tone movement while an upward movement indicates a rising one.
- (()) Double parenthesis indicates transcriber's description.
- :::: Colons indicate prolongation of immediate prior sound. The longer the colon the longer the prolongation.
- = Equal sign indicate no break or gap between two lines.
- > < This part of the utterance is produced with higher/faster pace than the surrounding talk.
- < > The pace is relatively slower.
- WORD Capitals indicate loudness relative to surrounding talk.

The Yorùbá Indigenous Psychotherapeutic Healing System: A case Study of Oríkì

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Abstract

This paper discusses the psycho-therapeutic features in Oríkì, the panegyric genre that focuses on changing people's current way of life. It employs range of techniques based on relationship building, dialogue, communication, and behaviour changed that are designed to improve the mental among the users. We discuss its ability to increase sense of well-being as well as reduce discomfort of the addressees. In our analysis, we employed the socio-mythical approach, borne out of sociological and mythological approaches that made it possible for us to perceive cultural ideologies on which the attitude of the Yorùbá is based.

Keywords: Psycho-therapy, behaviour, socio-mythic approach, ideology, panegyric, genre.

Introduction

Abimbólá (1975:266-292) asserts that **oríkì** is a genre that possesses a record of the past and it spurs listeners by such recital to greater achievement in emulation of their ancestors. Gbàdàmóṣí and Beier (1959: 12) portray it as a poetic phrase used to describe or praise a given phenomenon. A lot of scholars have worked on various African genres which can be compared with **oríkì**. These scholars include Cope (1968), Grant (1927), Lestrade (1937) and Vilakazi (1938) who have worked extensively on the **izibongo** of the Zulu. Also, Morris (1964) has worked on the **ebyevugo** of the Bahima of Ankole. Works on the **maboko** of the Tswana chiefs and **dithoko** of Southern Sotho have been done by Schapera (1965) and Guma (1967:136-170) respectively. Nketia (1955) and Yankah (1983) also have elaborate works on **mmrane** and **apae** of the Akan of Ghana. Barber (1979) views **oríkì** as the relations between verbal and social structure among the Yorùbá. Òjòṣú (1988) has probed into historical, social, cultural and economic aspects of **oríkì** of some lineages among the Èkìtì Yorùbá. Our salient duty here is to give an intent look at **oríkì** as a health-related genre that is endowed with psychotherapeutic features in this paper.

Socio-mythical Approach

While a lot of theories have been propounded, in this domain not all the theories are considered appropriate to this study. The socio-mythical approach explains how myths are used to explain certain hidden phenomena in the Yorùbá society. This approach called socio-mythical approach gives room for sociological theory and the mythological approach to be contrapuntally explored. It also also benefits from the psycho-analytical perspectives, since it is sociologically related.

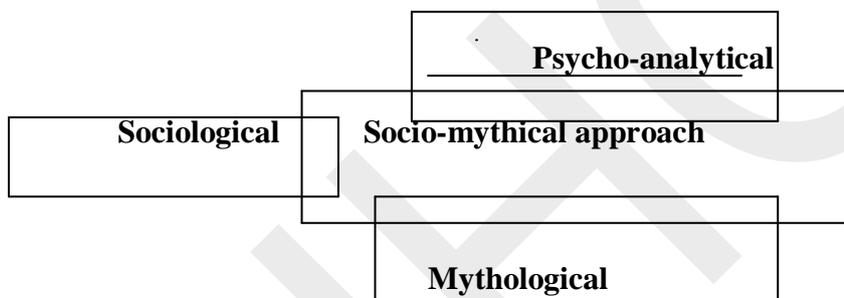
The reasons for employing the socio-mythical approach in this discussion are enumerated as follows. The verbal arts in general and those used in Yorùbá indigenous healthcare practices in particular are products of society, and they are used by, and for the people in the Yorùbá society. Some of the Yorùbá verbal arts are mythical allusions in which myth can be used as a tool to unveil the hidden issues. Therefore, it paves the way for getting acquainted with valid information on issues like how diseases are caused, prevented and treated in the context of cultural tradition. We can then regard the approach as the embodiment of illumination over mysteries found in the various verbal arts among the Yorùbá. Furthermore, it has been observed that some of the Yorùbá verbal arts are tools that can be used to work on the socio-psychological condition of the people who directly benefit from the performance of the verbal arts under study. Since the socio-mythical approach accommodates the social aspect of other theories (mythological, sociological and structuralist approaches) as tools for the understanding of verbal arts in Yorùbá traditional healthcare delivery system, the sociological aspect of the approach is hereby discussed.

Eclecticism, as observed in the study of verbal arts in the Yorùbá indigenous healthcare practices is the interaction of the literary approaches as earlier discussed. In this regard, the perspectives in the socio-mythical approach, which are sociological, mythological as well as psycho-analytical, are all interrelated. The focus of any research in this domain is the society to which any of these approaches gives prominence. The genre, **oríkì**, is often made a social enterprise by the raconteur. This is because, the rendition requires a lot of skill and

knowledge, often acquired through apprenticeship or long experience. The mastery of such genres enhances the socio-economic status of the verbal art raconteurs, and this makes them commercialise their expertise.

The cultural aspect of life discussed in the sociological approach can also be given a comprehensive meaning in the mythological approach in an attempt to give the origin of such a cultural institution in the society. The psycho-analytical approach that ascertains human minds provides the analyst with the social meaning of a phenomenon such as bewitching or smallpox that springs up from the society.

One cannot discuss the social meaning of Yorùbá verbal arts through the psycho-analytical approach without touching the use of language of the verbal arts in the relevant texts as expressed in the sociological approach through which the social meaning is given. The psycho-analytical and sociological tools take the social meaning of the genres under study into consideration by giving a detailed discussion on language (of a text) which is the determining factor of the social communication. On language use, the mythological aspect of the study, explains the origin of all symbols of communication. Explanation is usually given on how Yorùbá society values orature as manifested in their language.



Furthermore, the socio-mythical approach used in this study gives an insight into the relationship of verbal arts and Yorùbá indigenous health knowledge. It also sheds some light on the meanings, values and functions of the health-related genres among the Yorùbá, either in health or disease. The approach weaves all its discussion around the society, in order to give a comprehensive meaning. The interrelatedness of all the chosen approaches has prompted us to label our own literary analytical approach the socio-mythical approach, so as to give deeper meaning to our discussion in the study. The socio-mythical approach to the study of verbal arts in the Yorùbá indigenous healthcare delivery system aims at finding out the social functions and meanings of the said verbal arts, and would bring into the limelight their relevance to the society.

The socio-mythical approach, borne out of sociological and mythological approaches, has made it possible for us to perceive cultural ideologies on which the attitude of the Yorùbá is based. Some excerpts in the **oríkì** (verbal salutes) have shown that man always wishes himself and his loved ones well.

Through the socio-mythical approach, it is detected that the Yorùbá verbal arts used in the indigenous healthcare delivery system address humanity, that is, they are the instruments used in the act of communication. There are a lot of messages conveyed through the health-related genres in the Yorùbá traditional milieu. This shows that verbal arts are endowed with social meanings and functions. Surveillance is made possible, because the approach does not separate the culture (of the environment) and the texts (under study in which the society creates its material lives) from each other. Therefore, the work has shown that the health-related verbal arts as a communicative procedure can be between the encoder/addresser who is/are usually human and the decoder/addressee who is/are usually either human, supernatural being or both. At times when the encoder/addresser addresses him/herself, he/she is part and parcel of the decoder/addressee group.

Among the Yorùbá, **oríkì** can be delineated as a stimulant to whom it is addressed. It inspires pleasantly the subject of address; meaning that, it has a strong connection with the psyche of its target. The addressee at times gets carried away with the sense of the marvelous things wrought in the days of his ancestors as expressed in the eulogy. According to Yorùbá belief, **oríkì** is capable of controlling man's thinking faculty, because it can be used to achieve a lot in a tense atmosphere. Through it, one who is hot tempered or mentally demented can be cured. Through mere listening to their **oríkì**, the descendants of Balógun Àjọbọ of Ìbàdàn could be compelled to comport themselves. Let us examine his **oríkì** as found in Olatúnjì (1984: 87-88):

*Àjọbọ Òmírín
Ògbòntarigì
Eégún oniyèèpanpata
Abiyé gbòòrò-gbooro
Ìyálásè wa Ìbàdàn
Ajísebè wa Ìbàdàn
Orìsà tí wón n jì sìn níBàdàn
Ò-ná-omọ-ní-lagbà-ná-omọ-ní-lágbá
Ò-na-omọ-lòògùn-na-omọ-lósé-irin
A-f'àkáràbà-jà-bí-Ìdàhòmi
A-fèékánná-jà-bí-ògìdán
A-wú-tutu-bí-Òsónú
A-pón-lójú-jà-sẹ̀rì-sẹ̀rì*

*Àjọbọ, Swallower
The important one
The masquerade that wears thick feathers
He that has broad feathers
The Chief host at Ìbàdàn i.e. the generous one
He that provides food at Ìbàdàn
The divinity that everyone wakes to worship at Ìbàdàn
He that lashes people with whips and lashes
with cudgels
He that beats people with herbal preparation
and beats with iron rods*

*He that fights with the charmed padlock like
the Dahomeans (Beninois)
He that fights with his nail like the lion
He that puffs himself up like a surly person
He that is in battle exceedingly red in eye.*

The above excerpt possesses potentiality for stimulating the descendants of Balógun Àjòbò of Ìbàdàn to be magnanimous, militant, bold and fearless. This type of **oríkì** is capable of curing one who is coward among the descendant of Àjòbò. Apart from the fact that the **oríkì** (verbal salute) is capable of making the addressees feel elevated, it is observed that it makes them remain bold and confident to get people convinced that they do take after their progenitors. Olátúnjí (é993:é3) shows that **oríkì** is a genre that 'evokes in people feelings of well-being and pride as the semantic component of the various names, and incidents alluded to, arouses this emotional response' When an **oríkì** is chanted by a nursing mother/elder at the homestead to a crying or restless child, it has a positive psychological effect on the child that soothes and calms him/her down. This shows another health caring effect of **oríkì** having a soothing effect on the crying babies or restless children. Since **oríkì** controls the psyche of its recipient, we could therefore submit that it makes one feel mentally and physically healthy. It plays a significant role in the traditional healing system in the Yorùbá society. It gives a sort of confidence (to the users), gained through the historical heritage it provides for the society.

Genetics may be employed to explain the operation of **oríkì** (verbal salute). If the descendant of a heroic ancestor possesses the innate features, both physical and psychological, of the ancestor, it will be no surprise that when **oríkì** of the ancestor is rendered, the present addressee starts manifesting the said traits. The **oríkì** acts only as a stimulant. This is why a crying or even sick child is able to react positively to the **oríkì** said to it, though he is unconscious. The following Yorùbá proverbs confirm this view:

i. *Ọmọ ewúré kò ní lọ ìsọ àgùntàn rée mumú*

*The offspring of a goat will never suck the breast
of a sheep*

ii. *Ọmọ àjànàkú kò ní yàrá,
Ọmọ tẹkùn-ún bá bí, ẹkùn ni yòò jọ.*

*The offspring of an elephant can never be like a hartebeest (Bubalis Major),
The offspring of a tiger will always look like a tiger.*

The Psychotherapeutic Features in Oríkì

Various scholars have worked on what psychotherapy is with their different views on the subject matter. Some view it as 'one of those all encompassing terms that refers to the use tools or techniques that alleviate mental, emotional or behavioural problems' the practice of which is typically undertaken by psychologists, psychiatrists, psychotherapists and counselors (See Reber and Reber, 2001). The work of some scholars like Jorm, Mackinnon,

Christensen and Griffiths (2005) into mental health believes that psychotherapy is a treatment that sits outside medical practice and lifestyle treatments i.e. complementary therapies and others.

Oríkì, the panegyric genre focuses on changing people's current way of life. It employs range of technique based on relationship building, dialogue, communication, and behaviour changed that are designed to improve the mental among the users. It has the ability to increase sense of well-being as well as reduces discomfort of the addressees.

It identifies and changes behaviours or thoughts that adversely affects one's life or the structure of the whole community. At this junction, we should take Ògúndèjí's (2000) observation into consideration by seeing the genre as being objective in the sense that its objects of praise are not only are not verbally awarded for their good deeds and beauty, but it also extends its reference to their wrong sides, weaknesses and ugliness. This feature of **oríkì** allows people to know the repercussion or outcome of every endeavor they embark on.

Here is a human character who has left a good legacy behind for the descendants can be found in **oríkì** (verbal salutes) of Abímbólá who was a renowned hunter and **Ifá** priest in **Ọyó** town:

*Abímbólá ọmọ Ìrókò
Ìrókò ọmọ Adéyẹmọ
Adéyẹmọ n baba Ìrókò
ìgbà tí baba Ògúnwándé n bẹ láyé
Tí baba rẹ n bẹ ní yìnbọnyìnbọn
Bákátá n sá lọ bí aféfé
Bótòlò n kunra rẹ ní kànnàkànnà
Àrídòpó, mo ní baba rẹ ó bá a.*

*Abímbólá, the offspring of ìrókò
Ìrókò is the offspring of Adéyẹmọ
Adéyẹmọ is the father of Ìrókò
When Ògúnwándé's father was alive
When your father was very active in
the hunting expeditions
If a civet-cat was as swift as air
And if a waterbuck was as fast as the stone released from a Catapult sling
Àrídòpó, I said, your father would catch up with it.*

The excerpt above describes how good Abímbólá was in the hunting game. It can give the descendants a clue to life that one needs to know the technical-know-how of one's profession, and it as well, teaches them that one should excel in any field one has chosen, in order to leave a remarkable legacy behind. The excerpt can be used to encourage the descendants to see their father as a symbol of excellence and fulfillment which can heal anyone who is melancholic or perhaps neurotic among that descendant. In other words, it has an ability to stimulate the healthy emotional development and stability in that descendant and the whole society. The above **oríkì** (verbal salutes) brings joy and hope to the offsprings of the main character mentioned. Joy and hope are usually the antidotes of hysteria, anxiety,

obsessions, depression and compulsions which are the symptoms of neurosis. This psychotherapeutic healing can be achieved, because, **oríkì** (verbal salutes) of this nature, works on the psyche of the target. Also in the **oríkì** (verbal salutes) of this same family, a human-ancestor of their character is depicted. Their progenitor was so generous that he is said to have even fed flies:

*Baba yín àgbà ló rà ràà rà,
Tó relégbò lésè.
Ó ní kéesìn ó lè mò-ón róhun jẹ*

*Your forefather procured uncountable things
That he bought a person with a sore in the legs
On which the flies fed*

The excerpt inculcated some moral into the members of the family in order to eradicate selfishness/self-centeredness that can destroy the emotion (human feeling) of the society. A human being with sores on his/her legs is the object in the above excerpt, while the main character in the excerpt symbolises generosity. Though at the surface level, this action is dehumanising, but the chanter is only demonstrating that their progenitor's generosity is indescribable.

Oríkì Raconteur as a Psychotherapist

There is a vital question that who can really be a psychotherapist. The view of the orthodox medicine practitioners is that the adequately trained and certified psychotherapists are psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, nurse practitioner and minister or priest. With the psychotherapeutic features in **oríkì**, the raconteurs of the genre can also be regarded as psychotherapists. The genre is usually being rendered at the domestic, communal and inter-communal levels

Who Needs Psychotherapeutic Assistance in Oríkì

The utilitarian nature of **oríkì** cuts across ages, levels, hierarchies and strata. Children at domestic, communal and inter-communal need **oríkì** to pave way for their greatness by tutoring them to adhere strictly to the societal norms. It is even useful to be a teaching aid in various schools so that the mind of the younger ones will be prepared to face reality of life. This does leave the adolescent behind most especially in the issues of separation and peer relationship. In the area of career issues in life, young adults and mature adults also need it for them to think of how they can be useful for their thinking towards the issues of changing relationships, family alignments, health, work and social status in their community. Furthermore, the older adults can benefit from it by preparing them for end of life issues.

Conclusion

It is observed, in this study that, when **oríkì** (verbal salute) is recited, it is capable of healing the entire society of her social evils which have earned the society a great setback as regards her well-being. This could be possible if everyone can take after his/her worthy progenitor of whom he/she has knowledge of through **oríkì**. Emulating the good aspects as well as the ugly behaviour of the ancestor/ancestress as shown in any given **oríkì** can get rid of societal malady.

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Colonial Origin of Press-Regulatory Laws in Ghana, 1857 – 1957

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Abstract

The press in colonial and post-colonial Africa served as a link between the government and the governed. The press entertained, informed and educated the citizenry on the policies of the colonial government and successive ones. They also held governments accountable to the citizenry and ensured that governments performed their constitutional obligations. The press, however, has had to battle with some laws that were passed by the colonisers. These laws were used to muzzle the press, even though they were originally intended to ensure 'responsible' journalism in the country. Using the Ghanaian experience, the researcher traces, chronologically, the origins and application of laws passed to regulate the activities of the press during the colonial era and the impact of their use or abuse on the press.

Keywords: Libel, Sedition, Contempt, Newspaper Licensing.

Introduction

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the territory now called Ghana witnessed the arrival of Europeans on its coast; with the Portuguese being the first to arrive. Due to the ample gold that they found in the territory where they docked, the early Portuguese explorers named the place El Mina literally meaning 'the mine'. As a result of the riches that the Portuguese sailors enjoyed from their trade in gold with the indigenes, other European nations including the French, the British, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Bradenburgers followed.¹ By the eighteenth century, some European nations had established chartered companies that built trade posts along the coast and enjoyed great wealth from their trade. Due to the large quantity of gold that was found in the area, the whole expanse along the coast and its immediate hinterland was named Gold Coast "since it was the greatest source of gold for European traders"² and it was only after the attainment of independence that the name was changed from the Gold Coast to Ghana.

With time, the British became the dominant European force in the Gold Coast thereby establishing their authority over their hosts officially in 1900. The British, as colonizers of the territory, saw to the daily administration of the colony in all spheres of the life of the indigenes. In this regard, the British passed ordinances and introduced policies that affected every aspect of the people in the colony. Some of their policies, it must be noted, were not in the best interest of the indigenes hence they (the indigenes) resisted their implementation. Policies such as the re-establishment of the Supreme Court in 1876, which abolished both the court of civil and criminal justice and the office of the Judicial Assessor; the introduction of direct taxation; the passage of the Land Bills which granted the British the power to take possession of "waste lands"; and the introduction and application of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, were strongly resented by the people of the Gold Coast.³

The actions of the British colonial authorities were considered by the indigenes as sheer exploitation, a usurpation of the rights of the chiefs who were their natural leaders and an abuse of the fundamental human rights of the citizenry in general. In their attempt to express their resentments, a number of regional and nationalist movements sprang up in different parts of the colony, at different times and, of course, to protest different policies of the British. It was for such a reason that the Fante Confederation was formed in 1868 by some Fante and non-Fante (Denkyira, Wassa, Twifo, Assin, and Ahanta) states to protest the Anglo-Dutch exchange of forts and the British reaction to the Asante invasion of the coast in 1863. The Aborigines' Right Protection Society (A.R.P.S.) was also founded in 1896 by some educated elite and chiefs to protest the imposition and application of the Land Bill. Later, there was the founding of the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A.) in 1920 which was more widespread since it consisted of delegates from other British West African colonies such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia. Their aim was to protest what was considered as the maladministration of the British in some West African colonies.⁴

¹ F. K. Buah, *A History of Ghana* (London: Macmillan Educational Ltd, 1995), 66-68.

² Ibid. 69.

³ A. A. Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Accra: Sankofa Educational Publishers Ltd., 2000), 57-63.

⁴ Buah, 63.

After the Second World War, agitation for independence in the Gold Coast heightened and there was the formation of political parties which had as their main objective the wresting of power from the colonial “masters”.⁵ This change in the focus and demands of nationalism led to the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.) in 1947, the Convention People’s Party (C.P.P.) in 1949, the Ghana Congress Party in 1952, the National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.) in 1954, and the Northern People’s Party (N.P.P) also in 1954.⁶ It was through the combined efforts of the above mentioned political parties that the country gained her independence from the British in March 1957. Beside the efforts of the political parties, chiefs, and the ex-servicemen who did all within their might to gain independence for the colony, one agrees with the assertion that the print media (newspapers) also contributed immensely in making the dreams of the people of the Gold Coast a reality.

Founding of Newspapers

The print media played a wide range of roles in colonial Gold Coast just as it did in other African colonies. Apart from the fact that they entertained their readers, they also educated the indigenes on the policies of the colonial administration and monitored the government in its day to day administration of the colony.⁷ Newspapers were the main avenues through which the Gold Coast nationalists ensured that the colonizers were on track and also mobilized the indigenes to fight against obnoxious laws introduced by the colonial administration. They sought to stimulate awareness among the literate and the barely literate masses who read newspapers. The history of the West African Press goes back to the very beginning of the 19th Century. In English-speaking West Africa, journalism began, under official auspices, in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1801. The Gold Coast Settlements, Lagos Colony, and The Gambia followed progressively later.

From 1822 when the first newspaper, the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer*, was founded in the Gold Coast,⁸ several publishing houses sprang up in the colony and this led to the founding of newspapers such as the *Accra Herald* (1857), *Gold Coast Methodist Times* (1874), *Gold Coast News* (1885), *Western Echo* (1885), *Gold Coast Echo* (1889), *Gold Coast Chronicle* (1890), *Gold Coast Assize* (1890), *Gold Coast Observer* (1896), *Gold Coast Express* (1897) and the *Gold Coast Free Press* (1899). Others included *Gold Coast Leader* (1902), *Gold Coast Advocate* (1904), *Gold Coast Courier* (1905), *Gold Coast Nation and Aborigines* (1912), *Voice of the People* (1917), *Gold Coast Truth* [later known as *Truth*] (1928) and the *Gold Coast Daily Telegraph* (1928).⁹

In tracing the history of the establishment of newspapers in the Gold Coast, it can be said, as noted above, that the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer*, was the first to be founded in the Gold Coast on Tuesday 2nd April, 1822 and it had the same

⁵ A. A. Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 92.

⁶ Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, 179-180

⁷ Clement E. Asante, *The Press in Ghana: Problems and Prospects*, (London: University Press of America, Inc. 1996), 2.

⁸ Ibid. 1.

⁹ K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, *History, Politics and Early Press in Ghana: The Fictions and the Facts*, (Accra: Assembly Press Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1975), 94-99.

features as the *Sierra Leone Royal Gazette*, the first newspaper ever to be printed in Black Africa.¹⁰ The *Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer* was founded by Sir Charles MacCarthy, then Governor and Commander-in-chief of Sierra Leone who was appointed as the first Governor of the Gold Coast in 1821. According to K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, MacCarthy founded the newspaper for a number of reasons among which was the fact that he wanted to publish the activities of their neighbours, far and near; to educate its readers and also to inform its readers (including merchants) about commercial activities elsewhere.¹¹ It is conceivable that the British authorities in the Gold Coast also used the newspaper to consolidate and extend its sphere of influence in the territory since it served as a medium through which the colonizers popularized their rule in the colony. By 1825, however, the newspaper had ceased to exist because its founder, Sir Charles MacCarthy, the then governor of the colony, was killed in the Battle of Nsamankow in 1824 in which the Asante defeated the British and beheaded its leader, MacCarthy.¹²

It is not surprising that since the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette* was owned by the British administration in the Gold Coast and it sought to propagate the philosophies of the British, there was no need for the colonial authorities to pass ordinances that would regulate its operations in so far as its publications were concerned. The newspaper could not possibly have published anything that seemed to incriminate the administrative system or question the legitimacy of the administration of the British settlements in the Gold Coast. Among the issues that the *Royal Gazette* published were things to do with the abolition of the slave trade and illegal slave trading that still went on on the coasts of Elmina and Wydah. Two subjects which also featured prominently in the newspaper were economic matters and the promotion of education by missionaries and the government in the colony.

The demise of the government-owned newspaper left the entire colony without any newspaper for thirty-two years until 1857 when the Bannerman brothers (Charles and Edmund) started another newspaper called the *Accra Herald*, later on known as the *West African Herald*, in the colony.¹³ Journalism by the indigenes of the Gold Coast colony was thus started in Accra and it was owned, edited and printed by Charles Bannerman who had learnt the art of printing. Although the *Accra Herald* was initially hand written and appeared fortnightly and was short-lived, it had about 310 subscribers in the Gold Coast and other West African colonies by 1859. Its emergence opened the floodgate for the establishment of numerous newspapers owned by the people of the Gold Coast. Jones-Quartey writes that a year after the *Accra Herald* folded up in 1874, there was the launch of the *Gold Coast Times* which was the first African owned fully printed newspaper in the colony. The *Times* was founded by James Hutton Brew, a native of Dunkwa-on-Offin in the Central Region of Ghana.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Asante, 1.

¹³ Ibid.

A Critical Local Press

The *Gold Coast Times* was produced fortnightly in Cape Coast and it lasted from March 1875 to November 1885. It was noted for the vehement manner in which it criticized the colonial authority on issues that affected the citizenry. Passages from the first editorials of the newspaper included the following:

We have embarked on this undertaking without any previous experience of the dangers and troubles attendant upon Editorship; but, since we have mustered sufficient courage to test them, any apologies on our part would be out of place. Once engaged in an enterprise we hold it our duty not to turn back, and have firm faith in the old adage, "where there is a will, there is a way..."

The system of Government pursued by the British on the Gold Coast had been generally pronounced as most defective. This piece of land is simply ruled by a staff of foreigners who know just as much of the natives as their ancestors did many centuries back. The natives are entirely without representation and the consequence is that they are often branded as slaves. Ordinances or measures are repeatedly framed by the ruling power: but whether they are compatible with the interest of the natives or not is a question about which our authorities do not trouble themselves.... The death of misgovernment is now, we believe, being loudly sounded, and its information can, happily, be heard....¹⁴

The above extract signified the resolve of the editors of the *Gold Coast Times* to be critical of the colonial administration regardless of the possible adverse consequences. The newspaper was suspended by the government for its critical publications in 1885 but it was later revived in November that same year as the *Western Echo*.

It was not until the number of newspapers owned by missionaries and mission-educated African elites in the Gold Coast increased that the colonizers saw it necessary to pass press-regulatory laws to check their operations and publications. The African-owned newspapers and some of the missionary owned ones which had Africans as editors were noted for their vigorous attacks on the colonial administration even after the passage of laws that adversely affected the press. Between 1857 and 1900, several newspapers and other publications were founded and one factor that promoted this phenomenon was the role of Christian missionaries, especially the Wesleyan Mission. Another reason was the technological advancement in newspaper publication at the time. The missionaries established a few newspapers and this urged individuals on to found newspapers. For instance, the Wesleyan Mission established the *Christian Messenger* and *Examiner* in 1859. Other newspapers founded by the missionaries were the *Christian Reporter*, and the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* (1874). Although the newspapers founded by the missionaries were meant mainly for the propagation of the gospel, some educated Africans who were editors of those newspapers used the pages of their papers to support nationalist agitations. An example was the use of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* by its editor, Attoh Ahuma, a Gold Coast nationalist, to serve the progress of nationalism.¹⁵ It carried articles that questioned the

¹⁴ Jones-Quartey, 83

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 2.

“maladministration” of the colonial government and brought to the attention of the government the demands of the indigenes.

It is worth mentioning at this point that the Gold Coast newspapers did not only inform, educate and entertain their readers but they also served as the mouthpiece of the nationalists in the colony and prompted the colonial administration whenever it went off course. What was considered the misrule of the colonizers never went unquestioned by the editors of the newspapers. For instance, the *Western Echo*, the *Gold Coast Times* and *The Independent* were very critical of colonial officials in the 1880s. The District Commissioners (D.C.s) were most often under the critical observation of the press and both their public and private lives were scrutinized in the columns of the *Western Echo*, in particular. The D. C.s were accused of drunkenness, obscenity, and assaulting the African for pleasure. The December 9, 1886 edition of the *Western Echo* published the following to highlight some gross misconduct of high officials of the colonial administration:

...When a D.C. can even dream of such doings as those spoken of at Quittah (Keta), when another can shoot down six men and nothing be said about it; when a Governor can pass over the cold-blooded murder of eight men by the people who attacked Captain Campbell; when one who is on the highroad to the Chief Justiceships of this lucky “colony” can jump in at a man’s window in the dead of the night and attempt to drag a man’s wife off his bed from beside him; and when the magistrate gives notice that his way of administering justice is to hear nothing at [sic] any case brought before him but to fine both sides, what more proof can be wanting of these people feeling quite secure against any question of their acts?¹⁶

The *Western Echo* also used court cases to illustrate the inequality suffered by the African before the law and to castigate the injustices of the judicial system in the Gold Coast. He complained that although there were more than fifty-four men eligible for jury duty, the same twelve [who were not competent enough] sat on every case. *The Gold Coast Independent* of August 12, 1875 complained about trial by jury in the colony and the calibre of jurymen who listened to cases in the colony. It noted the deplorable state of the court of criminal and civil justice in Cape Coast and also observed that the government did not provide counsel for prisoners charged with murder, as was done in other British West African colonies such as Sierra Leone. Rather, they were left to a jury of “illiterate men who deemed it their duty to say ‘Guilty’ ”, making the judicial process one biased against the indigenes.¹⁷

The vanguard role played by the newspapers in the struggle for independence was most likely because of the fact that the anti-colonial movements were dominated by the Western-educated elite who were the publishers and readers of the newspapers. It was also because newspapers were the most effective organs for the dissemination of written propaganda for change in every sphere of the society.¹⁸ The Cape Coast press was owned and edited by the Westernised Africans: John Mensah Sarbah owned and edited the *Gold Coast People*, Casely Hayford owned and edited the *Gold Coast Leader* and the A.R.P.S. owned the

¹⁶ *Western Echo*, January 20, 1886, 1.

¹⁷ *Gold Coast Independent*, August 12, 1875, 1

¹⁸ K. Karikari, “The Press and the Law on the Twilight of Colonial Rule in Ghana” in *The Law and the Media in Ghana*, eds. K. Karikari and K. Kumado, (Accra: School of Communication Studies Printing Press, University of Ghana, Legon, 2000), 13.

Gold Coast Nation, which was edited by Attoh Ahuma after he had given up the editorship of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times*. James H. Brew was also the founder and editor of the *Western Echo*.

Clampdown on the Press

Sensing the danger that the nationalist press could pose to its popularity and authority in the colony, the colonial government passed a number of Ordinances and took measures that were aimed at checking the activities of the nationalist press. Although most of these ordinances, from the colonizers' point of view, were aimed at checking irresponsible journalism that was emerging in the colony, they ended up stifling the freedom of expression of the press and of the indigenes.

The very first ordinance to be passed by the administration was the *Newspaper Registration Ordinance, 1893 (Cap 103 and cap 125)*. This ordinance was later amended over the years and it became the *Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance, 1897 (Cap 124)*.¹⁹ The ordinance established a register of newspaper proprietors, editors, and publishers. It aimed at helping the colonial authorities to locate and arrest the administrators of the newspapers whenever they went contrary to the stipulations of the government. The stipulations satisfied the personal interests of the colonizers at the expense of the operators of the newspapers. The ordinance also required the registration of the title of the newspapers, the names and residential addresses of the editors, proprietor and publishers. Every newspaper was required to publish the names and residential addresses of the editor, printer, publisher, and proprietor on the front and back pages of the newspaper. Any change in editorship, publisher and proprietorship was also to be made known to the registry within a week. There was a fine of fifty pounds attached for failing to notify the government about any change in the newspapers management personnel.²⁰ It is believed that an article published in John Mensah Sarbah's newspaper necessitated the introduction of the *Newspaper Registration Ordinance*.

John Mensah Sarbah was a lawyer, nationalist, and founder of the *Gold Coast People* newspaper in 1890. On the 2nd of January, 1893, the *Gold Coast People*, which had about 13,000 annual circulation, published an article which attacked some officials of the colonial administration in the Gold Coast. The article suggested that the Chief Justice of the Gold Coast colony bribed the Governor of the colony before he got his appointment as Chief Justice. The newspaper also made allegations about how most District Commissioners of Gold Coast went to court "three-quarters 'tipsy'" thus making it impossible for them to give any good verdict on the cases that were brought before them.²¹ The publication was considered as libellous by the colonial administration and this led to a heated argument between the Chief Justice and Sarbah. The issues at stake were finding out the true identity of the writer(s) of the story, since it was published under a pseudo name and the truth or otherwise of the story carried in the newspaper. The Chief Justice, obviously exasperated by

¹⁹ Ibid. 16-17.

²⁰ Ibid. 16.

²¹ Asante, 3.

the publication, drafted the bill which was consequently approved by the Legislative Council for it to become law in 1893 as *Newspaper Registration Ordinance, 1893 (Cap 103 and cap 125)*. This law was to make public whoever was behind a newspaper and the authors of stories in the newspapers, doubtless to enable the authorities deal with such people when the need arose.

In 1897, there was the introduction of another law, *Book and Newspaper Registration Ordinance* which was an amended version of the *Newspaper Registration Ordinance*. This new law required editors to send returns of the circulation, the title of the newspaper, the location of its offices, printers, and publishers. These ordinances did not deter the local newspapers from demanding accountability from the colonial administration, as they continued to question what they considered to be the misrule of the government. The colonial administration therefore set up its own newspaper, the *Gold Coast Pioneer*, in February, 1921 which was used as a medium through which they responded to the questions and accusations of the nationalist press.²² Realizing that their medium (the *Gold Coast Pioneer*) could not match the radicalism of the nationalist press, harsher laws were unleashed onto the nationalist newspapers.

The period between 1930 and 1937 witnessed the founding of many newspapers even though that same period could be described as the turbulent time in the press history of pre-independence Ghana because of the passage and application of some strict press laws such as the Sedition Ordinance in the colony. The *West African Times* (later the *Times of West Africa*), *Statesman*, *Gold Coast Observer*, *African Morning Post*, *Daily Eco*, and the *Ashanti Pioneer* all surfaced after 1931. These newspapers were founded when the people of the Gold Coast were agitating for better administration of the colony and later for independence from colonialism. They were thus very critical of the policies of the government and ensured that the colonial authorities were not arbitrary in their administration. This was done through their publication of every policy of the government and questioning of the rationale behind those that were detrimental to them.²³ One of the laws aimed at gagging the press which was passed within that period was the *Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance*, sometimes referred to as the *Sedition Ordinance, 1934*.²⁴ Even though this ordinance greatly stifled freedom of the press in the colony, it remained on the statute books from the colonial through to the post-colonial era.

Although the law on sedition had been part of the Gold Coast Criminal Code since the 1890s, its introduction in the *Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance* included, for the first time, provisions that made certain expressions through the press seditious acts punishable by fines, imprisonment or both. From that time onwards, press commentary on, or criticism of government policies and government officials that did not please the indigenes were interpreted as criminal offences. It was seditious to print, publish, offer for sale, reproduce, distribute, or import publications (books, newspapers, documents) that contained words, utterances or materials that provoked hatred against the colonial government or its officials

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) ADM 4/1/63, *Criminal Code (Amendment) Ordinance, 1934*, 49-50.

and representatives, advocated change in the colonial status of the Gold Coast, or agitated for the overthrow of the colonial state.²⁵ Persons found guilty of any of the stipulations of the sedition ordinance could spend up to three years in jail or pay a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds. The ordinance empowered some police officers, officers of the Posts and Telegraphs, and Customs Departments, and any official authorized by the governor to detain, open and examine packages or articles which they suspected contained seditious materials.²⁶

It is obvious that per the stipulations of the ordinance, all nationalists would fall victim to the law because their messages called for the proper administration of the colony by the colonial government and an end to colonialism in the Gold Coast. The introduction of the law made the Gold Coast nationalists aware of the extent to which the colonial authorities could go in handling expressions that were unpalatable to them. There was, therefore, fierce resistance by the African members of the Legislative Council, some chiefs, the press, and the intelligentsia against the application of the law in the colony. In the same year that the law was introduced, delegates of the Gold Coast Youth Conference made up of J. B. Danquah, K. A. Korsah, F. V. Nanka-Bruce and E. Asafu-Adjaye sent a petition to the King of England requesting that the King should withdraw the *Sedition Ordinance* because of its repressive nature.²⁷ Despite the stiff opposition mobilized against the law, it remained on the statute books of the colony and was used whenever the colonial authority deemed it necessary. The law on sedition, it must be emphasized, was first introduced into colonial India in 1901 and in Nigeria by 1909, both under British rule at the time, and it was ruthlessly used as a weapon in suppressing nationalist agitations in those colonies.²⁸ Its successful use in India and Nigeria could be a reason for its introduction and rigorous use in the Gold Coast.

In May 1936, two well known West African journalists and Pan-Africanists living in the Gold Coast were charged and convicted of sedition. The two were Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a militant Nigerian nationalist, and I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson, a Sierra Leonean and the organizer of the West African Youth League. Dr. Azikiwe tried to change the face of journalism in West Africa when he returned from the United States in the 1930s and his activities in Nigeria and the Gold Coast sparked a revival of both nationalism and journalism.²⁹ Azikiwe, in partnership with Wallace-Johnson, established the *African Morning Post* which printed articles by well-known anti-colonialists such as George Padmore. It became a strong critic of colonialism in Africa and the castigation of what was considered to be the maladministration of the Gold Coast. In 1936, the two were charged for publishing seditious articles and also for possessing seditious materials. This was in relation to an article published in the 15th May, 1936 edition of the *African Morning Post* entitled "Has the African a God?" In it, the writer wrote: '...The European has a God, Deceit, whose law is "Ye strong, you must weaken the weak." Ye "civilized" Europeans, you must "civilize" the "barbarous"

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, 139.

²⁸ Karikari, 18.

²⁹ Bruno Osafo, "Criminal Libel Law: Origin and Application to 2001", a B. A. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Cape Coast, 2007, 4.

African with chains and machine-guns...'³⁰ The article was considered libellous and seditious by the colonial government since it brought the colonial authorities into disrepute and incited the indigenes against colonialism. The colonial administration saw the publication as an opportunity to apply the law on sedition with very minimal or no opposition from the indigenes. This was because the activities of the two, Azikiwe and Wallace-Johnson, were resented by some chiefs and the intelligentsia in the colony and hence had fallen out of favour. For instance, Ofori Atta expressed his resentment at the activities of Wallace-Johnson at an important meeting of the chiefs of the Eastern Province. According to Adu Boahen,

In a session of the Eastern Provincial Council in 1936, Ofori Atta moved a motion for the deportation of Wallace-Johnson and Azikiwe from Ghana. The moderate intelligentsia or nationalists also joined in the attack. The *Gold Coast Independence* owned by Dr. Nanka-Bruce, accused Wallace-Johnson of trying to introduce 'Bolshevic' or reactionary policy into the Gold Coast.... Terrified by the lectures and activities of Wallace-Johnson, the colonial authorities were themselves looking for an opportunity to remove both Wallace-Johnson and Azikiwe from the political arena.³¹

To the colonial authorities, the time was very opportune to deal with these two nationalists who were very critical of the administration. The two were, therefore, handed a six months jail term and a fine of fifty pounds (£ 50) each. When first convicted for publishing the article, Azikiwe said:

The fight for liberty has just begun in Africa. Only those who are prepared to face the odds with a will knows [sic] no defeat- having Right as their amour and the Sword of defeat-must follow the thorny road which was trodden by Socrates, Jesus of Nazareth,...As far as I am concerned, I am prepared for the inevitable, if through this oblation Africa will speed on its way towards redemption and self-determination.³²

The reason for the conviction of Azikiwe and Wallace-Johnson is not far to seek. Wallace-Johnson, a strong activist mobilized people through the West African Youth League to oppose the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.³³ Although the press attacks on Italy may not have concerned the British colonial authorities directly, they might have reckoned that the same level of mobilization could be directed against them, and hence the need to silence him and anybody like him and also keep him out of the colony. The two appealed at the West African Court of Appeal but later left the colony because of the high level of antagonism faced at the hands of the colonizers.³⁴ In 1949, long after the trial, Dr. Azikiwe was denied entry into the Gold Coast when he was due to deliver a lecture in Accra in that year. In a letter to Dr. Nkrumah, Azikiwe complained about how he was treated. He said "The Nigerian Government has treated me well but the government of the Gold Coast has not been fair. It could have allowed me to land at Accra without delivering the lecture."³⁵

³⁰ Peter Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah- The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1970), 26.

³¹ Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, 145.

³² Ibid, 26-27.

³³ Karikari, p.19.

³⁴ Osafo, 6.

³⁵ K. Nkrumah, "Zik Denied to see G.C.", *The African Morning Post*, Friday December 30, 1949, 1.

Reactionary Movement

The trial of the two partially served its intended purpose since it put some fear in the local press. The *Gold Coast Times* of February 3rd-10th, 1934 edition put it this way: "... [the law was] to make it perilous for the people to ventilate their grievances in the press or at public meetings and to protest against legislation which involves their ancient rights and privileges."³⁶ This, however, did not deter them totally since some others were urged on by the sayings of Azikiwe during the trial and hence founded newspapers to continue the fight for independence.

The *Sedition Ordinance* was introduced into the colony at a time when there was so much tension due to the economic difficulties which stemmed from the global economic depression which stirred up dissatisfaction in the colonies. The prices of West African export crops declined while the African exporters and importers lost grounds to the large European combines that were created. The newspapers in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone were full of grumbles which were as a result of the outcome of the disaffection against the colonial authority. These disaffections led to the cocoa hold-ups of the 1930s in the Gold Coast.³⁷ Considering the developments at the time, it was seemingly impossible for the indigenes to look on unconcerned. It is not surprising, therefore, that the colonial government introduced the law to suppress freedom of expression which in turn would silence the enraged indigenes. This strategy of the colonial administrators did not work to plan since the indigenes were not going to stop at anything in ensuring that their interests were heard and addressed by the appropriate authority.

From 1939, there was the establishment of more newspapers to echo the grievances of the Gold Coasters louder. The *Ashanti Pioneer* was founded in Kumasi in 1939 by John and Nancy Tsiboe and in 1947, the *Ashanti Times* (later called the *New Ashanti Times*) was established.³⁸ It is understandable that these newspapers were founded and located in Kumasi because it was from that area that the bulk of the colony's cocoa came. Realizing that the passage and application of laws alone would not deter the determined Gold Coasters, the colonial authorities founded a new newspaper aimed at neutralizing the hostilities of the Gold Coast press. In this light, there was the founding of the *Daily Graphic* in the Gold Coast just as the *Daily Times* established in Nigeria and the *Daily Mail* of Sierra Leone, all founded by the British newspaper giant, the Daily Mirror Group.³⁹ The pro-British newspapers were to rebut the arguments and propaganda of the local newspapers and for a while, they seemed to be up to the task set for them. For instance, a pro-government newspaper, *Gold Coast Bulletin*, denounced Nkrumah and other leaders of the people of Gold Coast as subversive elements without any real support from the people.⁴⁰

This development further motivated the local newspapers since they could not tell what the true motive behind the founding of the *Daily Graphic* and other pro-government

³⁶ Karikari, 18.

³⁷ Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change*, 126.

³⁸ Asante, 5.

³⁹ Ibid.6.

⁴⁰ Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution*, (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd, n.d.), 80.

newspapers was. The battle line was thus drawn between the state-owned newspapers and the private ones. The newspapers of the day became more radical in their dealings with the government and this was intensified when Dr. Nkrumah returned home from Europe in December 1947. Upon his arrival, Nkrumah established the *Accra Evening News* (1948), the *Morning Telegraph* (1949) and the *Cape Coast Daily Mail* (1949).⁴¹ Nkrumah saw newspapers as indispensable instruments for prosecuting the mission of self-government and this is how he put it:

“...the political party is not conceivable without its own newspaper... in that newspaper is a collective organizer, a collective instrument of mobilization and a collective educator- a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism and to assist total African independence and unity”⁴²

Nkrumah, on the launch of the *Evening News* on September 3, 1948, described the newspaper as the “vanguard of the movement and its chief propagandist, agitator, mobiliser and political educationist.”⁴³ Nkrumah’s newspapers, together with other outspoken ones, launched the campaign of ‘Positive Action’ to protest against the British colonial administration and called for an end to colonialism in the country. In order to make it readable to as many people as possible, the *Evening News* was published in some local languages: Ga, Ewe, Twi and Fanti.

Even before the launch of “Positive Action”, Mr. C. A. Duncan, secretary of the ex-Servicemen’s Union, and three CPP journalists, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Mr. Kwame Afriyie, and Mr. J. K. Amegbe, were imprisoned on charges of writing seditious articles.⁴⁴ After the declaration of ‘Positive Action’ by Nkrumah on the 8th of January 1950, there was widespread looting, insecurity and tension in the colony. This was heightened by the determined efforts of the colonial government to gag the press and opponents of the government. There was, therefore, the intensification of censorship of pro-C.P.P. press and the imprisonment of their editors which had began after the 1948 riots in the colony.

The Commission of Enquiry that conducted investigation into the causes of the riot noted in their reports to the Governor that the Gold Coast press had degenerated into an instrument of abuse of the government and that the introduction of censorship of the press after the riot helped prevent the publication of “mischief”.⁴⁵ The editor of the *Accra Evening News*, Mr. J. G. Markham, and Mr. Kofi Baako, the editor of the *Cape Coast Daily Mail* (both C.P.P. newspapers), were imprisoned and their press houses vandalized and closed down for defending the civil liberties of the people.⁴⁶ Nkrumah was also hunted down, arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for publishing a “seditious article” and inciting a strike in an attempt to “intimidate the government”. Nkrumah was in jail for fourteen months and was released in 1951 after he had won the parliamentary seat of Accra Central in the elections of

⁴¹ Ibid. 5.

⁴² Karikari, 21-22.

⁴³ P. A. V. Ansah, “Kwame Nkrumah and the Mass Media” in *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*, Arhin, K., (ed) (Toronto: African World Press, 1993), 90.

⁴⁴ Padmore, 79-80.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948*, (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1948), 32.

⁴⁶ Asante, 6.

that year. While in his cell at the James Fort Prisons, Nkrumah wrote a number of letters to Gbedemah, the C.P.P.'s General-Secretary concerning the running of the party's main medium of communication. He expressed worry about the lowering of the standard of the newspaper with regard to its editorials and articles. To him, the paper was losing its dynamism therefore he directed that the paper be run by Mr. J. G. Markham and George Kofi Amegbe (editors of the *Evening News* and the *Daily Express* respectively) under Gbedemah's supervision.⁴⁷

More Repressive Laws

Between 1949 and 1952, the colonial government unleashed the existing press laws on the Gold Coast press and most of those charged with libel, contempt or sedition were associated with the C.P.P. or its press. The obvious reason for this was the vehement manner in which the C.P.P. opposed colonial rule and the threat it posed to the survival of colonialism in the Gold Coast. In 1949, the editors and publishers of the *African Morning Post* and the *Spectator Daily* were charged and convicted for contempt for a publication that sought to draw a parallel between the trials of Nehru in colonial India and the trial of Gold Coast nationalists. The article concluded that

....In the colonial system of government, the judiciary could not be regarded as a separate and independent entity. It is directly under the thumbs of the Executive....The colonial courts are all the same. The Gold Coast courts as they are constituted today cannot be an exception. They constitute an integral part of colonial set up...⁴⁸

The court found the article imputing lack of independence and impartiality to the colonial courts and this was considered as weakening the confidence of the public in it. The defendants were sentenced to a fine of fifty (50) pounds each or a one month jail term in default.⁴⁹ Clearly, the purpose of the fine was to deter the indigenes from questioning the obvious lapses in the colonial administrative set up since they realized that if they did not gag the critics of the administration, the whole colonial structure would become more unpopular before the citizenry.

The contempt suits brought against Dr. Nkrumah, the C.P.P. press, and activists of the party attracted heavier sentences as compared to those against other press houses. The reasons for this difference in the sentences are not very clear. It is evident that Nkrumah and the C.P.P. newspapers were the most critical and most antagonistic among the anti-colonial newspapers in the Gold Coast. One of the cases was in respect of the publication of the *Sekondi Morning Telegraph*, which had Nkrumah as proprietor. The newspaper published two telegrams of the Ex-Servicemen's Association to the Kumasi Police. Both telegrams warned of a disaster if the numerous libel cases against Nkrumah were not withdrawn. The courts held that the telegrams were seditious in nature and so was their publishing and hence Nkrumah and his co-defendants were fined three hundred pounds each or four months imprisonment in default. This discrepancy in the sentences handed to Nkrumah was explained

⁴⁷ CPP Official Document, "Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Direction for the Running of the Convention People's Party and the *Evening News* from James Fort Prison-Accra, (Unpublished Manuscript), 22nd January, 1950 to 22nd February, 1951, 1-2.

⁴⁸ Karikari, 23.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

by the courts that the case involved the publication of articles directly prejudicial to the colonial government.⁵⁰ This defence of the court was not tenable since the publications of the *African Morning Post* and the *Spectator Daily* were equally prejudicial to the colonial government.

The Colonial Office in London was aware of the laws passed to gag the press in the colony and was in support of them. The House of Commons, on several occasions, was so angry about colonial agitators that on many occasions Members of Parliament called for harsher use of the laws to bridle the nationalist press; all in the name of checking irresponsible journalism.⁵¹ Alan Lennox-Boyd, MP and later Colonial Secretary said:

It may be necessary to make a new approach to the problem of propaganda. It would be futile to suggest that the papers in West Africa, for example must always be treated as if they were serious and reputable pamphlets or newspaper. It may be that a new approach to the law of sedition or the law of libel may be necessary.⁵²

Conservative MP, Daniel L. Gammon (July 12, 1950), urged his colleagues in Parliament:

I ask any hon (ourable) [sic] Member...to read the West African press for about a month. They are not newspapers at all. There is no news in them. It is just scurrilous abuse of the administration, of the Government and the Colonial Office here. All of us should be reluctant to interfere with the freedom of the press... and I believe the best way to do this would be to appoint a Royal Commission to go and have a look.... Let us have a Royal Commission to look into the press of the colonies.⁵³

The local press suffered a number of libel suits that were brought against them between 1949 and 1952. In all, there were six libel suits; five against the CPP and one against Akufo-Addo's *Talking Drum*. It must be noted that since some newspapers were used to attack opposing political parties, some of the cases were from members of opposing parties and not the colonial administration. One of such cases was the one brought against the *Talking Drum* by some members of the C.P.P. local branch committee. They demanded the payment of five hundred pounds (\$ 500) for damages caused them by a publication in the newspaper that accused them of extracting money from their town (Darman) for Nkrumah. The court, however, ruled in favour of the defendants and awarded cost against the plaintiff.⁵⁴ Of the five libel suits brought against Nkrumah and or the editors, publishers, and proprietors of the *Evening News*, two were from the main political contenders of the C.P.P., the U.G.C.C.

The CPP and pro-C.P.P. newspapers mostly fell foul of the law on sedition and this was largely because of the party's radical anti-colonial propaganda. The party was liable to all the three counts of the law on sedition which were publishing seditious words with the intention to:

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Osafo, 6.

⁵² Karikari, 15.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 26.

- a) bring the government of the Gold Coast into hatred
- b) excite disaffection against the government
- c) promote feeling of ill-will and hostility between the different classes of the population.⁵⁵

It is on record that nearly all the newspapers and their editors that appeared on the above stated charges were found guilty and given jail terms that lasted for months. All the publications were either general comments on the anti-colonial struggle, attacks on the actions or inactions of colonial officials or calls to action against colonialism.⁵⁶ One publication that attracted the displeasure of the colonial authorities was an article carried in the *Daily Express* entitled "The Era of Liberation Dawns". Although it called on people to resist colonialism, it did not make any direct reference to the colonial officials or institutions of the state. The colonial authorities regarded the article to be revolutionary and seditious and hence the editor and publishers of the newspaper were prosecuted.⁵⁷ *The Telegraph* also carried an editorial which condemned the use of tear gas and brutal force by the police to disperse a crowd that had gathered outside a court room to listen to a case of contempt against some papers. *The Telegraph* stated that "...all the hideous acts were committed by the Police as an incentive to violence in which they could call on the riflemen who were ready standing by for action."⁵⁸ The colonial authorities regarded the editorial as seditious in nature since it exposed the police force to public displeasure.

As the attainment of independence drew closer, the various political parties became more hostile to each other mainly because of their ideological differences. The C.P.P. press viewed the Ghana Congress Party of Danquah and Busia, and other parties and their leadership as "imperialist agents" who were opposed to "self-determination now".⁵⁹ The C.P.P. press, based on this charge, reserved the worst venom and biting attacks on them and the colonial regime.⁶⁰ This kind of journalism was easy prey for the elastic provisions of the law of defamation and even of sedition in the criminal code. The law was stretched to draw in any nationalist activist who dared to expose misconducts of colonial officials or to question the legitimacy of colonial rule and institutions in a language that was interpreted to, or actually did arouse popular indignation against colonial servitude.⁶¹ The anti-colonial press and the blunt and uncompromising anti-imperialist slant of the *Evening News* publications became ready target for the release of those laws.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Interview with Kofi Lamptey, Aged 63, Private Legal Practitioner, Adastra Chambers, Cape Coast. 4TH April, 2010.

⁵⁸ Karikari, 26

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is evident that the British colonial authorities saw it necessary to pass ordinances aimed, mainly, at restricting the freedom of expression of the local press in the Gold Coast in particular, and critics of the colonial administration in general, although they (the colonizers) claimed that the ordinances were to check the recklessness of pressmen in the colony at the time. This is not to say that the local press did not err in the discharge of their responsibilities since they were sometimes too strong in their choice of vocabulary which was potentially seditious in nature. Regardless of this unfriendly situation that the press found themselves in, some pressmen were determined to carry through their responsibilities of educating the populace and putting the colonial authorities on their toes. For this reason, the arrests, fines and deportations of some pressmen from the Gold Coast did not deter the press from doing their work. The press, no doubt, did a yeoman's job in the colonial struggle and final attainment of independence by Ghana on the 6TH of March, 1957.

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Investigating the Impact of Autonomous Learning on Developing the Learners' Oral Skills

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Abstract

Learner autonomy has become an issue of central interest the field of SLA for various researchers and scholars. The present research seeks to investigate the learners' conceptions of autonomous learning, and how the latter has an impact on developing various aspects of the learners' verbal performance.

Through the use of questionnaire surveys as an instrument of data collection, the findings reveal that the 3rd year EFL students at ISLG have shown considerable awareness and highly positive conceptions towards autonomous learning which in its turn has proven very effective in developing the learners' oral skills.

Keywords: Autonomy, Autonomous learning, oral performance, EFL learner.

Part 1: A Review of the Literature

A review of literature is meant to clarify the notions related to learner autonomy, to highlight a steady move towards student – centered learning and to foreground the main characteristics of autonomous learners. This first part ends by determining the close association of autonomous learning not only with nurturing a sense of self – direction but also with promoting the learners’ self – regulation.

1.1 Defining learner autonomy

The concept of learner autonomy has been constantly viewed as “a problematic term” or “a slippery concept because it is notoriously difficult to define precisely” (Little, 2015). Various attempts have been made to identify adequately the meanings that underpin learner autonomy. The difficulty of arriving at a clear definition for the term stems from its multidimensional aspect (Nunan, 1997; Benson, 2001; Paiva, 2011; Thanasoulas, 2000). In this respect, Little (2015) evokes the ambivalent borderline of learner autonomy when he argues that:

“The rapidly expanding literature has debated, for example, whether learner autonomy should be thought of as capacity or behaviour; whether it is characterized by learner responsibility or learner control; whether it is a psychological phenomenon with political implications or a political right with psychological implications; and whether the development of learner autonomy depends on a complementary teacher autonomy (for a comprehensive survey, see Benson, 2001).”

As a way to unveil this ambivalence, Oxford (2003) accounts for the various perspectives surrounding the term namely the technical, psychological, socio – cultural and political – critical one. Each will be clarified as follows.

- The technical perspective sheds light on the physical situation.
- The psychological perspective emphasizes learner characteristics.
- The socio - cultural perspective highlights mediated learning.
- The political - critical perspective attributes learner autonomy to ideologies, access, and power structures (p. 76 – 80).

Despite the confusions revolving around learner autonomy because of a missing unique and universal theory of autonomy, Murphy (2011) maintains that at least “there is agreement on the educational importance of developing autonomy and that autonomy can take a variety of forms, depending on learning context and learner characteristics.” (p.17).

In the early 1980s, Holec coined the term and associated it to “the ability to take charge of one's own learning, and to take charge of one's own learning is to have, and to hold, the responsibility for all the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning” (1981, p.3). Benson and Voller (1997) build on Holec (1981)’s definition to specify the nature of this ability. They argue that it “is not inborn but must be acquired either by ‘natural’ means or (as most often happens) by formal learning, i.e. in a systematic, deliberate way” (p.2). They further maintain that learner autonomy is applicable to a multitude of usages including:

- a situation in which learners study entirely on their own;
- a set of skills which can be learned and applied in self-directed learning;
- an inborn capacity which is suppressed by institutional education;
- the exercise of learners' responsibility for their own learning;
- the right of learners to determine the direction of their own learning (p.2).

In their explanation of learner autonomy, Scharle & Szabo (2000) refer to a famous saying which is “you can bring the horse to water, but you cannot make him drink” (p.4) in order to highlight the close correlation between autonomy and developing the learners’ sense of responsibility. According to them, autonomous learning is achieved unless learners “take an active part in making decisions about their learning” (p.4). That is to say, the rapport teachers establish with their learners needs to foster learner responsibility (Kesten, 1987, p.15).

Therefore, it is through active involvement and engagement that learners’ accountability can be nurtured as learners “take advantage of the linguistic affordances in their environment and act by engaging themselves in second language social practices” (Paiva, 2011, p.63). Concerning the inward classroom interactions between the teacher and the learners, Scharle & Szabo (2000) admit that:

“In language teaching, teachers can provide all the necessary circumstances and input, but learning can only happen if learners are willing to contribute. Their passive presence will not suffice, just as the horse would remain thirsty if he stood still by the river waiting patiently for his thirst to go away. And, in order for learners to be actively involved in the learning process, they first need to realize and accept that success in learning depends as much on the student as on the teacher. That is, they share responsibility for the outcome. In other words, success in learning very much depends on learners having a responsible attitude” (p. 4).

Therefore, autonomous learning "depends on the development and exercise of a capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision making and independent action; autonomous learners assume responsibility for determining the purpose, content, rhythm and method of their learning, monitoring its progress and evaluating its outcomes" (Little, 2000 p. 69).

1.2 A move towards student - centered learning

The necessity to pursue learner autonomy engendered a radical shift from traditional teaching approaches to embrace novel communicative teaching practices. This change has been characterized by a redistribution of power relationships, reorganization of roles assigned to both teachers and learners, rearrangement of classroom activities and restructure of classroom discourse.

The traditional teaching approaches are overwhelmingly dominated by teacher – centeredness in which:

The teacher (a) is the dominant leader who establishes and enforces rules in the classroom; (b) structures learning tasks and establishes the time and method for task completion; (c) states, explains and models the lesson objectives and actively maintains student on-task involvement; (d) responds to students through direct, right/wrong feedback, uses prompts and cues, and, if necessary, provides correct answers; (e) asks primarily direct, recall-recognition

questions and few inferential questions; (f) summarizes frequently during and at the conclusion of a lesson; and (g) signals transitions between lesson points and topic areas (Hancock, Bray and Nason, 2003, p. 366).

The teachers' image is usually portrayed as the authoritarian sole purveyors of knowledge. They exert their full control over the classroom learning environment as they occupy most of the talking time. The vertical relationship they maintain with their learners do not allow for classroom negotiations, communications or interactions. Consequently, the traditional ways of teaching can only lead to serious negative impacts on student learning and to the creation of defensive learners who view the learning experience as a threat they should be protected against. Among the psychological troubles, learners may feel a kind of frustration, fear, dependence to the teacher and apathy.

But with the advent of communicative language teaching, the teachers' roles are reduced to give the floor to student – centered learning. As such, learners become at the core of the learning process by assuming more dynamic, productive, and creative roles in the construction of their knowledge. Perceived as persons “of value and worth” (Heywood, McCann, Neville, & Willis, 2005), learners are no longer seen as a blank slate (*tabula rasa*) or 'container[s] to be filled with the knowledge held by teachers' (Benson & Voller, 1997 p,20) for they cooperatively participate in the construction of their learning process. The greater responsibility they enjoy, the more they “develop a particular kind of psychological relation to the process and content of his learning” (Little, 1991, p.4). In such conditions, the EFL teacher is withdrawn from their “expert model” (Lynch, 2000 p. 1) to fulfill the role of “an instructor or supervisor in learning” (Zhuang, 2010 p. 592). They encourage students' autonomous learning through the use of contextualized practice in which learners manage to:

- “Understand rather than memorize”
- “Retain ideas and facts longer because they are more meaningful”
- “Make connections between subjects and facets of a single subject”
- “Relate ideas to their own lives”
- “Build networks of meaning for effectively dealing with future knowledge (Tomlinson, 2001, p.74).

1.3 Characteristics of learner autonomy

Various scholars have tried to typify the autonomous features that every foreign or second language learner should possess (Benson, 2011, p.77-81-91; Boud, 1988, p. 23; Breen and Mann, 1997, p.134, Scharle & Szabo, 2000, p.3; Littlewood, 1996, p. 429, Omaggio, 1978, cited in Wenden, 1998, p.41-42; Little, 2007, p.17-18; 2009, p.223-224; 1991, p.8). Specifying those features is very crucial in fostering and maintaining the success of the learning process (Cohen & Dörnyei, 2002, p. 170). Concerns about finding what constitutes learner characteristics originate from the innateness of the individual's early sense of autonomy. In this respect, Little (2007) argues that “autonomy is an innate, basic need that is present already from the early years of childhood: It is our nature to be autonomous, to be proactive in exploring and responding to our environment and to persist in following the agendas we set for ourselves (p.17). Therefore, the autonomous language learner possesses a particular set of discernible attributes that distinguish him from the rest of his classroom peers. Scholars come across the following characteristics:

“the person’s stance towards the world, their desire for what it is they are learning, their sense of self, their metacognitive capacity, their management of change, their independence from educational processes, their strategic engagement with learning, and their capacity to negotiate” (Breen and Mann, 1997, p.134-136).

Other qualities of autonomous learners include the learners’ ability to perform the following:

“Autonomous learners have insights into their learning styles and strategies; take an active approach to the learning task at hand; are willing to take risks, i.e., to communicate in the target language at all costs; are good guessers; attend to form as well as to content, that is, place importance on accuracy as well as appropriacy; develop the target language into a separate reference system and are willing to revise and reject hypotheses and rules that do not apply; and have a tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language.”
(Omaggio, 1978, cited in Wenden, 1998, p.41-42)

The previously mentioned characteristics when combined with others such taking initiatives or ensuring self-evaluations forge what constitutes ‘good’ language learners (Benson, 2011, p.77). In Scharle and Szabo (2000)’s terms, autonomous learners have also “the freedom and ability to manage one’s own affairs, which entails the right to make decisions as well” (p. 4). Briefly, the characteristics of autonomous learner give an idea about the learners’ classroom performance, determine their ways of thinking and enhance their continuous active pursuit of language learning especially when learners demonstrate self – efficacy, make use of various learning styles and strategies, set their own learning goals and objectives, reflect on their own learning practices in which they have to be fully engaged cooperatively, assess their learning progress and achievements, display an appropriate manipulation of different learning materials, methods, plans and tasks, establish their own learning objectives and goals.

1.4 Autonomous learning and learners’ self direction

The integration of self directed learning as a sign for developed autonomous learning has been under constant investigation. Candy (1991) argues that: “although self-direction has been ... a recurring preoccupation of educators throughout the ages, it seems particularly to have dominated the thinking, and hence to have captured the imagination, of many adult educators in recent years” (p.5). The most frequent definition used for the clarification of this term is the one offered by Knowles (1975) who describes it as “a process in which individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes” (Knowles, 1975, p. 18). In the same vein, Brookfield (1995) views self – directed learning as a process through which learners’ critical reflection is enhanced by establishing clear learning goals, employing particular learning methodologies and assessing their own learning progress especially when they are given “situations and opportunities” that permit “a degree of independence” (Sinclair, 1999, p.310). Besides, Holec (1981) stresses the importance of managing the self – directed learning process through establishing the objectives, defining the content and progressions, choosing the methods and techniques to be used, controlling the acquisition procedure and evaluating the previously acquired knowledge. William & Burden (1997) maintains also that the self-directed autonomous learner is the one who demonstrates

an appropriate use of language learning skills and strategies (p. 147). The development of learners' self – directedness leads to building the personality of learners who become increasingly highly motivated, curious, self-assured, self – reliant and self – disciplined (Taylor, 1995; Lyman, 1997). Therefore, self – directed learning has a positive correlation in boosting students' academic achievements (Lounsbury, Levy, Park, Gibson, & Smith, 2009), performances (Chou and Chen, 2008), personal characteristics (Lyman, 1997) and learners' self-regulation (Long, 2000).

1.5 Autonomous learning and learners' Self regulation

Self – regulation, in Zimmerman (2002)'s terms, is “not a mental ability or an academic performance skill; it is a self-directive process by which learners transform their mental abilities into academic skills” (p.7). It includes “an active, constructive process whereby learners set goals for their learning and then attempt to monitor, regulate, and control their cognition, motivation, and behavior, guided and constrained by their goals and the contextual features in the environment” (Pintrich, 2000, p. 453). As such, the self-regulated learners are viewed, in Zimmerman (1998)'s words, as strategic learners for they are equipped with self regulatory skills which hold them capable of maintaining control and direction over their own learning process.

Throughout their complex constructive process of self regulation, learners display an active use of integrated cognitive, metacognitive and motivational strategies (Zimmerman, 1986; Mayer, 2008; Boekaerts, 1997. Pintrich, 1999; Greene & Azevedo, 2007). The explanation of each is best provided by Dignath, Buettner, and Langfeld (2008) who carried out their study with school learners in real classroom settings. They come to the conclusion that:

“Cognitive strategies referred to direct regulation of learned information, such as a math calculation strategy. Metacognitive strategies referred to second order cognitions designed to control, monitor, and evaluate learning and cognitive activities, such as strategy knowledge. Motivational strategies include self - efficacy, attributional orientation, action control methods, and feedback.” (Cited in Zimmerman and Schunk, 2011, p. 59.)

Other scholars added to the previous self regulatory strategies another essential component which makes reference to resource-management strategies. The latter can be defined as flexible approaches urging learners to fulfill their goals and needs (Pintrich, 1999).

Each self regulatory strategy enables learners to perform a variety of sub – skills such as:

- ✓ The use of metacognitive strategies urge learners to establish self – evaluation (Schunk and Ertmer, 2000; Schmitz and Wiese, 2006), develop their self – monitoring (Schunk and Ertmer, 2000; Kistner et al., 2010), determine goal setting and task value (Zimmerman, 2004) and carry out strategic planning (Zimmerman, 2004; Schunk, 2001).
- ✓ The motivational strategies encourage learners to enhance their self – efficacy (Schunk, 2001; Schunk and Pajares, 2002) and increase their self-motivation (Wolters, 2003).
- ✓ The cognitive strategies help learners conduct effective reasoning (Kuhn, 1991), make use of problem-solving strategies (Thevenot & Oakhill, 2006; Montague, M., & Dietz, S. 2009), demonstrate a collaborative strategic reading (Klingner et al., 2004) and

develop rehearsal, elaboration, and organizational strategies (Pintrich , 1989; Pintrich and De Groot, 1990)

✓ Finally, the resource-management strategies enable learners to seek help from other people and from other non social resources as well (Ryan et al., 2001; Kitsantas, 2002; Schunk, 1987), handle effective time management (Zimmerman, GreenBerg, and Weinstein, 1994) and maintain attention control despite external distractions (Winne, 1995).

It should be noted that the possible integrated use of a variety of the previous strategies leads to a highly – promoted self-regulated learning which guarantees learners’ academic success (Esler & Kohavi, 2003).

Part 2: The Experimental part

2.1 Research questions

- What conceptions do the 3rd year EFL students at the Higher Institute of Languages in Gabes, Tunisia (ISLG) have towards autonomous learning?
- What are the effects of learner autonomy on the students’ oral skills?

2.2 Participants

A total number of 80 undergraduate 3rd year students from the Department of English at the Higher Institute of Languages in Gabes, Tunisia takes part in the present study. The selection of informants is based on a voluntary basis. Their age basically ranges from 21 to 23.

2.3 Data collection instrument

A questionnaire survey is used in an attempt to find answers to the research questions set forth above. It consists mainly of two major parts: the first part seeks to come up with some demographic information about the informants and the second part highlights the real conceptions that are held by a number of learners regarding autonomous learning. The obtained data were analyzed and processed through the use of SPSS.

2.4 Method

The present research is basically descriptive and exploratory as it seeks to unveil learners’ conceptions of autonomous learning and its effects on the development of speaking skills in real and authentic classroom settings.

2.5 Procedure

The students’ performance during the oral presentation sessions have been observed along a whole academic year. Then they were kindly asked to fill in a questionnaire to know more about their own conceptions regarding autonomous learning and its potential impact on their speaking skill development.

Research findings and discussion

The analysis of the first part of the questionnaire reveals some demographic information about the informants. The statistics depict an overall number of 57 females and 23 males who filled in all the questionnaire questions. The majority of informants have spent almost 10 years of studying English as a foreign language.

The analysis of the second part of the questionnaire seeks to unveil the learners' conceptions of autonomous learning. The first sub – question that needs to be addressed in this part concerns the ways in which learners approach autonomous learning. The findings reveal that learners define the concept of autonomous learning differently as it shown in the table below.

Definition of autonomous learning	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
Assume your responsibility for your learning.	40	50%
Expand on the knowledge gained in the classroom.	34	42.5%
Discard the role of the teachers.	6	7.5%

Table 1: The various definitions given to autonomous learning.

In this research, the majority of informants tightly associate the concept of autonomous learning to learners' responsibility in developing their own learning. In the same vein, Boud (1988) argues that “the main characteristic of autonomy as an approach to learning is that students take some significant responsibility for their own learning over and above responding to instruction” (p.23). This implies that the prevailing beliefs about what autonomous learning would mean are still the same. Other 42.5% of informants believe that autonomous learning is manifested through the learners' attempt to expand on the knowledge base gained principally from the classroom. Such a behavior leads learners to be increasingly curious and keen on knowing more about different issues pertaining to their learning. The last weak percentage of informants (7.5%) attributes autonomous learning to a process where the teachers' roles are cast aside. Such a misconception held by a minority of learners have to be addressed and clarified because the shift from teacher – centered classrooms to learner – centered ones does not entail the downgrading of the instructor's role but rather the development and proliferation of more independent learners. In this respect, Dickinson (1993) tries to account for the main qualities that make up learners seem independent:

1. They understand what is being taught, i.e. they have sufficient understanding of language learning to understand the purpose of pedagogical choices;
2. They are able to formulate their own learning objectives;
3. They are able to select and make use of appropriate learning strategies;
4. They are able to monitor their use of these strategies;
5. They are able to self – assess, or monitor their own learning (p. 330-331).

A deeper clarification of the teachers' roles is achieved through the analysis of the second sub – question of the second part. As it is illustrated in the table below, the majority of learners (61.25%) considers teachers as facilitators of their learning. Some informants mention further that the EFL teacher is not only a facilitator but also a guide, a monitor and an actor. While an overall percentage of 38.75% of informants still clings to the traditional roles embraced by teachers such as a lecturer, a knowledge provider and an authoritarian model to be followed in all respects. The presence of a relatively weak percentage of informants who portrays the teacher as such pinpoints to serious pedagogical practices that challenge the main principles advocated by CLT at the tertiary level.

Teachers' role	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
A lecturer	12	15%
A facilitator	49	61.25%
An authoritarian model to be followed	3	3.75%
A Knowledge provider	16	20%

Table 2: The perceived roles of teachers.

A part from the teachers' roles, the third sub – question of the second part seeks to investigate the learners' conceptions regarding the roles they have to assume in their pursuit of foreign language acquisition. The results indicate that 82.5% of informants perceives themselves as active participants while only 17.5% of informants admits that they consider themselves as passive participants. In this research, the majority of informants seem to recognize the dynamic mission they have to endure during their learning process.

Learners' role	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
An active participant	66	82.5%
A passive participant.	14	17.5%
An indifferent participant.	0	0%

Table 3: The perceived assumed roles by learners.

The roles assumed by learners can further be justified through the third sub – question of the second part where they are asked, for example, to mention the ways they adopt in order to get ready for an oral presentation. The findings can best be summarized in the following table.

Getting prepared for oral presentations	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
Rely on various resource materials	27	33.75%
Copy and paste what you come cross in the internet	6	7.5%
Ask for your friend's assistance	17	21.25%
Invest your time and effort	30	37.5%

in brainstorming, planning, organizing ideas, selecting the relevant information		
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Table 4: The learners' diverse ways of getting ready for oral presentations.

The responses show the diverse ways opted for when students need to prepare for an oral presentation. The weakest two percentages 7.5% and 21.25% go respectively for the informants who pick up blindly what is found on the net or rely heavily on others' support. Therefore, their low level of autonomy is signaled through their dependence to the already – made oral themes that are available on the net and their complete attachment to other people. The highest proportion of informants (37.5%) indicates that they do invest much time and effort in brainstorming, planning, organizing their ideas, selecting the relevant information from the irrelevant ones so as to deliver convincing, well – organized and coherent oral presentations. Therefore, we can deduce that autonomous learning engenders the development of the learners' metacognitive skills. In this respect, Schraw and Dennison (1994) argue that “metacognitively aware learners are more strategic and perform better than unaware learners” (p. 460). The second relatively high proportion of informants (33.75%) indicates that they initially resort to various resource materials for the construction of their oral presentations. As such, autonomous learning helps promote self – study skills by following appropriate study – methodologies.

The fifth sub – question of the second part seeks to investigate the learners' reactions towards their friends' feedback upon what they have performed. The results can be summarized as follows.

Reaction to peers' feedback	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
Get angry.	8	10%
Be open to others' criticism.	67	83.75%
Show indifference to the opinion of others.	5	6.25%

Table 5: The learners' different reactions to their peers' feedback.

Learners display different reactions to their peers' feedback. A minority of informants (6.25%) shows complete indifference to what others might say to them. The reasons for doing so can be numerous such as regarding peer feedback as unimportant or insignificant. Other 10% of informants feel irritated when they are subject to criticism. Their furious behaviors can be explained by their intolerant attitudes. Whereas, the majority of informants (83.75%) shows a greater eagerness to listen to others' criticism. They perceive their peers' feedback as a constructive tool and as an aid for improvement. Therefore, peer feedback nurtures a sense of self – reflection and assessment that are essential for any autonomous learners.

A part from peer feedback, the informants were also asked to reveal their attitudes concerning autonomous learning. The analysis of the sixth sub – question of the second part yields the following results.

Attitude to autonomous learning	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
Positive	68	85%
Negative	12	15%

Table 6: The learners' different attitudes to autonomous learning.

As it is shown in the table above, learners are divided into two categories based on their experiences with autonomous learning. The findings indicate that only 15% of informants hold negative attitudes towards autonomous learning while the majority of informants (85%) maintains very positive attitudes. According to former group of informants, autonomous learning exerts a lot of pressure on learners while the latter alludes to the benefits that can be best discussed and analyzed later.

The seventh sub – question of the second part seeks to reveal what learners might think about the merits of autonomous learning. The results reveal that 13.75% of informants left this question unanswered while the rest estimated about 86.25% of informants clearly mentioned their responses. According to the latter, autonomous learning succeeds in developing the learners' communication skills (31.25%), social skills (28.75%) and argumentation skills (26.25%).

Merits of autonomous learning	Informants' number	Informants' percentage
Argumentation skills	21	26.25%
Develop your social skills	23	28.75%
Develop your communication strategies	25	31.25%
Unanswered question	11	13.75%

Table 7: The multiple advantages of autonomous learning.

For some informants, autonomous learning develops the learners' communication skills for the following reasons. It helps learners use the target language fluently in order to convey their ideas for different communicative functions and vary their language output depending on the setting and participants' roles. It also enables learners to maintain adequate body language through maintaining, for example, an appropriate standing posture and a relaxed eye contact with peers while delivering the oral presentation. For other informants, autonomous learning increases social skills especially when learners manage turn –taking, develop team – building skills, and promote cooperative and interactive spirit. Others do believe in the role of autonomous learning in developing the argumentation skills, i.e., the ability to negotiate, discuss, defend and justify the points learners might have raised in their oral presentations.

The final sub - question urges the informants to think about the possible qualities that characterize their verbal performances within the realm of autonomous learning.

Most of the informants' replies stress the great motivation, enthusiasm, perseverance and devotion that are increasingly perceived in their oral performances thanks to the development of autonomous learning.

Conclusion:

In the present research, the majority of informants hold positive conceptions of autonomous learning. According to them, autonomous learning is linked to learners' responsibility in assuming active roles in their learning and speaking development. It helps promote not only their metacognitive skills but also their self – study skills, argumentation skills, social skills and communication strategies. Consequently, learners have developed a perceived passion and motivation in the way they delivered their oral performances. As a result, autonomous learning has led to higher developments in the learners' oral skills.

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Appendix:

Questionnaire survey for the 3rd year university learners

Part1: General information

Gender: Male .

Female.

How long have you been studying English?

Part 2:

1. What does autonomous learning mean to you?

- Assume your responsibility for your learning.
- Expand on the knowledge gained in the classroom.
- Discard the role of the teachers.
- Other, please mention your own definition

2. How would you best describe your teachers' role in oral presentations sessions?

- A lecturer.
- A facilitator.
- An authoritarian model to be followed.
- A Knowledge provider.
- Other, please mention that.....

3. How would you best describe your role in the classroom?

- An active participant.
- A passive participant.
- An indifereent participant.
- Other, please mention that.....

4. How do you prepare for your oral presentations?

- Rely on various resource materials.
- Copy and paste what you come cross in the internet.
- Ask for your friend's assistance.
- Other, please mention that.....

5. How do you react to your peers' feedback?

- Get angry.
- Be open to others' criticism.
- Show indifference to the opinion of others.
- Other, please mention that.....

6. How do you find autonomous learning if ever it is implemented in your classroom?

- Negative.
- Positive.
- Please explain why?.....

7. Can you think about the potential advantages of autonomous learning for you as an EFL learner?

- Argumentation skills.
- Develop your social skills.
- Develop your communication strategies
- Other, please mention that.....

8. How would you describe your oral performance within the realm of autonomous learning?

.....
.....

Examining the Relationship between Organizational Trust, Organizational Citizenship Behavior and Job Satisfaction (Case study of Customs Department)

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between organizational trusts, organizational citizenship behavior and job satisfaction of employees. The populations in this study are employees of the Customs Department. Sampling method of this study is simple random sampling using Cochran formula and sample size is equal to 182 people. Researcher to collect data used questionnaire that included 44 questions. All questions for the whole are five-item Likert. Structural relations model, in this study, was used to analyze the data. To determine the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient were obtained in order of job satisfaction. Specter (1997), 0.87, Organizational Trust Inventory Rother (2003), 0.86, and organizational citizenship behavior of Lee and Alan (2002) are equal to 0.89. For data analysis and hypothesis testing, was used lisrel statistical software was used. The results showed that there is a significant relationship between organizational trust, organizational citizenship behavior and job satisfaction.

Keywords: Organizational trust, Organizational citizenship behavior and Job satisfaction.

Introduction

One of the things that improve the business is to focus on job satisfaction of employees in the organization and the view of many managers is to increase job satisfaction that will improve their performance (Way et al., 2010). Spector (1997) knows job satisfaction is about how people feel about their jobs in general, or with respect to its various aspects (Javadeian et al., 2009). According Metle, job satisfaction indicates how people are feeling about the job and its various aspects, and the extent to which people love their job. The most widely accepted definition is "the positive feeling of satisfaction from a job is a job evaluation".

Melbourne and Francis (1961) stated that more satisfaction is a valuable source of information for the managers. Job satisfaction is sign of how people feel about their jobs, when compared to their expectations of different aspects of the work situation. Job satisfaction is important in theory and in practice. From a scientific standpoint, knowledge on job satisfaction can help future managers to understand how to motivate their subordinates to increase productivity. Understanding job satisfaction may be relative to performance, organizational efficiency and other issues, including job rotation (Metle, 2003). Considering job satisfaction can guide employees' behavior in such a way that it would affect the functioning and organizational tasks and lead to the positive and negative behavior. On the other hand trust in the organization is a key element because it creates participation and participation in organizations has always been important. Experts believe that trust can lead to collaboration between individuals, groups and organizations. Today, organizations are seeking new ways to enhance cooperation between individuals and groups and taking advantage of it effects. Today, scholars of various fields, including business management, describe processes of confidence in the business environment as strategy, organizational behavior, and inclusive participation (Gareth & Jenes, 1998). Shaw defines the confidence as belief in others; because we are dependent on others to achieve our wishes. Charlton says that employees trust their leaders and leaders should match their words with their deeds (Martins, 2002). In addition researchers have shown that organizations are looking for workers who go beyond expectations; desire to beat the behaviors that are not part of their official duties and their job. Generally, they have high organizational citizenship behavior (Raminfar et al., 2010).

Nowadays the voluntary and useful effort refers to learning extra role behaviors or organizational citizenship behavior. Organizational citizenship behavior is complex behaviors which are outside the range of behaviors required for individuals in the workplace, but in creating a desirable social and psychological atmosphere in the workplace which plays pivotal role. In the last 25 years witnessed a wide range of management and organizational research (Blakely et al., 2005). Clement and Vanderberghe (2000), stated that these behaviors equipped organizations to bring more benefits and reduce the need for costly formal mechanisms (Clement & Vanderberghe, 2000). The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between organizational trust, organizational citizenship behavior and job satisfaction.

The Literature Review

According to Smith et al. (1969), job satisfaction, is an impressive feeling or reaction to the aspects of the job. According Edam et al. (1990) job satisfaction refers to the positive or negative feelings about working staff. In other words, satisfaction is an emotional evaluation of the work (Sora et al., 2005). Study of job satisfaction is important from two perspectives: first, the human aspect that deserves to be treated fairly and with respect by staff and second, from behavioral aspect that considers job satisfaction as a guide of employee behavior in such a way that effect on their performance and organizational tasks and consequently may lead to the positive and negative behavior. Experts believe that job satisfaction is an attitude. Definitionally, job satisfaction is an attitude toward work and in simple language it is how one feels about the job and its various aspects (Zaki, 2005). In Table (1), we present several definitions of job satisfaction.

Table 1: historical definition of job satisfaction (researcher)

Year	Researcher	The definition of job satisfaction
1935	Hoppock	Job satisfaction means mental, physical and environmental satisfaction of staff.
1984	Dawis & Lofquis	Job satisfaction is the outcome of individual assessments about this issue that how much work environment to satisfy his needs (Nasiri, 2009).
1990	Balzer & et al	Job satisfaction is individual feelings about the job or the experience of previous experiences, current expectations or other job opportunities (Asadi et al., 2002)
1996	Robbins	Job satisfaction is the difference between the amount of bonuses that employee receives and what he thought that he should receive (Robbins, 1998).
1997	Chandan	Job satisfaction is the kind of emotions and positive attitudes toward their jobs (Asadi et al., 2002).
1999	Acker	Job satisfaction are defined as a pleasant emotional and resulting individual assessment of its position in relation to job characteristics and dimensions (Zandipour and Javid, 2012)
2000	Spector	Job satisfaction is an attitude that shows how people feel about their jobs in general or with respect to various aspects. In simple words satisfaction is an indicator that shows the amount of interest of people to their jobs (Naami and Zargar, 2009)
2000	Oshagbemi	Job satisfaction is a positive emotional response to a specific job (Nadiri and Tanuva, 2010).

Effects of job satisfaction

Job satisfaction leads to increased productivity, organizational commitment, physical and mental health. As a result, individual spirits go up and their life will be happy. They try to acquire

new skills and ultimately their performance will improve (Yazdi and Jafari, 2011). Lack of job satisfaction also reduces employee morale and low morale at work is undesirable. Some indicators of low morale include: anxiety, absence from work, late, employee turnover and early retirement (Comber and Barybal, 2007).

In general, job satisfaction leads to increased individual productivity. The worker has to be committed to the organization, to ensure his individual physical and mental health, increased individual spirit generates life satisfaction and to quickly learning of new skills of job. Research shows that when members gain job satisfaction, the absence or delay in job or even turnover decrease. Job dissatisfaction leads to issues such as anxiety, depression, stress, damaged personal relationships, wrath of the small stuff, the harassment sensitivity, forgetfulness, inability to make decisions and the lack of concentration. (Sadeghi, Fathi, 2003).

Satisfaction generates a sense of belonging to the organization and thus workers galvanize their interest and efforts in achieving the organization's objectives. Briefly, individual performance is desirable in addition to high effectiveness. Work accidents, absenteeism, delays and disputes in the workplace are less observed factors in the individual. Thus providing job satisfaction in addition to increasing the quality of work and reduced absenteeism and employee turnover caused mental and physical health. This will impact directly and effectively on their positive attitudes towards supervisors, colleagues ... (Farahmand and Sharifian, 2006).

Organizational citizenship behavior

There aren't many definitions of organizational citizenship behavior. The major definition of this concept emanated from the work of Organ (1983). He says: "organizational citizenship behavior is, individual behavior, arbitrary and extra duty that is directly or indirectly effective in increasing the functionality of an organization, not organized by the formal reward system, (Hitt, 2006).

Organ and Batman in 1990 introduced two types of organizational citizenship behavior:

- A) Commitment to good working conditions and avoiding harming workers and their organizations, with behaviors such as complaints, appeal and accusations in minor issues;
- B) Active and positive participation, such as punctuality and attendance at work, beyond each individual task (Ballantyne, 1995).

Organizational citizenship behavior dimension

Spector and Fox (2002) divided citizenship behaviors into two categories: facilitation of interpersonal contacts and job devotion.

1. Facilitate interpersonal contacts: it includes purposeful interpersonal behavior that helps the overall success of the organization and contains a measured and logical set of activities to improve morale and encourage cooperation, and help remove barriers to the implementation of tasks to colleagues focused on doing their jobs. Facilitate interpersonal include:

- (A) Colleague admires success;
- (B) Support to the colleagues who have personal problems;
- (C) Talk to colleagues;
- (D) Express positive statements about employees who feel good about themselves and others;
- (E) Behave fairly;

2. Devotion to Job: Job devotion includes disciplined behaviors, such as compliance with the rules, working hard and creatively solving business problems. Dedication to job is based on job incentive performance that encourages employees to do things that benefit the organization. Job devotion included important attention to details, practices, individual discipline and restraint and creativity to solve problems.

Podsakoff (2000) introduced categories such as behavior that divided organizational citizenship behavior in the seven categories.

- 1 - Conduct ongoing assessment;
- 2 - Chivalry;
- 3 - Individual innovation;
- 4 - Civic virtue;
- 5 - Organizational commitment;
- 6 - Self-satisfaction;
- 7- Personal growth.

Bolino and Turnley presented the following factors as indicators of organizational citizenship behavior which include as:

- 1. Loyalty
- 2. Compliance
- 3. Participation (social, education, and civic duty)
- 4. Courtesy and respect;
- 5. Altruism
- 6. Sportsmanship

The performance of citizens includes activities that help others do the work, support organization and volunteer in completing tasks or responsibilities.

Borman et al (2001), explained the multidimensional models that offer performance and organizational citizenship that these dimensions are:

- 1. Diligence with great enthusiasm and effort that is necessary to successfully complete work activities;
- 2. Volunteer to do work activities that are officially parts of the people task;
- 3. Assistance and cooperation with others;
- 4. Follow the rules and procedures of the organization

Organizational Trust

One of the needs of employees is to establish trust between them and the managers. Existence of high level of confidence in the organization will be the reason of low costs and other

control mechanisms. Staff will be internally controlled and motivated. Given that building trust, leads to organizational effectiveness and reduce the costs of evaluation and control, therefore, identifying the factors that could generate trust are to be promoted (Hassanzadeh, 2005).

The definition of trust is the ability to meet your expectations in dealing with others and create interpersonal relations not necessarily based on individual interest or profit (Bijer, 1986). Based on this definition, one of the problems of organizations is the lack of trust between employees and managers. In our organizations, especially government agencies, there is a significant gap between staff and management and the demands of the two. As a result, decisions often encounter performance problems because the employee shows hardness in the implementation of decisions in contrast, managers do not trust their employees and they do not participate them in the decision-making process. This situation creates mistrust environment in the organization. Consequently, mistrust helps spreading rumors, conflict, politics and layoffs in the organization. In such an organization to talk about issues such as self-management and self-control, cooperation, creativity, and quality management and is useless. Most efforts to increase productivity will not reach the desired result because achieving organizational goals requires the cooperation of its members with each other and most important ways to facilitate cooperation. Only mutual trust between employees and management staff of organizations can be source of success for all (Chavoshi, 2008).

Sales Support

Confidence in the organization and management literature:

There are three extensive streams in confidence literature: the first organizational trust as a phenomenon within the organization, such as trust between employees and supervisors or managers, or among colleagues which is our emphasis in this study. The second is trust between organizations; that is an interagency phenomenon and the third is the trust arising between firms and their customers as a marketing concept (Dietz& Hartog, 2006).

Dietz and Hartog 2006, introduce four dimensions of benevolence, competence, integrity and predictability which are the most important elements of trust. Mayer et al, (1955) also state three components of reliability, competence and benevolence cited as the main dimensions.

1) Reliability: This meant to believe that a person or organization do what it has promised, and will act consistently.

2) Competence: Competence refers to the ability of others in which they can carry out their duties (on the basis of skills and knowledge)

3) Benevolence: benevolence means kindness and person's motivation compared to mutual and a sincere interest in the welfare of others (Meyer et al., 1955).

Classification of organizational trust by Ellonen et al

Ellonen et al. (2008), divided organizational trust into two dimensions: interpersonal trust (communication) and impersonal. In this study, we examined both types of organizational trust, personal trust and impersonal.

Personal trust can be broken into two dimensions: horizontal trust which is trust between employees and vertical trust that is between employees and their managers. This confidence is based on competence, benevolence and reliability. In this study, the type of impersonal corporate trust is called institutional trust. Non-personal trust in the organization has been very little studied. Institutional trust can be members' trust of strategy and vision of the organizations, business competence and its technology. Organizational structure and fair process refer to human resources policies (Ellonen et al., 2008).

We need to develop a strategy to increase the level of trust among all employees and managers to build trust in organizations. The researchers have worked to set the foundations of trust in organizations. Ebrahimi et al. (2013), in their study show various aspects of organizational trust and positive impact on the willingness of employees in the division of knowledge.

Factors affecting organizational trust and organizational factors of Yilmaz and Atalay, (2009) include assessment success employees using modern methods, having a fair reward systems and regular feedback on. Also, Nyhan, (2000) stated activities to increase confidence in the organization employees by including them in decision-making, giving feedback to employees and get feedback from them, and empowering employees. In general, many factors involved in building trust in organizations that recognize and make them an important factor in improving organizational performance, commitment and understanding of individual and organizational goals.

In contrast, researchers have measured different outcomes for organizational trust. For example, Nyhan (2000) results include increased productivity and strengthened confidence in the organization's commitment. Jane (2009) says the effect of organizational trust includes the creation of favorable trends, such as creating and sharing knowledge, job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior, organizational commitment, and so on. It also reduces negative attitudes, such as job abandonment, defensive behavior, behavior regulatory and organizational trust. According to Mishra and Morris (1990), other encouraging factors include facilitating open communication within the organization, information sharing, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment and increase performance. Organizational literature shows that trust is a critical factor for individual and organizational success and is the high level of organizational trust (Mardani, 2007, Haffman, 1994, Covey, 1990, Argyris. 1973).

Lack of other resources to improve productivity partially offsets. Studies show that trust creates intrapersonal effects and affect the interpersonal relationships within and outside of the

organization (Memarzadeh, 2009). Organizational productivity is ameliorated by improving job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and confidence atmosphere between staff, increased consultation, cooperation and justice. For organizational success, constantly changing roles and technologies and design as well as jobs and responsibilities, are essential (Grover, 1993).

The idea that trust in the workplace is a major factor that leads to improved organizational performance potential and can be a source of competitive advantage in the long run is also rapidly taken into consideration. Creating an environment of trust in an organization brings positive effects for organizations. In contrast, the costs of distrust due to lack of willingness of employees to collaborate, risk for inappropriate behavior, poor quality of work and the need for control can be hard (Pucetaite & Lamsa, 2008).

In fact, we trust that the others when they meet our predictions and expectation of them. (Lewicki, et al., 1998) In short, reliability means the beliefs that people have about the future behavior of the others. Three extensive streams are in the literature on trust. First, trust within the organization is a phenomenon within the organization, such as trust between employees and supervisors or managers, or between partners that focus on the study of this type of trust. Second there is the trust between organizations, and third, the trust arising between firms and their customers as a marketing concept (Dietz & Hartog, 2006).

Factors affecting organizational trust and its consequences

To develop a strategy, we need to increase the level of trust among all employees and managers. The researchers have worked to set the foundations of trust in organizations. A study of McCauley and Kanert (1992) found that job-related variables such as participation in decision-making, autonomy, feedback, supportive supervisor behavior and communication, significantly can promote trust in the management.



Figure1. Conceptual Model

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: there is a significant relationship between organizational trust, job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.

Research method

This study is a scientific - application research. The populations in this study are employees of the Customs Department. The study used random sampling methods and formula Cochran sample size. Sample size was 182 people. In the field study, researcher for collect data used to questionnaire that included 44 was used to collect data. This data is analyzed by LISREL software. To determine the validity and reliability, we used content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Reliability factor was obtained in order of job satisfaction Specter (1997), 0.87, Organizational Trust Inventory Rother (2003), 0.86. Organizational citizenship behavior of Lee and Alan (2002) is equal to 0.89. In addition, indicators fitness model are calculated automatically by running the Perlis application for desired model.

Data analysis

After collecting data using structural equation, LISREL confirmatory factor analysis was used to analyze statistical data. SEM is a multivariate analysis technique and is generally powerful and allows researchers to examine sets of regression simultaneously.

Table 2: fitness indexes study design

Fitting indexes	Standard values	Estimated values
Degrees of Freedom	-----	899
Chi-Square	Due to dependence to the sample size is not an appropriate criterion	3889.51
RMSEA	0.05	0.136
NFI	0.90	0.58
NNFI	0.90	0.59
CFI	0.90	0.61
RMR	0.05	0.093
GFI	0.90	0.51
AGFI	0.90	0.46

As shown in Table 1, indicators of compliance or goodness of fit is in a relatively acceptable level.

Structural model test

In this study, confirmatory factor analysis was used to test the measurement model and path analysis in order to confirm the structural model. The following two figures show the overall model of output LISREL software and at the same time involving the structural model and measurement model.

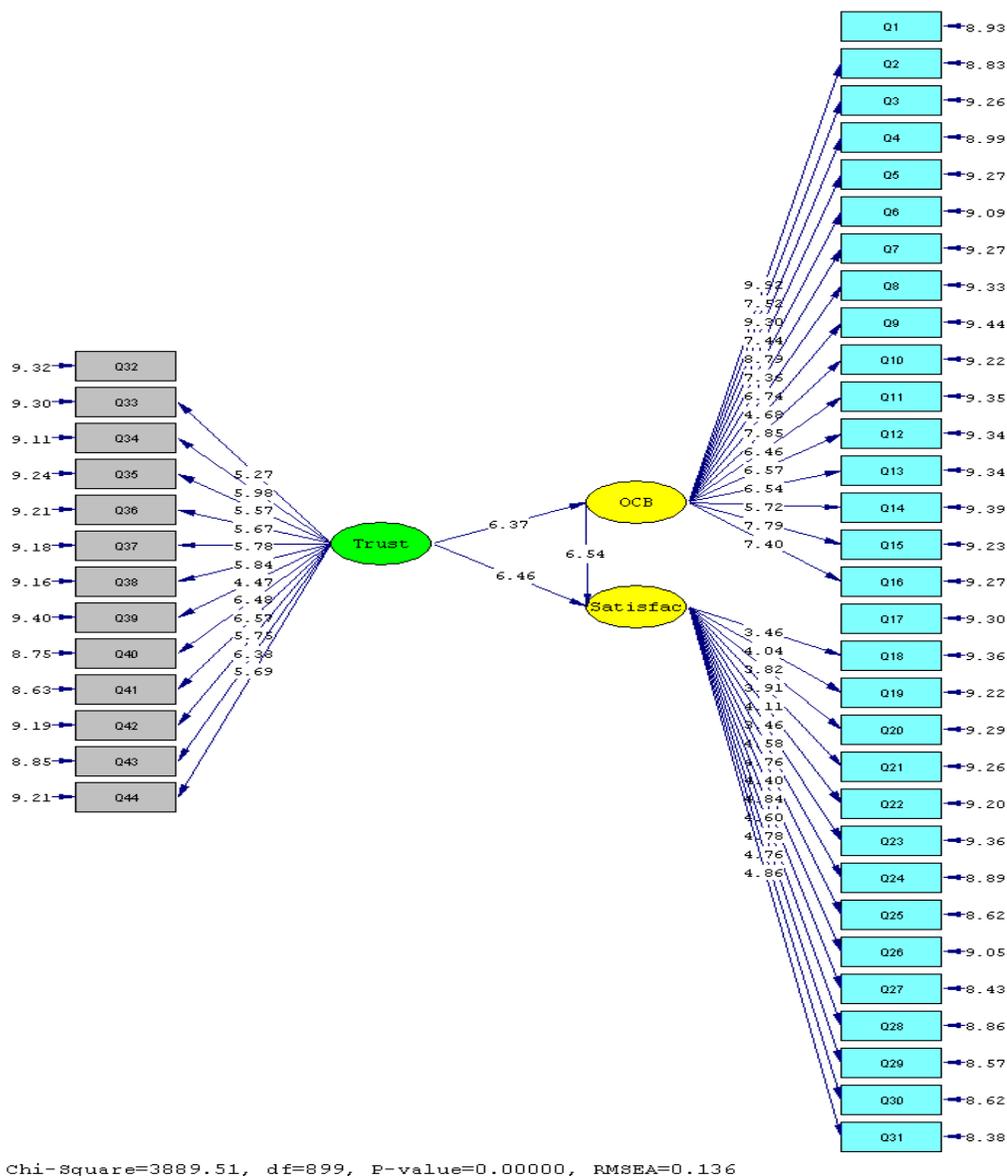


Figure 1: The base model with T values

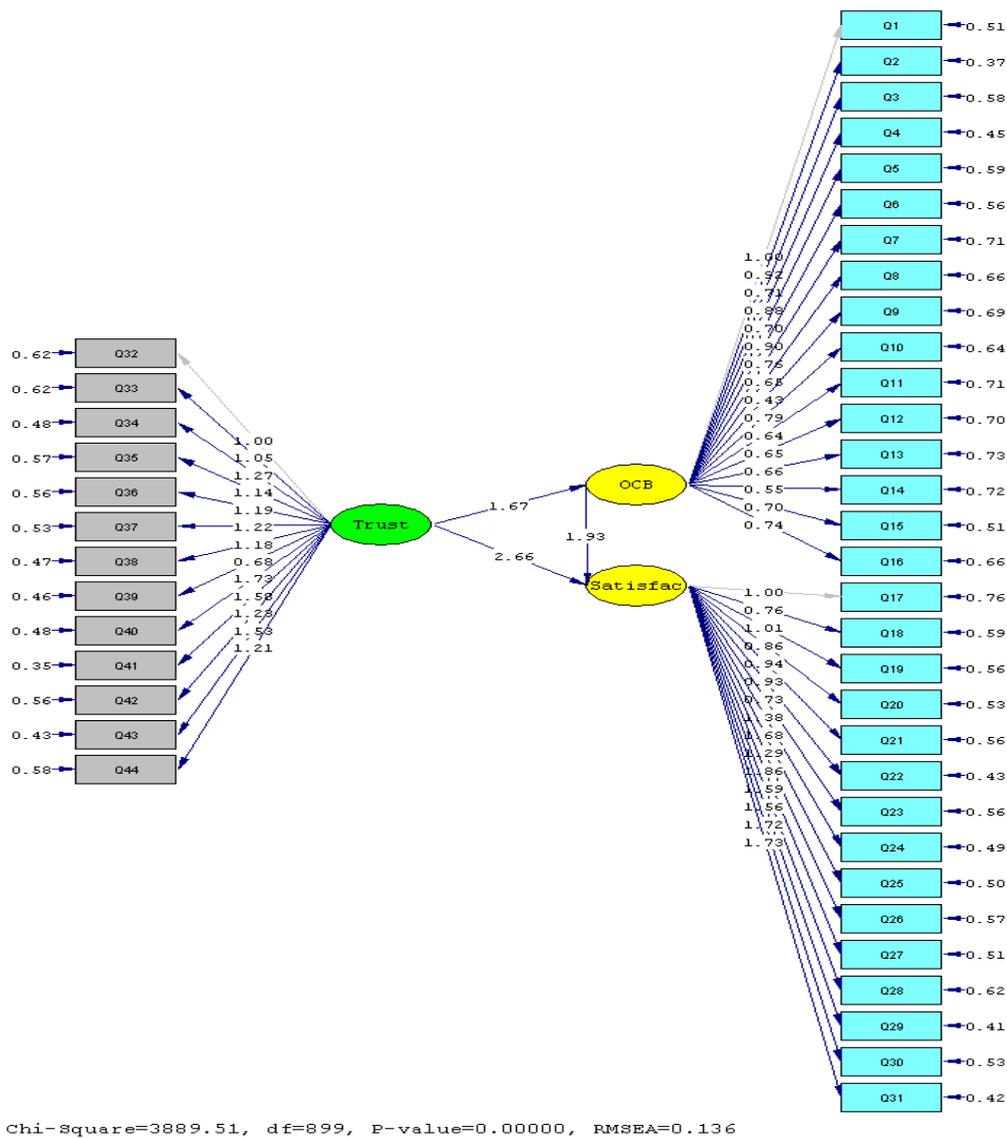


Figure 2: The base model with path coefficients

The results and analysis

According to the analysis of data, hypotheses, findings and results are presented separately.

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and Organizational citizenship behavior.

Table 3: results of the first hypothesis

Hypothesis	Coefficient	Statistics t	Results
Hypothesis 1: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior.	1.67	6.37	Accept

Based on the results shown in Table 3, the effect of independent variables on the dependent ones is supported by the data and the way that these two variables are linked together is positive and meaningful (is significance at the level of 5%). As a result, we can say with 95% confidence, there is a significant relationship between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.

Table 4: The results of the second hypothesis

Hypothesis	Coefficient	Statistics t	Results
Hypothesis 2: There is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.	1.93	6.54	Accept

Based on the results shown in Table 4, the effect of independent variables on the dependent variable is supported by the data and the way these two variables are linked together is positive and significant (is significance at the level of 5%). As a result, can say with 95% confidence, there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and job satisfaction.

Table 5: The results of the third hypothesis

Hypothesis	Coefficient	Statistics t	Results
Hypothesis 3: There is a significant relationship between organizational trust and job satisfaction.	2.66	6.46	Accept

Based on the results shown in Table 5, the effect of independent variables on the dependent variables is supported by the data and the way these two variables linked together is positive and significant (is significance at the level of 5%). As a result, can say with 95% confidence, there is a significant relationship between organizational trust and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 4: there is a significant relationship between organizational trusts, job satisfaction, due to organizational citizenship behavior.

Table 6: The results of fourth hypothesis

Hypothesis	Coefficient	Statistics t	Results
Hypothesis 4: there is a significant relationship between organizational trusts, job satisfaction, due to Organizational citizenship behavior.	1.67×1.93=3.22		Accept

According to Table (6) the results of fourth hypothesis will be examined. Examining the role of mediator between organizational trust and job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behavior directly impacts on organizational citizenship behavior on organizational trust. It also confirmed a direct impact on job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior. It is also confirmed by the impact of organizational citizenship behavior on organizational trust and job satisfaction. The coefficient of endogenous latent variable and exogenous variable on organizational trust is clear. Organizational citizenship behavior is 1.67 and the T value is equal to 6/37 at significant level of 0/05 with reliability 0/95 that is significant and endogenous latent variables path coefficient OCB. The endogenous variable of job satisfaction and the value are equal to 6/54 at significant level 0/05 with significant reliability. As a result, the influence of the mediating role of organizational citizenship behavior between organizational trust and job satisfaction is equal to $1.67 \times 1.93 = 3.22$ and researchers' claim is accepted.

Conclusion

The results of the first hypothesis showed that the path coefficient between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior is equal to 1/67, and related T value is $1/96 > 6/37$, which is according to t-test, critical value 0/05 at the 95% confidence level. The null hypothesis can be rejected and the result of the first claim of researchers is accepted. We can say with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior.

The second hypothesis results showed that the path coefficient between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior is equal to 1/93 and related T value is $1/96 > 6/54$, which is according to t-test, critical value 0/05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected and result of the second claim of researchers is accepted. We can say with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior.

The third hypothesis results showed that the path coefficient between the path coefficient between organizational trust and job satisfaction is equal to 2/66 and related T value is $6/46 > 1/96$, which is according to t-test, critical value 0/05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected and result of the third claim of researchers is accepted. We can say with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between organizational trust and job satisfaction.

The fourth hypothesis results showed that the path coefficient between organizational trust and organizational citizenship behavior is equal to $1/67$ and related T value is $6/37 > 1/96$, and the path coefficient between job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behavior is equal to $1/93$ and related T value is $6/54 > 1/96$, which is according to t-test, critical value $0/05$ at the 95% confidence level. The null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the influence of the mediating role of organizational citizenship behavior organizational trust and job satisfaction is equal to $1.67 \times 1.93 = 3.22$ and the fourth claim of researchers is accepted.

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Remembering Enslavement through Expressive Culture: Animistic Metaphors Contesting Notions of Victimhood among the Balsa of Ghana

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Abstract

This paper explores how the Balsa ethnic group in Ghana continues to remember and relive their experiences of survival from the threats and violence that slave raiding imposed upon them during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Using songs collected through audio recording, the paper articulates the attempt by the Balsa to weave a narrative of communal bravery and valour revealed through animistic metaphors as a counter narrative to the dominant images of the Balsa and by extension a significant part of northern Ghana as a “victim society”. The paper reveals a people who despite the circumscription imposed on them by slave raiding and oppression never lacked the means to challenge their oppression. By remembering how their ancestors chose to fight predation and enslavement, they are indeed contesting the dominant images of victimhood and subjugation. The paper thus promises to enhance our collective understanding of the issues of the slave trade within the Ghanaian historiography and contributes to the body of scholarship from the perspective of those whose voices have remained marginal within the literature.

Keywords: Balsa, Enslavement, Metaphor, Orality, Song, Victimhood.

Introduction

This paper examines how the Balsa ethnic group in northern Ghana by means of expressive culture revealed in songs continue to remember and relive their experiences of survival from the threats and violence that slave raiding imposed upon them during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The paper attempts to use animistic metaphors as a prism through which we can refract and reflect on how this subaltern group has chosen to weave a counter narrative to the dominant images of themselves and by extension a significant part of northern Ghana as a “victim society”. Captivity and force servitude was not something directly experienced by the subjects of this study, but came to be central to their attempts to create an identity predicated on its remembrance. For this subaltern group, enslavement was traumatic and it is still so in retrospect, mediated through imagination and representation through songs.

The songs and oral accounts of enslavement were obtained from fieldwork conducted in September 2005. During my fieldwork, whenever I asked informants how memories of enslavement and the slave trade are preserved and transmitted within their culture, informants often mentioned songs among others. Translations of the songs into texts were made possible with the help of native speakers skilled in the translation process and who are familiar with the cultural and historical contexts of the study. In this paper, I emphasise the historical, literary and cultural significance of these songs as texts and how they contest the images of victimhood.

The songs that I discuss in this paper suggest an attempt by the Balsa to subvert the victim narrative into agency. The case for Balsa is, particularly, significant because of the ways in which their songs reveal a culture that has survived organised and systematic pillage. That these communities were raided and plundered does not always make them victims. Their resistance to captivity and enslavement does not always suggest victimhood. The experience of captivity and enslavement was certainly tragic as their oral traditions allude to, but as Hartman (2007: 7) has remarked in relation to communities that suffered pillage and plunder in northern Ghana, they are a people who remade themselves, “making possibility out of dispossession”. In this paper, I argue that the story of this subaltern group "must not always be a story of defeat and about the defeated".

These songs do not simply recount collective loss and suffering; crucially, I argue that they are a politically and rhetorically significant cultural form of contestation, representation and survival. This aspect of the ‘poetics’ of representation in Balsa songs has received very little critical attention in the literature, hence the attempt in this paper to show that the songs are not “invented” solely “as a reflection of the coded discourse” sometimes surrounding the experiences of captivity and enslavement within this culture, but more importantly, they reveal how animistic metaphors encode the discourse of overturning the images of victimhood. The paper thus promises to enhance our collective understanding of the issues of the slave trade and enslavement within the Ghanaian historical space and contributes to the body of scholarship from the perspective of those whose voices have remained marginal within the literature.

There is no lack of documentation on northern Ghana as a cultural, geographical and historical entity. While some scholars have been interested in various aspects of northern Ghana, in general, others have shown particular interest in the pivotal role of the region relative to the history of enslavement and the slave trade (Yarak, 1989, Der, 1998; Perbi, 2004; Austin, 2005; Allman and Parker, 2005). A central animating metaphor in the bulk of these studies is the focus on northern Ghana as a “slave supply base” and a “victim society”, the notable exception being the works of Adjei (2005), Opoku-Agyemang (2007), Howell (2007), and Saboro (2013).

Northern Ghana’s subservient status relative to their experiences of enslavement within the broader context of the history of the slave trade in Africa has been prominent. Northern Ghana has thus often been presented within historical sources “as ciphers in the historical, social and political arithmetic, not as subjects of social history”, but sometimes “as objects and quantities” (Smallwood, 2007: 7) and as the marginalised *other* (see for example, Allman and Parker, 2005:29-37; Holsey, 2008:81-102).

As part of Western and European negative and stereotypical conceptualization(s) of most people of African origin, the prevailing images that came to be associated with people of northern origin, were that of people who were primitive and backward and outside of the European Christian civilized order (See Holsey 2008). Their physical distance from the coast and the nature of their social geography produced images of being cut off from civilized people. They thus came to be regarded by most dominant groups of the south – and later by Europeans – as primitive people who had no social consequence except to be raided and traded as labour commodities (see Holsey 2008). It is this conservative and stereotypical cultural offensive that some of these songs by the Balsa seek to counter.

Indeed, the very images of the *Ndonkor*, a term used by the Asante/Akan ethnic group of Ghana to refer to captives from northern Ghana, connote the notion of outsiders or a socially excluded category. This term, Allman and Parker (2005: 31), have suggested, expresses “an identity outside of jural corporateness and indeed on a fringe of perceptions of humanity”. The *Gurunsi* and other *nnonkofo*, Allman and Parker have pointed out, “stood on the lowest rung of the Akan scale of civilization” (Allman and Parker, 2005: 31).

Slave raiding, with its attendant characteristics of pillage, systematic violence and enslavement among some northern communities thus created a stigmatised identity: an identity predicated on subjugation and victimhood. The context of representation has thus always revolved around that of victims and prey on the one hand and conquerors/predators on another hand. And yet underlying these dominant narratives of victimhood is another equally significant narrative that does not always feature within historical sources: the narrative of a strong and resilient people who did not always remain passive to their plight of enslavement but have challenged these images through open confrontation.

The Balsa are a small ethnic group found in the Upper East Region of Ghana. They are a pastoral people and subsistence agriculture is the main stay of the local economy. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Balsa felt the brunt of the slave trade with the emergence of Zabrarima and Asante slave raiders who took to raiding less centralised communities and

taking people into slavery. The bulk of these slaves captured during the Zabrarima slave raids were often sold in the Salaga market to Asante slave dealers.

Notable slave raiders often mentioned in oral accounts on captivity within communities in northern Ghana, especially the Bulsa, include Babatu, Alfa Hano, Gazare and Samori although Samori is believed to have undertaken little or no activity within the Bulsa area. Babatu is, particularly, remembered as the most ruthless. In addition to the Zabrarima slave raiders, the Bulsa often mention the Asante as either slave raiders or dealers.

Asante's relation with northern Ghana is, particularly, significant given that Asante's hegemony over Gonja and the Dagomba necessitated raids into the Bulsa and Kasena areas to provide slaves. Writing within the context of the slave trade in northern Ghana, Der, (1998:30) has pointed out that Asante slave raiders often destroyed property, particularly livestock and foodstuff, and captured people. Der, has intimated that "during the period of Asante's influence, 'no man could say he possessed anything of his own. His wives, children and property were all at the mercy of passing Ashantis".

Indeed Der(1998, 19) has further suggested that after the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, the Asante could no longer export their slaves through European ports at the coast and, therefore, had to retain these slaves in Asante society as labourers and domestic servants. The image of the Asante as a predator is a recurrent motif within Bulsa collective imagination. The Asante emerges in the songs sometimes as the *kanbong* (the foreign enslaver) even though the *kanbong* often include other parties involved in slave raiding, especially the Zabrarima (see Saboro, 2013).

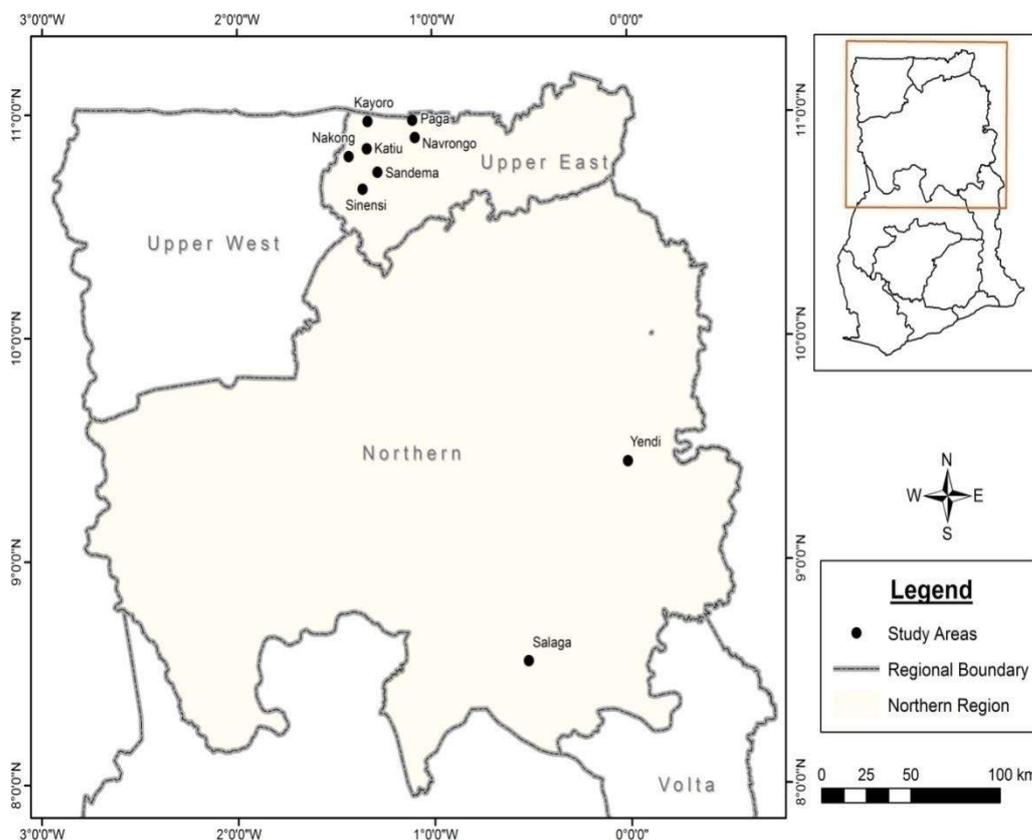


Fig. 1 Map showing study area: Source, Cartography Unit, University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Performance Context

The relationship between verbal art and performance in African oral cultures has received some attention from scholars. See for example Scheub, 1975: 353, Bauman 1977: 9, Finnegan 1992: 28, and Anyidoho, 2007: 382-390). Commemorative performances, especially within the collective experiences of oppressed groups, are intended to evoke memories of sacrifice, struggle and eventual triumph, which is why the Feok festival is significant for the Balsa.

Through the Feok festival, the Balsa remember and participate in the redemptive history of their community. The Feok was not originally conceived as a festival about the slave trade and resistance, but as an annual thanksgiving festival to thank the gods for a good year's harvest. The period has also now become an occasion to thank the gods and ancestors for deliverance from slave raiders.

Remembering captivity and enslavement within enslaved communities in Africa is often an emotional and psychological experience. Consequently, narratives and communal memory of the experience are not always explicit but coded and expressed through metaphor. Metaphor then becomes a useful and significant rhetorical tool for understanding the discourse of victimhood and opposition to images of victimhood.

Murphy (2012:1) has reminded us that there is a coded discourse surrounding the slave trade in most parts of Africa and that “we must read into spaces where the slave trade lies lurking, beyond the layer of the explicit historical setting and into the realm of metaphor...” Drawing methodological inspiration from Murphy, this paper contends that the narrative of enslavement and even victory over slave raiding is not always explicit in oral accounts of the Balsa but encoded through metaphor

In general, terms, a metaphor is a rhetorical trope that describes a first subject as being or equal to a second subject in some form. Thus, the first subject can be economically described because implicit and explicit attributes from the second subject are used to enhance the description of the first. Black (1982:21) submits that “a metaphorical statement appears to be perversely asserting something to be what it is plainly known not to be”. He further argues that given the wide occurrence of metaphorical statements and their degree of flexibility, some generally accepted classification is helpful. He suggests for example that metaphors are either emphatic or resonant. A metaphor is emphatic to the degree that its producer will allow no variations upon or substitute for the words used. Emphatic metaphors, he observes, produce an effect elicited from their unstated implications and he refers to metaphorical statements that support a high level of implicative elaboration as resonant metaphors.

As far as Petrie (1982:439-442) is concerned, “Metaphor enables one to transfer learning and understanding from what is well known to what is less well known in a vivid and memorable way, thus enhancing learning”. He adds that there are comparative and interactive metaphors. Metaphors on the comparative level say implicitly that two apparently; dissimilar things have a similarity in common. A metaphor then becomes an implicit comparison transferring meaning and understanding by comparison. The interactive metaphor on the other hand creates similarities. It allows new forms of knowledge and understanding to be acquired by a student without presupposing the student already knows that which is being learned.

Holman and Harmon’s (1986) conceptualisation of metaphor suggests that a metaphor is an implied analogy associated with identifying one object with another, while attributing to the first object one or more of the qualities of the second or ‘investing’ the first with emotional or imaginative qualities associated with the second. They contend that the metaphor is one of the principal devices by which meaning is achieved. The song texts herein discussed, I argue, reveal a preponderance of animistic metaphors, including the cat and mouse as well as the lion and elephant, metaphoric forms and/or symbols which not only epitomise bravery and courage but also serve as a counter narrative to the notions of victimhood.

Scholars have conceptualized the nature and dynamics of remembrance and its relationship with traumatic memories from a variety of perspectives. This is especially the case for traumatic memories such as the Holocaust, the American civil war and more recently the 9/11 tragedy in America. Writing within the context of the trans-Atlantic slave experience for example, Larson (1999: 1), has shown how “...collective identities and memories of trauma are deeply intertwined”. “Most ethnic minorities”, Larson has noted “anchor their collective identities in the remembrance of past and present victimization. Victims of social trauma and their descendants often engage in purposeful remembrance as a form of empowerment and identity formation”. “The act of recalling the past therefore, as (Winter, 2006: 4) has

reminded us, “is a dynamic, shifting process, dependent on notions of the future as much as on images of the past”.

Reflecting on “Remembering the Second World War, 1945–1965: Narratives of Victimhood and Genocide”, Confino (2005, 46-75), has pointed out how after the second world war, for example, the notions of victimhood, self-pity, and suffering became organizing metaphors to help understand the war. The African-American slave experience has also provided a context within which people have sought to use the notions of victimhood to define descendants of the enslaved.

To the extent that most of the literature on oppressed groups is silent on the subtle display of bravado and courage by these groups, it is imperative for us to look beyond the images of victimhood that have often characterised the narratives of oppressed groups and rather emphasize the themes of survival and triumph of the human spirit even in the midst of tragedy. In this vein, this paper attempts to show how the Balsa have sought to overturn the images of victimhood that has sought to define them owing to their history of enslavement. The songs herein discussed are therefore a prism through which we see a people’s determination to re-write and reconstruct another narrative: a narrative of cultural redemption and victory over tragedy. In the songs, animistic metaphors are used to reflect on the themes of bravery and communal heroism.

Conceptualizing how animals occupy a central place within the African collective imagination, (Roberts, 2004: 56) has shown how animals often appear as protagonists and subjects of African folklore. He has, for example, suggested that one way through which we sometimes understand our own identity as human beings is through the reflective behaviour of animals. “...what it means to be human, Roberts has argued, “is often understood by recognizing contrasts to and similarities with animals”. This paper attempts to show how Balsa have made creative use of some of the positive attributes of some animals to encode the discourse of bravery and heroism, thereby challenging the notion of victimhood often ascribed to them.

Reflecting on the centrality of animals within Akan poetry, the literary critic and musicologist Nketia (1979, 23-33) has suggested that reference is made to a lot of animals and plants in Akan poetry because, these animistic symbols “provide apt metaphors or similes, or compressed ways of reflecting upon social experience.” The Balsa, for instance, are predominantly a pastoral people and hunting is a major activity. Most of them who hunt, are therefore familiar with the behavioural patterns of the animals they hunt and domesticate. Consequently, some of their songs tend to convey a sense of animal symbolic behaviour used in reflecting upon their social experiences. In the songs I discuss in this paper, it is common to see them attributing the positive traits of these animals to themselves while associating the negative ones to the slave raider.

Analysis and Discussion

In the song texts, we see how the people of Balsa use strong and fierce animals, including the lion and the elephant, as a form of symbolic representation. By choosing to include these animals in their songs the people of Balsa seem to suggest that it is not the indomitable nature

of the lion and the strength/size of the elephant that is significant but the ability of the community to confront them.

The Lion

In articulating collective memories of resistance and victory over slave raiding, the people of Balsa use the lion as a significant metaphor. The lion is regarded as “the king of the African savannah” and lions have been celebrated for their courage and strength as well as their intimidating presence. One particular song that epitomises the Balsa’s resolve to overturn the images of victimhood can be decoded through the song:

Ba tongbenle le ziimchorototo
Ba tongbenle le ziimchorototo
Ayietadokdemtongbenle le ziim
Ba toy ka gbenduok/diak
Dela ka dila te baachaliya

They fought and killed a male lion
They fought and killed a lion and blood is flowing
Ayieta’s household have fought and killed a lion with blood
They fought and killed a male lion that is why people are running

Women perform this song among the Balsa. The song presents images of fighting and killing. It glorifies men and presents a rather romantic picture of battle. The tone and mood is that of aggression. The song is rhythmical and onomatopoeic (The sound *chorototo* as seen in the Buli language signifies ways in which blood pours on the ground). The central metaphor in this song is predicated on battle against predation and this is revealed through the image of the lion. In this song, the slave raider is represented as a male lion: a symbol of power, of strength and of might. The metaphor of the lion connotes predation. In spite of its indomitable nature, however, this song suggests the lion was “fought and killed”.

The metaphor of the lion is significant because it underscores the collective sense of courage and bravery with which victims of captivity challenged their oppression. The symbol of the lion is also used probably to assert pride and reverse the image of victimhood to that of courage and cultural resilience in the midst of tragedy. The descendants of those who were raided thus take pride in the resistance of their ancestors using the lion metaphor to rewrite their history- a history of a new collective identity of a people who have transcended their tragedy through war.

The Cat and the Mouse

The theme of overturning the image of victimhood into communal victory over predation is further expressed through the relationship between two “domestic enemies” of symbolic significance expressed in the Buli song, “Even if the mice are a hundred”. The song says,

Doomapoom de kook
Doomapoom de kook
Poom de kook

Poom de kook
Dogbiaklaa pa nanta
Ayieta

Even if the mice are a hundred
Even if the mice are a hundred
Even a hundred
Even a hundred
The cat can stretch itself and catch them all

Two significant animistic metaphors are revealed in this song: The *mouse* and the *cat*. Although some people find mice to be less objectionable than rats, they, nevertheless, cause damage within the household. Their greatest economic threat is not in how much they consume within the household, but how much gets thrown away due to the extensive damage they cause or the contamination that often arises as a result of their presence. The cat, on the other hand, is a domestic pet. Domestic cats are largely carnivorous, and their skill in killing household rodents, including mice, is well known. They are natural hunters, with the ability to track their prey and pounce with sharp claws and teeth. They are particularly effective at night, when their light-reflecting eyes allow them to see better than their prey.

The metaphor of the mice and the cat within the context of enslavement and overturning images of victimhood is revealing. The song above reflects on the role of the slave raiders as mice whose presence and activities in the community are mischievous and destructive. What the song celebrates through the deployment of this animistic metaphor is the capacity of the people to counteract the predatory activities of the slave raiders. The lines,

Even if the mice are a hundred
The cat can stretch itself and catch them all

are informative. The intensification of the number ‘hundred’ (realized by its repetition) is important. The skill and agility of the cat is seen in its ability to “stretch itself and catch” its prey. Within the context of enslavement, the role of victim has been interchanged with the role of victor/predator. The victim/prey versus predator/victor image then suggest that the relationship between these variants are not permanent but are dictated by circumstances and time.

The Elephant

The elephant also emerges in another song. The elephant is enormous in size and has a great degree of stability. The use of the elephant as a metaphor reveals a culture that wants to be perceived as strong and formidable rather than weak and docile. For example, in the song “They should go behind the elephant and push it down”, we are presented with the image of the elephant as a formidable force that needs to be pushed down through collective effort. The song says,

Ba taam yanku ɲaɲɲiyiŋ daasi lonsi
Ba taam yanku ɲaɲɲiyiŋ daasi lonsi
Ba nakyanku, a nakyanku
Ba taamyankuɲaɲɲiyiŋ
Le kuasiŋ kama,
Ba taamyankuɲaɲɲiyiŋdaasilonsi

They should go behind the elephant and push it down
They should beat the elephant
Beat the elephant
They should go behind it for it will go down
They should go behind the elephant and push it down

“They should go behind the elephant” is performed by men and in its performance; the song is often repeated several times. The song reflects on how communal synergy is necessary in overcoming oppression. Through this song, the Balsa relive memories of how their ancestors overcame slave raiding. That in spite of the elephant’s huge stature, communal effort and determination pushed the elephant down. The victim/predator image together with the symbol of the elephant and how these seek to overturn the theme of victimhood is reinforced in another song. For example, in one instance, the Balsa refer to the slave raider as an elephant and in another instance, they refer to themselves as elephants. The novelty in the song as a valid and interesting source of historical documentation is seen in the ways this particular song reveals the complexity of how raiders can become victims and vice versa. These songs also suggest that slavery sometimes creates uncertainty and thus imperil both victors and vanquished in the long term. This change of roles between victim and victor is again illustrated through the song *Yabtakpaliŋ*. The song says,

Yabtakpaliŋ
Baderi maa koyomma
Baderi maa koyomma
Asiniensabisa ka yabta
Yabtakpaliŋatekpaliŋ
Ba derimaakoyomma

The fight is between elephants
They also killed slaves in the process
They also killed slaves in the process
Asiniensa children are elephants
The fight is between elephants
In the process, they also killed slaves

This song alludes to the fight for communal redemption and the consequence of resistance. The song suggests that in the course of securing their freedom, some of the enslaved (here, people of Balsa) were also killed. In this song, the people of Asiniensa (Siniensa is a specific location of Balsa) see themselves as elephants and allude to the fact that the fight against communal oppression is a fight between elephants.

Asiniensa children are elephants
The fight is between elephants

By indicating that the fight is between elephants, the community memories seem to suggest that the role of victim and predator may not always remain the same. By these inferences, they attempt to carve a new image and identity for themselves: not as oppressed groups who were always running and at the mercy of slave raiders, but also as a people who took their destinies into their own hands by challenging their oppression. This new sense of communal identity is reflected in memories of these songs that depict victory and triumph.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined how the Balsa of Ghana by means of their songs challenged the narrative of victimhood that has typically been associated with them as far as the slave trade and enslavement is concerned. The distinctive contribution this paper makes to the extant literature is seen in its departure from the use of only historical sources but also engaging with the voices of the direct descendants of those for whom the slave experience was a “living wound”. Although the collective remembrance of enslavement and the slave trade constitutes a profound wound, their songs suggest that the emphasis should rather be on the cultural values of self-sacrifice, resilience and communal strength. The songs herein discussed therefore lend credence to the fact that in spite of the terror and violence slave raiding imposed on the people of Balsa, they eventually survived. By remembering via their songs how their ancestors chose to fight predation and enslavement, the people of Balsa contest the dominant images of victimhood and subjugation often ascribed to them.

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Hedging in Doctor-Patient Communication: A Pragmatic Study

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Abstract

Social relations are (partly) achieved through the existence of institutionalized roles with socially prescribed patterns of behaviour. Doctor-patient communication can present particular challenges to these relations. Since illness is regarded as a form of social deviance as it impairs normal role performance, patients often look for clues to assess the situation. One of such clues is soaking their speech with particular types of hedges. Doctors also use hedges of particular types. To use hedges properly can strengthen expressive force and communicative results, which can improve interpersonal relationship and thus make communication go more smoothly. The current paper analyses the type and frequencies of hedges employed in 15 conversations between doctors and patients. The overarching goal of this investigation is to present a general situation of hedges used in doctor-patient communication and explore their pragmatic functions. The results obtained lead to the conclusions that the two interlocutors use different types of hedges to mitigate the statements. However, it is found that doctors employ more hedging devices. By maintaining more hedges mainly of the adaptor type, doctors can provide positive feedback to the patient and facilitate his or her participation.

Keywords: doctor-patient communication, hedging, hedges, approximators, shields.

1. What is Hedging?

Hedging is a rhetorical strategy in which a mitigating word (or sound) is used to soften the force of a speaker's utterance in order to make it more acceptable to the interlocutor (Nikula, 1997: 188). By including a particular term, choosing a particular structure, or imposing a specific prosodic form on the utterance, the speaker signals a lack of commitment to either the truth value of an accompanying proposition or a desire to avoid commitment to categorical assertions (Hyland,1998:1). By means of hedges, speakers can avoid saying something definite, the result is that they keep their option open. For example, when one says:

1. *I think* he is not very clear.

The expression *I think* suggests that the speaker avoids expressing the core of the sentence as what the person might be. The speaker in this case uses a hedging expression as a way of saying that the utterance is approximate and that it may not be exactly correct. In other words, using such a device makes the utterance sounds less authoritative (Brown and Levinson, 1987:116).

What is apparant in the hedgy expressions is the fact that they may be realized by different categories such as auxiliaries (*can, could, may, might, etc.*), full verbs (*suggest, think, appear, etc.*), various adjectives and adverbs (*possible, probable, approximately, generally, etc.*) nouns (*suggestion, possibility ,etc.*), introductory phrases (*it is our view that, we feel that.,etc.*), passive voice (*It was assumed....*) and use of questions (*did you know that..?*) and tense (*The model implies...*) (Hyland, 1998). Hedging has typically been linked to modality, mostly to epistemic type of modality. Epistemic modality can be expressed in a number of ways. Lyons (1977) defined epistemic modality as "any utterance in which the speaker explicitly qualifies his commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence he utters, whether this qualification is made explicit in the verbal component...or in the prosodic or paralinguistic component"(Lyons,1977,797).Despite such relations between hedges and specific linguistic categories, one should not deny the fact that meanings do not reside in the items themselves but are assigned to utterances which contain them; therefore, there are no linguistic items that are inherently hedgy. Any expression can acquire this quality depending on the communicative context or the co-text (Markkanen and Schroder,1997:6).This means that being context-bound (in that individual words, phrases and constructions cannot serve a hedging function unless contextualized),the concept of hedging is vague in itself, and the number of hedge devices is practically infinite in that it is neither easy to limit them within certain boundaries nor provide clear-cut lists of the hedging expressions. As a consequence, scholars vary in their taxonomies, classifications and views towards hedging and hedge devices (Nikula,1997: 190). In medical communication, the interlocutors usually make claims and deny claims of other participants so they need devices to make their utterances sound more acceptable. Hedging is one of the best devices that can help both doctors and patients to make their utterances flow smoothly and avoid any inconsistency between the two participants.

2. Functions of Hedging

Hedging must be considered an intentional action in that the speaker chooses a linguistic device over and above the propositional content of the message which will affect the interpretation of the utterance, either by modifying the content of the utterance or its force. Scholars differ in their views as far as hedging's functions. Some maintain that hedges serve *semantic* functions (Lakoff 1972), Lakoff's main concern with hedges is their semantic characterization and how they may realize two seemingly contradictory functions, namely these of making things fuzzier or less fuzzy. According to this function, hedging has been looked at as a strategy of "saying less than one means" (Markkanen and Schroder, 1997:48), the functions of such a strategy is to modify the writer's/speaker's responsibility for the truthfulness of the utterance, and to modify the definiteness of an utterance or its information. Hinkel maintained that hedges represent the use of linguistic devices to decrease the writer's responsibility for the extent of the truth value of propositions/claims, to show hesitation or uncertainty so as to display a lack of commitment to the truth of what people say (Hinkel, 1997: 168).

Others scholars (Prince et al 1982; Zuck and Zuck 1985; Myers 1989; Markkanen and Schroder 1997) focused on the *pragmatic* function of hedging. Hedging is to be analyzed with an eye on the communication situation, particularly its effect on the relationship between sender and addressee. According to this function, hedging serves as an alternative softener and politeness strategy that is mainly used to reduce the force and the effect of utterances in order to make the hearer accept what has been said in a conversation or a written text (Brown and Levinson, 1987:116). In other words, this function emphasizes the interpersonal aspects of hedging, which can be seen as a politeness strategy whereby speakers tone down their statements in order to reduce the risk of opposition and minimize the threat to face that lurks behind every act of communication (Saglar-Meyers, 2000:3). In medical interaction, hedging is interpreted as one of the negative politeness techniques. It is "a politeness strategy when it marks a claim, or any other statement, as being provisional, pending acceptance in the literature, acceptance by the community, in other words, acceptance by the readers" (Myers, 1989:12).

While research on hedging has progressed and expanded enormously over the past four decades, focusing on the *cognitive* aspects in which interpretation of hedges go beyond the information given and use principles of categorization (Channell, 1994: 199), and *social* aspects of hedging showing how hedging is socially constructed and thus a learned linguistic resource which makes linguistic behaviour more socially acceptable in accordance with certain social norms established by a given culture of a given moment (Salager-Meyer, 1994, 180), it is still apparent that the semantic and pragmatic categories formed the basis of many discussions on hedging. This is because they throw more light on the theoretical significance of studying fuzzy expressions like hedges in natural languages using formal logic. "Without hedging, the world is purely propositional, a rigid (and rather dull) place where things either are the case or are not. With a hedging system, language is rendered more flexible and the world more subtle" (Skelton, 1988: 38).

3. Classification of Hedging

Different classifications have been made for the concept 'hedging'. The concept itself originates in logic and semantics, and has lately been developed further in pragmatics and discourse analysis so far that it extends to areas like meta-communication and to communication strategies like mitigation and politeness. The use of the concept as a linguistic term goes back to the early 1970s, when George Lakoff popularized the concept in his (1972) article *Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts*. Lakoff used the term to refer to words that "make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff, 1972:195). He was not interested in the communicative value of the use of hedges but was concerned with the logical properties of words and phrases like *rather*, *largely*, *in a manner of speaking*, *very* and so on. In short, his focus is mainly on the semantic aspects of hedges that serve a function of fuzziness. He was primarily interested in hedges, not hedging¹ (Markkanen and Schroder, 1997: 4).

Lakoff's pioneering ideas have been further developed by a number of linguists, who have generally adopted a broader view on hedging, considering it not only a semantic phenomenon but also a pragmatic one (Mauranen, 2004: 173) (see above). In other words, hedges are no longer seen as conveying only inexactitude (e.g. a rose is *kind of* a flower) but contributing to pragmatic strategies, such as politeness or mitigation, as well. Thus, whereas Lakoff considered only *propositional hedging*, Fraser, for example, touched on *performative verb hedging*. Fraser (1975) introduced this type of hedging where certain performative verbs such as *apologize*, *promise*, and *request* when preceded by specific modals such as *can*, *must*, and *should*, as in

2-a) I *should* apologize for running over your cat.

b) I *can* promise that I will never again smoke grass.

c) I *must* request that you sit down.

result in an attenuated illocutionary force of the speech act designated by the verb. In these examples, the modals were considered as hedges. Example (2-a) is still an apology, just one less strong than if *should* were not present.

Brown and Levinson (1987) treated the hedging of the illocutionary force of a speech act in great detail in their efforts to account for politeness phenomena. This type of hedging has been referred to as *Speech Act Hedging* (Fraser, 1975). In their model, Brown and Levinson considered hedges as devices that minimize the threat to face as hedged utterances leave room for the opinion of the audience. By the use of hedging, the sender protects his negative face against critical comments. Resorting to such devices is "a primary and fundamental method of disarming routine interactional threats" (Brown and Levinson, 1987:146). Other scholars dealt with hedges in different ways. Myers (1989) studied politeness in written academic discourse. He discusses hedges as positive or negative politeness strategies. Hedging may also be used to have a positive politeness dimension. The interpretation of hedging can be ambiguous in certain communication situations. According to Swales (1990) hedges are rhetorical devices used to protect one's reputation as a scientist. Hyland (1998) considers hedging as a communicative strategy that can decrease the force of statements. These definitions go along with what Holmes (1995) suggests. She identifies hedges as weakeners, softeners, and downtoners used in utterances and then function to express uncertainty in such sentences.

Salager-Meyer (1994) agrees pretty much with this notion when she argues that hedging devices are used to add a probability degree to mitigate propositional information in the text. She considers hedges 'as a resource to express scientific uncertainty, skepticism and doubt' (Salager-Meyer, 1994, 151).

These definitions vary in use, discourse and functions and show that there is no clear-cut agreement on categories of hedges either in their forms or functions. Prince et al (1982) conducted a study on medical discourse to examine the speech of physicians and what hedge categories they use. Since this model has been adopted in the current study, it has been given separate sections as follows:

3.1 Prince et al's Model

As has been mentioned above, Lakoff's main concern with hedges is their job "to make things fuzzier" (1972:195). Prince et al. (1982) noted that this 'fuzziness' could be manifested in two ways: as fuzziness within the propositional content that affects the truth condition of the proposition conveyed, or as fuzziness in the relationship between the propositional content and the speaker, that is, the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition. To illustrate this, Prince et al (1982:4) gave the following example:

- 3-a) His feet were blue
- b) His feet were *a sort of* blue
- c) *I think* his feet were blue

Sentence (3-a) is a standard situation that includes no hedges and conveys the proposition "his feet were blue". Sentence (3-b) conveys a different proposition through the use of "*sort of*" as a hedge that affects the propositional content of the sentence (rather than the speaker's commitment). Prince and his colleagues labeled such types of hedges as Approximators. In the last sentence (3-c), the same proposition of sentence (3-a) is being conveyed (that is, his feet were blue). The hedge "*I think*" does not affect the propositional content but merely implicates that the speaker is less than fully committed, or committed in some marked way, to the truth of the proposition. Prince and his colleagues labeled such types of hedges as Shields (ibid).

Approximators are hedges that operate on the propositional content proper and contribute to the interpretation by indicating some markedness, that is, non-prototype, with respect to class membership of a particular item. That is, in the unmarked (unhedged) case, certain terms indicate prototypicality. The use of hedges serves to classify a certain item with respect to these (prototypical) terms. Approximators such as *about*, *around*, *approximately*, *sort of*, *kind of* and *basically* can have the effect of withholding commitment to a proposition. They achieve this by inserting vagueness into the substantive proposition itself. According to Prince et al (1982), approximators have two subclasses which are **Adaptors** and **Rounders**. Both of these sub-classes occur when the speaker is attempting to correlate an actual situation with some prototypical, goal-relevant situation, where the hedging indicates that actual situation is close to but not exactly the expression modified. In other words, a certain term indicates the prototypical situation, while the hedge chosen indicates that the actual situation is close to but not identical with the prototypical situation. *Adaptor* hedges relate to class membership. They

modify a term to suit a non-prototypical situation, for example, *somewhat*, *sort of*, *almost describable as*, *some*, *a little bit*, etc. Some examples are:

4-He has a *somewhat* low interior larynx.

5- She noticed that he was a *little bit* blue.

Rounders convey a range, where the term is typical. That is, they indicate that a term is not exactly precise, for example, *about*, *approximately*, *something around*, etc. Examples of rounders in sentences are like:

6-The taxi will be here in *about* ten minutes.

7- His weight was *approximately* 3.2 kilograms.

8-The baby's blood pressure was something *between* forty and fifty.

Shield hedges are the second type of Hedges in Prince et al's (1982) classification. Such types of hedges change the relationship between propositional content and the speaker by implicating a level of uncertainty with respect to the speaker's commitment. They affect "the pragmatics by inducing implicatures conveying markedness with respect to the speaker commitment" (Prince et al,1982:86). One of the functions of shield-hedges is to protect the speaker from accusation of being committed to a false proposition (Channell,1994). Here, again, there are two subclasses: **Plausibility Shields** and **Attribution Shields**. The former are expressions that relate doubt. They indicate different degree of uncertainty on part of the speaker, such as *I think*, *I take it*, *probably*, *as far as I can tell*, *right now*, *I have to believe*, *I don't see that*, etc. These hedges stand outside a substantive proposition and point to something less than complete commitment to it. Examples are:

9- *Maybe* we should call a taxi

10- *I think* we can just slow him down to a little over maintenance.

11-*As far as I can tell*, you don't have anything to lose by taking that path.

Prince et al point out that whereas the unhedged versions imply that the speaker has knowledge via observations and/or logical reasoning, statements marked by a plausibility shield imply that the speaker is making the assertion based on plausible reasons.

Attribution shields, on the other hand, are expressions that attribute the degree of uncertainty toward a proposition to another party such as *according to her estimates*, *presumably*, *at least to X's knowledge*, *so and so says that..etc.*, which attribute the responsibility of the message to someone other than the speaker. For example:

12- *John says* you can't divide 739 by 9.

13-He was not very ill, *according to her estimates*.

14- There was no reason to worry, *as far as anyone knew*.

The reason behind adopting such a model in the current study is that its two categories *approximators* and *shields* deal with the two aspects of semantics and pragmatics. The former presents a semantic aspect of utterances, while the latter presents a pragmatic aspect. Hence a better understanding will be gained when investigating doctor-patient communication as far as how they use hedge devices and for what reasons.

4. Methodology

4.1 Method of Analysis

The current study analyses 15 conversations between doctors and their patients. Ten conversations have been selected from Platt's (1995) *Conversation Repair* which is a source book that introduces 53 conversations as case studies in doctor-patient communication. The other five conversations have been chosen from a net site which is www.worth1000.com/contests/doctor-patient. Both sources are found reliable since they introduced real conversations and they vary in turns between doctors and patients (i.e., the turns between the participants are of various topics and consultations about different diseases). The study is descriptive in the sense that it discusses the hedging devices used between doctors and patients so as to investigate who uses what hedging devices and for what purposes. The method of investigation involves counting the devices in each participant's turn so as to find out the type and frequency of use for such devices. The investigation is based on Price et al's (1982) approach to the analysis of hedging devices. The turns in the dialogues were counted manually, and then separated for each participant to examine them as far as their numbers (for each participant) as well as what characterization each (turn) embodies in using the hedging devices. Each device has been put under its type then counted as a total usage. The average is calculated to see the frequent type among such devices.

4.2 Data Analysis

Table (1) and (2) in the appendix show doctors' and patients' use of hedging respectively. Detecting hedges in doctors' speech shows that the most frequent type is that of adaptors. Although having less power than doctors in the consultation, patients can nevertheless influence the interaction by their willingness or otherwise claims. Unexpectedly, the analysis suggests that patients use adaptors in as much as the same way as doctors, although less in numbers but still the most frequent type within their speech.

Since rounders are considered as measurement devices, they prove to be the least in number in both doctors' and patients' speeches. They are used in a statement to limit the degree of a certain subject. For example, in conversation 3, the patient says: *I paid approximately \$1000 to get rid of this disease*. The speaker here does not give the exact price. He/she tries to make the statement not too far from the given fact, bearing in mind that the hearer will understand the meaning the speaker wishes to deliver.

Plausibility shields are also used in doctors' speech as tools that refer to the speaker's speculation upon something. They include the first pronoun (singular and plural) to express the speaker's willingness to take responsibility for an alternative idea to be a reference. For example: in most of the conversations, the doctors appeal to '*I think.....*' utterances so as to avoid imposing his/ her thought on the hearer. Thus, "*I think*" is used here to imply a reference to the utterance. Patients also use these devices mostly in the negative form (*I don't know, think, suppose.....*) which may indicate more hesitation and inconsistency in their speech.

Attribution shields serve the same function of speculating. The difference is that they include a third person structure, for example, in patients' conversations, one may find (*my chiropractor, nutritionist, sister says, suggests...*) so as to avoid personal involvement and mitigates the responsibility of uttering a certain statement to a third party.

4.3 Results and Discussion

Based on the analysis above, the survey finds that doctors applied a large number of hedges during their communication with patients. According to the selected 15 conversations, the frequency of hedges in all texts is 295. Adaptors are considered a distinctive feature in doctor-patient communication. There are 154 occurrences which constitute 52.20% of all types of hedges. Adaptors are commonly used by doctors who reveal the degree of truth of the original proposition. By using adaptors, doctors can express the degree of correctness well in order to be more polite and less arbitrary. The general purpose of using such a device is to imply that an utterance or a specific word should not be understood in its literal meaning in the sense that it is only an approximation of some sort. Since doctors have to be careful in their speech with patients, they resort to such devices as a means to make their relationship with the content of the utterance fuzzier so that patients will not take the utterances as being for granted. Such tools can be seen as aiming at softening the resultant acts and thus making it more acceptable to the addressee. Plausibility shields appeared 70 times, which represents 23.72%. These devices are used to express speaker's doubtful attitude or uncertainty of the truth value of propositions. Attribution shields appeared 58 times, which accounts for 19.66%. When doctors have the complex communicative task of breaking bad news to a patient, they try to soften the force of their utterances in order to make these more acceptable to their patients. Thus, doctors frequently resort to the use of shields to "contain the scene". By using shields, doctors attempt to be both cautious in making knowledge claims and interactive in building trust relationships with their patients. Such hedging can be viewed as a *negative politeness* feature as leaving room for the patients' opinions at the same time fending off being taken for granted. Rounders have the frequency of 13 which constitutes 4.40%. Rounders refer to those fuzzy languages which can show the variation range. By using them, doctors can be more objective and patients can be freer.

Although patients almost always want as much as accurate and precise information as possible, doctors seem to be careful in their choices. The study suggests that doctors develop a particular consulting style and tend to be the most flexible interlocutor, showing the greatest ability to respond to differences in patients' needs or the circumstances of the consultation. Hedges enabled the doctors to express propositions with greater accuracy in areas often characterized by reformulation and reinterpretation. Such devices helped them to state tentative scientific claims with appropriate caution. The hedging devices were found important and considerable as they contributed to the development of the doctor-patient relationship, addressing the need for deference and cooperation in gaining patients' approval of the doctors' claims. Patients, on the other hand, used hedges as a means of compliance and hesitation.

5. Conclusions

There has also been a growing interest lately in hedging and the motivation for its use in scientific communication. The study of hedges has drawn much attention from researchers. Based on the theory of hedges and its pragmatic functions, this paper analyzed hedging devices used in doctor- patient communication. What is worth noticing is the frequent use of hedges by doctors more than patients which aids a better understanding for patients during their communication.

Doctors primarily use hedging to express caution in their speech with patients. They resort to claims rather than facts to be able to gain the patients' gratification. Hedges are one of the devices that play a critical role in gaining ratification for claims by allowing doctors to present statements with appropriate accuracy, caution, and humility, expressing possibility rather than certainty and prudence rather than overconfidence. Based on the politeness theory, hedging in doctor-patient communication is found to act as an adaptor that can make communication euphemistic, moderate, polite and flexible, which effectively helps to maintain and adjust the relationship between doctors and patients and keep communication smooth. On the other hand, hedges would make information fuzzy and fail to keep conveyed information appropriate, so as to make patients more comfortable and feel more flexibility in their talk with doctors. Patients also resort to such tools as a means of attesting the degree of precision or reliability of a claim and accurately stating uncertain statements with appropriate caution.

Notes

¹ Hedges are the linguistic devices and hedging is the act of using these devices in spoken and written discourse.

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Appendix
Table (1) Types of Hedges Used By Doctors

Approximators			Shields	
No. of Conversation	Adaptors	Rounders	Plausibility Shields	Attribution Shields
Con. 1	-well -a little -really	about	-As I said -I think -I remember -I don't think -my view of....	-You told me that
Con. 2	-enough			-You need... -your nutritionist doesn't know
Con. 3	-almost -mostly -surely	about	-if you follow...	
Con. 4	-well -some... -some...		-I don't think... -I think...	-you seem...
Con. 5	-really -most -really - more -almost	around	-If we're worried... -I think -Probably	-It seems... -As far as you and I are concerned -That means it is...
Con. 6	-actually -just		-I think -I think	You ought to..
Con. 7	-sort of -just -just -sort of...		-I thought -I don't know.. -may be	-You can tell... -You ought to tell.. -That would be
Con. 8	-almost -sort of -just			-from your point of view...
Con. 9	-sort of -mostly -mostly -just		I don't find.... -I think you should	
Con. 10	-sort of -sort of		-If I can't examine you	-You know...
Con. 11	-well -perhaps -well -somewhat -actually			-it appears that.... -you would better sit -that is to say, -they are supposed to

	-sort of...			
Con. 12	-just -just -more -really -much -really -anyway -a lot - kind of... - lot of... -just -few -anyway -really -kind of... -just -well -little -more -little -kind of... - sometimes		-I can't even tell... -I don't think... -I don't mean... -I am not sure... -I think... -probably	-somebody said... -that could explain -it doesn't mean... -That's what it says... -you know...
Con. 13	-most of... -a bit like... -just -just -more -some	approximatel y		-you seem.... -it is supposedly -you seem sure... -you sound like... -do you think... -you are supposed....
Con. 14	-quite -little -almost -well -little -sort of - actually... -just -really -more -little -sort of ...	about	-I thought... -I can assume you... -I think... -I think... -I know that... -I meant... -If I know her -I'll make sure... -I don't think so.	-you should know...

	-well -well -much -kind of ... -just... -lots of... -a little...			
Con. 15	-more... -well. -sort of		-I can see that... -maybe	-you said... -Do you think...? -you would think...
Total Number of Hedges 159	86	5	36	32

Table (2) Types of Hedges Used by Patients

Approximators			Shields	
No. of Conversation	Adaptors	Rounders	Plausibility Shields	Attribution Shields
Con. 1	-really -only -well	-about	-I thought... -I thought...	-My chiropractor says -My sister said
Con. 2	-still -only -more -really -sort of -more		-I wonder -Probably	-You know... -My nutritionist says..
Con. 3	-not much -Just -mostly	- approximatel y	-I guess -That's what I thought -I know ...	-You know
Con. 4			-I am not sure -I thought -I didn't think -I thought I ought to...	-he said -she said..

Con. 5	-really -Just -Just -really		-I see -I know -I think -I am beginning to doubt	-you told me... -the French says that if...
Con. 6	-fairly -just		-I didn't know.. -I wasn't sure.. -I think.. -I can tell you -I don't know if -you remember...	-That seems... -You know -You just presumed...
Con. 7	-mostly		-I think -I guess -may be -may be	
Con. 8	-just -just -just -always -just	-about		-My wife said.. -He said....
Con. 9	-just -always -just -not really -just -just -just like -always	-about	-I don't think it	-You know
Con. 10	-totally -more -mostly -just -almost -almost			-No one can understand.. -No one understands -She was the one who told me... -You are supposed to know.
Con. 11	-just -something -just -always -some... -more...than -at least -whatever -just		-I always thought...	-you can't seem...

	-more -less -less			
Con. 12	-well -well		-I'm not sure	-you think I need... -you know...
Con. 13	-actually -well -still -quite a few... -essentially... -some... -just.. -well... -some	-between -around	-you don't understand... -I'm still not sure... -I thought...	-the conversation is supposed...
Con. 14	-so... -so much -well -very... -just... -well...	-between	-I'm not sure... -I'm afraid... -may be	-Do you think...? -don't think...?
Con. 15	-just...	-about	-I can understand that...	-Are you sure?
Total of Number of Hedges 136	68	8	34	26

Research Spotlight on Single-Sex Education and the Challenging Entailments

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Abstract

Schools are considered as a momentous phase in children's life as they exemplify an extensive rite of passage for active learners craving for education and educational success. Recently, the dynamics of the contemporary schools has been subjected to a plethora of adjustment policies in order to reconcile educational regulations and concomitant objectives. Single-sex education is one of the controversial issues that not only arouses diverging views but also conduces to the remodeling of the educational system. Conflicting opinions about the matter of contention ultimately stirs up turmoil, a dispute that can be alleviated only through law and the concurrent amendments.

Keywords: Single-sex education; Amendment; School; Law; Detractors; Proponents.

I/ Introduction:

School life is one of the most dynamic aspects of life. But in today's society, the school system is undergoing many vicissitudes and is therefore being labeled as a hectic annex of the societal development and changes.

Teaching boys and girls separately was an anachronous concept that has been gaining more prominence nowadays. It has long existed in private schools but it has become a new issue for public schools.

According to the National Association for Single-Sex Public Education: in 1998, only 4 public schools offered single-sex classes compared to 540 in 2010.

In Dallas, Texas, Irma Rangel Young Women's Leadership School was the first single-sex public school for girls to be founded in 2004, followed by 140 public schools on a national scale during the same year. Then, the Barack Obama Male Leadership Academy was the second single gender school for boys to open its door in 2011 in the same state.

The controversial issue has been fueled by opposing views and inevitably debate heated up. While detractors of the initiative maintain that these new endeavors cultivate gender stereotypes, ironically, supporters of these programs argue that gender stereotypes would be quelled by those very same single-sex programs.

II/ Single-Sex Education from a legal perspective:

Title IX is a codified section of the U.S Education Amendments of 1972, enacted by the 92nd U.S Congress, made effective on June 23rd, 1972, and enforced by the U.S Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. It is a federal law that formally forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs or activities that are financially funded on a federal level. It goes as the following: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."¹

The Title IX Amendments of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were passed in 1972 to ensure equal access, participation and opportunity regardless of gender. Most feminists stood up for this law to ban sex discrimination from any educational program funded by the government.

Initially, the Title IX allowed separate classes between boys and girls for certain areas of studies, for example for physical education or sex education classes. The new regulations stipulate that schools offering single-sex classes can be funded by the government only if these programs are voluntary and not compulsory.

In the 1996 case of *United States v. Virginia*, a milestone case through which the Supreme Court revoked the Virginia Military Institute's authorization to offer male-only admission policy, the Supreme Court ruled single-sex public education constitutional only if comparable classes and services are equally provided for both sexes.

After 30 years of policy that prohibits gender discrimination in public schools, the Bush administration aimed at reforming the 1972 Education Act which prohibits gender

¹ 20 U.S. Code § 1681 - Sex

discrimination in public schools, through a federally subsidized education programs in order to supply educators with the needed freedom to set up single-sex classes and schools and promote same-sex schooling.

Bush wanted to provide American education authorities with more power and freedom to initiate single-sex education programs.

Bush's supporters were mainly conservative educational traditionalists and feminists who claimed that single-sex education enhances girls' self-esteem and boosts girls' academic achievements in subjects like math and science.

Hence, the Education Department firmly intended to amend the Title IX regulations (Education Act, 1972) in order to expand public school alternatives, enhance educational attainment, and endow parents with the right to opt for what is most suitable for their children: single-sex or coeducational classes.

In this context, Educational Secretary Rodney Paige stated the following: "Our goal is to provide schools with as much flexibility as possible to offer students programs that meet their needs."²

In due course, Bush approved and signed the Congress' Education Bill which legally stipulated school districts' rights to receive federal funding. Some funds of Bush's No Child Left Behind education plan would be used to promote single-sex classes programs and to establish single-sex schools and classes provided that analogous educational training and amenities are accessible to both girls and boys.

Hence, the Congress approved to provide \$450 million for what they considered as ground-breaking instructive agenda despite the resentments of the ACLU (American Civil Liberty Union) and the AAUW (American Association of University Women) who claimed that focus should be laid on improving education and not lingering on futilities that reinforce stereotypes and drive the education officials' attention away from the primary purpose: leaving no child behind.

Prior to 2006 Title IX regulations, detractors of single-sex education condemned the latter and claimed that it violated the U.S Constitution and more specifically the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S C constitution.

In 2006, The Department of Education issued new Title IX regulations requested by a provision in the No Child Left Behind Act which conferred exceptional limberness upon the educational institutions which receive federal financial assistance. The primary objective is to provide single-sex classes and extra-curricular activities which apply to non-vocational classes in both public and private elementary and secondary schools.

Education Secretary Margaret Spellings moderated the federal regulations, an action that paved the way for new federal rules which authorise districts to offer single-sex schools and classes only if some conditions such as voluntary participation and the availability of comparable courses to both sexes are met.

Hence, according to NASSPE, coeducational public schools are allowed to provide single-sex classrooms only if the schools shall:

"1) provide a rationale for offering a single-gender class in that subject. A variety of rationales are acceptable, e.g. if very few girls have taken computer science in the past, the school could offer a girls-only computer science class;

² Collins, Dan. «Bush Push For Single-Sex Schools.» CBS (2002).

2) provide a coeducational class in the same subject at a geographically accessible location. That location may be at the same school, but the school or school district may also elect to offer the coeducational alternative at a different school which is geographically accessible. The term "geographically accessible" is not explicitly defined in the regulations.
3) conduct a review every two years to determine whether single-sex classes are still necessary to remedy whatever inequity prompted the school to offer the single-sex class in the first place."³

The new regulations also approve the establishment of single-sex classes in independent schools, not necessarily within the coeducational institutions. Thus, single sex-schools are excused from the first and third requirements and charter schools are excused from all the above requirements. Hence, single-sex is legal as long as school administrators abide by these regulations.

Therefore, under the newly revised Title IX, the very same federal law that prohibits sex discrimination in education, public schools are allowed to provide single-sex classes if they meet the criteria delineated in the above mentioned new regulations. The classes' objectives lie in the reformation of the teaching strategies so that educational reforms would be achieved. The single-sex classes must also be voluntary, and an equivalent coed opportunity must be provided for students in the same school. The law did not make single-sex education compulsory but it authorized schools to consider the options as long as options are the same between boys and girls.

III/ Single-sex education: The Dissentious Debate

1/ The Exponents' Standpoint

Some parents prefer enrolling their children in single-sex schools because of the distraction of the opposite sex. They reckon there would be neither pressure nor stress for girls to compete with boys in subjects like mathematics and science (generally referred to as male-dominated subjects). On the other hand, there would be no pressure for boys who can unreservedly attend, and be more motivated to attend, courses like music and poetry (commonly labeled as female-dominated subjects).

From another perspective, advocates of single-gender education maintain that better achievements and increase in graduation rates are contingent on the establishment of single-sex classes. Besides, disciplinary and behavioural issues are solved because there are learning and behavioural differences between boys and girls. Some argue that female brains develop differently, so they should be educated separately for better teaching and learning. They also make a sweeping assumption about the needs of each sex: While boys need space, girls are more inclined to engage in group discussion.

In his 2011 article, Study: Single-sex education may do more harm than good, Michael Alison Chandler (an education journalist at the Washington Post, also covering D.C. schools) denounces what a group of psychologists, child development specialists, and a neuroscientist specialized in gender claimed regarding single-sex education.

³ Retrieved April 2, 2008 from <http://www.singlesexschools.org/legal.html>

He condemns their assertions when they agree that "there is no empirical evidence that single-sex schools success stems from their single-sex organization."⁴ Actually, they rather contend that success is rather related to the preeminence of the learners, the curriculum, and the motivating teaching techniques and that sex separation reinforce sexism and gender stereotypes. They even vainly appealed to President Obama to revoke the 2006 regulations enacted on the 2002 No Child Left Behind Law which enabled the establishment of numerous single-sex classes in public schools. The writer firmly castigates their contentions which he deemed inconsistent with the prevailing educational desideratum.

In the 2012 article A right to choose single-sex public education, Kay Bailey Hutchison (a Republican, the senior senator from Texas) and Barbara Mikulski (a Democrat, the senior senator from Maryland) expressed their contempt for people who aimed at stamping out single-sex alternatives in public schools in Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Maine, and Florida. Their main goal was to make it legal for school districts to allow single-sex education in public schools. The writers have been working hard for this cause so they were shocked to see all their efforts stymied by detractors, namely the Civil Libertarians who claim that single-sex initiatives are discriminating and illegal programs that foster segregation and inequality within school vicinities.

Back in 2001, the writers along with senator Hilary Clinton and senator Susan Collins fought and struggled to authorize single-sex classes in public schools. They also introduced a provision in the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act which endorsed innovative single-sex classes in order to smoothen the progress of the development of single-sex education in public schools. "We know that single-sex schools and classes can help young people, boys and girls, improve their achievement."⁵

According to them, some studies have demonstrated that boys want to show off for girls and reading books isn't an emblem of manhood. On the other hand, girls are more inclined to study, learn and engage in pedantic exchange in classrooms without boys. The following study makes their claims more obvious:

Time	3 years study in the mid-2000s
Place	Florida's Stetson University
Test	Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test
Results	Boys: 37% from mixed schools compared to 86% in all-boys classes achieved proficiency Girls: 59% from mixed schools passed it while 75% in single-sex schools were proficient.

⁴ Chandler, Michael Alison. «Study: Single-sex education may do more harm than good.» The Washington Post (2011).

⁵ Sommers, Christina Hoff. «A Necessary Option.» nytimes (2011).

2/ The dissenters' Dispositions

In order to improve educational achievements, some schools resorted to the single-sex program. Notwithstanding, a recent study (in science journal) has indicated that there is no evidence that single-sex education improves academic results. On the contrary, kids are rather prone to gender stereotypes and to become sexist since boys and girls lack the appropriate opportunity to confabulate and study with the opposite sex.

Some psychologists claim that gender separation leads the pupils to deduce segregational differences with the opposite sex. For example, boys wonder whether they are as competitive as girls in some artistic and literary subjects. It also fosters the assumption that girls lack the characteristics of cooperative learning and cannot fit in a mixed learning environment even though neuroscientists have debunked the theory that boys' and girls' brains develop differently and respond differently to different teaching techniques.

Added to that, dissentients believe that segregation leads to prejudice, limits the students' social skills and ability to work and co-exist with the opposite sex (in the outside real world) and deteriorates the students' communicative savvy. Single-sex classes deprive students of any preparation for the real world where communication with the opposite sex contribute to the development of social skills. On the other hand, coeducational schools promote interaction with the opposite sex and eliminate sexism while it is alleged that single-sex education restricts oral communication skills and fosters discrimination.

a/ Case study: The Alabama and Idaho School Districts Case

In 2012, the ACLU (The American Civil Liberties Union) filed legal suits against Middleton Heights Elementary in Middleton, Idaho and Huffman Middle school in Birmingham, Alabama with the federal Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (OCR). These schools adopted illegitimate single-sex educational programmes because they did not clearly state that single-sex classes are optional and not compulsory while parents should be aware that they have the possibility to opt in or opt out.

In Idaho (Middleton's program), the program started in 2006 and boys and girls were separated and taught differently. On the one hand, boys were more encouraged to extend their personalities in exercises and movements. Competitive boys should not make eye contact and should be seated shoulder-to-shoulder. Boys were also supposed to identify with male teachers models. The stereotypical image conveyed through this procedure portrayed men as independent and active agents of society. On the other hand, girls were set in a quiet environment and disposed face-to-face. They were therefore defined as passive and dependent.

In Alabama Huffman Middle school, the programme was initiated in 2010. Boys and girls were separated for class activities, lunch breaks and any other supposed conjoined activity. While school curriculum for boys' classes laid emphasis on manly behaviour since as reported by the Gurian Institute's founder, Michael Gurian: " boys are better than girls in math

because their bodies receive daily surges of testosterone, while girls have similar skills only "a few days per month" when they experience "increased estrogen during the menstrual cycle"⁶. Students who wanted coeducation had to be reassigned to another school.

Conversely, according to Olivia Turner, executive director of the ACLU of Alabama: "Every individual child learns differently, and no child should be forced to conform to one theory of how he or she should learn...Assuming that boys and girls learn according to their hormones is just an old-fashioned stereotype."⁷

The first objection of the ACLU revolved around the fact that the law requires the programme designers to inform parents that the programme is voluntary and not compulsory. Actually, to comply with Title IX, parents should consent to the enrolling of their kids by signing a mandatory written document.

In Middleton schools, parents were not aware that they could have the choice. A conducted survey in 2012 revealed that 48.6% of parents assumed that they could not commit themselves and choose the suitable classroom type for their children.⁸ In Huffman middle school, there was no coeducational alternative; students were compelled to take separate classes, a venture that transgressed Title IX's regulations on single-sex education.

The ACLU also denounced the unavailing efforts for an academic agenda that brought about no actual improvement. In fact, the ACLU members rejected the assumption that kids learn better separately. "no evidence exists showing that single-sex education is 'better' than coeducation for students."⁹

On these accounts, The ACLU required the OCR (Office for Civil Rights) to make these schools comply with Title IX Regulations which, among other things, state that single-sex programs are allowed only on the premises of academic achievements and that the law doesn't allow sex stereotypes as those applied in those schools.

b/ Case study: The Breckinridge Ruling

In 2008, the ACLU filed a suit stating that Breckinridge County Middle School's (Kentucky) initiative to offer single-sex classes was illegal and discriminatory. It argued that (even though the school did not compel any student to attend single-sex classes) it

⁶ Funcheon, Deirdra. «Broward Schools Teach Boys and Girls Separately Because of "Testosterone" and "the Menstrual Cycle," ACLU Complaint Says.» Broad Palm Beach, NY Times (2014).

⁷ Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/news/aclu-asks-dept-education-investigate-single-sex-programs-rooted-stereotypes>

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Susan Morse, American Association of University Women. Educational Foundation. Separated by sex: a critical look at single-sex education for girls. The Foundation, 1998.

transgressed numerous state and federal laws which comprised Title IX and the equal Educational Opportunities Act.

In its arguments, the ACLU equated racial segregation with gender segregation and denounced the harmful ramifications of exposing students to single-sex classrooms environment even though those very same students were attending coed classrooms.

The United States District Court for the Western District of Kentucky ruled in favor of the Breckinridge County Middle School and Judge Charles Simpson concluded that the ACLU's contention ". . . finds no support either in law or in the record of this case. No legal authority supports the conclusion that optional single-sex programs in public schools are ipso facto injurious to the schools' students. Unlike the separation of public students by race, the separation of students by sex does not give rise to a finding of constitutional injury as a matter of law... The Supreme Court has never held that separating students by sex in a public school - unlike separating students by race - or offering a single-sex public institution is per se unconstitutional. [Judge Simpson then cites three Supreme Court decisions: *US v. Virginia*; *Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan*; and *Vorchheimer v. School District of Philadelphia* , in support of this point.] (p. 6-7)¹⁰

As a result, the Breckinridge ruling released eventually in June 2011 ratified the lawfulness of the Title IX 2006 regulations.

c/ Case Study: The Wood County Ruling

In consideration of some detractors' claims that very few teachers are trained to apply gender-specific didactic procedures and instructive methodologies, Leonard Sax, founder of the National Association for Single-Sex Public Education (NASSPE 2002) conducted in 2010 a two-days training workshops to train teachers and develop their teaching methods into motivational strategies to implement single-sex classes. He believed that academic attainment can be boosted if educators apply some educational strategies and techniques adapted to the specific development of their students (boys or girls) in order to expand educational perspectives.

According to Leonard Sax, girls turn into high achievers when they are set in a quiet classroom and are called by their first names, and boys excel when they are challenged with rapid-fire questions and are called by their last names. Leonard Sax also presumed that there are psychological differences between boys and girls because when consorted together, boys tend to be aggressive and violent while when girls team up they rather accept gender stereotypes.

Hence, Mackenzie Lackey, a 6th grade teacher at Van Devender, in Parkesburg, West Virginia, observed that it was frequent among her male students to disregard reading books because they would consider that emasculating. Her innovative gender-specific strategy consisted in separating boys from girls and then dividing all-boys groups into teams to foster competition. Unlike girls who do not appreciate competition and challenges with their friends

¹⁰ United States District Court, W.D. Kentucky, at Louisville. CIVIL ACTION NO. 3:08-CV-4-S. (W.D. Ky. Jun 14, 2011)

(in the opposing team), boys are mostly known for their natural urge for competition that inherently triggers aspiration and motivation. Boys participated in a reading incentive program called 'Battle of the Books' and as a result, Lackey's 6th grade all-boys groups defeated all the other groups of the school (inclusive of the 7th and 8th graders).

Howbeit, a federal judge ruled that single-sex classes in Van Devender Middle School should be reconstructed into a coeducational pattern. In fact, a mother and her daughters, supported by the ACLU, filed a complaint against the school on the presumption that the educational methods used to teach boys and girls in the single-sex classes were based on pseudoscience and forging gender stereotypes. They also claimed that the supposedly innovative teaching techniques negatively affected their academic attainment and infringed their civil rights.

One of the complaining mother's daughters who were diagnosed with attention-deficit disorder was always scolded for being agitated while boys, on the other hand, were incited to be active and openly move around the classrooms. Her other daughter who was legally blind, asservated that the classrooms were not adequately luminous since the teachers assumed that girls' responsiveness depended on the different types of light.

On account of this, the Wood County school districts rebuffed those overments and insisted they were acting in a bona fide way. "Wood County district officials deny the allegations, and one single-sex education expert who testified on behalf of the school agrees, saying she thought the approaches in the classroom were thoughtful, rather than based on stereotypes."¹¹

Uteriorly, Chief Judge Joseph Goodwin of the US District Court for the Southern District of West Virginia agreed with the complainants and acknowledged that the program was not unequivocally independent and even claimed that Sax's approach rested on pseudoscience and stereotypes.

The Wood County ruling released in august 2012 confirmed the authority of the Title IX 2006 regulations but also insisted on the voluntary characteristics of the programme. Parents or guardians should sign a written consent form without which their children cannot be admitted to single-sex classrooms in coeducational public schools. The ruling is legally prescribed in the West Virginia circuit only. Hence, despite the fact that the ruling is binding only in the state of West Virginia, it could incite various school districts all over the country to endorse an opt-in policy for single-sex classes.

¹¹ Khadaroo, Stacy Teicher. «Judge Stops W. Va. Single-Sex Classes: Were They a Success or Psuedoscience? .» [abcnews](#) (2012).

IV/ Concluding Thoughts

Both federal court rulings, the Breckinridge ruling and the Wood County ruling upheld the constitutionality of the 2006 Title IX regulations but also aimed at clearing up the vagueness that revolved around the 2006 regulations and the implementation of 34 CFR 106.34 (Implementing Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972) which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in all education programs or activities that receive federal financial assistance and which applies only to coeducational schools, not to single-sex schools.

One ironical and plausibly inadvertent outcome of these rulings lies in the fact that American single-sex public schools currently enjoy a more straightforward legal and official status, and are much less susceptible to be exposed to lawful challenges than single-sex classrooms in coeducational schools.

To conclude, single-sex education is not definitely best-for-all but it is preferable for some, and it is the parents' right to opt for what is best for a child in order to determine childhood development and educational attainment.

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Evaluation of organizational performance (case study of Bahonar University of Kerman)

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Abstract

As long as universities struggle to survive and want to participate in national and international arena, they must consider the principle of improvement as priority of their activities. This principle is not achieved unless the conditions to achieve it are provided by improving the management performance. This study investigates the performance of Bahonar University of Kerman through fuzzy logic. One hundred and eighty people were selected as sample of this study. Questionnaire was used to examine the performance of university. After that reliability and validity of the questionnaire were determined and confirmed; the obtained figures were analyzed using fuzzy logic. The results showed that the hypothesis with degree of 0.2 agreed with high performance. In addition, degrees of satisfaction of students, staff, and university effectiveness are agreed.

Keywords: organization performance, fuzzy logic.

Introduction

Nowadays, globalization and sustainability in the competitive world of business, have encountered organizations with essential problems and challenges. In a dynamic environment, managers of organizations have to use a comprehensive and integrated model that involves all key aspects of an effective organization to measure the performance of their organizations. As a result, all major activities, processes, or current activities in organizations are part of a performance measurement system (Chisa et al., 2008). In recent years, to evaluate the performance accurately, as an important area of development, many methods have been considered for organizations and scientific centers. Performance measurement has been focused by many university ideas from different scientific fields over the past 15 years, so that the second half of the 1990s has been mentioned as climax of these activities. Estimates show that 3615 papers have been published on measuring the performance between years of 1994 and 1996. In addition, statistics show that one book every two weeks has been published only in the United States in 1996. A wide field of information and different models of performance measurement have been p and Brown, 2005). The establishment of an efficient system of performance measurement has been regarded as a central tool for converting bureaucratic structure of organizations to an effective organization, so that these systems are considered as products or services to resolve the problems of organization and “optimization of solution” (Brown, Svenson, 1998). Each organization has an urgent need to evaluation system to be aware of the suitability and quality of their activities, especially in complex and dynamic environment. On the other hand, lack of an evaluation and control system in any organization means lack of communication with the internal and external environment leading to aging and death of organization. It is possible that occurrence of organizational death phenomenon cannot be felt by senior managers of organizations. Additionally, studies show that lack of feedback obtaining system makes the revisions required for growth, development and improvement of the organization's activities impossible, leading to organizational death phenomena (Adeli, 2005). Continuous improvement of organizational performance creates synergy immense force that can support the growth and development plan and create excellent organizational opportunities. Governments, organizations, and institutions spend great efforts in this regard. Without examination and getting knowledge of vale of development or progress and achieving to goals and without identifying the challenges faced by organization and getting feedback, and identifying the cases requiring serious improvement, continuous improvement and performance will not be possible. All of mentioned cases will be impossible without measuring and evaluating. Considering the importance of measuring, English physicist, Lord Kelvin says that when we could measure what we spoke and state in the form of figures, we can claim that we know something about the subject. Otherwise, our knowledge was incomplete and it will not reach to stage of maturity "(Rahimi, 2006).

Since organization, as a system, has a set on interrelated components that acts to achieve organizational goals, in the evaluation of organizational performance, in fact, the performance of the entire organization is evaluated in all aspects and dimensions. Non-Industrial Research Center that is active in the area of social, cultural, medical, military, science, engineering, and management activities and can play an important role in the development of related science,

requires the use of organizational performance evaluation systems. As a result, this will help significantly to understand the research position of the organization, to identify strengths and weaknesses, and achieving objectives and expected results. In this study, the organizational performance (Case Study Bahonar University of Kerman) is evaluated using fuzzy logic and needed strategies for university administrators to move towards high performance are presented.

Review of literature

Performance is defined in several ways and each of the experts and scholars has referred to certain aspects of it. Armstrong (1994) defined it as "to achieve the objectives that their quality and quantity have been determined". Oxford English Dictionary defined it as "implementing, applying, doing everything ordered or committed" (Armstrong, 1994). This definition not only is related to outputs and outcomes, but also it shows that performance is related to doing a task and its results. Therefore, performance can be considered as behavior. Another expert has defined it as joint function of effort, ability, and understanding of the role (Terence, 1998). Kenny (1996) argues that it is a process that person pays no attention to it. In fact, it is apart from the goal. Bernadin (1995) believes that performance should be defined as operating results, because these results established the strongest relationship with the organization's strategic objectives, customer satisfaction and economic partnerships. Bramach (1988) presented a more comprehensive view of performance, which includes behavior and results. He suggests that performance means behaviors and results and behaviors are arising from agent and converts the performance from thought into action. Behaviors are not means to achieve results, but they are outcomes arising from mental and physical activities, so they can be considered as separate from the results (Armstrong, 2007). There are many definitions of performance. Bramach (1988) claims that performance includes behavior and results. Robbins (1989) states that it is the efficiency and effectiveness in performing the specified duties. Campbell (1990) thinks that it is a process that that is separate from behavior and results. Armstrong (1994) considers performance as achieve to goals that their quality and quantity have been specified. Bernadin (1995) claims that performance is result of working results. Kenny (1996) believes that it is a process that a person does not pay attention to it and, in fact, apart from the goal. Results of study conducted by Abdul Ghafour et al (2011) indicated that training and development have identified and positive impact on total organizational performance, increasing the overall performance of the organization. German et al (2008) studied the impact of structure on performance. Considering the role of the supply chain, they found that formal structures in environments with small changes have positive impact on financial performance, while they have negative impact on performance in dynamic environments. Chen and Huang (2007) found that as it is more decentralized and informal, it would have a desirable impact on performance. In his research, Menu (2004) also suggests that training and development of staff are very important in performance measurement. In his master's thesis entitled "Study of correlation between organizational commitment and performance of staff in the Ministry of Interior", Amini (2004) investigated the status of the human resources in the public sector and the relationship between performance and organizational commitment as well as factors affecting it. Results showed that there was relationship between commitment and performance, and there was significant relationship between normative and emotional

commitment and performance, while there was no significant correlation between continuous commitment and performance.

Methodology

This study is applied considering its goal, and it is survey research in terms of methodology. In this study, performance consists of components, including student satisfaction, staff satisfaction, organizational effectiveness, and financial outcome. The researchers used various tools to collect data. In this study, considering the purpose and the questions raised, the library and field research methods were used. Population of study consisted of all staff and students. In this study, random sampling was used and the sample size of study was determined as 180 subjects.

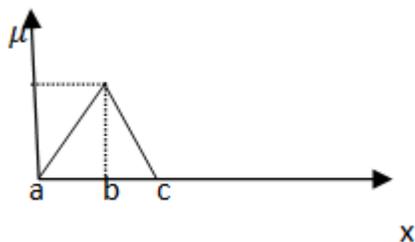
Analysis method

Being fuzzy means the multi-value, while binary logic is value in which there is only two possible answer (true or false, black or white) for each question. In fact, Aristotelian logic can be considered a special case of fuzzy thinking (Baroogh et al., 1992). Fuzzy logic is generalized from of multi-valued logic emerged in the field of symbolic logic at the beginning of the last century. In general, fuzzy logic is applied and practical range of theory of fuzzy sets. Using concepts, principles, and methods applied in fuzzy sets, this logic is used to formulate various forms of understandable approximate reasoning (Claro et al., 2002). In fuzzy logic, linguistic variables are used. Variables whose values are words or phrases of natural or artificial language are known as linguistic variables. For example, age is linguistic variable that its values are words such as very young, young, middle-aged, old and very old. They are known as signs or terms of linguistic variable of age, that can be measured in terms of year (Bojardief, 2002).

Quite disagree	(1,2,1)
Disagree	(1,2,3)
Agree	(2,3,4)
Quite agree	(3,4,5)

A linguistic variable is defined by $(M, G, U, X) T_x$, where X is the name of the linguistic variable, T_x is set of linguistic values that X chooses, U is the the actual physical range where linguistic variable of X chooses its quantitative values (reference set). In addition, G is grammar that based on it, various linguistic values are produced that each linguistic value in T is related to a fuzzy set in U (the membership function) (Claire, 2003).

Triangular fuzzy number, with membership function $\mu_A(x)$ on R, is defined as Equation 1 shown in Figure 1:



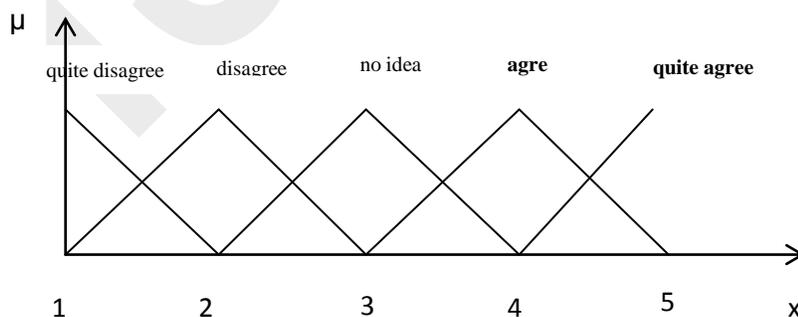
$$\mu_A(x) = \begin{cases} \frac{x-a}{b-a} & a < x < b \\ 1 & x = b \\ \frac{c-x}{c-b} & b < x < c \end{cases}$$

Equation 1

Data analysis was conducted in four stages. First, organizational performance variables were determined and fuzzification was carried out. In the second stage, values of variables identified were calculated. In the third stage, defuzzification of variables was carried. In the fourth stage, fuzzy hypothesis test was used to generalize the findings from the sample to population of study. Fuzzy hypothesis test is generalized classical statistical hypothesis test, which has a certain value of {1, 0}. Fuzzy hypothesis test is used to determine the degree of accuracy of a hypothesis. The possible hypothesis includes certain or fuzzy data. A fuzzy hypothesis test creates a value in the interval of [0, 1] that represents the accuracy of hypothesis (Azar and Fraji, 2007).

The first stage: to identify the variables of performance and fuzzification

The basic variables are the same basic principles of organizations. These variables (quite agree, agree, no idea, disagree, quite disagree) are determined using the triangular numbers and their range is shown by triangular mean method. According to this figure, range of each of the linguistic variables is as follows:



Second stage: calculating and identifying each variable

In this stage, triangular fuzzy mean of each dimension of performance is calculated and according to fuzzy mean of four principles, the performance of organization is achieved in the form of fuzzy. Formula (2) is triangular fuzzy mean formula (Bujadzif, 2002).

$$A_{ave} = (m_1, m_M, m_2) = \left(\frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n a_1^{(i)}, \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n a_m^{(i)}, \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n a_2^{(i)} \right) \quad (2)$$

Where triangular fuzzy mean of performance dimensions was calculated using this formula and the results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1- Fuzzy mean of each dimension of organizational performance

Fuzzy mean first dimension: students satisfaction	Fuzzy mean second dimension: staff satisfaction	Fuzzy mean Third dimension: organization effectiveness	Fuzzy mean fourth dimension: financial results	Fuzzy mean of organizational performance
(2.3,3.4,4.2)	(1.2,6.3,3.7)	(2.3,8.4,7.5)	(2.3,1.4,2.1)	(2.3,1.4,7.2)

After obtaining fuzzy mean of each principle, total fuzzy mean of university was calculated shown in Table 2.

Table 2- fuzzy mean of each of the organizational performance dimensions in whole of university

fuzzy mean of organization	Fuzzy mean first dimension: students satisfaction	Fuzzy mean second dimension: staff satisfaction	Fuzzy mean Third dimension: organization effectiveness	Fuzzy mean fourth dimension: financial results	Fuzzy mean of organizational performance
Who of university	(2.3,3.4,2.6)	(2.3,7.4,7.4)	(1.2,8.3,3.5)	(2.3,5.4,2.1)	(2.3,6.4,4.1)

Third stage: defuzzification of variables

Defuzzification is an important stage in fuzzy systems. In fuzzy systems, the results of an approximate reasoning are usually obtained as one or more fuzzy sets. In such cases, it is necessary that output of fuzzy system to be changed to a ordinary number (non-fuzzy). There are

various ways to do this, including the center of gravity method, the center of the surface method, maximum center method, sum center, and weight mean of centers method. In this study, the maximum defuzzification method was used. In this method, three options were introduced for defuzzification. These are essentially the relationship of statistical means.

$$X_{\max}^{(1)} = \frac{m_1 + m_M + m_2}{3}$$

$$X_{\max}^{(2)} = \frac{m_1 + 2m_M + m_2}{4}$$

$$X_{\max}^{(3)} = \frac{m_1 + 4m_M + m_2}{6}$$

$$A_{\text{ave}} = (m_1, m_M, m_2)$$

Maximum value of $X_{\max}^{(1)}$, $X_{\max}^{(2)}$, $X_{\max}^{(3)}$ is selected as number of defuzzification.

Table 3- results of defuzzification of each dimension of performance

Students satisfaction	Staff satisfaction	Organization effectiveness	Financ ial results	Organizational performance
3.3	2.5	3.6	3.1	3.5

Defuzzification for whole university is 4.8. After calculating defuzzification, it is required their membership degree to be determined. Based on calculated numbers in table above for each principle, these numbers can be included in Equation 1 and the membership degree of each of the linguistic variables to be determined.

Table 4:membership degree of organization performance

membership degree of university performance	Organization
Whole university	$\mu(P_5 \text{ no idea}) = 0.2$ $\mu(P_5 \text{ I agree}) = 0.7$
University performance at four levels	$\mu(P_5 \text{ no idea}) = 0.3$ $\mu(P_5 \text{ I disagree}) = 0.6$

Based on the membership degree obtained in the table (4), it can be concluded that performance of university is with degree of membership of 0.3 of no idea (moderate degree) and with membership degree of 0.6 agree (largely). In general, the membership degree of relatively high is greater than no idea, it can be concluded that the performance of the university was relatively high.

Table 5- membership degree of whole university

Students satisfaction	Staff satisfaction	Organization effectiveness	Financial results
$\mu(P_1 \text{ no idea}) = 0.7$ $\mu(P_1 \text{ I agree}) = 0.3$	$\mu(P_2 \text{ no idea}) = 0.5$ $\mu(P_2 \text{ I agree}) = 0.2$	$\mu(P_3 \text{ no idea}) = 0.3$ $\mu(P_3 \text{ I agree}) = 0.6$	$\mu(P_4 \text{ no idea}) = 0.2$ $\mu(P_4 \text{ I agree}) = 0.4$

Membership degree of student satisfaction "no idea" 0.7 and "agree" is 0.3 that it has been calculated for other components shown in Table 5. After defuzzification, each of the dimensions was analyzed based on the value of numbers.

The fourth stage: hypothetical fuzzy test

At this stage, based on fuzzy sets that have been obtained for the university performance, it was hypothesized. Finally, each of the hypotheses was tested and based on fuzzy hypothesis test, their accuracy degree were ranked.

In the first step, the fuzzy partitions of studied variables in the considered university were determined. In the partition related to value of numbers (0.2,0.4,0.7) on the lower and upper limits, total performance university was obtained. Partition related to comments is based on membership degree of the university performance.

In this university, the degree of membership of University performance belong to linguistic variables (agree and no idea). University performance partition was also considered based on fuzzy sets (2/1, 3/7, 4/2) obtained already. The range of university performance was classified into three levels: low, medium and high. Based on what was explained, it can be stated that number of hypotheses is 18 and Table 6 shows the linguistic variables information of degree, comments, and by the number of hypotheses is equal to eighteen assumptions and Table 6 linguistic variables, the information, comments and performance of university.

	Linguistic variable of degree			Linguistic variable of comments			Linguistic variable of performance of university				
		0.2	0.4	0.7	comen ts	No idea		performanc e	low	moderat e	high
Organizati on		0.2	0.4	0.7							
Whole university	0.7	0.8	0.2	--	agree	----	3.5	0.1	0.7	0.8	

According to the linguistic variables partitions, linguistic variables of degree, comments and university performance, number of hypotheses is 18. According to the Table (6), Table (7) was obtained.

Table 7- Hypotheses and their confirmation degree

Number of hypothesis	Hypothesis	Whole university	Confirmation degree of hypothesis
1	With degree of 0.2, they have no idea with high performance		0
2	With degree of 0.2, they have no idea with moderate performance		0
3	With degree of 0.2, they have no idea with low performance		0
4	With degree of 0.2, they are agree with high performance	0.6	0.24
5	With degree of 0.2, they are agree with moderate performance	0.5	0.11
6	With degree of 0.2, they are agree with low performance	0.8	0.20
7	With degree of 0.4, they have no idea with high performance		0
8	With degree of 0.4, they have no idea with high performance		0
9	With degree of 0.4, they have no idea with high performance		0
10	With degree of 0.4, they are agree with high performance	0.1	0.031
11	With degree of 0.4, they are agree with moderate performance	0.1	0.037
12	With degree of 0.4, they are agree with low performance	0.2	0.069
13	With degree of 0.7, they have no idea with low performance		0
14	With degree of 0.7, they have no idea with moderate performance		0
15	With degree of 0.7, they have no idea with low performance		0
16	With degree of 0.7, they are agree with high performance		0
17	With degree of 0.7, they are agree with moderate performance		0
18	With degree of 0.7, they are agree with low performance		0

Conclusion and recommendations

By collecting information and carrying out the analyses, we can say that

1. Degree of first dimension of students' satisfaction in Kerman Bahonar University is with membership degree of 0.7 no idea, and 0.3 agrees.

2. Degree of second dimension of staff satisfaction in Kerman Bahonar University is with membership degree of 0.5 no idea, and 0.2 agrees.

3. Degree of third dimension of effectiveness in Kerman Bahonar University is with membership degree of 0.3 no idea and 0.6 agrees is relatively high.

4. Degree of fourth dimension of financial results in Kerman Bahonar University is with membership degree of 0.72 no idea, and 0.4 disagrees.

Additionally, based on results of fuzzy hypothesis test, it can be said that hypothesis with 0.2 degree is agree with high performance. It is the dominant hypothesis in this university in terms of accuracy.

According to these results, it can be said that the third dimension of effectiveness in the university had the highest score and the dimension of financial results had the lowest score.

Therefore, as long as universities struggle to survive and want to be active in national and international arena, they must consider the principle of improvement as priority of their activities. This principle cannot be achieved unless the conditions to achieve it to be possible by improved performance management. This improvement will be created by getting necessary feedback internal and external environment, analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the organization, responsibility and customer satisfaction by creating and implementing appropriate performance appraisal system model.

Based on these results, some recommendations are presented for improving the performance of Kerman Bahonar University:

- To promote knowledge and skills of staff, it is proposed that general and specialized trainings to be pursued seriously.

-It is recommended that evaluation of the performance of staff in the organization to be strengthened and staff are informed of their performance on a regular basis so that they can identify their strengths and weaknesses to be better staff for organization by more and more of talents and eliminating the weaknesses.

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Explaining the relationship between the accountability, decentralized decision-making and exchange leadership (Case Study of the Social Security Organization)

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the relationship between the accountability, decentralized decision-making and the exchange leadership in the organization. The statistical populations in this research are 230 individuals of the employees of the Social Security Organization. The sampling method of present research is the simple random method and the Cochran formula by using the sample size is equal to 144 individuals. The data required for present research was collected by using a questionnaire that its validity was tested. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire, we used the content validity and the Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The reliability coefficient was calculated of the questionnaire accountability that is equal to 0.89 and for the questionnaire of the decentralized decision-making, it is equal to 0.81. For the exchange leadership questionnaire of the organization, it is equal to 0.87. In this research, structural relations model was used to analyze the data. For data analysis and the hypothesis testing, we used the statistical software Lisrel. The results showed that there is a significant relationship between the accountability and the decentralized decision-making and exchange leadership.

Keywords: Accountability, Decentralized decision-making and the exchange leadership.

Introduction

The complexity of today's business environment has forced the organizations to increase their capabilities to respond to the environmental changes. On the other hand social changes, fast and challenging technologies and development of new mission the organization, made the need for flexibility and readiness to cope with the new situation inevitable. So in modern ages in order to survive and thrive or even maintain the status quo, there should a continued innovation in organizations to prevent the stagnation and ruin. Reaching this important target requires good leadership style, increase the accountability and decentralization of decision-making of staff (Dong, Zhongfeng and Dongtao, 2011). The organizational leadership is a very important and complex issue. Researchers and scientists in many countries developed efforts to understand and improve those managerial concepts. According to the researchers, the manner in which the leader or manager influences was his staff to obtain the purposes of the organization is called leadership style. Every social organization designs to achieve the objectives and with respect to its structure needs a kind leader.

In recent years, considerable research has been done about the leadership behavior. A leader needs to use local actors to perform the necessary tasks of organization to achieve its objectives. According to the researchers, productivity in organizations increases only with respect to the use of the maximum capabilities of staff by encouraging their creativity, enhancing motivation and use of the correct leadership styles. So workers' satisfaction becomes possible. On the other hand making decision is one of the key processes of the organization and it is considered as the main task of managers at all levels (Loizos, 1996). Some experts believe that all management is a matter of making decisions. In recent years, several studies have been conducted in various areas about making decision as their focus. So multiple categories, in terms of style and models of decision-making, have been proposed by experts (Oliveira, 2007). Each of these categories involved different individual and organizational and environmental factors on the way of reaction and behavior of individuals when faced with situation of the decision making (Pamela, 1996). The introduced modifications aim to increase the efficiency and effectiveness the organization. Often, through making changes, increased responsibility of accountability and decision-making structures and leadership styles are possible. This is because the most important feature of decentralization is the participation of individuals and groups at various levels and stages. So today, participation in decision making in various areas of the organization is a key concept for motivation, commitment and evolution. Therefore, organizations should seek to create the perfect contexts for the implementation of optimization of the system of decentralization in decision-making of the administrative structure (roadster, 1998). The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between accountability, decision making of decentralized and transactional leadership.

Accountability:

Accountability is one of the necessary keys of the public management in the current and democratic governance. Those who hold the power are accountable to the citizens. Accountability is a key element of the state management and the image of justice, equality,

trust and fairness. Accountability can be used to improve the conditions and effectiveness of state management (Bouenez, 2005).

- Accountability is commitment against those who have been transferred responsibility (plyometric, 1988)

- Accountability is the basis of legitimacy for decisions taken by the general Assembly; the decision will be legitimate when the rational reasons for its being can be provided at a certain point (Jensen, 2000).

- Anyone who in the name of a person or group acts. You should also report to the same person or group or to kindly be responsible for them (Hughes, 2009).

- Accountability is the driving force that pushes the key players to render good performance and reliability of its responsibility (Paul, 1999).

- Accountability means that the individual blame or praise is due to taking a decision or an action (Hughes, 2009).

- Accountability: the obligation of a person to respond relating to the done activities, the responsibilities that have been entrusted to him.

-Accountability recognizes the rights of the public to understand what actions should be done.

Express the concept of accountability:

Accountability is a complex and multifaceted term (Megan, 2000). In all the available literature on the subject of accountability, we cannot find a definition or common vision of accountability (Ertl et al., 2001). In fact, the concept of accountability has been converted from one meaning and became a synonym of many political demands (Bavns, 2007). So to reach a common understanding of this concept is hard. Several experts attempted to select and provide a comprehensive view.

Explaining the objectives of accountability:

1. Accountability as an instrument of the power control: Most governments are living in the conditions accountable of the growing demands of the citizens, organizations, stakeholder groups, social movements, press and media. Today the accountability forms the regulatory aspects in all political systems and has central role. Politicians have demanded that the executive branch of the unlimited government threatens of power misuse. So in all systems, processes and mechanisms to supervision over the executive branch of government power are predicted.

2. Accountability as ensuring the proper use of public resources:

The most important aspect of the accountability is that people ensure that agents use optimally public resources and do not deviate from laws and values of public service. Therefore, people elected representatives in the legislature on their behalf on to use national resources but under their supervision.

3. Accountability as tool for improving government services: Monitors on the power ensure the proper use of public resources and with accountability such use will be done in the

best possible ways. Accountability is an instrument of progress and continuous improvement of public services. This aspect of accountability is seen as a kind of learning process (Aucoin, 2000).

A variety of accountability in the public sector:

Accountability is divided into political, legal, organizational and professional types. Figure 1 shows the four species of the accountability. In this figure, accountability of two dimensions of source monitoring (internal and external) and the degree of independence (low and high) are shown (Romzek, 2000). Organizational accountability is called internal controls in organization. In this kind, accountability is based on the basis of superior and inferior. Managers on the performance of employees, who often have little authority, have monitor. Direct supervision and periodic monitoring on the functions are the clear instances of organizational accountability.

Resource Monitor

Internal Degree of independence	external	low
	high	low
	organizational	Legal
	professional	Political

The codification of the rules, organizational regulations and other regulatory mechanisms that limit the authority of employees are among these types of accountability. Legal accountability involves external monitoring of performance. Its aims are to match the performance with legal requirements and the basic rules. The legal accountability is based on the relationship between the principal and agent. The question is whether the lawyer has provided original expectations. In this accountability the legislation controls, financial audits and program and inspections will be carried out to address the complaints of employment. Two other species of the accountability are professionalism and political accountability. The first has the internal aspect and the latter has the external aspect. The difference between the professional and political accountability can be found in the source of performance standard. In other words we have to see the standard performance as the basis for judging accountability. The judge's one's personal employee will determine the professional accountability and the resource of the standard performance. However, in the political accountability the source is others and not oneself. In the professional accountability systems are independent from individuals for decisions making. Their professional performance is judged. The political accountability is the owners monitoring of organizations on the performance of managers (Campman, 1993). In each of the four types of accountability the values and the particularly behavioral expectations are emphasized. Table 1 the accountability in terms of emphasis values and behavioral expectations are shown:

Table 1: systems of accountability in terms of values and expectations behavioral (Romzek, 2000)

Kind of accountability	Individual expectations	Emphasizing values
Organizational	Obey the organizational rules	Efficiency and productivity
Legal	Compliance rules outside the organization	Law enforcement
professional	Respect for the judgment and expertise individuals	Specialized knowledge
Political	Accountability to the owners of the organization (Peoples , assembly)	Accountability

Decentralized the make decision:

Mac Kami stated that "Reaching a decision is a form of management Pillar and the other features of the related management process are intertwined and are vertical to the decisions" (Afjeji, 1994). Simon's thinks that the decision is synonymous with the handle (Behrangi, 1992) Barnard wrote that the decision is in the process of necessary adaptation in the organization and physical, biological, social and personal factors needs in order to provide a special elected blend. Thus decisions influence the all management process. They involve not only decision but also is affected all the way organizations" work. The decision is a kind of reaction that the individual shows against a problem (Hosseini, 2001). Status or a process during which a particular mode of operation is to resolve the issue or special problem is selection. In the system analyzing of the decision-making, the following steps are yielded:

1. Identify the nature of the problem.
2. Determine possible solutions.
3. Analyze each solution and compare them with the each other.
4. Select the solution of existing alternative.
5. Implementation or application of the selected solution.
6. Determine the effectiveness of efficiency.

In principle a problem arises when the status quo is different with the desired or anticipated status. Factors such as understanding the goals, plans, acceptable performance standards, and personal values in the areas of intellectual and individual past experiences can identify the problem. Decisions can be made the. Decisions scheduled are the routine work that could be the form of the targets, standards, policies, procedures, methods and rules (written or oral regulations) announced by the organization.

The role of participation in decision-making:

In order to participate in a management system members of the organization have influential decisions taking. Commission meeting, the council, group discussions collect

opinions and suggestions that refer to the general thoughts and beliefs including mechanisms and measures. (Alvani, 2014).

Many behavioral scientists believe that the organization will be more valuable if more democracy is established and less emphasis is laid on hierarchy with its reliance on formal power and authority.

Democracy is inevitable in the organization and traditional concepts such as the model bureaucracy are not suitable for modern organizations. As a result of wide study that the "Likert" and his research team have done, four management styles has been detected in terms of the employee participation in decision-making system (Bliss, 2013). In the one system, the manager takes all decisions and the basic decision is to protect and serve the interests of decision-makers, but in the four systems that the Likert calls participatory management system, each member of the organization is active and constructively involved in the decision-making related to their work.

In the system, the manager trusts his staff in all matters and has full confidence in his employees. The employee suggests ideas which contribute constructively to the organization. A manager based on employee participation in the group is effective in sharing the activities. He is the manager that succeeds in creating a team work and make decision making a shared task (Hakimi Poor, 2010). Now, it can be concluded that the decision in the management system should be made based on the collective wisdom and plural democracy, not individual democracy.

Transactional leadership:

In the management literature, different styles of leadership are recognized and defined. The significant point in the review of these styles is that there is no ideal or prescribed a certain style for all organizations. Selecting a leadership style in an organization depends on the organizational maturity and the nature of the business of the organization. Leadership and management in the workplace are affected through a variety of mechanisms, the shape behavior and perceptions of employers. Leadership of the organization, planning, and organization control are considered an important and necessary task of the manager and have a key role in the management of the organization. It is important that the administrators consider the organizational leaders (Robbins, 2011). So to remain successful, the organization, the existence of the leadership is essential; even the best employees need to know how to achieve organizational goals (Cho & Tseng, 2009). Leadership style is a set of attitudes, traits and skills of managers that are based on four factors of the system values, trust in employees, interests' leadership and sense of security. In general the leadership style determines the atmosphere, culture and strategies governing the organization (Rowold, 2009). According to Bass & Avolio (2000), the leadership style is divided into three sections: transformational, exchangeable and non-interference. According to Burns (1978), the transactional leadership is based on exchange between leader and follower so that individual interests of both are provided and met. (Shoghi, A Shoghi B, 2012).

James MacGregor (1978) was the first to use the transactional leadership and transformational terms. These terms were used to speed in the areas of organizational management (Dulewicz & Higgs, 2005). The problem in applying the transactional leadership style is the process of exchange between leader and follower. They are proportional to the benefits from the mutual exchange which can have influence on each other. In other words, the leaders do what their followers want and expect obey their demands. In this exchange both sides are totally interdependent and help each other until fulfilling the demands of each other. According to Bronze (1978), the transactional leadership is a leadership based on the exchange between leader and follower to satisfy individual desires of both parties (Shoghi, A Shoghi B, 2012). Burns (1978), thinks that about the transactional leadership are states that occur when a person enters the exchange process with the others. This exchange can be economic, political and even psychological. These leaders are aware of the overall goal of the organization and its relationship with individual goals of its followers (Humphreys, 2003). The theoretical basics of leadership styles are derived from the Vroom's expectancy theory (1964), the theory of path - goal (Havs, 1971; Havs and Mitchell, 1974) equity theory (Adams, 1963; Homanz, 1958) and the theory of reinforcement (Luthans Kirytenr, 1985; Scott and Podsakoff, 1982). And somewhat are similar to the theory leaders' desire to maximize outcomes (Pierce et al., 2003).

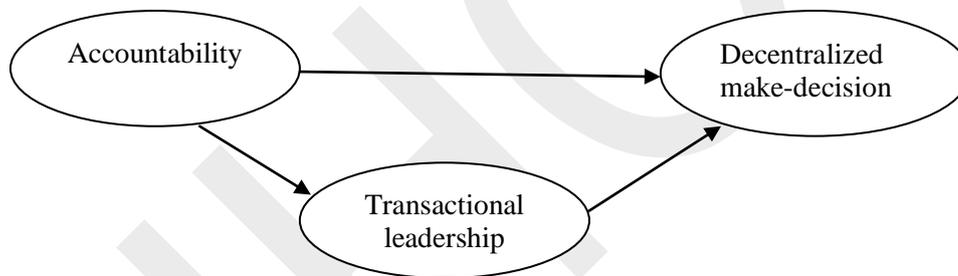


Figure 1. Conceptual Model

The research hypotheses:

1. There is a significant relationship between accountability and transactional leadership.
2. There is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision making.
3. There is a significant relationship between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making.
4. There is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision-making through transactional leadership.

Research method:

The data required for present research was collected by using a questionnaire that its validity was tested. To collect data, the researcher used the questionnaire that consists of 32 questions that are all questions for five-item Likert spectrum. This data is analyzed by LISREL

software. The statistical population in this research is 230 individuals of the employees of the Social Security Organization. The sampling method of present research is the simple random method and the Cochran formula by using the sample size is equal to 144 individuals. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire content validity was used along with and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The coefficient reliability calculated the questionnaire accountability that is equal to 0.89 and for the questionnaire of the decentralized decision-making it is equal to 0.81 and for the exchange leadership questionnaire of the organization it is equal to 0.87. In the present research after drawing the analytical model of research is based on data that used the Path diagram program with the Perlis program of software LISREL. In this model by using the coefficients B and t test, the hypotheses are tested. Meanwhile the models of fit indices also are calculated automatically with the performances the Perlis program for the model.

The data analysis:

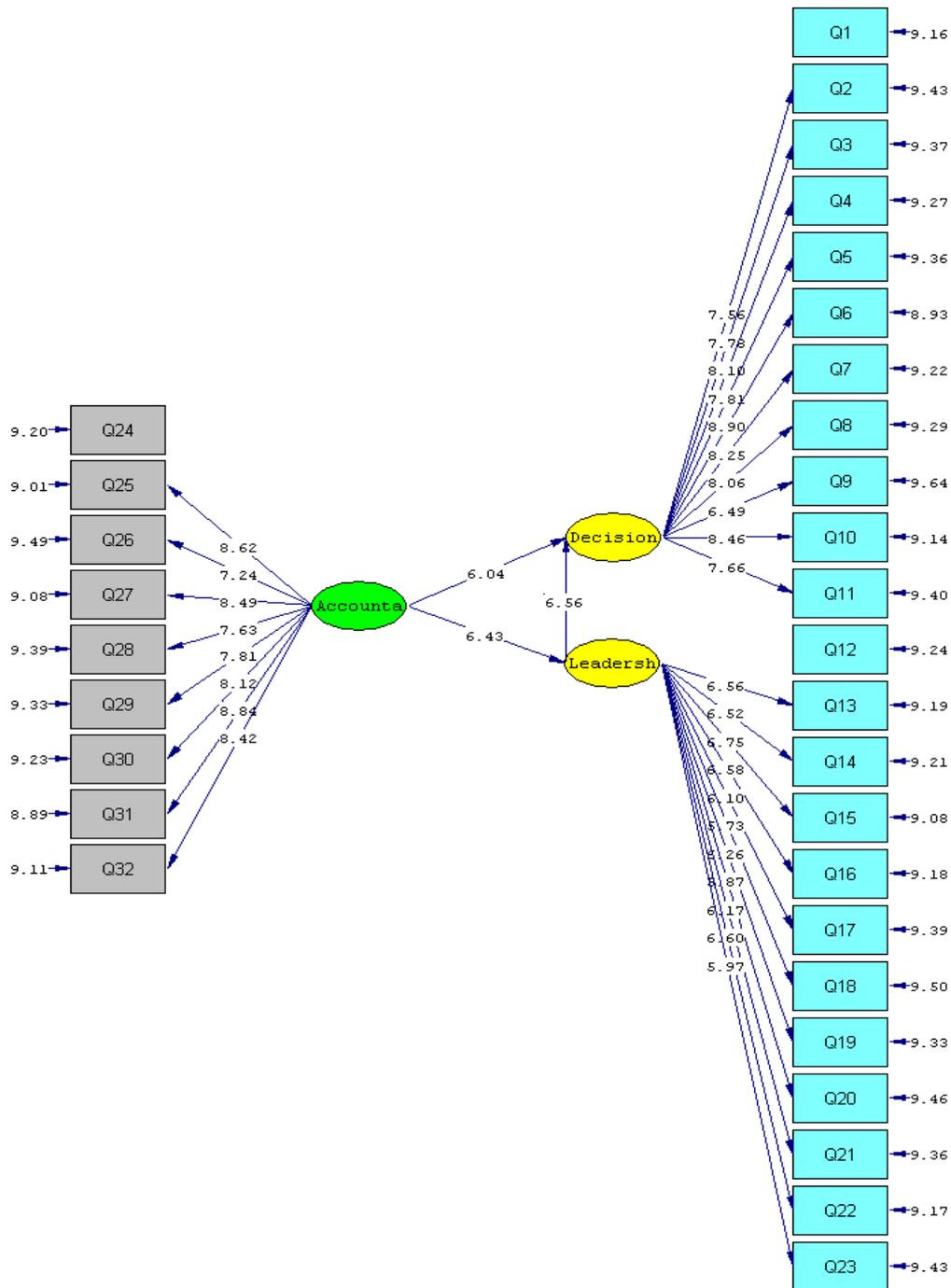
Table 1: of fitness indexes of the research model

Fit index	Standard values	Estimated values
Degrees of Freedom	-----	461
Chi-Square	Due to the dependence the sample size is not a suitable criterion	1069.34
RMSEA	0.05	0.081
NFI	0.90	0.91
NNFI	0.90	0.95
CFI	0.90	0.96
RMR	0.05	0.056
GFI	0.90	0.75
AGFI	0.90	0.71

Table 1 is a consideration the indication of the compliance or goodness of fit that are relatively at acceptable level.

Structural models test:

In this research, the model of confirmatory factor analysis (to test the measurement models and path analysis) was used to confirm the structural model of the research. The following two figures show the general models of LISREL software's output that at the same time involved the structural model and measurement models.



Chi-Square=1069.34, df=461, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.081

Chart 1: The base model with T amounts

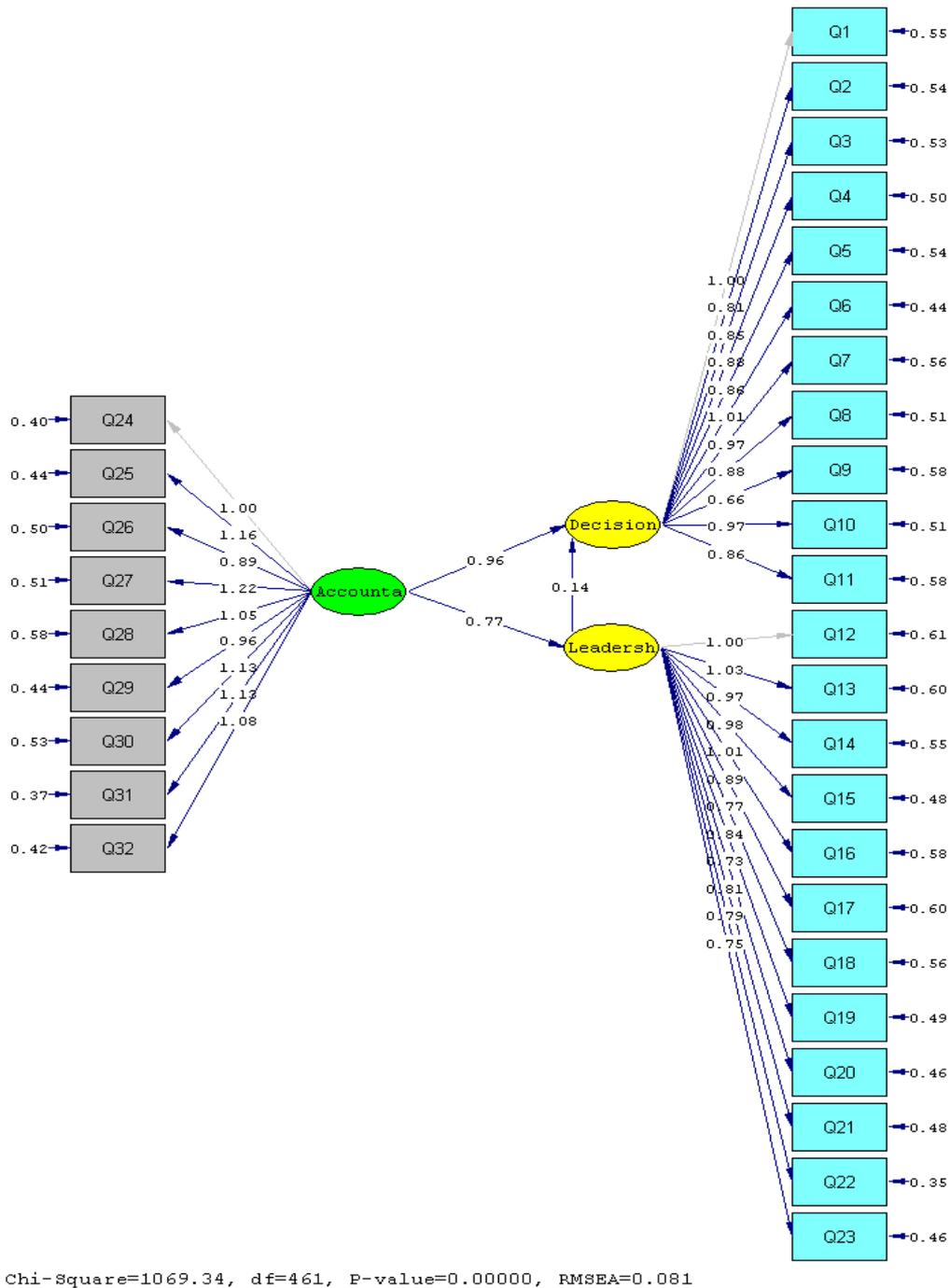


Chart 2: The base model with the path coefficients

The findings and analysis of results:

First hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between accountability and transactional leadership.

Table 2: Results of the first hypothesis test

the hypothesis	Result	Statistics t	coefficients
There is a significant relationship between accountability and transactional leadership.	Accept	6.43	0.77

Based on the results shown in Table 2, the influence of the independent variable on the dependent is supported by data and the way that these two variables are made related to each is a positive and meaningful (at the level of 5% significance)($t = 6.43, \beta_{22} = 0.77$). As a result, we can say with 95% confidence, that there is a significant relationship between accountability and transactional leadership.

The second hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision making.

Table 3: Results of the second hypothesis test

the hypothesis	Result	Statistics t	coefficients
There is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision making.	Accept	6.04	0.96

Based on the results shown in Table 3, the influence of the independent variable on the dependent one is supported by data and the way that these two variables are made related to each is a positive and meaningful (at the level of 5% significance)($t = 6.04, \beta_{22} = 0.96$). As a result, we can say with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision making.

The third hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making

Table 4: Results of the third hypothesis test

the hypothesis	Result	Statistics t	coefficients
there is a significant relationship between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making.	Accept	6.56	0.14

Based on the results shown in Table 4, the influence of the independent variable on the dependent one is supported by data and the way that these two variables are made related to each is a positive and meaningful (at the level of 5% significance)($t = 6.56, \beta_{22} = 0.14$). As a

result, we can say with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making

The fourth hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between the accountability and decentralized decision making due to transactional leadership.

Table 4: Results of the fourth hypothesis test

the hypothesis	Result	Statistics t	coefficient s
There is a significant relationship between the accountability and decentralized decision making due to transactional leadership.	Accepted	0.77×0.14=0.10	

The results of hypothesis 4 according to table (5) will be examined.

We examine the role of mediator between transactional leadership accountability and decentralized decision making so that if a direct impact of the accountability on the transactional leadership is confirmed and also the direct impact of transactional leadership on decentralized decision-making is confirmed, the intermediate effect of the exchange leadership between accountability and decentralized decision making is confirmed.

The path coefficients of the latent exogenous variables of accountability on the endogenous variable of the transactional leadership are 0.77 and the T value is equal to 43.6 and the error level of 05/0 with reliability of 95/0 is significant. The path coefficients of the endogenous latent variable of transactional leadership on the endogenous variable of the decentralized decision making 0.14 and the T value is equal to 6.56 and the error level of 05/0 with reliability of 95/0 is significant. The required statistic, the influence of the mediating role of transactional leadership between accountability and decentralized decision making is equal to $0.77 \times 0.14 = 0.10$ and the researchers' claim is confirmed.

Conclusion:

Results of the first hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between accountability and transactional leadership is equal to 0.77 and the amount of the T corresponding is $1.96 < 6.43$ that is according to t-test, with the critical value 0.05. The confidence level 95% can reject the null hypothesis. As a result, the researchers' claim is confirmed and we can say with confidence level 95% that there is a significant relationship between accountability and transactional leadership.

Results of the second hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between accountability and decentralized decision making is equal to 0.96 and the amount of the T corresponding is $1.96 < 6.04$ that is according to t-test with the critical value 0.05. The confidence level 95% can reject the null hypothesis. As a result, the researchers claim is confirmed and we can say with confidence level 95% that there is a significant relationship between accountability and decentralized decision making.

Results of the third hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making is equal to 0.14 and the amount of the T corresponding is $1.96 < 6.56$ that is according to t-test with the critical value 0.05. The confidence level 95% can reject the null hypothesis. As a result, the researchers claim is confirmed and we can say with confidence level 95% that there is a significant relationship between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making.

Results of the fourth hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between transactional leadership and accountability is equal to 0.77 and the amount of the T corresponding is $1.96 < 6.43$ and the amount of path coefficient between transactional leadership and decentralized decision making is equal to 0.14 and the T corresponding is $1.96 < 6.56$ that is according to t-test with the critical value 0.05. The confidence level 95% can rejected the null hypothesis. As a result the impact of the mediator role of the transactional leadership between accountability and decentralized decision making is equal to $0.77 \times 0.14 = 0.10$ and the fourth claim of researcher is confirmed.

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Explaining the relationship between the organizational climate, meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of staff (Case study of Sharcheshmehe copper and Meiduk copper mines)

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Abstract

The aim of the present research is to investigate the relationship between organizational climate, meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees in the organization. The statistical population in this research is 215 individuals of employees of the Sarcheshmeh copper mine and copper of Meiduk. The sampling method of this research was simple random and by using the Cochran formula the sample size is equal to 138 individuals. Data required for the present study were collected by using a questionnaire whose validity was tested. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire we used the content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. For meritocracy questionnaire, it was calculated 0.80 and for job deviant behavior questionnaire of employees in the organization, it was 0.86. The reliability coefficient is equal to 0.85 for organizational climate questionnaire. In this research the structural relations model was used to analyze the data. For data analysis and hypothesis testing this research used the statistical software of LISREL. The results showed that there is a significant relationship between the organizational climate and meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

Keywords: organizational climate, meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

Introduction

Human resources are the most valuable resource of organization which uses effort, diligence and coordination and implementation of other parts of the organization to fulfill the organizational goals. These sources have the potential capacities and capabilities that become active in the organizational environment (Abeli, 2006). Achieving this requires the full understanding of the human resources and provides the appropriate conditions for work and effort. One of the issues in this field is to locate individuals in positions commensurate with their ability, experience as well as the important role of managers (Horton, 2002). The concept of merit or ability is one of the crucial approaches in recent decades to the world of managers. The concept of meritocracy involves the characteristic manifestation of selection, appointment and maintenance managers; specifically it includes a range of key factors that has not been reached by the general opinion consensus in the establishment of meritocracy. On this basis any analysis about the meritocracy requires extensive and comprehensive study. In today's competitive environment, human resource is the most valuable factor of production and service provision as well the most important asset of any organization so that their effective management, provides context for organizational excellence. In some cases employees may have a tendency to behaviors that do not conform to the organizational norms which threatened their safety and other employees. Occurrence of such behaviors of is called "deviant workplace behaviors" and affected the amount of development of the organization's employees (Soltani, 2007 and Soltani, 2002). Deviant workplace behaviors are the behaviors that violate the rules of work and threatened the organization stability. Thus many researchers around the world researched about these behaviors and identified backgrounds, relevant factors and ways to combat them. Deviant behavior can be either constructive as well as destructive.

Despite the importance of deviations with constructive (Administrative behavior in violation of the norms that are important resources for innovation and entrepreneurship and to help create competitive advantage), little research has been done in this field (Galperin Bella and Burke Ronald, 2006). Theories related to organizational misbehavior were partly responsible for the field of sociology of the 1980s and especially the effect of Hollinger and Clark (1982). Their deviant behaviors of employees are divided into two categories: Diversion of assets and production diversion. Diversion assets are the behavior of attack in which an employee attacks of the employer's property or harm. Production diversion refers to behavior that organizational norms related to the quantity and quality of work during which an employee can be violated. According to the Varedi and Wiener (1996) the organizational misbehavior "For every action organization members is said to violate the norms of orientation of organizational and social." This definition stresses the importance the value system of internal organizational external organization and confirmed the diagnosis of misconduct. Hence organizational misbehavior are included such as: low working, a waste of time, out of work, refusal to work, improper actions in the workplace, sabotage, poor resistance, sabotage and misuse of the organization's facilities.

Akroid and Thompson (1999), experts in industrial sociology, have commented on the organizational misbehavior as "Whatever you do in the workplace and had not to do". In their opinion, organizational misbehavior has related to the difference between employers and

employees on topics such as time, type of work, services and identity. Watson (2003) offered a more detailed definition of this phenomenon that included: activities that occur in the workplace in accordance with cultural and administrative structures and organizational rules that should not happen and operational procedures in an organization to challenge the dominant tendencies.

Therefore the behavior located beyond the range of acceptable professional behavior is considered as organizational misbehavior. These behaviors are often unconventional and illegitimate and include the violent behavior that can be physical and psychological damage to employees or, in the long-term, causes of irreparable damage to organizations (Blonder, 2006). Therefore, it is vital to investigate the role of the organization and management incidence of the deviant work behaviors in which organizational norms are put in the fluctuations. This causes threat the safety of the organization and its employees. On the other hand organizational climate is a set of attributes and organizational characteristics that employees feel and understand. Its emergence is described through the actions, processes, and relationships of the members with the environment (Saatchi, 2003). The major consequence of the organizational climate is that it has influences on the perception and the sense of membership of employees in the organization and determines whether their organization are experienced in the psychologically rewarding and satisfactory. This entry in turn has a significant effect on the level of moral, motivation, satisfaction and desire of employees to remain in the organization (Mathiue & Farr, 1991). Therefore, the purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between meritocracy, organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

Research literature

Job deviant behaviors of employees

In general, job deviant behaviors referred to the behaviors that have violated the organizational norms or threatened the organization safety, its employees working or both (Harter et al, 2004). Recently, the organizational experts frequently confirm that various types of the organizational misbehavior have become the prevalence of abuse among employees and managers. They focus on its important and costly consequences (Greenberg, 1996). Robinson and Bennett (1995), focusing on the deviant behaviors in the workplace and the role of members of the organization classified two dimensions of behaviors as follows: intensity and purpose of the behavior. Product categories include: Product deviation, deviation of financial, political deviation and aggression. Job deviant behavior includes: the violent behavior that has violated the organizational norms and threatened the organizations safety or that of its employees or both (Colbert et al, 2004). Job deviation is voluntary because the employees are not motivated to conform to the normative expectations or to violate these expectations. The purposes of the organizational norms are to raise job standards. Also not every behavior that violated the norm is diversion from the criteria, or a threat to the organization (Robinson Sandra and Bennett Rebecca, 1995). According tresearch about the background of job deviation, issues such as the individual factors, cognitive, organizational... have been detected as effective in the job diversion (Salmani, 2010). Researchers divided the consequences arising from such deviations and violations in the organization such as services, production and industry into two main groups:

A) The personal consequences such as marring the job security of offender person and resultant mental and emotional abnormalities,

B) Organizational consequences such as reducing organizational productivity. Other researches stated other kinds of the consequences of job deviant behaviors and administrative violations. Some can be noted such as mistrust people toward the government, the waste of limited and economic valuable resources, failure to achieve the targets set by the government in the development various sectors, negative impact of labor on the GDP growth (Soltani, 2007).

Identification the types of job deviations: Typology of job deviant behavior of the employees, in this regard, is useful to develop systematic studies and enable us to achieve a comprehensive theory about them (Robinson Sandra and Bennett Rebecca, 1995). A lot of classifications have been done of the job deviant behavior. The most famous are the below-sated divisions of behaviors into four groups:

-The perversion of production: it occurs when employees violate the standards of quality and quantity in product the production or service which increase the production costs and reduce in the inventory control.

- Political perversion: it occurs when the employees support a particular shareholder in which case the others are exposed to contaminants. Such support may cause the costs increase and provide unstable quality of service, dissatisfaction and feelings of injustice.

-Financial perversion: it contains the acquisition or loss of company assets without company confirmation such as theft and embezzlement.

-Personal invasion: it contains the hostility and aggressive behavior toward others that could endanger the company's credit and have the negative serious consequences for selected persons (Litzky Barrie et al, 2006).

Researchers knew that the job deviant behaviors abuse the public or government power or possession of government property for personal purposes which is to detriment of the public interest (Henle et al, 2005).

Organizational climate:

The organizational climate was raised for the first time in 1951 by Kurt Lewin. He thought that behavior of individual depend on their surrounding environment. This concept was prevalent in 1960 in the literature on organizational atmosphere. Two important factors in were prevalent the literature of organizational climate that were the studies of Forehand and Gilmer and James and Jones (Thomas, 2006). The essence of organizational climate is revealing how the employees understand their work environment and their interpretation of the organization. A better understanding of the organizational climate can be effectively fundamental in the improvement of the production levels, motivation and degree of employee satisfaction (Ibid, 2-10). Organizational climate in a way is heavily dependent on the

construction of employees in terms of hierarchy management so that the higher levels managers in an organization cannot be very strong in the organizational climate but the lower-level employees can change the organizational atmosphere and be able to either weaken or strengthen it. (Ibid, 48-54).

In today's competitive world that the organizations are constantly in looking for new ways to maximize the performance of their employees. The necessary suitable organizational atmosphere and employee motivation for the survival and success of organizations is an important variable. The innovative organization cannot be achieved without the creative staff and supporting working environment (Paramitha and Indarti, 2014). Appropriate organizational atmosphere and mutual relations of groups within the organization between managers and employees can affect the behavior employees. This is effective in the amount of employees satisfaction can lead to increased levels of employee's performance. Therefore the organizations should provide the comfortable atmosphere in a way that employees and managers of all experiences, abilities and capacities can promote the organization's objectives. Brown and Mobergh believe that the organizational atmosphere is a set of culture, customs and special practical methods that have been observed by the members of the organization. They include: (1) identifying the organization, (2) distinguishing the organization from other organizations and institutions, (3) relatively durable over time and (4) influencing and guiding people. On the other hand organizational climate has been effective on the willingness of employees to do things beyond their role in the organization so that individuals and the organizations will benefit from this performance.

Litwin and Stringer (1974) defined the organizational climate as a set of measurable characteristics in the work environment that are directly or indirectly understood by those who work in this environment and effect on their motivation and behavior (litwin and Stringer, 1974).

In defining the organizational climate many different definitions in the areas of management have been offered. Some have equated it with the environment (Farmahini Farahani, 1999). Organizational climate refers to the set of elements and factors that are outside an organization but on the whole these elements and factors have an impact on the activities of an organization (Kadivar, 1997).

Alageband (2006) identifies the organizational climate as all internal and external factors and conditions that surround it and are located in them.

Types of organizational climate

The excellent organizational atmosphere has been proposed in recent decades as a major challenge in management studies. Every organization has a culture, traditions and customs, values, norms and operation specific procedures. Based on these characteristics, their behavior can be predicted. These characteristics allow us to recognize that an organization is different from other organizations (Alawi, 2003). In the 60s, Craft and Halpin did a study on organizational climate and identified six types of organizational climate:

Open climate: in this atmosphere the teachers (employees) have the high spirit and work together well and without aggression or fighting the management policies. The management facilitates the performance of tasks and affairs. Individuals do not have trouble and they enjoy friendly relations with each other.

Autonomous climate: Teachers in this climate have relatively complete; they can find a way among the group to satisfy the social needs. Teachers (employees) are working on their own and can to achieve their goals easily or quickly.

Controlled climate: controlled climate is concerned with pressure to achieve the objectives of the organization at the expense of satisfying the social needs. All hard working employees have little time for friendly relationship with each other and this climate has more emphasis on performing tasks.

Friendly climate: in this climate the manager believes that all members are a family. He avoids doing things that hurt the feelings of its members.

Paternal climate: teachers do not work together which causes a lack of coordination. Teachers do not have friendly relations and their Morales are significantly lower. Managers try to monitor and control their teachers.

Climate Pack: in this climate teachers are not involved in the organization affairs. Job satisfaction of teacher (employees) is at a low level. Teachers try to connect and communicate with each other to satisfy their private relations. Most teachers want to leave their jobs (Mirkamali, 2002).

Meritocracy:

In discussing the broad concepts of competence and meritocracy interpretations and definitions have been stated. These two concepts have been investigated from the perspective of experts who refer to the important and summarize definitions.

Katanv, Newsom and Di defined competency as any kind of knowledge, skills, abilities or the personal qualities shown through the behaviors and lead to excellence (Bandr, 2003). Competence means a written description of the personal skills and measurable work habits that are used in order to achieve business objectives (Green, 1999). Skills and habits that are necessary for employees to be effective in a job are considered as the concept of competence (Monsefid, 1996). Mirabal said that competency includes knowledge, skills and abilities or characteristics associated with high performance in a job (Mirabal, 1996). Meritocracy is formed of two words the Merit that means competence, capability, suitability and cracy which means administration or method of affairs manage (Aryanpour Kashani, 1992).

Meritocracy refers to the social system in which the highest power and social level are deposited to individuals with the greatest ability. Meritocratic people have this kind of power in such a system. As a definition of meritocracy, it is appropriate to investigate the concept of merit. Thomas Conrad in his definition of meritocracy states the set of principles that compose meritocracy:

1. The merit test should measure the individual talent.
2. Everyone shall have an equal opportunity to express their talents (equality of opportunity).
3. People with more talent should be receiving the greater share of the social rewards.

4. Social inequality in (income, social class, and power) is fair, of course when the result of the principles and criteria has already been set up (Liu, 2007).

Rob Moore states that meritocracy is the system that allows people to get their social position according to ability rather than referring to an incident and happening (Liu, 2007).

Eight step process of meritocracy:

Meritocracy draws on the combination process from sub process of process of merit polls, merit selection, merit equipment, merit impressments, merit clothes and merit breeding. Relationships between these factors can be seen in the following diagram:

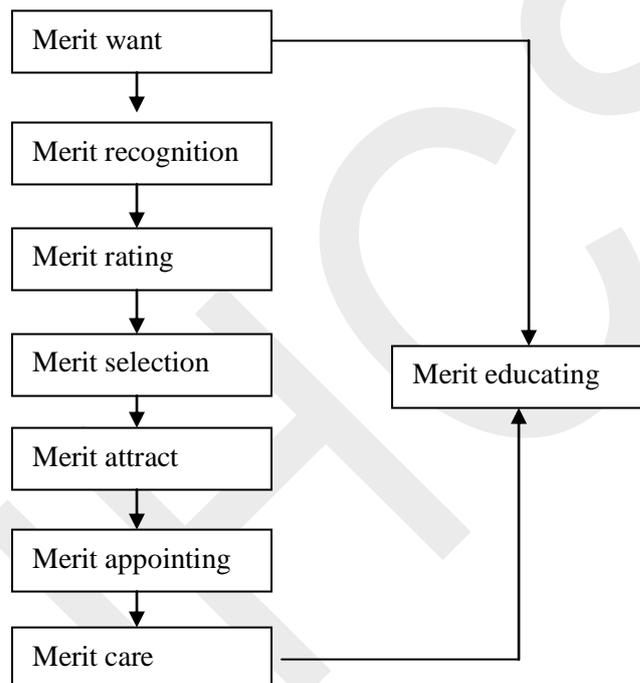


Figure 1: eight step process of meritocracy

1. Merit want

In the merit wants to take advantage of the competence and valuing them as a national commitment and organizational inviolable, value is emphasized. In the such a culture disadvantaging of the merit people in jobs is deemed to be sin and offense and the behavior of managers who are influenced by variables family relations, ethnic or political considerations, will be considered (Abel, 2005).

2. Merit recognition

This step is a centerpiece in the process of absorbing the required force of the organizations. At this stage organizations should apply the most effective methods of notification and the efficient search methods and motivates the merit individuals (Abel, 2005)

3. Merit rating

It is necessary to recognize those people who think they have to capabilities of merits, on the basis of general and specialized skills and tests and expert interviews. This step requires careful rereading of religious teachings, moral, cultural, social and managerial and executive issues to define criteria of comparison. Providing these principles is far from the truth and should be done gradually and on long-term planning.

4. Merit selection

This step has two parts. The first part is related to the assessment and analysis of the results of the previous stage and the second part is related to the allocation of merit positions to its deservers. At this stage of the meritocracy process, based on scientific research the ideal and anti-ideal situations are traced and based on that the merit of individuals.

5. Merit attract

Merit attract means the attraction of the competent managers and employees. Due to the competitive pace of activities in the coming years, government should attract the merit managers in a competitive environment absorb the requirements of merit managers in the government departments, NGOs and universities. For this reason, and given the huge impact of public managers, effective, transparent and fair measures must be created in order to attract merit managers (Gorban panah, 2008).

6. Merit appointing

Merit appointing means that with the preservation of the balance between jobs and employed individuals we can have the maximum performance. Although a correct choice is often done with this expected, but since choices are done collectively and at different levels of management, expertise and staff have considered mainly the general characteristics of the classes. The allocation and assignment of selected individuals require the precision and attention in the specific requirements of the job as defined in that category. Also in this stage, it is necessary to select according to personality characteristics of individuals (Abel, 2006).

7. Merit care

This step is very important because the absorbing and selection of merits is a simple work, but their maintenance is problematic. There is a need to design mechanisms of scientific, humane and reasonable structures to enable the merit people become the loyal to their organization (Soltani, 2005).

8. Merit educating

The meritocracy system should not rely on the current situation.

This system provides the breeding grounds, the actual and potential staff through the short-term and long-term training. It pushes them to higher levels of the insight, knowledge and capabilities

In parallel, this system has created the reception field of heavier responsibilities and takes effective tasks (anonymous author, 2006).

Meritocracy principles

The foundation of meritocracy is in the social justice in nurturing of talents. Meritocracy is a social situation that can be achieved by scientific excellence and not by assignment or nepotism. So identifying the qualified individuals must be based on effort and their ability (Golkar and Nasehifar, 2003). Based on this, the following principles for meritocracy can be expressed:

1. The principle of equality of opportunity

According to this principle, different individuals should have the equal chance to achieve the opportunities and be responsible for either success or failure (Golkar and Nasehifar, 2003).

According to this principle everyone should have an equal opportunity to reveal his/hers talents because meritocracy emphasizes the equality of opportunity. This factor has caused the widespread acceptance of the meritocracy. An example that is often used in discussions about equality of opportunity is that when a race is competitive, all the runners in that race start from the same point. So to ensure the absence of discriminatory treatment, it was suggested that runners should be randomly determined to the race track lines. Some suggest that it is enough but others argued that, in addition to determining the accident of racetrack, the runners must have different starting points so that the integral obstacles in front of the runner's outlines racetrack are compensated. In this mode, multiple barriers disappear and no one is deprived of the race and everyone has an equal opportunity to compete and win the race (Liu, 2007).

2. The principle of equality of individuals' value

This principle is considered as the underlying principle of meritocracy. According to this principle, the individuals are innately the same, and the criteria such as origin cannot be as valid as meritocracy criteria (Golkar and Nasehifar, 2003).

3. Principle of capacity building

This principle suggests that we should provide the necessary conditions for the establishment of meritocracy. In this context, it is necessary to identify the employees' abilities and then create the capacity of successfully.

4. Principle of optimization

In meritocracy, the organization is seeking to improve the work, goods and services. This means through attention to competences the optimization process can be facilitated. In simple terms, meritocracy should focus on the optimization through which organization can achieve sustainable development.

5. Principle of criteria- oriented

The basis of meritocracy is the creation of criteria for selecting and retaining competences. This principle has emphasized that there should be a minimum establishment of standards in the organization and development of the standards.

6. Principle of ability to update meritocracy

This principle emphasizes that in meritocracy selection criteria and excellence are not fixed and static but should be always in accordance with the environment condition of intra and inter organizational variables. Meritocracy criteria have to take into account the scientific revolutions updates.

7. Principle of nativism

In meritocracy, conditions of local, culturally and humanitarian of every organization and region must be considered. This means that this principle emphasized the rules and conditions of culture and local criteria in meritocracy.

8. Principle of invalidity of personal tastes

Namely in the meritocracy, the individual opinion and the criteria of individual selection should not be stressed. Instead the scientific and technical criteria were selected.

9. The principle of comprehensiveness

Meritocracy is not a one-dimensional concept and must be based on a set of factors and conditions in the individual. When meritocracy pays attention just to one dimension such as literacy and expertise, we cannot expect the success and improvement in the organization (Soltani, 2006, p. 411).

10. Programme principle

This principle states that meritocracy set of factors are not created or generated randomly. But also they are based on a scheduled and scientific program. So we should have a program for meritocracy that is implemented through design of the relevant elements.

11. Culturality principle

In meritocracy, the component of attitudes, ways of thinking and working life of the employees and managers must be provided. The cultural context of the employees of the organization in the terms of the cultural traits must embrace the principles and rules of meritocracy (Soltani, 2005).

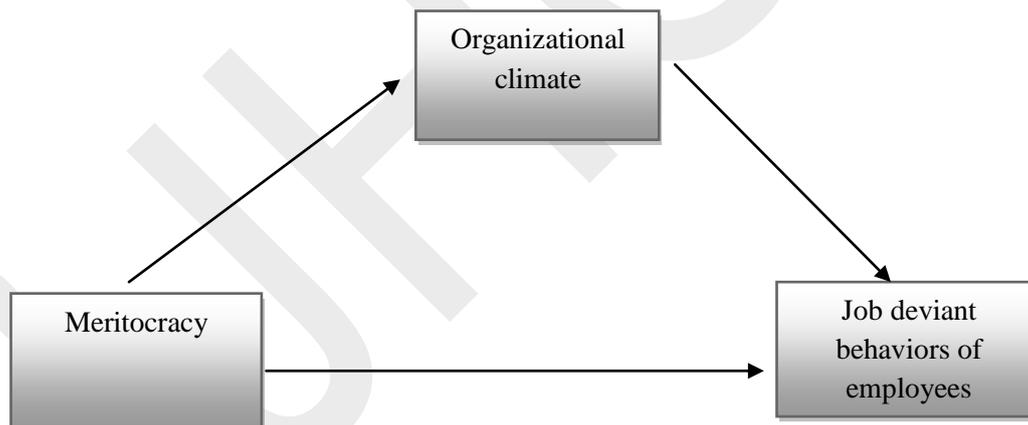


Figure1. Conceptual Model

Research hypotheses

1. There is a significant relationship between the meritocracy and organizational climate.
2. There is a significant relationship between the organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.
3. There is a significant relationship between the job deviant behaviors of employees and meritocracy.
4. There is a significant relationship between the job deviant behaviors of employees and meritocracy due to the role of mediator of organizational climate.

Research method

The method of the present research is practical. The characteristics of the target population have been studied in a certain period of time and in the territory of the designated location. The researchers want to extend the results obtained by applications methods to similar units. Collecting information for testing hypotheses will be done through questionnaires. This research is a kind of the analysis of the correlation matrix or covariance in which we used the structural equation modeling. The statistical population in this research is the all employees of the Sarcheshmeh copper mine and copper of Meiduk. The sampling method of this research is simple random and by using the Cochran formula the sample size is equal to 138 individuals. Data were collected by using a questionnaire whose their validity was tested. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire we used the content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The reliability coefficient for questionnaire of organizational climate is equal to 0.85. For meritocracy questionnaire, it was calculated 0.80 and for job deviant behavior questionnaire of employees in the organization, it was 0.86. In this study, we used the structural equation model to analyze the data. For data analysis and hypothesis testing we used the statistical software of LISREL. Therefore, in present research the measurement model have been obtained after drawing the analytical model of research based on data by the Path diagram with execution the program of Perlis from LISREL software. In this model by using the B coefficients, t-test has tested the hypotheses. Meanwhile, the model fit indices were automatically calculated with executing the program Perlis for desired model.

Data analysis

At first, the chi-square index is calculated to test the null hypothesis. The goal model is faced in the population. Significant chi-square has implies on rejecting the null hypothesis that indicated that the model is not available in the population. GFI and AGFI (size LISREL) were formulated and affected by sample size.

NFI: it is the softened index of fit amount is between 0.90 and 0.95 which is acceptable. The higher amounts of 0.95 are excellent. NNFI: it is the non-softened index of fit if the amount is higher than 0.1 it is equal to 0.1. RMSE: it is the square root of the variance estimation of approximation error that is reported as a decimal. Among the mentioned indicators RMSEA and GFI are more important. The RMSEA indicators for good model are

equal or less than the 0.05. The models that their RMSEA are equal or more to 0.1 have a weak fit. GFI index close to 1.0 has shown the good fit of the model.

Table 1: fit indices of research model

estimated value	Standard values	Fit index
857	-----	Degrees of Freedom
3937.91	Due to the dependent on sample size is not relevant criterion	Chi-Square
0.14	0.05	RMSEA
0.62	0.90	NFI
0.64	0.90	NNFI
0.66	0.90	CFI
0.089	0.05	RMR
0.50	0.90	GFI
0.44	0.90	AGFI

According to the Table 1, it can be seen that the amount indicators of compliance or goodness of fit all are in the relatively acceptable level. The following two figures show the general models of LISREL software's output that time are involve at the same the structural model and measurement.

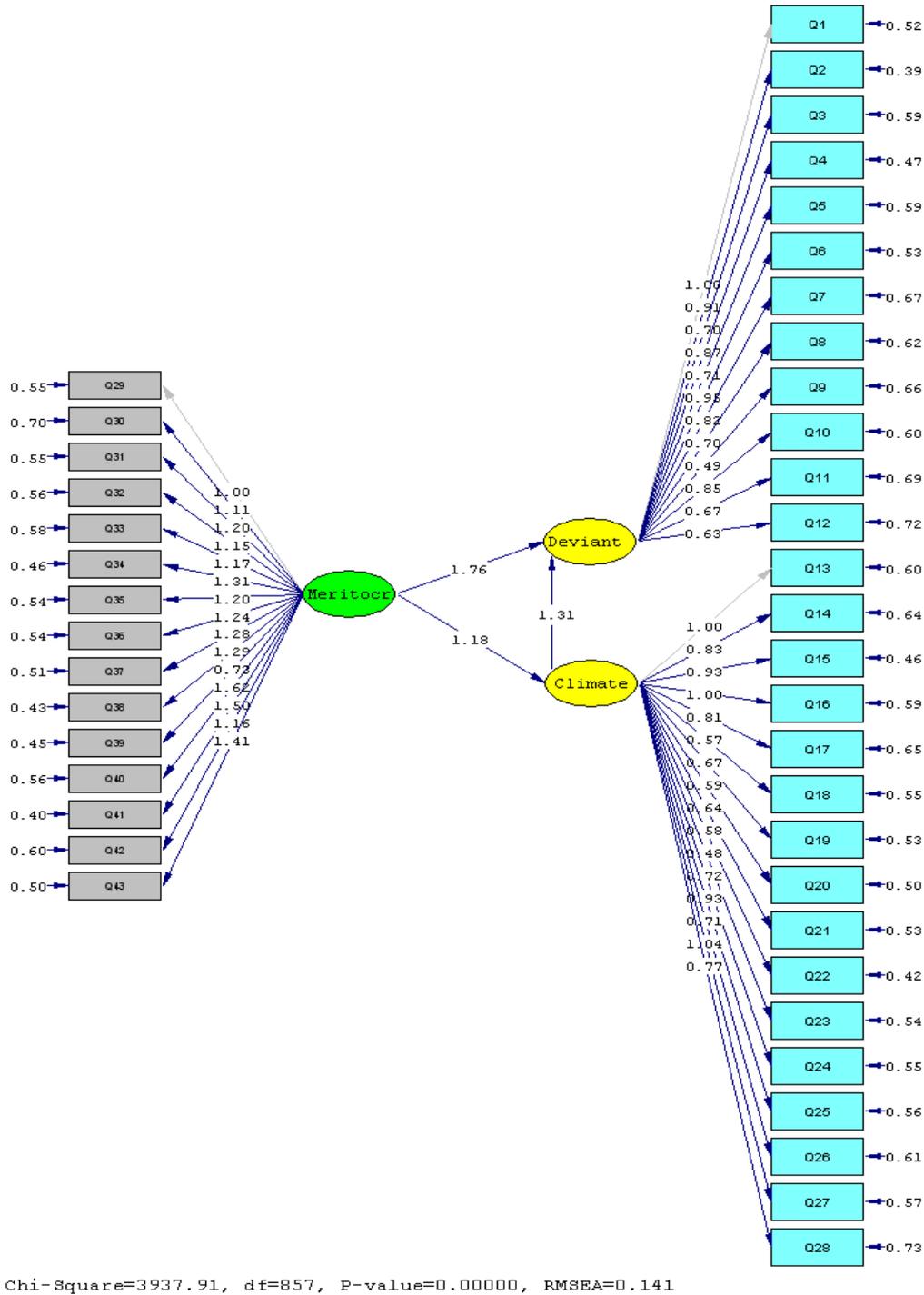
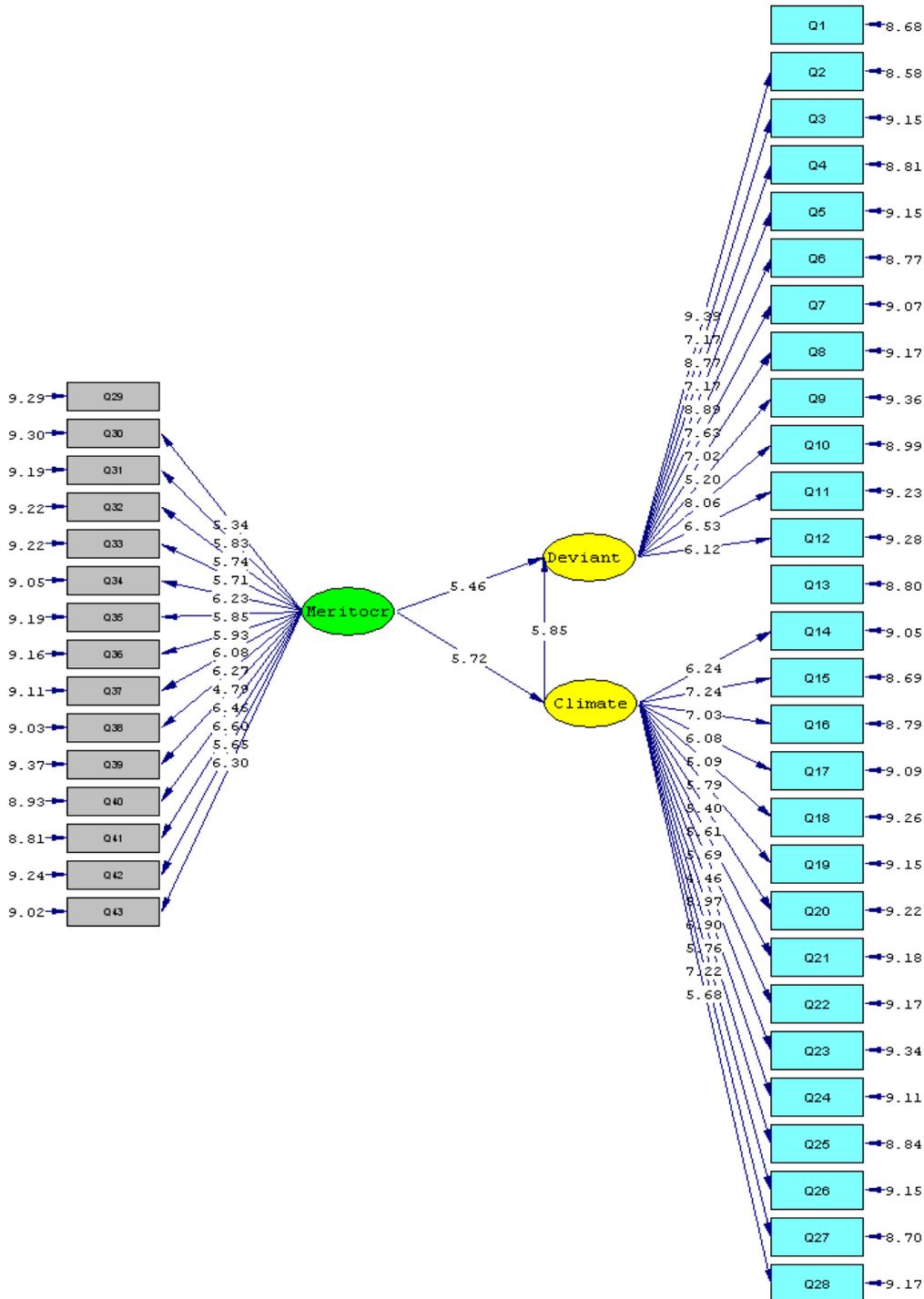


Figure 2: The base model with path coefficients



Chi-Square=3937.91, df=857, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.141

Figure 3: The base model with T amounts

Testing hypotheses

The first hypothesis

Researchers claim:

1. There is a significant relationship between meritocracy and organizational climate.
- H0: There is not a significant relationship between meritocracy and organizational climate.
H1: There is a significant relationship between meritocracy and organizational climate.

Table 2: Results of standardized coefficients and t-statistics

Predictor variable	Predicting variable	t-statistics	Estimated coefficient
Meritocracy	organizational climate	5.72	1.18

According to Table 2, the amount of path coefficient between meritocracy and organizational climate is equal 1.18 and the amount of corresponding T is equal $5.72 > 1.96$. According to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the researchers claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between the meritocracy and organizational climate.

The second hypothesis

1. There is a significant relationship between organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

H0: There is not a significant relationship between the organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

H1: There is a significant relationship between the organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

Table 3: Results of standardized coefficients and t-statistics

Predictor variable	Predicting variable	t-statistics	Estimated coefficient
organizational climate	job deviant behaviors of employees	5.85	1.31

According to Table 3, the amount of correlation between organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees is equal to 1.31 and the corresponding T is equal to $5.85 > 1.96$ that according to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the second researchers claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between the organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

The third hypothesis

1. There is a significant relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

H0: There is not a significant relationship between the meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

H1: There is a significant relationship between the meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

Table 4: Results of standardized coefficients and t-statistics

Predictor variable	Predicting variable	Estimated coefficient	t-statistics
Meritocracy	job deviant behaviors of employees	1.76	5.46

According to Table 4, the amount of path correlation between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees is equal to 1.76 and the corresponding T is equal to 5.46 > 1.96. According to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result the third researchers' claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between the meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

The fourth hypothesis

4. There is a significant relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees due to the role of mediator of organizational climate.

H0: there is not a significant relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees due to the role of mediator of organizational climate.

H1: There is a significant relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees due to the role of mediator of organizational climate.

Table 7: Results of standardized coefficients and t-statistics

Estimated coefficient	t-statistics		
1.18	significant	meritocracy → organizational climate	Direct connections
1.31	significant	organizational climate → job deviant behaviors employees	
1.18 × 1.31	significant	meritocracy → job deviant behaviors employees	In direct connections

According to table (7), the indirect relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees can be confirmed due to the role of mediator of organizational climate by direct effect of meritocracy. Such role can investigate the organizational climate and then the direct effect of organizational climate on the job deviant behaviors of employees. According to the table (7) the indirect effect of meritocracy on the job deviant behaviors employees due to the role of mediator of organizational climate is equal to 1.54.

The research findings and analysis of results

The results of the first hypothesis showed that the amount of path coefficient between meritocracy and organizational climate is equal 1.18 and the amount of corresponding T is equal 5.72 > 1.96. According to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the researchers' claim is confirmed and it can

be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between the meritocracy and organizational climate. The meritocracy can improve the organizational climate and morale and participation of individuals in decision-making. It can increase their creativity and innovation which are effective in the provision of mental health of employees.

The second hypothesis results showed that the amount of correlation between organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees is equal to 1.31 and the corresponding T is equal to $5.85 > 1.96$. According to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the second researchers claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between the organizational climate and job deviant behaviors of employees.

The third hypothesis results showed that the amount of path correlation between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees is equal to 1.76 and the corresponding T is equal to $5.46 > 1.96$. According to t-test with critical value of 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the third researchers' claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a positive relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees.

The fourth hypothesis test result is investigated according to the information of table 7. The indirect relationship between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees can be confirmed due to the role of mediator of organizational climate by direct effect of meritocracy. Such role can investigate the organizational climate and then the direct effect of organizational climate on the job deviant behaviors of employees. According to the table (7) the indirect effect of meritocracy on the job deviant behaviors employees due to the role of mediator of organizational climate is equal to 1.54.

The path coefficient of meritocracy variable on the organizational climate is 1.18 with T value equal is 5.72. The error level of 0.05 with a confidence 0.95 of the statistic target is significant. The path coefficient of organizational climate variable on the job deviant behaviors of employees is 1.31 with T value equal with 5.85. The error level is of 0.05 with a confidence 0.95, the statistic target is significant. As a result the influence of the mediating role of organizational climate between meritocracy and job deviant behaviors of employees is equal to $1.18 \times 1.31 = 1.54$ and the researchers' claim is confirmed.

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Explaining the relationship between organizational commitment, organizational health and employee creativity of the Social Security Organization

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between organizational commitment, organizational health and the creativity staff. The statistical population consisted of 230 staff of the Social Security Organization. The sampling method of present research is the simple random. By using the Cochran formula the sample size is equal to 144. The researchers use questionnaire that consists of 32 questions which are all questions for the whole five-item Likert is used to collect data. In this research, the structural relations model was used to analyze the data. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire the content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient were used. The amount of the organizational Commitment Questionnaire Allen and Meyer is equal to 0.85, the organizational Health questionnaire of the Hui et al (1996) is equal to 0.88 and Torrance creativity questionnaire obtained 0.92. For data analysis and hypothesis testing, statistical software LISREL was used. The results showed that there is a significant relationship the organizational commitment, organizational health and the staff creativity.

Keywords: organizational commitment, organizational health and the staff creativity.

Introduction

One of the most important responsibilities of the human resource management is the retention of competent staff in order to secure organizational success and make optimum use of them. The human resources are the most important strategic assets of organization. Thus, the use, maintenance, upgrade, development and finally management of these resources are considered an important factor for progressive organizational goals. One of the most important motivational issues that the large volumes in industrial and organizational psychology studies in the developed countries is organizational commitment (Mahdad, 2007). Whenever the amount of this commitment is higher, the forces of self-control, motivation increased in staff according to efficiency and effectiveness. Staffs that do not have a sense of interest and commitment and attachment to their organization continuously and effectively have been inactive and in the long time will harm their organization (Vinitwatakhn, 1998). In addition, today, creativity is also an important part of organizational life because the rapid changes in all aspects of the world have changed. So organizations operating environment and their managers are forced to adapt their efforts to global changes and developments to find new ways.

Therefore, all organizations in order to survive need the new ideas and new opinions. The new thoughts and opinions such as the emotional organization body are saved and protected. But the compressed competition and hard, tastes and desires of customers are causing unpredictable organizational matters (2010 Kudrowitz,). To survive and thrive organizations have to adapt to the competitive environment and upgrade themselves. The organizational safety is the organization's ability to survive successfully deal with the external destructive forces to effectively attain its objectives and goals (Vine, 1986). Therefore, the purpose of the present research is to examine the organizational commitment, organizational health and creative staff.

Research literature: The organizational health:

Health means the absence of disease and failure in an organism. The occurrence of a serious disease may lead to irreparable damage of organisms or even lead to death. On the other hand, disease does not mean that the organisms operate optimally because it is healthy but it does not fulfill its duties and functions. Thus, in the field of medical and mental health, the concept of perfect health or positive health is considered. In the mood of positive health, the organism performs the task perfectly and prosperity results (Azizi Moghaddam, 2006). Organizational health is not a new concept. Mais in 1959 defined and offered a proposal to measure the health of organizations. He noted that the organization was not always healthy. In his view, organizational health and organizational survival adapt to changes and expand its ability to survive and prosper. Organizational health is the organization's ability to survive and adapt to external destructive forces. It effectively attains the main goals and objectives in the long-term (Wayne, 1986). Lynden & Klinge (2000) wrote about organizational health. They stated that the organizational health is a fairly new concept and it includes the organization's ability to grow and improve. Observers of healthy organizations emphasized the variables of

committed and conscientious staff, with high spirits, and open communication channels as factors of success and aspects of healthy organization. A healthy organization is where its employees stay there and work and be proud of it. Miles defined a healthy organization as an organization that not only survive but also thrive and adapt to the challenges imposed by its competitive environment. What is clear in this definition is that the healthy organization should deal successfully with the forces outside and moves effectively towards its main goals and objectives (Hui and Miskel, 2008). According to Parsons Theory, the organizational health has three main levels and every dimension is based on the following components:

1) The technical level: Technical level is the low-level system in which the real product of the organization is considered and it includes:

A. morale: the morale points to the feeling of reassurance, trust, sympathy and friendship that among between the staff. Staff have who feel comfortable with each other perform their tasked well.

B. Academic Emphasis: it emphasizes the organization's role in promoting its employee learning. High-level scientific purposes have been for the staff. The staff can attain such learning outcomes in a regular and serious environment.

2) The level of administrative management: Mediation efforts are internal controlling system and they include:

A. consideration (compliance of respect): it means friendly and supportive management behavior. Consideration reflects the behavior that implies of respect, mutual trust, and cooperation. In other words, the consideration is not just means to the artificial kindness and friendliness but it is the honest attention to the staff as professional colleagues.

B. The initiating structure (task-oriented): it is the behavior that determines the manager's clear expectations of work, performance standards and procedures. The initiating structure is task-oriented and achievement-oriented.

C. A resource support: It is the amount of materials and equipment needed and requested by the staff. A resource support refers to an organization that has the required materials and resources.

3) The institutional level: The institutional level is concerned with the environment of the organizations and it includes:

A. The manager's influence: It is the manager's ability to influence the decisions of superior clerks. Influential manager encourage work effectively with superiors but also preserves independence in thought and action.

B. Institutional integrity: It is the organization's ability to adapt to the environment and compromise with methods that protect the health programs of organization (Hui and Miyskel, 2003).

Based on the dimensions and attributes that Miles, Kelingel and others use to identify healthy organizations, the characteristics of the healthy organization are stated as follows:

- The objectives of organization for the majority of the organization staff are clear and all the activities carried out toward the goals. The staff has the sense of belonging within the organization and is interested in giving their opinions about the problem.

- Issues within the framework of the existing facilities actively are realistically resolved. The staff resolves problems informally and works together regardless of the official positions and titles of staff members.

- The decision to increase the efficiency of institutions based on factors such as ability, sense of responsibility, of data, the volume of work, appropriate time and analysis will be done.

- Programming at the institute is done based on facts or prospective planning, performance and order; and in this case there is a spirit of cooperation. In other words, the assumed responsibility by the active participation of all members is observed well.

- Judgment and reasonable demands of the lower levels staff of the organization are given attention and respected. The personal needs and human relationships are investigated and resolved.

- Free and voluntary collaboration is promoted. Employees are obliged to consider readiness in helping the resolution of crises. Staff is quite animated, and participates in the activities. Their presence in the organization is important; and for them it is enjoyable. Management and leadership adapt to and create flexibility, a sense of trust, freedom and mutual responsibility between partners. People are aware of what is important to the organization and what is less important. Risked conditions of development and change are accepted by the management and the staff of the Institute.

-The Institute believes that the individuals should learn from past mistakes and their effects at work. Poor performance at the Institute is immediately recognized and fixed collectively. The organizational structure, policies and guidelines are set so that they can help employees perform tasks and guarantee the health and survival of the institution in the long term. In addition, organizational structure and policies organizations need change so that it can adapt with the environmental conditions. There is a reasonable equilibrium and balance between responsibility and authority and the institute work thanks to the lack of bureaucracy (Saatchi, 2001). Leiden and Kelyngel have stated eleven elements that provided for organizational health according to the statistical research findings in the case of the organizational health assessment of the faculty of higher education:

-The first dimension is connection: In healthy organizations relationships between the staff and their subordinates and the elite must be facilitated. Relationships should be reciprocal and established at different levels of the organization. In a healthy organization, face-to-face oral discussion is important that of written documents.

-The second dimension is about participation and involvement in the organization: In the healthy organization staffs of all levels are appropriately involved in decision-making.

-The third dimension is loyalty and commitment: In the healthy organization there is atmosphere of a higher reliability between the individuals. Staffs enjoy coming to work and they feel their organization is a comfortable professional atmosphere.

-Fourth dimension is the credit or reputation of the institution or company: A healthy organization reflects perceptions of a positive reputation to staff and the staff generally to values such credited reputation.

-Fifth dimension is about spirit: the appropriate spirit of the organization is the promotion of a friendly atmosphere where employees trust and admire each other. Equally, they love their jobs and their organization.

-Sixth dimension concerns morality: in a healthy organization generally there the staff tends to be valued based on appropriate morality.

-Seventh dimension is the recognition: in a healthy organization the staff is encouraged to realize their talent; they are supported and generally they feel that they are valuable. They are suitable for advancement within an atmosphere of gratitude and care.

-Eighth dimension is about path target: in a healthy atmosphere the staff can detect the high focus of their part.

-Ninth dimension is concerned with leadership: leaders have a decisive factor in the profitability and effectiveness of the organization. They are to be friendly and easily communicate with their staff.

-Tenth dimension is the improvement of staff development: in a healthy environment of organization, there are specialist and special committee to support the education and the continuous improvement of forces of organization.

-Eleventh dimension is about the use of resources: staff must see that the resources and adequate facilities consistent with their expectations; progress is to be divided between them (Jahed, 2005).

The creativity of organization:

Today, the creativity is crucial for organizational life and success because the rapid changes in all aspects have forces organizations and their managers to adapt themselves to those new competitive contexts. They have to create new ways for own actions. Therefore, all organizations in order to survive are need new thoughts and new fresh ideas. Thoughts and new ideas protect the organization from the annihilation because of intense competition and the unpredictable demands of customers. In such circumstances, the organization has to do its utmost not to lose its customers and markets; it needs to meet the tastes and expectations of the customers. New creative innovative ideas can help organizations achieve those goals. (Bolanowski, 2008).

So the successful organizations are the organizations encourage creativity and innovation in all their activities. In other words, today's organizations to survive must be dynamic and the managers and their staff should be creative and innovative so that they could adapt the organization to these changes and respond to the needs society. In the system of global economy and increasing competition, creativity and innovation are the key to survival and success; the lack of creativity and innovation are synonyms of destruction of the organization. An organization that does not have the creativity and innovation cannot survive and will vanish from the scene (Randall, 2008).

Scientists have defined creativity with numerous and diverse interpretations. Every definition represents only one dimension of the important dimensions of creativity. For example, Herbert Fuchs (2001) believes that «creativity process is any thinking process that can solve existing problems." George Seidel (1999) thinks that "the ability to relate and connect the threads, regardless of what area or areas is carried out; it is the enjoying principles of creative from mind." Erich Fromm (2000) also believes that "Creativity is the ability to see and answer" (Pire khaefi, 2005). According to Santrock's attitude (2004), creativity is the ability of thinking about the fresh and unusual ways and achieving unique solutions to problems (Samad Agayi, 2009). In fact, creativity is the interaction between talent, process and environment. Creative workers understand the needs of the market and produce appropriate products in the appropriate contexts (Makel and Plucker, 2008). According to Torrance (1989), creativity is composed of the following four aspects:

Fluency: that is the ability to establish the meaningful relationships between thought and expression which is based on the number of ideas or solutions at a certain time measurement.

Originality: The ability to think in an unusual way and contrary to common practice.

Flexibility: refers to the ability to think in different ways to solve a new problem.

Elaboration: it is the ability to pay attention to details while doing an activity (Shoghi and Mortazavi, 2012).

Organizational commitment:

There have been many definitions of organizational commitment. According to Porter, et al (1974), organizational commitment is an attachment to a particular organization, which is characterized by the following three factors.

- (1) Belief in the goals and organizational values and accepting them.
2. Willingness to hard work to realize the goals of the organization
- 3 - Strong desire to join the organization (Moghimi, 2001).

The organizational commitment is the attitude of staff about the loyalty to the organization and the participation of individuals in organizational decisions making and success.

The organizational commitment results from the different factors and variables that have followed different results. Different models to analyze the different factors affecting of the organizational commitment are established. The model of organizational commitment of Richard M. Steers and Miro Allen model are among them.

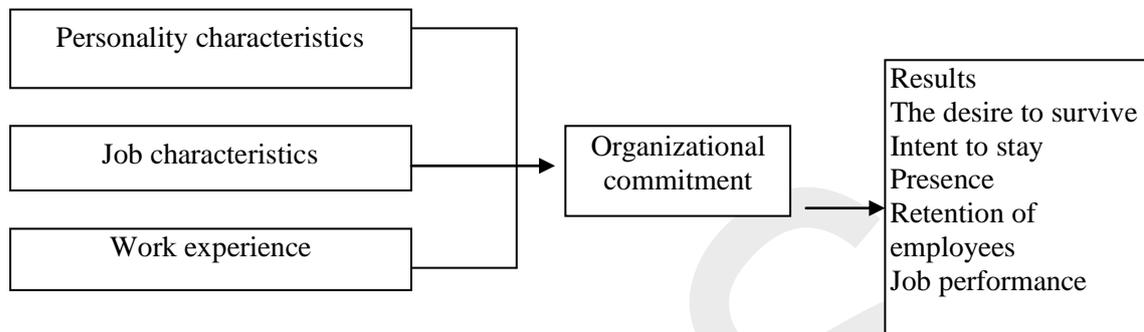


Figure 1: The different factors affecting on the organizational commitment

In Meyer and Allen three-dimensional model of the organizational commitment some dimensions are provided:

Affective commitment: it includes the emotional attachment of staff to the organization identification and involvement in organizational activities.

Continuous commitment: it includes a commitment based on values of the organization and employee's involvement in the life of the organization.

Normative commitment: it includes feelings of people based on the need to stay in the organization.

In general, all the models presented for organizational commitment have emphasized the fact that the organizational commitment leads to good results, such as high productivity and lower turnover. It will decrease absenteeism and several studies confirmed its authenticity (Mogimi, 2001).

Types of work commitment in view of Chalabi with regard to the four systems of Parsons:

According to Chalabi, in of work commitment (like any other social commitments) species identification and the positive emotional desire another kind in the form of socially accepted ethical rules are accepted. This definition is based on the four distinguished types of work commitment in the form of the Quartet Parsons (Chalabi, 1997). These four kinds are:

- A. The relationship commitment
- B. The organizational commitment
- C. The professional commitment
- D. The work commitment

- Work commitment is the most common, and potentially the deepest most lasting form of work commitment. Work commitment is the kind of the positive emotional desire

compared to respect the "Other generalized diffusion" (social community) in the field of work.

- Professional commitment refers to the sense of responsibility and interest in a particular career and professional community. A professional association is the Kind of «other special generalized ". The external manifestation of professional associations can be found in trade and business associations, labor unions, in the business. This kind of commitment is the function of the existence the professional associations, cheerfulness and their vitality.

- Organizational commitment is the identification with the work organization and loyalty to its values, expectations and objectives. Organizational commitment to the organizational culture and cultural consensus in of work organization is dependent on organizational cohesion and organizational consensus. Both have an effective role in strengthening the organizational commitment. Porter, Steers, Mudy and Bolean (1974) think that organizational commitment includes:

- the individual belief in accepting the goals and organizational values.
- His willingness to exert effort to achieve the organizational and career goals.
- His strong tendency to maintain the organizational membership.

Following this definition, scholars such as Becker (1992), by simplifying the definition express that organizational commitment is to join the organization and perform a job based on the following components:

1. Obeying or adaptation and conformity with the organization through reward and punishment mechanisms.
2. The sense of identity and identification or desire of belongings and dependence.
3. The internal or congruence of the value of individual with the goals and values of the organization (Moshabaki, 1997).

- The commitment proposes the relationship at the micro and immediate level included the person responsibility sense of work in the ongoing social relationship with "concrete others" is in every day of work. In fact "personal community" or network of individual social relations in the field of work affect the quality of work, of work satisfaction and work commitment.

- Commitment to a relationship is a kind of sense of duty to others in particular and relative loyalty to the values of its expectations and objectives. Relation commitment in the work is the density function relationships of the person's statements to the others, especially partners and history of this relationship. The nature of relationship commitment is specifically-oriented; while the nature of the work commitment forms the basis of other commitments of work that is general-oriented.

- The work commitment is a kind of "public commitment". Based on this commitment the individual has the sense of responsibility to his own work towards all members of the community whereas in particular the commitment-oriented means the commitment to a relationship, a person only in its relations with some of the specific and limited sense of

responsibility. In the form of the quartet Parsons, the four main dimensions of work according to Chalabi include: 1. dimensions of proof
2. Personality dimensions
3. Social dimensions
4-cultural dimensions.

Figure 2: The main aspects of work within the framework of the Quartet Parsons system

Dimensions of Personality of work G	Dimensions of proof of work A
Dimensions of social of work I	Dimensions of cultural of work L

In the dimension proof of work, the actor in dealing with the environment (subject of work/ dimension a) with consume handy and intellectual energy (work activity / g) is based on a kind of organizing (working conditions / dimension i) the work subject change such as the ideal situation (product of work / L) that needs to be achieved.

Through the society and socialization, humans achieved kind of character. So the system of human character through its different areas of society includes field of work within society. In work field and in the context of nuts, four components of the work personality dimension can be defined as follows: skill of work (a), motivation or desire to work (g), collective identity in the work (i) and personal identity in the work (I). Similarly, for the social dimension of work four main aspects are to consider. They are as follows:

Work relationships (a), guarantee of implementation work (g), work commitments (i) and norms of work (I). The fourth main aspect of work is the dimension of cultural work. From the point of view, work in the general conditions of human action, can be defined in at least four ways:

In the dimension of physical work, it consists of activity (a). In the biological dimension, the work requires a kind of allocation of intellectual and handy energy (g). Also in the work as a explicit or implicit, the kind of obligation or claim is hidden (I). It means that work in construction of its essence changes the targeted status quo to the ideal situation (a kind of proof negation). Finally, at least as an abstract and potential, it is a kind of ultimate goal (I) (Chalabi, 1997).

Factors affecting on the work commitment weakness:

"Habibi" examined the evolution of the work commitment at three level of the national, organizational and individual levels in Iran and the factors and the foundation of the non-aligned of work in Iran. He put the focus of his own discussion. He believed that the national level or social mentality of people in the Iranian society is less to side of growth and development. It has been driven mainly through an increase in the production and this caused distance between the interests of the state or society with the individual interests. Therefore there is a loss of motivation in higher work and productivity. The economic and social dimension of the existence of revenues from the export of crude oil or raw material, followed by the distribution and the administration of revenues with no activity are included the culture low working and demolition of work commitment. At the organizational level, a lack of

efficient management and stimulating to work commitment and as well as neglect to expertise, innovation, and creativity of staff led to a lack of commitment to work in Iran.

The growth of flattery culture in conjunction with unfair distribution of wealth and income and payment of wages unrelated to the quantity and quality of work are the most important the factors of the lack of work commitment.

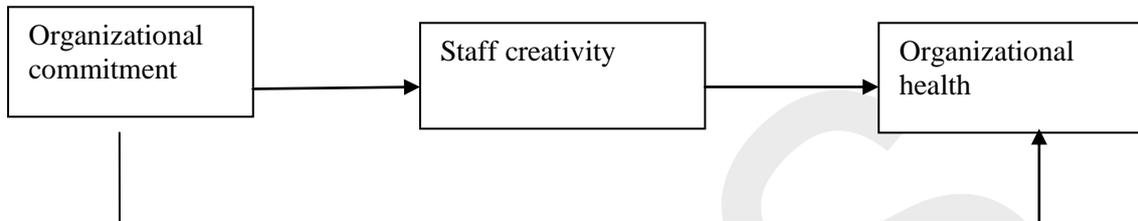


Figure 3: Conceptual Model

Hypotheses:

1. There is a significant relationship between the organizational commitment and the creativity of staff.
2. There is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health.
3. There is a significant relationship between organizational health and employee creativity.
4. There is a significant relationship between the organizational commitment and organizational health through the creativity of staff.

The research method:

Data were necessary to this study; a questionnaire that tested its reliability was collected. Researchers used a questionnaire that consists of 32 questions. All questions for the whole five-item Likert were used to collect data. This data is analyzed by LISREL software. The statistical population in this study is 230 employees of the Social Security Organization. In this research, by using simple random sampling, 144 employees were selected as sample. To determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire, we used the content validity and Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The amounts were respectively the organizational commitment questionnaire Allen and Meyer was 0.85, the organizational health questionnaire of Hui et al. (1996) was 0.88, and Torrance creativity questionnaire was 0.92. In present research, after drawing the research analytical model, data is based on the application of Path diagram with program execution the Perlis with LISREL software obtained the measurement model. In this model, by using the coefficients B and applying T test the hypotheses are tested. Meanwhile the model fit indices has been calculated automatically with the implementation of the Perlis program for the model.

Data analysis:

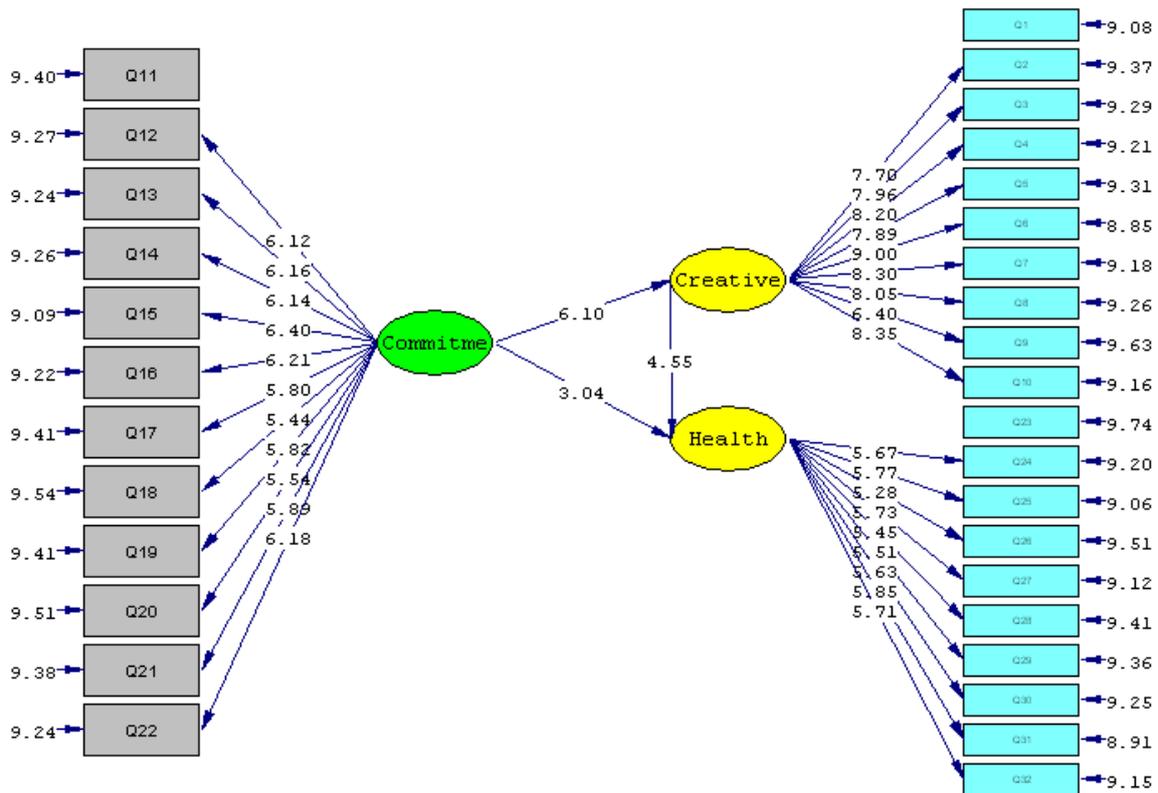
Table 1: fit indexes of the research model

Fit indexes	Standard amounts	Estimated amounts
Degrees of Freedom	-----	461
Chi-Square	Due to the dependence the sample size is not a suitable criterion	1096.73
RMSEA	0.05	0.083
NFI	0.90	0.91
NNFI	0.90	0.94
CFI	0.90	0.95
RMR	0.05	0.060
GFI	0.90	0.74
AGFI	0.90	0.71

As shown in Table 1, indicators of compliance rate or goodness of fit are in the relatively acceptable level.

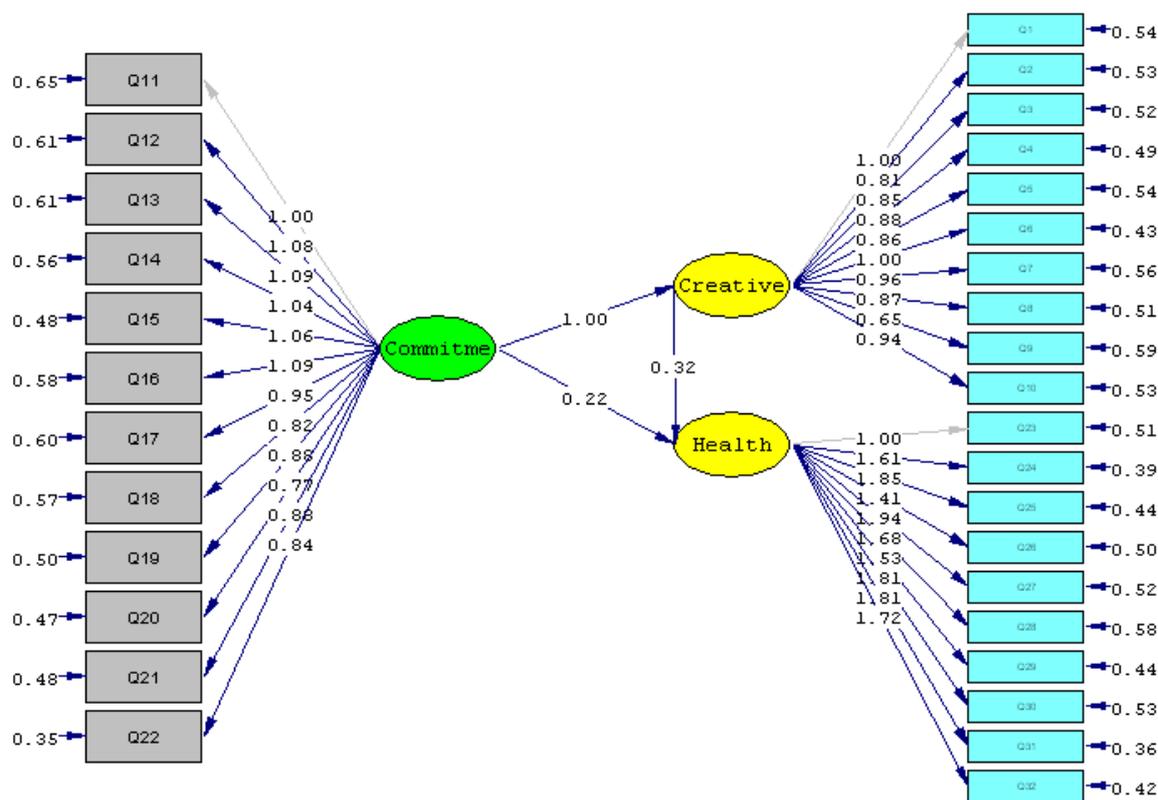
Test of the Structural model:

In this research, the method of confirmatory factor analysis to test the measurement model and path analysis were used to confirm the research structural model. The following two charts show the general models LISREL software's output. They involve at the same time the structural model and measurement model.



Chi-Square=1096.73, df=461, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.083

Chart 1: The base model with T amounts



Chi-Square=1096.73, df=461, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.083

Chart 2: The base model with the path coefficients

In the structural model, the beta coefficient indicates the level of correlation between the variables of latent (hidden) appearance on charts that connects the latent variables.

The findings and analysis of results:

First hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and creativity of staff.

Table 2: Results of the first hypothesis test

Hypothesis	results	T-statistics	Coefficient
1. There is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and creativity of staff.	acceptance	6.10	1.00

Based on the results shown in Table 2, the impact of the independent variable on the dependent is supported by data and the path that relate these two variables together is positive and significant (at the error level of 5% is significant) ($t = 6.10, \beta_{22} = 1.00$). As a result, it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and creativity of staff.

The second hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health.

Table 3: The test results of the second hypothesis

Hypothesis	Results	T-statistics	Coefficient
there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health	Acceptance	3.04	0.22

Based on the results shown in Table 3, the impact of the independent variable on the dependent is supported by data and the path that relates these two variables together is positive and significant (at the error level of 5% is significant) ($t = 3.04, \beta_{22} = 0.22$). As a result, it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health.

The third hypothesis: There is a significant relationship between organizational health and staff creativity.

Table 4: The test results of the third hypothesis

Hypothesis	Results	T-statistics	Coefficient
there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and staff creativity	Acceptance	4.55	0.32

Based on the results shown in Table 4, the impact of the independent variable on the dependent one is supported by data and the path that relates these two variables together is positive and significant (at the error level of 5% is significant) ($t = 4.55, \beta_{22} = 0.32$). As a result, it can be said with 95% confidence that there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and staff creativity.

The fourth hypothesis: there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health through creativity of staff.

Table 5: The test results of the fourth hypothesis

Hypothesis	Results	T-statistics	Coefficient
there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and organizational health through creativity of staff.	Acceptance	$1.00 \times 0.32 = 0.32$	

The results of hypothesis 4 are examined according to information table (5). Investigating the role of mediator of the staff creativity between organizational commitment and organizational health is that if the direct effect of organizational commitment on the staff creativity is confirmed and also has a direct impact of the staff creativity on organizational health it is to be confirmed. The mediating impact of staff creativity between organizational commitment and organizational health is confirmed. The path coefficient of the exogenous latent variable

of the organizational commitment on the endogenous variable of the staff creativity is 1.00 and with the T value equal to 10/6 in the error level of 0.05. With the confidence 0.95, the intended statistic is significant and the path coefficient of the endogenous latent variable of the staff creativity on the endogenous variable of organizational health is 0.32 and with the T value it is equal to 4.55 in the error level of 0.05. With the confidence 0.95, the intended statistic is significant as a result of the impact of the mediating role of the staff creativity between organizational commitment and organizational health which is equal to $0.32 \times 1.00 = 0.32$ and researchers claim is confirmed.

Conclusion:

The results of the first hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between organizational commitment and creativity of staff is equal to 1/00 among T the respective is $96/1 < 10/6$. According to t-test with the critical value 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the first hypothesis of the researchers is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence, that there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and the staff creativity.

The results of the second hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between the organizational commitment and organizational health is equal to 0.22, among T the respective is $1.96 < 3.04$. According to t-test with the critical value 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the second claim of the researchers is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence, that there is a significant relationship between organizational commitment and the organizational health.

The results of the third hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between organizational health and staff creativity is equal 0.32 among T the respective is $1.96 < 4.55$. According to t-test with the critical value 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the third of the researchers' claim is confirmed and it can be said with 95% confidence, that there is a significant relationship between staff creativity and the organizational health.

The results of the fourth hypothesis indicated that amount of path coefficient between the organizational commitment and staff creativity is equal 1.00 among T the respective is $1.96 < 6.10$ and the amount of path coefficient between the organizational commitment and organizational health is equal 0.32 among T the respective is $1.96 < 4.55$. According to t-test with the critical value 0.05 at the 95% confidence level, the null hypothesis can be rejected. As a result, the impact of the mediating role of the staff creativity between organizational commitment and organizational health is equal to $0.32 \times 1.00 = 0.32$ and the fourth researchers' claim is confirmed.

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Doing Politics with Words: a Pragmatic Analysis of News Reports on Obasanjo and Fayose's Fracas

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Abstract

Works abound on the use of language in the Nigerian political atmosphere but sufficient attention has not been paid to the (im)polite remarks and interchange between politicians in the Nigerian political milieu. This study therefore looks at the (im)politeness strategies in the utterances of former president Olusegun Obasanjo and Governor Ayodele Fayose as reported in the Nigerian newspapers. The study adopted Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory as its theoretical guide. 12 excerpts were randomly selected from three Nigerian newspapers – The Nation, The Punch and Nigerian Tribune between July 2014 and July 2015 – to show the political rivalry between these two personalities. The wide report of the power tussle between Olusegun Obasanjo and Ayodele Fayose in Nigerian newspapers is a pointer to the fact that the language of these politicians arouses a wide audience in the Nigerian society; hence, politicians' continuous use of language is an instrument to achieve political relevance and popularity, among many things. This study therefore submits that, politicians should not make the media a tool for political rivalry and they should not make confrontations the medium of sustaining political relevance in the polity.

Keywords: (im)politeness, face, Obasanjo, Fayose, political fracas.

1. Introduction

Language is a marker of culture and so users of language tend to use certain means while using language to communicate. A speaker might decide to be polite and might also decide to be impolite to drive across his/her message. The Media is regarded as the conscience of the society due to the important role they play in a nation building. Based on this, the language of newspaper is always meticulously used by editors, columnists, et al, in newspapers to facilitate the eagerness of readers. The readers can be likened to the audience and thus, the style of the language of newspaper is expected to be impeccable. According to Bell (1991):

The essence of style is that ...speakers are often primarily responding to their audience in the language they produce ...the audience are arguably the most important and certainly the most researched component of mass communication...communicators do work with an idea of the audience they are speaking to and what they want.

With reference to the political news in Nigeria, the ideology behind the language of newspaper reports is unfortunately biased. "Ideology refers to attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shapes the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted" (Taiwo, 2007).

Olowe (1993) focusing on the interplay on the language and ideology of Nigerian English-medium newspapers is of the opinion that no news report is ideologically neutral, transparent or innocent. According to him:

The editor and his reporters on the one hand and their audience constitute an ideological empire. The newspaper subjects all newsworthy events that constantly come up in social life to rigorous linguistic manipulation to make them suit the ideological expectation of the audience.

The politics played in the Nigerian society is often said to be confrontational whereby leaders battle themselves mainly for supremacy and one major tool that is always used by political leaders is the newspaper. Impolite words are exchanged freely and the newspapers are known for reporting these stories verbatim. Political leaders often exercise their prowess over a subordinate leader, in the words of Nafute (2006) "a chairman of a local government (equivalent to a Mayor in North America) holds his seat at the mercy of his state governor."

In the Nigerian society, politics goes beyond the need and desire to serve the citizenry. It is the case that politicians are mainly peoples who set out to benefit from the country's wealth and cut heavily what they often refer to as 'national cake'. Politics in Nigeria is really a unique one that can only be understood by an insider. To this extent, Schaffner (1996) holds that:

In political discourse, linguists have always been interested in the linguistic structures used to get politically relevant messages across to the addressees in order to fulfil a specific function, but narrow linguistic analysis of political discourse cannot ignore the broader societal and political framework in which such discourse is embedded.

Along this line therefore, a careful follow up of the Nigerian political terrain will show that it is not only bothered on the administration of the state but it is also a platform for cold war among politicians. It is in the light of the Nigerian political terrain as being a battle field for politicians that this study hopes to investigate (im)politeness in the language of politicians, looking specifically at newspaper reports on the power tussle between former president Olusegun Obasanjo and Governor Ayo Fayose with the aim of shedding light on the kind of politics played in Nigeria.

2. Literature Review

Garcia-Pastor (2008) explores the interface between impoliteness and power in the context of political campaign debates of the 2000 US elections. In this, focus is on the interventions in which politicians principally address one another and he observed that through interchanges, debaters intend to damage and dominate the opponent, thus showing the antagonism that underlies and sharpens their relationship. Garcia-Pastor employs a second-order approach to impoliteness whereby this concept basically consists of a speaker's intended face aggravation or attached towards the hearer. The writer concludes that politeness investigations of debates have not contemplated the issue of power seriously enough, notwithstanding the close relationship between this concept and politeness phenomena.

Odebunmi (2009) explores the concept of politeness in print media political interviews in Nigeria using a revised version of the theory of relational work. In the article, he attempts to locate face work in the expanded frame of relational work to be able to account for this discourse situation as suggested by the relational work theorists. In his data, two types of print media political interview emerge viz, the subjective or sentimental and the factual or analytical. The former often features a large quantity of politeness elements. The reason for this is that it often touches on the emotional judgement of the participants. The latter, which presents the situation as objectively as possible, often contains very few or no instances of politeness features. Three aspects of relational work were found in his data, they are, politic verbal behaviour, polite verbal behaviour and impolite verbal behaviour. The researcher shows through his analysis that much of what transpires between participants in political interviews is informed by previously or spontaneously conceived opinions which may be presented directly, using politic, polite or impolite expressions. This research is what opened the field for enquiries into politeness in print media political interviews in Nigeria where little works existed.

Previous works have showed and illustrated that there is a close connection between (im)politeness and power in political campaign debates, print media political interviews and

computer mediated communications among others, however this study aims at showing how (im)politeness is used in power relations in the Nigerian Political scene by looking at the utterances of two Nigerian politicians.

3 Methodology

The subjects of this study are two politicians: Olusegun Obasanjo and Ayodele Fayose. These personalities are popular political actors in Nigerian politics. The former was once the president of Nigeria (1976-1979, 1999-2007) and an all-time political leader after his regime. The latter is the incumbent governor of Ekiti State (a state in Nigeria). His popularity lies in having being impeached before as a governor of the same State and his most cordial relationship with the people of his State. This study therefore considers the altercations between both men as reported in Nigerian newspapers between July 2014 and July 2015.

The data for this study is the news reports of three prestigious national dailies; The Nation, The Punch and Nigerian Tribune newspapers. These dailies are preferred considering their national coverage and popularity. Their reports on the altercation of these two political actors within the period of July, 2014 and July, 2015 are subjected to a pragmatic analysis in order to understand the basis for such differences and to account for the political and social implications of such confrontations.

4 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts as its theoretical guide the Politeness Theory. According to Eelen (2001) “Lakoff could well be called the mother of modern politeness theory.” She defined politeness as “a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimising the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange”. Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) politeness principle can be said to be one of the models of politeness principle that is influenced by the work of the sociologist Ervin Goffman (1967) on the social construction of self, and his notion of **face**-the public image individuals seek to project. Their work was first published in 1978 and then reissued in 1987. They defined politeness as redressive action taken to counter-balance the disruptive effect of face-threatening acts.

According to Brown and Levinson (1978:66), “face is the public image that every member of the society wants to claim for himself”. Face has two components: **Positive face** which represents an individual’s desire to seem worthy and deserving of approval (the desire to be well thought of that manifests in the desire to be liked, admired, approved of, respected and appreciated by others). Positive politeness tilts towards preserving the positive face of other people, when we employ positive politeness, we use speech categories that emphasizes our solidarity with others such as using informal address, shared dialects, shared expressions, nicknames, frequent use of inclusive WE, etc. The second component is the **Negative face**, which represents an individual’s desire to be autonomous, unimpeded by others. It is reflected in

the desire not to be imposed upon, to have freedom to choose our actions. Negative politeness is geared towards preserving the negative face of others which is likely considering the distance between the speaker and hearer. When we use negative politeness, we use speech strategies that convey our respect for the hearer. Nicknames, slang, and informal addresses are avoided. Requests tend to be more indirect and impersonal involving expressions such as could you, referring to the hearer in the third person, using mitigating devices such as please, possibly, I'm sorry but...etc.

This study will be carried out using specifically, the politeness strategies identified by Brown and Levinson (1987) which are: Bald on Record, Negative Politeness, Positive Politeness and Off-the-Record or Indirect Strategy. Brown and Levinson's strategies are preferred for this study because they show vividly the political fracas between the two subjects of this study. These devices will be explained in the analysis, giving three instances of each from the aforementioned news papers. In all, a total of 12 excerpts will be used to convey the essence of this study.

5. Data Analysis

5.1. Bald on record

This is the strategy that does not attempt to minimize the threat to the hearer's face. It is commonly used by speakers who know their addressees very closely. With the bald on record strategies there is a direct possibility that the audience will be shocked or embarrassed by the strategy.

Excerpt 1

I remember then as the ad hoc committee chairman, a crop of suitable, brilliant, healthy and competent northern politicians in the PDP were shortlisted by me for Obasanjo to pick from, but he overruled and asked me to contact Yar'adua because he preferred him (The Nation 2015-02-27)

Here, Fayose uses the Bald on record politeness strategy to present the former president Obasanjo as a dictator and at the same time depicts himself as a highly intelligent leader. It is a known fact that with the bald on record strategy, there is a direct possibility that the audience will be shocked or embarrassed.

For Fayose saying the shortlisted (as an ad hoc committee chairman) northern politicians who are (1) suitable, (2) brilliant, (3) healthy and (4) competent is an implication that he (Fayose) is a politician with a phenomena leadership skill. Most importantly, the bald on record politeness strategy used by Fayose here is evident in the fact that after he had shortlisted seemingly appropriate politicians for Obasanjo but then, Obasanjo overruled it which depicts a character typical of a dictator. Going by this, audience or readers will, of course be embarrassed at the attitude of the former President Obasanjo.

Excerpt 2

Former President Olusegun Obasanjo has asked Ekiti State governor, Ayo Fayose, to shut up and seek God's forgiveness for abusing him barely two years after he begged him in a letter over previous abuse. (Nigerian Tribune 2014-12-06)

Here, Obasanjo uses the bald on record strategy to threaten the face of his opponent. Bald on record strategy is used to threaten the face of the hearer (or the receiver as the case may be) and it's mostly used when the two interlocutors are familiar with each other to a reasonable extent. Asking Fayose to shut up can therefore be considered as a form of direct threat to his face by the former president Olusegun Obasanjo while the latter part of the excerpt exonerate Obasanjo himself as a man of a high social standard.

Excerpt 3

Fayose urged obasanjo to stop running other Nigerians down, saying "we are all stakeholders in the country. It is wrong for any Nigerian, no matter how highly placed to go about carrying himself around as the only honest and lover of the country (The Nation 2015-07-21)

In the above excerpt, the aim of Fayose is to preserve his positive face and attempt a bald on record on Obasanjo, he refers to himself as a stakeholder just as Obasanjo and goes ahead to give advice to the Obasanjo indirectly thereby making an attempt to project himself and make the audience have a positive view of him.

5.2. Negative politeness

This strategy presumes that the speaker will be imposing on the listener. It is the desire to remain autonomous. For Instance according to Brown and Levinson (1987), a speaker may request this way "I know you just paid your children's school fees, but please can you lend me N1, 000 till the weekend?" The addressee is likely to accede to the request if he/she has the means because the request shows a respect for their ability to maintain autonomy.

Excerpt 4

In fairness to the late president, he objected on health ground but Obasanjo insisted he must be the president...I am not against the north, rather if Obasanjo has picked from the list of names submitted by my committee to him, certainly a northerner replacing Obasanjo would have ruled this country to 2015, as an insider who saw everything and who has

noticed the repeat of the episode of 2006, I must talk (The Nation 2015-02-27)

From the above report, Fayose exonerates himself and at the same time, portrays the former President as the terrible person. By mentioning the former president's name from time to time shows that he has little or no respect for him whatsoever. It is noteworthy to assert that Fayose describing himself as an insider is an attempt to make it known to the audience that he is a high ranked leader in within the party.

Excerpt 5

Obasanjo should stop making uncomplimentary statements about the party, if he continues, we will suspend him; nobody is bigger than this party. (The Punch 2014-07-05)

This is a direct FTA to the opponent as Fayose reiterates the fact that the party (perceived to be bigger than any member) can suspend Obasanjo if he does not desist from making uncomplimentary statements. Fayose goes ahead to demand the suspension of the former president based on what he regards as indiscipline on the part of the former president. From the excerpt, it is conspicuous that Fayose tried to impose an order on former president Obasanjo.

Excerpt 6

Fayose said ...visiting Obasanjo to plead with him to rescind his decision not to participate in the party's activities was capable of encouraging other members of the party to disrespect the President and the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria as done by Obasanjo. (Nigerian Tribune 2014-12-06)

The major reason for the message from Fayose is to pass a message to the audience that the former president has little or no political prowess within the party again and because of that, party members should desist from pleading with the former president again as it will only breed disrespect within the party.

5.3. Positive politeness

This strategy will attempt to minimize the threat to the hearer's face. This strategy is most commonly used in situations where the interlocutors know each other fairly well. In many instances attempts are made to avoid conflicts. For example, a positive politeness strategy might be the request such as, "I know you are very busy now, but could you please spare me five minutes."

Excerpt 7

I will differ a bit...my name is Ayodele Fayose, the Oshokomole, irunmole to n je jollof rice (Nigerian Punch 2014-11-29)

Here, Ayodele Fayose differs from the discussion and announces his official name to the audience, the reason for this is to institutionalise himself as a force within the party. It is expected that members of the audience already know his name but hearing him mentioning his name again is expected to give the audience some sort of expectation from Fayose. Fayose purposely announces his appellation for two possibly reasons. On the one hand, it is known that the appellation is given to him by the people of Ekiti state, the state which he is presently the governor. The appellation is borne out of the fact that Fayose is widely accepted as a leader in his country and also as a grassroots politician so sounding such appellation to the ear of the audience is expected to boost his ego and also make the audience view him as a “man of his people”. On the other hand, he is aware that some people might have a negative disposition to his name; presenting his acceptability through his appellation is therefore an attempt to redress his positive face before it is threatened.

Excerpt 8

Fayose begged obasanjo for forgiveness for what he called his actions that has caused embarrassment to the former president. The tone of the letter also asked the former president to help him facilitate his return to the PDP. (Nigerian Tribune 2014-12-06)

In the above excerpt, Fayose is reported to have begged former president Obasanjo to absorb him of all his sins. Fayose uses the positive politeness strategy to pass across his letter to Obasanjo. The positive politeness is often used when the interlocutors know each other pretty well and they try to avoid conflict. The letter written by Fayose is dated December 6, 2014 and it was pasted on the Saturday Tribune. The tone of the letter depicts an apologetic addresser (Fayose).

Excerpt 9

He (Fayose) added that he was in the position to lead PDP's campaign... (The Punch 2014-07-10)

From the above excerpt, Fayose does not only present himself as a leader but also enhances his own positive face with such reported utterance. Knowing full well that Obasanjo is a leader in the party (PDP), Fayose uses the indirect strategy to threaten the face of Obasanjo.

5.4. Indirect strategy

The final politeness strategy outlined by Brown and Levinson is the indirect strategy. Here the language is indirect, but the intention is usually clear from the context. For instance, a request can be made this way “Is there any eatery around the corner?” by someone who is hungry and wants to eat. This question insinuates that the speaker is hungry and would want to go and eat, but it is not put so directly.

Excerpt 10

I, Obasanjo, however, noted that if anybody or group felt offended by his continued membership of the PDP, he would offer an unreserved apology and would continue to remain in the party.
ii. He said he had a national and international standard to maintain and reputation to keep and sustain (The Punch 2014-10-13)

In the first part of the above excerpt, Obasanjo uses the indirect strategy to pass across his message. The intention of the message is crystal clear. He wants to make peace with whoever is pained by his continued membership of the PDP. The second part of the excerpt, Obasanjo is so concerned about his positive face on the national and international scene that he results not to do the Face Threatening Act at all (do not do the FTA).

Excerpt 11

The former president in his reply...accepted to forgive the Ekiti state governor (Nigerian Tribune 2014-12-06)

Former president Olusegun Obasanjo also uses the indirect strategy to make it clear that he was ready to apologise to Fayose, thereby damaging his own negative face.

Excerpt 12

Obasanjo, however, noted that if anybody or group felt offended by his continued membership of the PDP, he would offer an unreserved apology and would to remain in the party. (The Punch 2014-10-13)

Through indirect strategy, the name of the addressee may not be declared but the intention is always clear from the context. The president makes it clear that he is ready to apologise to anyone in the party and it is also clear that the president and Fayose are not in good terms so it is only logical to assume that the former president is ready to apologise to the Ekiti state governor.

6. Conclusion

This study reveals that confrontation is one of the means through which Nigerian politicians remain in vogue and even at that, confrontation among these politicians is not mostly issue based. Rivalry in the political turf in Nigeria provokes a widespread debate among the

Nigerian audience, hence, the free and wide reportage we have on the national dailies and the Face Threatening Act (FTA) is done mainly through a blunt and appalling attack on the physical states of one another.

It is also clear that, no matter the age differences among politicians, they could go to an extreme length with the use of words and hurled insults at themselves with the aim of gaining more political influence over their opponents. This study has also showed that the relationship between politicians can be so terrible that they resort to pour invective against themselves and the newspapers appear to be the most suitable medium their messages reach the audience.

However, this study submits that, politicians should not make the media a tool for political rivalry and they should not make confrontations the medium of sustaining political relevance.

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A Reconstruction of the Discourse of South Dakota Public Broadcasting Managers and Producers: A Cultural Analysis Using Universal Pragmatics

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Abstract

This article is the final of three in a series providing analysis of the discursive activity and speech act behavior of South Dakota Public Broadcasting (SDPB) managers and producers. Applying Habermas' theory of universal pragmatics to the discourse and conversations detailed previously in IJHCS 2(3), 2015, pp. 729-765, this work will consider whether that discourse is being conducted according the assumptions and rules of communicative action and rationality or according to the goal directedness of instrumental rationality.

In United States, Public Broadcasting was founded upon the ideals of diversity and alternative programming (Carnegie I, 14). Such ideals should be influential in the construction of meaning for cultural producers. However, as already discussed in previous chapters, capitalist steering mechanisms such as power and money have the potential to distort communication and essentially disable the consensus forming process, shape the lives of the citizenry, and work to construct meaning, knowledge and cultural production through action which is contradictory to the democratic process.

This article will apply the rules and speech act elements of the ideal speech situation to the discursive behavior of South Dakota Public Broadcasting managers and producers and it will provide evidence of either distorted communication and instrumental rationality or communicative action and democratic participation.

The discourse and speech acts discussed in Schlenker, IJHCS 2(3) will be considered in working toward an understanding of interaction at South Dakota Public Broadcasting during 1992 and early 1993, which involved the resignation and replacement of the Executive Director. This analysis will provide an understanding of the structural influences on the communicative patterns within the SDPB organization.

This analysis is divided into three segments including (1) a six-month period following the resignation of the Executive Director, (2) the arrival of the new Executive Director, and (3) a three-month period following the arrival of the new Executive Director.

Keywords: Habermas, Universal Pragmatics, Ideal Speech Situation, Public Sphere, Culture, Democracy.

Communicative Action in Practice

The rules of communicative action provide for consensus building speech patterns that epitomize democratic participation while instrumental rationality tends toward systematic distortion, which merely maintains an appearance of openness, honesty and democratic participation. The first article in this series detailed the structure of the ideal speech situation that necessarily contains four primary speech act elements including communicatives, representatives, regulatives and constatives (Schlenker, *IJHCS* 1(4)). Associated with each of these are their four respective validity claims including comprehensibility, truthfulness, appropriateness and truth.

Habermas maintains that the ideal speech situation "is a critical standard against which every actually realized consensus can be called into question and checked" (Kemp, 188, 1988). Genuine consensus can only legitimately be reached through "the force of a better argument." To do this we can analyze the discourse that took place in terms of the four major requirements of the ideal speech situation, all of which must be met if the consensus that emerges from a practical discourse is to be genuine (190).

Schlenker, *IJHCS* 2(3), for example included numerous examples wherein individuals and entities associated with SDPB, from the Educational Telecommunications Board (ETB) to the Executive Director gave the appearance of "openness and honesty" in relation to the establishing of consensus for decisions regarding policy for South Dakota Public Broadcasting. Universal pragmatics and the elements, which make up the ideal speech situation thus work as a practical tool in determining whether the consensus which was established concerning various issues was legitimate or only apparent.

These decisions included a variety of issues and situations from the Portrait of a Marriage controversy to network reorganization. Following the assumptions of theorists like Nicholas Garnham who place a great deal of importance on the concept of public service broadcasting as "an embodiment of the principles of the public sphere" (Garnham, 1990, 109), it becomes important to determine how closely discourse which contributes to determining policy for public sphere entities like Public Broadcasting resembles the ideal speech situation.

This link between the lifeworld discursive activity and programming policy is important because if Public Broadcasting is to be a viable public sphere entity, relevant to citizen participation in democracy, then the programming which its producers develop must be capable of adding to public debate and giving a voice to the voiceless rather than merely adding to the politics of consumerism.

Following Garnham and Habermas, it is logical to assume that if Public Broadcasting's managers and producers work within a culture which is not conducive to communicative action and democratic participation, then it is unlikely that the programming which they develop, produce and schedule will be compatible with those ideals

Communicative Speech Acts: Comprehensibility

The Executive Director's resignation in April of 1992 appeared to mean different things to different people associated with the network. Dave Leonard's last few months had been tumultuous at best. His tireless battle against House Bill 1123, while successful, appeared to have alienated him from the Educational Telecommunications Board (ETB). Thus he actually ended up losing a great deal on both a personal and professional level. Speaking of the Department of Educational and Cultural Affairs (DECA) Secretary, whom Leonard described as one of the more powerful ETB members, he said, "I got into a pissing match with a skunk."

South Dakota Public Broadcasting employees, who had watched the battle, expressed mixed feelings. Some producers for example, said it was advantageous that Dave Leonard was gone, saying that his management style was not conducive to empathizing with the "foot soldiers" and "peons."

Middle managers, including the Deputy Executive Director and the Director of Television Programming however, were in a much different situation, now having to run the network while it was "under a microscope" and being scrutinized by the legislature, DECA and ETB. Their conservative programming decisions throughout the remainder of the year, drew a great deal of criticism from statewide press and the public.

The entire time period including the resignation of the Executive Director, and the arrival and work of the new Executive Director helps to define the culture of South Dakota Public Broadcasting including the relationships between DECA, ETB, producers, managers and the public.

The *Portrait of a Marriage* decision, for example, was so controversial that the Educational Telecommunications Board could not avoid discussion of it and finally allowed public comment during three of its meetings during the fall of 1992.

Producers and managers also had mixed perspectives about what should have been done with 'Portrait', whether Leonard's leaving was advantageous or not, what to expect from the new Executive Director and what directions the organization should be taking.

Were discourse participants during this time period able to engage in communicative speech acts? Were they able to initiate and perpetuate discourse and make their arguments understood? Were they restricted from doing so politically, economically or socially? These are all questions directly related to the first ingredient composing the ideal speech situation: the communicative speech act.

It is apparent that the network's middle managers were struggling to make meaning for themselves following the Executive Director's resignation. Their programming decisions, while an attempt to regain some sense of network control, nevertheless erupted in a highly visible controversy.

In dealing with the dilemma, the ETB gave the impression that it approved of the decision, when it refused during three Fall 1992 meetings, to publicly comment on *Portrait of a Marriage*. ETB itself seems to have set a discursive pattern at this time. It allowed a number of people to comment on the situation. Individuals who did so clearly articulated their perspectives in an open forum calling for SDPB to "be free of undue state control" (Roberts, October 16, 1992).

However, while giving the impression that members of the public could come and clearly articulate their viewpoints on the matter, ETB virtually ignored all speakers by not even commenting or debating the issues, which participants raised.

This minimized the arguments of individuals who expressed dissatisfaction with the decision not to air the program. Essentially the ETB had changed the rules of engagement and simply refused to acknowledge other perspectives.

This gave both the Deputy Executive Director, now working in the capacity of the Acting Executive Director, and the Director of Television Programming, confidence that their decision had been the appropriate one. Ironically, soon after the new Executive Director came on board, both the Deputy Executive Director and the Director of Television programming were fired. Speculation existed that the root-cause of their demise was the 'Portrait' controversy.

That appears to have been at least a portion of their problem; however, not because the Board disagreed with their decision. The new Executive Director for example, in speaking of the 'Portrait' problem said, "The Board doesn't care so much about what we do, it just doesn't want any negative publicity generated."

Communicative speech acts also need to be considered in relation to the producer/manager relationship at SDPB. Upon his arrival, the new Executive Director strongly encouraged people to talk with him openly because he encouraged "openness and honesty."

However, when the network reorganizational plan was being discussed before the ETB,

producers could only attend the meeting if they asked for personal leave time off from work. This was a questionable tactic, since the ETB was discussing a plan, which would have direct impact on the lives of producers. Consequently, only one producer attended the meeting and no effort was made to seek out his perspectives from either the ETB or the Management Team members.

This is a direct and obvious contradiction of the communicative speech act ideal, which insists that all partners to participation have the opportunity to express themselves clearly and comprehensibly.

Similar discrepancies exist within the confines of the "Management Team" structure. A number of Vermillion producers expressed frustration during the Sioux Falls meeting for example, over the fact that no one from Vermillion production was a part of the Management Team. The Management Team argued that Vermillion producers were represented because all members of the Management Team had their best interests at heart. While that is a subjective observation, the clear and obvious realization is that no Vermillion producers have been appointed to the Management Team and this also is a clear violation of the first guideline of the ideal speech situation.

Perhaps the primary point to remember in analyzing the rigor of communicative speech acts at South Dakota Public Broadcasting is that distortion has occurred at essentially every level of the organization and appears to have permeated the system.

Both the former Executive Director and the Deputy Executive Director have confirmed the fact that the Co-chair of the South Dakota Joint Appropriations Committee had begun having secret meetings with SDPB employees over a conflict with management as early as the spring of 1992.

No member of SDPB's management was a participant in those discussions, which made it even more difficult for network management to deal with organizational problems including producers who felt they had no access to the Executive Director. Rather it is likely that such meetings widened the rift between managers and producers and further promoted the confusion about who was in control of the network.

Thus, barriers to employment of communicative speech acts at South Dakota Public Broadcasting have affected the entire network structure, from the legislature's Appropriations Committee to network producers.

The communicative speech act requirement is frequently not a major problem when participants come from similar cultural backgrounds since the underlying validity claim is simply that participants are understandable and comprehensible (Habermas, 1979, 3). On occasion however, barriers to the employment of communicative speech acts come from the lack of opportunity to engage in discourse, the inability to question other participants, structural

constraints, which do not allow access to all discursive situations, and on occasion economic disadvantages which do not allow all participants equal opportunity.

As mentioned earlier, other constraints can also exist including outright deception on the part of more knowledgeable participants, who are able to change the rules of engagement and thus minimize the effectiveness of other arguments whether or not they are better.

This seems to be the situation at South Dakota Public Broadcasting from top to bottom. On numerous occasions, ETB had invited the Co-Chair of the Joint Appropriations Committee to attend its bi-monthly meetings but without success. Speaking of management's inability to communicatively engage the Co-Chair, managers acknowledged frustration.

This has been undermining the authority of the licensee (the ETB) and it undermines the authority of the senior management of the network and thus there may well be a sense at the producer level that what they do or don't do may somehow be measured or graded or positively or negatively received, and they may be thinking more about the legislator or group of legislators than their audience.

I think therefore, there is a sense of frustration that all of us have, over that is in charge and that has been voiced verbally at our last Board meeting. We had a staff meeting ahead of the Board meeting and the Board came in and met with the staff at that last meeting and several of the staff came in and said, "Who is in charge?" (Acting Executive Director, January 14, 1993).

While management realized that legislative intrusion was capable of having a debilitating effect upon producers and production, they generally denied that a direct link existed and felt they could act as a buffer. However their own conservative programming decisions after the Executive Director resigned acted as a series of warnings to producers.

We have tried not to let things like *Portrait of a Marriage* affect us and we have developed pretty tough shells in the last couple of years. But you kind of question whether what you do will be perceived as going too far. There's always that tension and concern over offending somebody. I don't think we have really touched on any areas that are too far out there. I think we could get a little braver, but management doesn't support us. So, why should we take that step off, for no good reason?

But around here no one ever confers with anyone else. And, management acts as if it is afraid of the legislature. I have watched management as they are meeting with legislators and they are uncomfortable, there is no positive relationship there and to me that sets a tone for everything. To me, I don't understand what people are afraid of with the truth. They are letting fear control them. I've seen fear control employees around here. There's no reason for it. And that's the way they manage, with threats, intimidation and fear.

And that trickles down because it affects each supervisor at each level and it really starts to get you down. It affects producers just as much as it affects everyone else (SDPB Producer #2, January 20, 1993).

This type of communicative distortion, which is accomplished primarily by not allowing participants, the opportunity to clearly initiate and perpetuate discourse was acknowledged by managers as well. The perception that "no one ever confers with anyone else," and "management acts as if it is afraid of the legislature" show clearly that the elements of control, which have emanated from the legislature and DECA seem to have been filtered through the ETB and have been internalized by both producers and managers of the network.

Politics interfere. Politics are getting in the way of doing business. It ought not to be that way but it is. The bureaucracy has taken on a life of its own and that can be kind of nasty. Dave Leonard is not here because he got crossways politically with the wrong people, I might not be here in six months because I got crossways with the wrong people.

The real test of an Executive Director's success is in keeping the politics away from the producer level, it should never get out and permeate the staff people, and they should always be removed from it.

As long as you have politicians who are elected and therefore appoint boards to control entities there needs to be some kind of removal of control outside the political arena. We have to go before the Appropriations Committee to have our budget approved. If we do not make them happy, we could be in trouble.

It's control and accountability, and by having control of the purse strings you can control it. I don't know if it is politics per se, but it is the power that goes with the politics. Because of the way the system is set up, you are not in charge of your own destiny (Director of Television Programming, January 11, 1993).

The irony here, is that while the former Executive Director fought for SDPB autonomy in strenuously opposing HB-1123, for example, and apparently worked to buffer producers from political control, just the opposite seems to have been the result. The former management structure utilized the Deputy Executive Director who acted as a Chief Operations Officer and supervised division heads in day-to-day activity. This structure offered a level of insulation for producers from the legislature and DECA, since it was the former Executive Director who dealt with state officials in his capacity as Chief Executive Officer of the network.

Without direct access to producers, the DECA Secretary and Co-Chair of the Joint Appropriations Committee simply circumvented both the ETB and management in holding secret meetings with producers. This contributed to the development of HB-1123, which the Co-Chair sponsored with the blessing of the DECA Secretary, who insisted that "these are state employees and therefore DECA needs to have control" (ETB Meeting, December 9, 1992).

Management members who opposed this legislation including the Executive Director, Deputy Executive Director and Director of Television Programming resigned under duress and with ETB endorsement. Following these patterns of control provides evidence that communicative distortion has affected South Dakota Public Broadcasting from the Executive Director to producer positions. It becomes apparent as this study progresses that other speech act elements have also suffered due to manipulation, control and distortion.

Representative Speech Acts: Sincerity

Representative speech acts are the second category of speech acts to be considered in the context of the ideal speech situation. Representative speech acts incorporate sincerity or truthfulness as a validity claim. It is important that participants be able to express themselves sincerely in order that they might fully represent their opinions and attitudes regarding issues which effect them in the life world.

As with communicative speech act, various constraints can work to keep participants from articulating their arguments. Constraints can be either external or internal. External constraints can include political and economic interests and may be powerful enough to circumvent general public interest in favor of a specialized interest.

Internal constraints can be equally debilitating and may affect institutional cultures like South Dakota Public Broadcasting, which are committed to certain policies without regard for

rational arguments from other parties. Expressions of false concern and hidden motives are typically utilized in an attempt to minimize the effectiveness of positions, which may be contrary to that of the status quo agenda.

Members of the Educational Telecommunications Board, for example often listened quietly and politely to members of the public, who on occasion, attended Board meetings and wished to comment either on Board policy or SDPB programming choices. On several occasions in the last year however, the Board simply ignored these public comments and went on to other business barely acknowledging either the individuals or their arguments.

After one particularly intense meeting in Sioux Falls on December 19, 1992 for example, the Board once again neglected to acknowledge comment until the afternoon session when most members of the public were gone. Board members then offered some opinions.

If these people who were in here complaining so much this morning want minority programming, tell them to get out their billfolds. And besides, I have the Program Guide right here and here's a Native American program on Monday the 14th. And he was crying about no minority programming (ETB Meeting, December 9, 1992).

During that particular Board meeting, the morning discussion had centered on the necessity for more minority programming; however, the minority programming being discussed was in relation to not having scheduled *Portrait of a Marriage* earlier that year. Apparently, "minority programming" to this Board member, meant only Native American programming and his answer was simple. "If people want minority programming, tell them to get out their billfolds."

One SDPB producer expressed frustration with the make-up of the ETB membership and its apparent inability to display support for alternative programming and minority viewpoints. However, it was clear to this producer why the Board often appears insensitive.

One thing we could change for instance would be with the ET Board. It would be nice if it were representative of South Dakotans. I know they are people who have names and power and money, but they are not representative of South Dakotans. They generally want to stay above the fray and generally end up not doing their job either. They just want to meet and have some glory. They don't deal with conflict very well at all. They should be made up of different people who should be involved. And you look at the Board and it's made up of white men who have to have control. They should be people who care

rather than people who are appointed as a political favor. Maybe that is what makes the world go around, but that can change (SDPB Producer #2, January 20, 1993).

This producer articulated an important point. Whereas the Board consistently gives public endorsement to serving the underserved (a concern mentioned by many in public broadcasting), its concern appears less than genuine when its members virtually belittle a sincerely expressed viewpoint by essentially brushing it aside unless people "get out their billfolds." The fact of the matter is, that in speaking with individuals who had been courageous enough to address the Board, it was discovered that they had already opened "their billfolds" and were "Friends," that is, financially supporting members of South Dakota Public Broadcasting.

While the above examples fall under the category of external constraints and stem from a particular attitude on the part of ETB members; internal constraints also exist at SDPB in the form of particular expressions and policy directions which are forged and formulated in such a way that contrary opinions and arguments are minimized as if not sincere or genuine. This leads to insinuations that these contrary and critical arguments are really not to be taken seriously.

The lecture, which the new Executive Director gave at the first general staff meeting he conducted is an example. One of the primary things he first mentioned (and which became part of his "stump speech") was "the look."

ED: I have produced and directed a lot of things, and I have executive produced and I'm a real stickler for "look." That's all we have, is our look. People decide who we are ... you know ... people ... the average ... everybody out there in TV land that watches, they don't care about us. I mean you got to think about that, us personally, and I don't mean to sound cynical, but they could care less about what's happening inside this building. All they care about is that when they turn on the TV, what is there is what they said is going to be there and that it is the highest quality we can present. And in today's world, viewers are very sophisticated. That is something that we never used to think about. People used to be amazed with snowy pictures and all of that, but today people don't stand for that. So my efforts have always been to try and create a situation where the organization that we belong to can become a standard, so that people begin to look at that and go, "Wow, those guys know their stuff, they look great." So our "on-air" is totally critical to me, I'll be watching. I think there is some room for improvement in our on-air look, our breaks, how we use our breaks, all of those things (SDPB Staff Meeting. April

1, 1993).

The concern over "the look" is related to the obsession over "professional standards" which has plagued public broadcasting since commercial broadcasting and its over emphasis on entertainment became the virtual standard for broadcasting in general. Historically SDPB has similarly been pressured to meet standards imposed by the entertainment oriented "look." In the 1950's, proponents who believed that "entertainment" should be the standard against which educational programming should be measured were not subtle.

It must be borne in mind that a radio station, like any advertising medium, subsists on entertainment rather than education. There must be some of course, but people look to radio for relaxation, not education. It is often the mistake of many persons to indignantly demand that radio do much educating, much public service, and strive hard to increase the mental stature of the general public. But educational writers and sponsors of experimental theaters know too well, this approach is not conducive to mass audience. Education costs money. Radio is at the disposal of those who wish to help defray the expenses, and they take a dim view of being philanthropic but poor (Schweikher, 1953, 41).

The new Executive Director's pitches regarding "the look" are strikingly similar in nature. They designate a standard and impose an expectation that this standard epitomizes the ultimate goal. He said authoritatively, "I will be watching." In addition, he articulated a 1990's equivalent for television, which was imposed for radio in the 1950's.

Folks, we have to be concerned about the image of this network. We need hotter programming. I look at some of our stuff and I say, "I know we could do better than that." We need people to know good television; the look is what is important. The audience won't watch if you don't have a consistent look.

We need a better on air-look, so how do we get it? We need a Nickelodeon style. Channels like that are our competition. We need to be snappy and moving along and if we don't have that now and have to change some people to get it, let's do it.

These people need to know that they have to be team players and that there are rules to play by. And what we have to decide is if we want to simply get rid of them or tell them they are moving and hope they choose to leave instead (SDPB Management Team Meeting, April 14, 1993).

It did not take long for producers to catch on to the "game" which the Executive director was "playing." The April 1st, 1993, Sioux Falls meeting for example, was another intense session with network reorganization on the agenda in the morning and programming goals discussed in the afternoon.

After the Minority Affairs producer clearly pointed out the importance of serving minority audiences and producing programs with strong social content, another producer took issue with him and used as a rationale this version of "the look" speech.

The thing is, it's trendy right now to talk about social issues and things like what a jerk Christopher Columbus was. And we're talking about all of these social issues. Well the CPB sits down and says, "Well we have all of this stuff for kids and education," and you look at the PBS rundown and you see *Nature* and you see *Nova* and you see *Mystery* and you see *Masterpiece Theatre* and you see all of these other programs and every once in a while they'll throw in a show about some social issue.

And we're sitting, talking about doing shows about all of these social changes and we're talking about trying to get viewers. Well, you're not going to get viewers to watch by running programs about alcoholism. You might be able to get some people to watch but in general the Executive Director is saying that he wants to have an audience (SDPB Staff Meeting, April 1, 1993).

"The look" speech generally seems to center around the necessity for entertainment value in programming and production so that viewers will watch. The assumption is that today's viewers are so "sophisticated" that they will watch very little that is not entertainment oriented. Generally, on PBS "you see *Nature* and you see *Nova* and you see *Mystery* and you see *Masterpiece Theatre* ... and every once in a while they'll throw in some show about a social issue."

On this occasion, such discourse had the effect of minimizing the credence of the previous argument since it sounded so rational, logical, and it was supported by the Executive Director himself. Thus, no matter how sincerely the contrary point was articulated, its credibility had already suffered.

Other internal constraints have affected the discussion over programming and the ability of producers to sincerely offer their perspectives on programming direction. Recently, for example

the new Executive Director issued SDPB's programming guidelines which closely paralleled the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's (CPB) "1993 Statement of Programming Objectives for Public Television."

This document originated out of the controversy during the yearly congressional budget hearings wherein PBS was severely criticized for programming described as liberally biased. Its specific goal is "strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs or series of programs of a controversial nature (Public Telecommunications Act, 1992). However, its statement of programming objectives (SPO's) defines programming in terms of eight themes including education, health, culture, children, America's international roles, government and history.

The new Executive Director suggested that SDPB utilize three of these themes including Education, Children and Community, on which to focus its programming goals (Third Organizational Meeting Minutes, March 28, 1993). Use of these themes as objectives, works well to define South Dakota Public Broadcasting as a programming source for educational material and as an extension of educational institutions in the state. This is a perspective long maintained by the Department of Education and Cultural Affairs (DECA) which has strongly suggested that SDPB define its programming goals accordingly.

Our strategic planning consultants reported their evaluation of the service and suggested some things to review. The consultants noted that SDPB had been taking a rather inactive role in educational programming and urged us to adopt an active posture in educational services by strengthening working relationships with the various partners involved: Division of Education, Regents, public and private colleges, K-12 schools, Technology in Education, and various education organizations and agencies in the state (DECA Memo, August 10, 1990).

Producers voiced concern that "educational programming" defined in terms of K-12 and educational institutions in general were much too narrow a definition.

P4: For instance when I talked one-on-one with the Executive Director he defined "education" much more narrowly than I would. He defined it more along the lines of K through 12, which is basically the way DECA looks at it. And that is not unlike the ETB chair's definition of "educational TV". He's getting his definition from the Chair of the House Appropriations

Committee, he's getting it from DECA, he's getting it from the Board, he's getting it from the governor's office ...

P1: But the thing about it is that we're losing focus again, and we're allowing people in leadership positions of state government to say, "Here's what should be." But I can guarantee that if we go out into the community and get a grass roots perspective, it will be totally different as to what they want to see from us as compared with what these people at the top want to see from us. Because basically you got people at the top in charge like the DECA secretary and the Chair of the Appropriations Committee who is also a high school principal, all defining "education" in terms of K through 12 and very narrowly (SDPB TV Production Meeting, March 17, 1993).

These perspectives were articulated with a great deal of commitment and sincerity on March 17, 1993. They defined the necessity of "educational programming" but in much broader terms regarding diversity and democracy rather than merely as an extension of the K through 12 educational structure. However after the Third Organizational Meeting (March 28, Minutes) wherein the three SPO's for 1993, were explained by the Executive Director, no producer expressed a contrary viewpoint as strongly.

Much the same thing took place regarding perspectives on programming like Statehouse. Such programming became popular on SDPB after the station licenses were transferred to the ETB with closer state supervision that was described in chapter six. In particular, producers from Vermillion who were responsible for Minority Affairs, Cultural Affairs and ITV programming have been particularly critical of programs like Statehouse, claiming that it really does nothing to serve underserved people. However, at the April 1 meeting in Sioux Falls, the Executive Director worked hard to keep these viewpoints from being sincerely expressed.

We have to realize the politics involved in all of this. What if we all decide that we should be doing Statehouse, that we shouldn't be doing something else. If we sit here like a group of adults and professionals and say, "That show is really not doing much for us," we've all agreed now that we are going to take those resources and produce THIS show which we think will have a bigger impact on the state of South Dakota ... what's going to happen reality wise? We're probably going to lose funding (SDPB Staff Meeting, April 1, 1993).

Consequently, no one voiced a perspective in contradiction of this. Discussion essentially came to a halt and no one challenged the Executive Director's position.

As these examples show, both internal and external constraints have worked to curb the use of representative speech acts related to viewpoints expressed with conviction and sincerity at South Dakota Public Broadcasting.

Regulative Speech Acts: Rightness

Regulative speech acts are concerned with rightness or appropriateness as a validity claim. They indicate the existence of a normative relationship in conjunction with the societal domain and development of interpersonal relationships (Habermas, 1979, 68).

Thus normatively regulated action (speech) is the result. However as part of the ideal speech situation, all participants in discourse must have the opportunity to affect such regulations as to who should be allowed to speak. In addition all participants should be allowed to recommend, command, warn, request, excuse and advise (McCarthy, 1985, 285).

Regulative speech acts can be useful in identifying important clues about the normative contexts of particular cultures such as that of an organization like South Dakota Public Broadcasting. This is because speakers incorporate various clues into the content of their speech acts that indicate a great deal about the interpersonal relations, traditions, values and power relations of a particular societal domain.

On the basis of a specific culture's normative standards, speakers as actors may be judged as legitimate or illegitimate. Thus they may or may not feel free to claim legitimacy to participate. A speaker therefore may be cut off from participation in debate due to structural imperatives or power arrangements within a given culture that work to distort communication through normative control.

In order for genuine consensus to be achievable, all participants must be able to "order and resist order, to permit and forbid, to make and extract promises, and to be responsible for one's conduct and demand that others are as well" (White, 1990, 57). This means that distortion is immanent if one side is in a privileged position and has been able to set the ground rules and norms for deciding how or what discussion can be restricted, permitted or allowed to proceed.

With his first all-staff meeting at South Dakota Public Broadcasting, the new Executive Director established a number of ground rules and norms to which, as it became obvious in the months ahead, he expected adherence. Concerning regulative speech acts, while he expressed a

commitment to openness, it became apparent that there was a limit to his appreciation for openness.

His formulation of these normative standards began with his reconstruction of his own experiences with management while he was a producer, and what he had learned from them.

Then one day I decided I didn't like the way things were getting done, so I started fighting with management and began to realize that the only way I might affect some change in management was to become one of them. And I thought that was a pretty good idea. In fact what happened was my boss told me, "Shut up, if you don't like the way things are being run, get one of your own and run it yourself" (SDPB Staff Meeting, January 28, 1993).

This particular meeting was conducted with good humor and many people expressed appreciation for the new Executive Director's approach and "style." He expressed a deep commitment to openness and honesty.

I'm very open to communication. I am a real big believer in trust and in honesty. Those are the two major things I've learned in the 45 years I've been on this planet, to work hard at trying to establish. So I'm going to be up front with everybody, and you can count on that, that I'm not going to pull any strings and I probably ... oh I don't know ... I may say things that not everyone agrees upon. But hey, isn't that what public broadcasting is all about? I mean, think about all of those programs we run which are not the most comfortable situations, but we do it anyway.

So hopefully I'll be able to set up some kind of communication with everybody so there's lots of input, I like input. We're all in this together. That's always been my vision. And as far as organizational charts go and all of that, they're necessities and yeah, you live with them, and job descriptions are important, and all of that's wonderful, but I come from an "up the organization" school of management. I don't feel I am any better than anyone else, I'm just the leader of a group right now, and have been fortunate enough to have moved into this position for whatever the reason.

Staff members appeared to be particularly interested in elements of his lecture dealing with open communication and accessibility, since a number of producers in particular, had become

frustrated with what they perceived to be management's inaccessibility. They interpreted his expressed commitment to an "open-door-policy" as just what the organization needed and an opportunity for their concerns to be heard. Hallway talk among various producers (P1, 2, 3) following the meeting enthusiastically endorsed this approach.

P1: When is the last time anything like that has taken place in a staff meeting?

P2: Communication is what it is all about, and unless management is willing to talk with staff and make them part of the decision making process, it just isn't going to work.

P3: That is exactly what the problem has been for the last 10 years; no one has been willing to listen.

P1: I'm telling you, openness and communication are what it's going to take to get this organization back on track as far as ETB and DECA are concerned too, and I think this is the guy to do it.

Yet, it quickly became apparent that the new Executive Director was apt to set definite limits as to what was acceptable for discussion, as he did when asked about concerns at SDPB over producers who were frustrated with the system.

My question for those people who are not happy here is, "What are you doing here?" I mean, if you are so dissatisfied with the way things are going maybe you should look around and see if there isn't something else you could be doing. I wouldn't stay somewhere I wasn't happy (SDPB Executive Director Interview, January 28, 1993).

This type of regulative speech act suggests serious consequences concerning communicative action and the potential for the ideal speech situation. It suggests a normative dimension regarding what is right or appropriate for discussion. However, this perspective further developed over time at SDPB, and by March and April of 1993, it had evolved into a philosophy which was not only applied to individuals who had concerns about the organizational relationships,

but was also applied to individuals who disagreed with programming policy and network reorganization.

At the April 1, Sioux Falls meeting for instance, a Vermillion producer challenged the network reorganization plan with some questions about its validity. The Network Production Manager (NPM) responded with his own version of the Executive Director's "change or leave" speech.

P4: How long a term are these changes for? You're saying, "We'll determine what programming we need to do and then we'll move people to accommodate that." What happens next year when and if your priorities change? How permanent is this structural change?

NPM: I've come to the realization in the last three weeks, and I think the rest of the management team has that nothing is permanent anymore.

P4: So we can look forward to selling houses and moving every year?

NPM: I've come to the realization that whatever ... something may happen next year that will totally change my life and I have to either accept it or move away and do something else.

The suggestion, that people who were not happy with the way things were progressing, ought to consider finding other work, was first articulated by the Executive Director and appears to have been internalized by Management Team members (MTM).

On this occasion, the producer refused to accept this for an answer, further challenged the fact that Vermillion producers had not been adequately represented on the Management Team, and suggested that neither had they been allowed to offer input to either the Executive Director or the Management Team.

The Executive Director responded with what appears to be a sermon about "life's choices" and adult responsibility in discipline and other "hard decisions."

ED: I think it's important that we understand that this hasn't been comfortable for anybody on the staff. If you think that as Executive Director this is a comfortable situation ... you're wrong. I'm charged with making changes, setting direction and trying to do that. This isn't easy. It's April Fools maybe we should call the old Executive Director and have him come in and give us some counseling. Come on guys, something has to be done and I'm trying to do it. It may not be the most comfortable approach, but I believe it's going to work. I can't please everybody.

When I have to sit down with any employee and tell them that, "Due to these circumstances you're no longer needed," that's not fun. You want to do that. When we have to sit down and make hard decisions you have to make hard decisions too. But it's life choices. That's what it gets into ... life choices.

This also was a regulative speech act designed to establish a normative standard for what was and what was not acceptable argument. It also worked to set the standard for issues which were considered legitimate for discussion. His plea, "Come on guys, something has to be done and I'm trying to do it," has no real relationship to network reorganization, which was the issue at hand, but at the same time it essentially worked to cut off debate, for shortly thereafter, the discussion ended.

It must be remembered that Vermillion producers philosophically disagreed with this plan for network reorganization, claiming it would materially affect the quality of their program productions.

However, regulative speech acts by the Executive Director and Management Team members, constructed individuals who disagreed with policy, as either disgruntled employees whose arguments were not valid and need to consider where the real problem lies ("I wouldn't stay somewhere I wasn't happy"), as not being pragmatic ("I have to either accept it or move away and do something else"), or essentially as people who just don't seem to have either the capacity or desire to understand "(Come on guys, something has to be done and I'm trying to do it").

In this situation however, distortion existed because producers were not able to employ regulative speech acts of their own. Consequently, producers who had expressed strong opinions related to the inflated status of such departments as Public Information (PI), and of the political strength that programs produced in Brookings enjoyed, did not even raise these concerns at the Sioux Falls meeting.

Just two weeks prior they had discussed the necessity for planning a strategy to use for the April 1, Sioux Falls meeting, related to their department's role in the SDPB system.

P3: But as the Vermillion staff, that's one of the things that we're going to be fighting against at this meeting.

P4: Well, if at the meeting it goes ... "Ok, we're cutting back to five producers over the network, who's going to take the hit?" Nobody's going to say ... "Oh, well, go ahead, I'll leave." So everybody's going to be justifying what they do. I mean they can justify *South Dakota Outdoor Guide* by saying, "Well, we have lots of viewers."

Ok, but is that justification enough? Then they'll say, "Well it's kind of educational," or "We can make it educational!"

On-line, is the same way. *Midwest Market Analysis*, is all but handed to them on a platter, why do they need a full-time producer designated for it?

P1: Ag(riculture) Extension is who produces it. We should get completely out of agriculture.

P4: Except, here comes the political battle again because as soon as you say, "We're eliminating the Ag producer from the South Dakota Public Television network," you have the number one industry in the state saying, "Like hell you will! You will not eliminate it."

You have the Ag university up there (in Brookings, SD) and their president and the whole of Ag Extension and everybody else saying, "You're not going to eliminate that."

P1: But these are questions we need to be ready with.

P4: We also need to be ready to defend our positions in arts, cultural and minority affairs.

PM: That's what is going to happen at this meeting on the first. We're going to

have to sit down and take a real hard look at everything, and everybody's going to have to be there to justify why they're there and what they're doing. And so we have to really try to step outside our positions in an objective sense and say, "Well if you look at Midwest Market Analysis, as a prime example, let the extension people do it, you don't need to be doing it, we don't need to be doing it, let them take care of it." That's one prime example.

P1: Then we better sit down and decide what our plan of attack is going to be, how we as a production unit in Vermillion (SD) are going to justify keeping our positions even if Brookings (SD) takes a hit (SDPB TV Production Meeting, Vermillion, SD, March 17, 1993).

The contrast between the Vermillion, South Dakota Production department meeting on March 17 and the Sioux Falls, South Dakota meeting on April 1 is quite revealing. In the context of the Production department meeting, Vermillion producers freely and openly discussed their perspectives while at the Sioux Falls meeting they were much more guarded to the point that many of these issues were not even brought up.

Regulative speech acts and their accompanying validity claims, appropriateness or rightness, act to set normative standards by which participants can "command and oppose, permit and forbid arguments" (Kemp, 1988, 194).

In addition, regulative speech acts, which are normative in nature, are related to the "social world as the totality of all normatively regulated interpersonal relations that count as legitimate in a given society" (Habermas, 1979, 67). It becomes apparent in comparing the two meetings that discourse differed between the two.

What was considered legitimate in one environment was not considered legitimate in the other. Yet both included employees from South Dakota Public Broadcasting, who ideally were to have similar goals regarding programming as a service to the community.

Since a speech act is considered an action, "it actualizes an already-established pattern of relations" (Habermas, 1979, 54). The differing pattern of relations between the Vermillion Production department meeting and the general staff meeting in Sioux Falls therefore becomes more obvious and significant. Consensus building patterns should not privilege one group over another. Yet that is exactly what appears to have happened in analyzing the difference between the two meetings and environments.

Whereas, when discussing departmental strategy, producers felt free to command, admonish, prohibit and refuse (Habermas, 1979, 54); in the Sioux Falls meeting their freedom to regulate was curtailed by both Management Team members and the Executive Director.

This points to the impact, which the steering mechanisms of power and money have upon communicative action and the ideal speech situation.

The transfer of action coordination from language over to steering media means an uncoupling of interaction from lifeworld contexts. Media such as money and power attach to empirical ties; they encode a purposive-rational attitude toward calculable amounts of value and make it possible to exert generalized, strategic influence on the decisions of other participants while bypassing processes of consensus-oriented communication, inasmuch as they do not merely simplify linguistic communication, but replace it with a symbolic generalization of rewards and punishments, the lifeworld contexts in which processes of reaching understanding are always embedded are devalued in favor of media-steered interaction; the lifeworld is no longer needed for the coordination of action (Habermas, 1989, 183).

The relationship between SDPB, ETB and DECA fit this pattern. SDPB is far from an autonomous organization and as this series of articles has shown many times, both on a historical level and a political level, power and money have had a significant impact. However, while such relationships can be shown to exist at a structural level, it is revealing to see them operational in the form of personal interrelationships at the level of language in the lifeworld.

Thus when the Executive Director of South Dakota Public Broadcasting talks about change and the necessity for people to keep an open mind, he appeals not to rationality and consensus building approaches, but rather to the logic of power, money and purposive rationality, which then are used to regulate norms for discussion about network direction.

Now there are a lot of different factors involved in this. Obviously some of the factors are state government and state funding. Two hundred and twenty five thousand dollars is being cut out of the 1994 budget. Can we get it back for fiscal year '95? Possibly. I talked to people in Pierre (the state capital) and they say that once we get reorganized and everything is functioning well, we might be able to make the case to see that funding come back, who knows (SDPB Staff Meeting, April 1, 1993)?

Against this type of statement, thematized as a regulative speech act, the Vermillion

producers experienced a great deal of constraint, and constraint is not conducive to "rationally motivated" consensus (Habermas, 1984, xxxvii).

Consensus must "result simply of the force of the better argument and not of accidental or systematic constraints on communication" (McCarthy, 1985, 306) such as existed here with the "non-symmetrical" or unbalanced employment of regulative speech acts.

Constative Speech Acts: Truth

Constative speech acts allow participants in discourse the opportunity to offer statements about the objective world.

Constative speech acts contain the offer to recur if necessary to the experiential source from which the speaker draws the certainty that his statement is true. If this immediate grounding does not dispel an ad hoc doubt, the persistently problematic truth claim can become the subject of a theoretical discourse (Habermas, 1979, 64).

If all participants are not allowed either equal opportunity to information or to provide information about the external world according to their experiences and understanding, communicative action is not possible (White, 1990, 56). In addition, participants must be able to "criticize statements, explanations, interpretations and justifications so that in the long run no one view is exempt from consideration and criticism" (Kemp, 1988, 195).

This involves the realm of external nature. Whereas regulative speech acts concern the social world and representative speech acts concern the inner world; constative speech acts concern the external world (Habermas, 1979, 67). Communicative action insists that all three worlds be represented and available for discussion and critical argument.

Since constative speech acts concern truthful grounding of arguments about the objective world, it is important that no information be either exempt or misrepresented in discourse. In reviewing the discursive activity of South Dakota Public Broadcasting managers and producers, however, it is apparent that not all participants have had the equal opportunity to do so.

During the Sioux Falls meeting on April 1, for example, the Minority Affairs producer articulated a strong opinion about the importance of Native American programming on the network and for South Dakota.

You've got to look at the things that are going to affect the world, our world ... the

things that are critical. Water is critical, you have to live. Peace of mind is critical; we can't be at each other's throats. I would propose two issues of very high priority. One is racism and the other is natural resources, especially water.

Because when you look at South Dakota, North Dakota and Montana, some of you have listened to this story, I'll lay it out again. What happens? How come water development hasn't happened? (It's) because of money, from D.C. for big time projects. When New York and Chicago began to use their water up and the numbers began to make a difference then the money will be there.

What we have to do is to educate our society about regionalism because that's what it's all going to be about. People sit here and think that the ideals of America will temper things like are going on in Bosnia and various other places around the world. It's not. It won't. It's just a matter of time.

Like I said before, I've been talking to tribal elders for a long time, people who I believe have insight and connection to what's going on. And what they're saying is that the number one issue, the number one issue, not only in the Indian community, but community wide is that we have to learn respect for each other, and respect for the mother earth. And unless we begin to adopt those sorts of principles and begin to adopt those sort of ideals and begin to work towards those ideals, it's inevitable that we're going to end up on the rocks.

We can go one course or another, but we've got to make a determination and that's where we come in. I've got my ideas about what is important. For me, self-esteem and alcoholism are the two critical issues in the community. How do you build up self-esteem, make them believe in themselves, make them feel some self worth in what they do in the culture, their language, their spirituality?

And you have to get them to understand the ramifications. That's why a program like *Buffalo Nation Journal* is so effective because I'm taking PhD's from the Indian community and people who are doctors, lawyers, professional people from the Indian community and giving them a voice and letting people see what the Indian community is all about. People begin to see that Indians are not all welfare drunks and that's what it's all about (SDPB Staff Meeting, April 1, 1993).

This was an impassioned speech, which certainly could be described as being "thematic" of an expressive or representative speech act since it included the internal attitudes and opinions of

this producer. However it also can be described as being thematic of a constative speech act since it articulated an understanding of the objective world according to this producer's experiences.

Distortion enveloped the situation however, because the argument regarding the necessity for this kind of minority programming was challenged by both another producer and the Executive Director, not on the basis of the validity of the argument itself, but on the basis of whether or not it would attract viewers and legislative funding.

It was compared with *Statehouse*, which the Executive Director insisted was necessary because the legislature saw validity in funding a program, which allows the legislature to be more visible. At a normative level, the regulative speech act invalidated the appropriateness of the argument, which the Minority Affairs producer was making.

We have to realize the politics involved in all of this. What if we all decide that we shouldn't be doing *Statehouse*, that we should be doing something else. If we sit here like a group of adults and professionals and say, "That show is really not doing much for us," we've all agreed now that we are going to take those resources and produce THIS show which we think will have a bigger impact on the state of South Dakota ... what's going to happen reality wise? We're probably going to lose funding (SDPB Staff Meeting, April 1, 1993).

It is clear from this exchange that the normative construction of the situation as developed by the Executive Director did not allow the constative speech act or "existing state of affairs" as understood by the Minority Affairs producer to continue. The meeting ended. Debate was cut off. No open discussion ensued relative to the merit of what Minority Affairs producer had said or whether his analysis of the objective world was accurate and needed to be considered as having programming potential.

Two weeks later however, the content of what the Minority Affairs producer had said during this meeting, came up again during a Management Team meeting on April 14, 1993. Management Team members (MTM's) expressed concern, bordering on alarm, at what the Minority Affairs producer had said. This meeting had a great deal of significance in relation to the ideal speech situation because the Minority Affairs producer was not present to defend his statements or interpretations about the external world. He was therefore not able to engage in constative speech acts necessary to the development of genuine consensus.

The MTM's, however, who had remained silent during the time he talked in Sioux Falls, now had a great deal to say about him, his perspectives and his program choices. In addition, this meeting followed the ETB endorsement of the network reorganization plan, which would move all

Vermillion producers, including Minority Affairs, to Brookings.

The network reorganization plan, which had been couched in terms of efficiency and necessity before the ETB and staff members at the Sioux Falls meeting, was now described as a tool to rid the network of personnel and programming which MTM's did not appreciate.

MTM6: Well the Minority Affairs producer and the ITV producer are our biggest problems. What if they don't leave. I mean ... I know this sounds hard nosed but if I had someone like that in my area they'd be out the door.

Because frankly some of the Minority Affairs producer's ideas scare me. Like that stuff he was talking about up in Sioux Falls, that stuff was apocalyptic. We don't need that on South Dakota Public Television. That isn't going to do us any good and it's not going to do those people any good.

MTM3: Yeah that kind of stuff is advocacy and to me, we shouldn't be advocating anything, we should be exposing. Public TV is not a club, I mean there are even Indians who don't like him.

MTM4: Then tell him that he has to decide his production choices based upon certain suggestions other wise he's gone.

MTM2: Well he gets off on telling people how great it is, that he's the only Indian Minority Affairs producer in the country.

ED: But we do need a commitment to Indian programming, we just need somebody who will be a team player and follow the rules or get out.

MTM2: So, do we tell them to get out or that they are moving and hope they leave instead? Because if they move and we still have the same problems then we're right back where we started.

MTM1: I know this sounds like I'm being soft, but let's tell them the way it's going to be and get them moved and if it doesn't work out, if they don't want to play by the rules, then tell them they're out of here. Hey after all it's only money. It's only

money (SDPB Management Team Meeting, April 14, 1993).

Consensus about network direction, reorganization and program production was achieved at this meeting. However, due to the violation of the constative speech act, the consensus that was achieved cannot be defined as valid according to the rules of universal pragmatics.

As discussed previously (Schlenker, *IJHCS*, 2(3), 2015), Management Team policy with regards to program production and the status of producers in the network continued to develop. The Management Team decided that in addition to moving all Vermillion producers to Brookings, producers would all be defined as "generalists" having no specific programming categories. Thus, producer categories such as "Minority Affairs" and "Cultural Affairs" no longer existed.

The Minority Affairs producer perhaps best represents the frustration felt with the new network direction in saying that, "It's another example of non-Indian people making decisions on what they are going to give them." This epitomizes the consequences of distortion in discursive activity. It also exemplifies the differences between communicative rationality and instrumental rationality.

Communicative Rationality vs. Instrumental Rationality at SDPB

In this moment, communicative distortion influenced the reorganization of South Dakota Public Broadcasting. Distortion had the potential to affect the direction of future program production, which in limiting minority voices within the network itself, also potentially meant the limiting of minority voices in programming.

It is evident that the existing organizational structure from DECA to the ETB to the Management Team demanded that producers be "team players and follow the rules or get out." The rules that were "played by" however were not those of communicative rationality and genuine consensus. Rather, they were those of instrumental rationality and rational-purposive action.

Communicative action appears to have been violated at all levels of the ideal speech situation in network meetings from the top of SDPB's organization to the bottom. The fact that communicative distortion was so evident in an organization that was dedicated to diversity and democratic principles is paradoxical. Yet in analyzing the historical and structural development of South Dakota Public Broadcasting it may not be surprising, considering what Golembiewski says about an organization's structure and its relationship to democracy.

Organizational members can learn some awkward lessons from bureaucratic structures, and those powerful learnings may be transferred to feelings about personal potency, political efficacy, and social participation in broader social/political spheres (221) ... Our broader life-experiences powerfully influence political behavior. Moreover, a hardy representative democratic consciousness is poorly served by incongruent organizational practices. Organizations are powerful molders and reinforcers of attitudes and behaviors -- arguably the most persisting and powerful. Hence the growing paradox of conceptually pairing representative democracy with organizational structures and practices that are neutral to, if not negative about, the consciousness required for representative democracy (Golembiewski, 495).

It is apparent that the organizational structure at South Dakota Public Broadcasting was either "neutral to, if not negative about, the consciousness required for representative democracy." In order for such a consciousness to be possible however, communicatively achieved agreement must be possible.

Following Habermas, communicatively achieved agreement can only take place when actors come to an understanding about an issue in the context of measuring their agreement and understanding against three validity claims including constative speech acts, expressive or representative speech acts, and regulative speech acts.

Communicatively achieved agreement is measured against exactly three criticizable validity claims; in coming to an understanding about something with one another and thus making themselves understandable, actors cannot avoid embedding their speech acts in precisely three world-relations and claiming validity for them under these aspects (Habermas, 1984, 308).

What is absolutely essential however, is that all participants to interaction have the same opportunity to employ speech acts, embed them in the context of internal, external and social worlds and to raise claims of validity. As this study has shown, this does not appear to have been the case for either managers or producers at South Dakota Public Broadcasting, with producers being particularly affected.

The pressure of the steering mechanisms of power and money forced the SDPB system, including managers and producers into modes of interaction guided by instrumental rationality rather than communicative rationality. Instrumental rationality seeks understanding of production relationships, is means-end oriented and focuses upon decision making based on technical and

economic efficiency. On the other hand, communicative rationality seeks consensus building through self-reflection and focuses upon decision-making based upon participation in democratic discourse.

Instrumental rationality...carries with it connotations of successful self-maintenance made possible by informed disposition over, and intelligent adaptation to, conditions of a contingent environment. On the other hand ... communicative rationality carries with it connotations based ultimately on the central experience of the unconstrained, unifying, consensus bringing force of argumentative speech, in which different participants overcome their merely subjective views and, owing to the mutuality of rationally motivated conviction, assure themselves of both the unity of the objective world and the intersubjectivity of their lifeworld (Habermas, 1984, 10).

Instrumental rationality incorporates a subject/object dichotomy, which relinquishes any hope for intersubjective understanding. In this context, concerning a public broadcasting network, programming becomes less an avenue for open communication and discourse and more a tool for manipulation and institutional survival.

Discourse in such an environment constructs the reproduction of the institution or system itself as all-important. According to Ang, the conditions of institutional reproduction become more important than the conditions of consensus building through communicative rationality (1991, 17).

At South Dakota Public Broadcasting for example, various genre of minority, cultural and educational programming have been limited primarily because management deemed them either dangerous to securing income from the legislature or not including enough elements of "the look" to attract viewers who might become financial supporters.

This also is an example of how power and money, as steering mechanisms, increase pressure on a system. In cutting \$225,000 from the 1994 SDPB budget, a "message" was sent that the network needs to "clean up its act." Thus, power wielded by such officials as the Co-chair of the Joint Appropriations Committee worked to control the network from external sources.

Consequently, knowledge and meaning, for SDPB personnel, came to be constructed under distorted conditions that affected programming and program production. As analysis of discursive activity, using the ideal speech situation as a "yardstick" has revealed, the distortion was significant enough to control the shape and direction of discussion on numerous issues.

Communicative distortion works to construct meaning for individuals and is evident through a number of practices in addition to circumventing the ideal speech situation as discussed above. Board meetings, informal conversation, interviews, and discussion about program ideas,

scheduling principles, policy statements and strategic planning meetings have all been affected.

In addition, hallways and bulletin boards can display clues about how reality and knowledge are constructed for managers and producers at South Dakota Public Broadcasting under these conditions. A letter from a South Dakota state legislator for example, praised SDPB for its Statehouse program, its "wonderful complement," its help and advice, and expressed hope that someday the legislator could "return the favor" (Lawler, 1993).

Such symbols do not go un-noticed by producers in a cultural system. They soon learn that institutional reproduction is more important than reproduction of democratic discourse either in their lifeworld or in their programming.

When the network refused to schedule *Portrait of a Marriage*, it received numerous letters both for and against the decision. However, on bulletin boards in SDPB's hallways, only the letters that articulated favor with the decision not to show the program were posted.

In March of 1993, the Governor of South Dakota took a number of Republican legislators and business leaders to Panama to "review" South Dakota National Guard troops stationed there. Democrats and many members of the news media criticized it.

In April, the Lieutenant Governor also took a similar group to Panama. However, this time, members of the news media were invited to attend, with travel expenses paid for by the federal government. SDPB's *Online* producer was invited to participate. While at least one SDPB reporter, for a network affiliate station, protested the trip on the basis of conflict of interest, the Executive Director heartily endorsed the idea claiming it would help to "build bridges with other state agencies."

Upon return, the *Online* producer was interviewed by various state newspapers and wrote an opinion column for one newspaper articulating a perspective which was anything but critical of U.S. policy.

The U.S. is trying to teach the Panamanian government officials about democracy. The U.S. is trying to teach the Panamanian police not to beat up their fellow citizens. The U.S. is trying to get the Panamanian economy in order. And that is where the S.D. National Guard seems to come into play ... Is it wrong for our state's leaders to have a better idea about what's going on in a part of the world that is teetering between constructive change or continued chaos (Epp, T. Brookings Register, April 16, 1993)?

This column among other favorable articles about the trip also was displayed on SDPB bulletin boards. While many critical opinion articles appeared in state newspapers, none were posted in the halls of SDPB. On the other hand, the affiliate station reporter who had questioned the

legitimacy of trip has found herself in a dilemma. Her position is currently funded through a grant from the "Friends of South Dakota Public Broadcasting" and thus is in an autonomous position in relation to other reporters and producers since she is not a "state" employee and not directly supervised by SDPB management.

However, since the Panama trip, the Executive Director has suggested that "Friends" funding for her position be used elsewhere in the network, and that her position become a "state" employee position thus bringing her under direct control of DECA, ETB and SDPB.

These many examples represent the work of instrumental rationality, which promotes institutional reproduction devoid of communicative action and genuine consensus. They show evidence of struggle within the network over attention to production methods and programming policies which focus upon economic goals and distribution of power, rather than the "transmission of ideas, values and tastes" involving cultural politics (Ang, 103).

At many levels of the SDPB structure, the circumvention of the ideal speech situation became evident. Whether in the context of ETB meetings, DECA memos, Management Team sessions, strategic planning, program scheduling and planning, hallway talk or bulletin boards, it became apparent that the primary elements of the ideal speech situation including use of language, constative speech acts, regulative speech acts or representative speech acts were invoked in a one-sided fashion by those wielding money and power.

Summary

This work has analyzed the discursive activity and behavior of managers and producers of South Dakota Public Broadcasting. It has applied the theories and methods of universal pragmatics as developed by Jurgen Habermas in order to determine the existence of either communicative action, which allows the development of democratic debate and discourse, or distorted communication due to the presence of steering mechanisms and one-sided invocation of speech acts and validity claims.

It has discovered that while the four speech act elements have been present in developing meaning and knowledge for SDPB employees, they have been utilized in one-sided applications in order to control discourse and debate. This has allowed the construction of a reality in the network which values institutional reproduction and economic survival over programming which values minority voices to speak with equal opportunity whether in the board room or in the production room.

This work has analyzed numerous exchanges wherein the speech act elements including language, representative speech acts, regulative speech acts and constative speech acts have been incorporated in a distorted fashion thus causing conflict and confusion in the lifeworld contexts of these individuals.

In addition, it has shown a pattern of control which threads its way through a complex state system, with a particular political economic structure, and works its way into the everyday life of these participants and manifests itself in their daily discursive activity. This discourse has come to celebrate elements such as "the look" and "professionalism" defined in terms of a "Nickelodeon style" with "players" who must "play by the rules or get out."

In this world, the producer is defined as a "professional" who should be concerned more about product quality rather than about audience needs. If the producer learns to be a "player" and to "play hard", he or she will soon see a pay-off in the form of "the money coming back" to "the team."

In this atmosphere, producers who disagree with network direction and philosophy find their interaction subject to one-sided regulation through the thematization of various speech acts which they are powerless to counteract due to threats to their jobs and careers. It is in this atmosphere that programming for alternative voices is expected to develop. It is in this atmosphere that the "force of a better argument" is expected to prevail.

This analysis has shown that discourse participants at South Dakota Public Broadcasting have frequently not been able to engage in communicative, regulative, representative or constative speech acts. They have not been able to initiate or perpetuate discourse or to make their arguments understood.

They have not been able to express themselves with sincerity regarding issues affecting their lifeworld. They have not been given an equal chance to regulate normative activity by forbidding, commanding and opposing arguments. They have often not been invited to meetings and discussions in order to provide explanations or interpretations so that "no one view is exempt from consideration or criticism" (Kemp, 195). They have been subject to distorted communication.

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Language use and social interactions in work places in Badagry town

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Abstract

This paper examines language use in workplaces. It focuses on language use by workers for interpersonal communication to meet both official and personal needs. Within Nigerian languages, very few literatures exist on the relevance of languages other than English at work. This research will fill the gap. This study undertakes a look at the language use of workers within the Badagry local government areas. These include workers across different levels. The theory employed for this study is the domain of language behaviour as postulated by Fishman (1965) which stipulates that it is possible to have different language behaviours depending on the topic, interlocutors and the settings. Questionnaire was administered to 127 respondents who cut across different educational backgrounds. This study reveals that although, the main purpose of languages in communities is for effective communication and ethnic identification, speakers often decide on whom they will interact with and in what language. Moreover, protocols are broken in interactions to establish linguistic/communicative rights of the addresser, even at work places. This work reveals that the psychological and emotional fulfillments, necessary for effective performance and optimal productivity are realized when interactions in workplaces are done in native languages. Therefore, the writer supports the increased use of Ogu language in official settings within the Badagry areas as a survival strategy against language extinction.

Keywords: Workplaces, interactions, language use, domain of language behaviour, Badagry.

1. Introduction

The Ogu language is spoken by the Ogu people who inhabit the Badagry areas of Lagos state, Nigeria. It is a minority language that is spoken along with Yorùbá, the language of wider communication in the state. Although most Ogu are bilinguals, the use of Yorùbá is predominant. Trudgil (1983) notes that as social psychologists of language have pointed out, speakers are not sociolinguistic automata. They can use code-switch for their own purposes to influence or define the situations as they wish, and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intention. This explains why often times, bilinguals switch codes in their conversation unconsciously and effortlessly. This is a normal and regular phenomenon in bilingual societies. However, in official places where the official codes are expected to be strictly adhered to, investigation reveals that circumstances have made this impracticable, because speaking the local languages have the effect of making the conversation, among other things more intimate and confidential. To this end, Trudgill (1984) opines the language used is a reflection of mood and intention.. Equality and human rights commission guidelines, reports the adoption of multilingualism by January 2002, in work places in California, meaning that it became illegal for employees to “adopt or enforce the use of any language in any workplace” except for business, restrictions and for the observation of the restriction. Therefore, the use of Ogu language within the Badagry areas should be given official approval in order to increase its status.

1.2 Methodology

This study adopts a combined use of the questionnaire, and non-participant observation. 127 workers within the Badagry local government area were randomly selected. These include workers from both the public and private sectors. The junior workers constitute the larger percentage of our respondents. Non-participant observations were made during our visits to the respondents’ places of work in order to view naturalistic interactions

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is the domain of language behaviour or domain analysis. This model seeks to elucidate who speaks what, to whom and when. The model stipulates that there are certain institutional contexts in which one variety of language is considered more appropriate than another. Fishman (1972: 15) maintains that this model is applicable in “those speech communities that are characterized by widespread

and relatively stable multilingualism”. The major considerations in the analysis are the participants, occasions and topic. It stipulates that it is possible to have different language behaviours depending on the topic, interlocutors and the settings. In essence, according to Fishman, “proper usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss kinds of topic” (p.15). He argues further that certain socio-culturally recognized spheres of activity are at least temporary, under the sway of one language or variety (and therefore, perhaps under the control of certain speech networks) rather than others. These are grouped into role-relations such as father and son, mother and daughter e.t.c. (Fishman, 1971).

This concept is imperative in the study of bilingualism in as much as language behaviour of people changes according to situations. Even in formal settings, where the high variety of a language is expected, a superior colleague can decide to use the low variety or the official mode of communication to address his junior colleagues. In the same vein, the language spoken by a parent to his child may be different to the one he normally speaks with his kinsmen; hence it is the participants that mainly dictate language choice. This concept hinges on the fact that no bilingual speaks all the languages he understands in each social setting. He uses whichever is appropriate to the domain, topic and the expected pattern of behaviour (Oyetade, 1990: 81). This model is relevant to our study area since Badagry is a multilingual community and most members of this area are bilinguals. In essence, apart from the English language, workers in this area are conveniently communicating in either Ogu or Yorùbá.

Anyanwu (2011) remarks that language use could be for identification or instrumental purposes. While the former is indicated for a local language or an individual’s first language, the latter is simply used in inter-personal relationship. In view of this, Anyanwu goes further to state that it is imperative to investigate whether language choice is motivated by ethnic identification or desire to meet communicative needs only. In his paper on language and ethnic interaction, Bourhis (1979) distinguishes between the sociolinguistic and the social psychological determinants of language behaviour between people of the same ethnic group and those of the out-group. Sociolinguistic factors are then sub-divided into micro sociolinguistic and macro-socio-linguistic. The micro socio-linguistic examines language behaviour along “topic, setting and purpose of conversation as well as characteristics of the interlocutors”. Bourhis, (1979:119). The social psychological determinants explain why speakers choose the language they speak. This can be influenced

by mood, emotions, their loyalty to the ethnic group, and the values attached to the local languages among others. Macro-socio-linguistic factors refer to the description of the situation among the linguistic groups in terms of diglossia and bilingualism language planning and language legislation.

What is the situation in work places within Badagry town? Is the choice between the languages for identification or communication or simply to meet personal needs?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the the study are as follows:

1. to assess the language choice of Ogu speakers at work domains.
2. to examine what contexts promote the use of English and Yoruba
3. to investigate if the Ogu language is used at all in workplaces and for what purposes.
4. to predict the future of Ogu language.

1.5 Research Questions

In line with the objectives above, we seek to provide answers to the following questions.

1. What language choices are available to Ogu speakers at work places?
2. In what contexts are the official language (English) and the major languages spoken?
3. Is there any interaction done in the mother tongue?
4. What variables promote the use of mother tongue at work places?
5. What are the implications of these on language maintenance and shift in the community?

The use of English in workplaces

The English language is the official language in Nigeria. In this case, the language serves as a medium of instruction in schools, offices, media, judiciary and other official settings. The importance of the English language in Nigeria is also seen in its integrative role as the only language that brings together peoples of diverse languages and cultures, thus bridging communication gaps and fostering unity and peaceful co-existence. Besides

being a unifying language, English also meet both the scientific and technological needs of the nation, Kebby (1986).

However, the English language poses a serious threat to both the major and minor Nigerian languages. For insistence, demand for a credit pass in English as a prerequisite for admission into higher institutions or job placements and for promotion in the civil service has unarguably increases the status of English in Nigeria. Even if a candidate is pursuing a degree in any of the local languages, a credit pass in English is still compulsory. Therefore, it is the language of education and upward social mobility, language of wider communication or international language and language of interethnic communication. Its knowledge is therefore most valued in Nigeria.” . In his study of the attitudes of the Ogun State Civil Servants, Soley (2006) posits that workers have a positive attitude to the English language. This favourable disposition is necessitated by the fact that the English language is the nations’ official language and proficiency in the language is a key to successful performance) at “interviews for appointments and promotions in the civil service. Despite this, the writer also reports that workers are seen interacting in the Yorùbá language. A similar incident is reported in Agyekum (2009). He reveals that most shifts in Ghana are ‘occupationally oriented ’(Agyekum 2009:390). Even in formal settings as the banks where the formal language is English, the bank workers are free to speak the Ghanaian languages to the customers. Moreover, in private businesses, especially among the health administrators, non-native Akan doctors in Akan speaking areas of Ghana are compelled to speak the Akan language to their patients who cannot speak English. Even in the educational sector, investigation reveals that teachers employ the use of local languages in their explanation although unofficially. All these portend the effectiveness of the local languages in various spheres of life. Therefore, denying them official recognition is a pretense and an infringement on their human and linguistic rights. This study maintains that speaking indigenous languages, in workplaces makes them avenues where the human rights, principles of fairness, respect, equality, dignity, and autonomy are promoted and are part of the organization’s everyday goals and behavior

1.6 Sociolinguistic analysis of language choice at work places in Badagry Town

Context			Ogu	Yorùba
When discussing official matters with a senior colleague	5 3.1%	20 15.7%	84 66%	6 4.7%
When discussing private matters with a superior	5 3.1%	28 22%	47 37%	38 29.9%
Discussing official matters with equals	15 11.8%	30 23.6%	50 39.3%	20 15.8%
Discussing private matters with subordinate			10 7.9%	43 33.8%
Chatting during break			18 14.2%	30 23.6%
Discussing trivial matters			13 10.2%	20 15.8%
Discussing serious issues	48 37%	4 3.2%	15 11.8%	5 3.9%

The following table presents participants responses to their choice code at work places. These include interactions to both superior and junior officers, and at break hours.

Table 1. Respondents' language choice at work (127 subjects)

1.7 Discussion

A careful study of the above table shows that the in discussing with superior officers, either for official or private matters, the English language is the preferred code. This is to be expected as the English language is the official language at work places. However, use of English drops slightly when workers are discussing private matters even with a superior. Private matters here meant individuals home affairs, finances, health or other personal issues. This is why there is a drop from 66% to 37%. This shows that the English language cannot serve the purpose of creating and establishing the intimacy needed to share one's problem with a colleague.

However, the use of Yoruba, the second language in the community thrives when workers are discussing their private matters with subordinate. This is closely followed by the combined use of English and Yoruba. This clearly shows a preference for the local as against the foreign language. At informal periods, such as break time, the use of Ogu, the mother tongue in this community takes a second place. This is the only context where the use of the language is obvious with 27.5%.

The table shows that a total number of 127 subjects filled in this column of the questionnaire, 84 (66%) responded that they communicate in English with their superior colleagues, 20 (15.8%) submitted that they speak Yorùbá, 6 (4.7%) speak in Ogu and English, while 6 (4.7%) speak in English and Yorùbá in this situation. However, 5 (3.9%) respondents would speak Ogu to a superior. In discussing private matters with their superior, 47 (37%) would speak English, 5 (3.1%) would adopt Ogu, 28 (22%) would opt for Yorùbá, 38 (29.9%) preferred English and Yoruba, only 4 (3.5%) interact in Ogu and Yoruba in this linguistic situation, while only 5(3.1%) speak Ogu and Yoruba. Moreover, 50(39.3%) responded they relate in English with their equals, 30(23.6%) in Yorùbá, 7(5.5%) in Yorùbá and English, 15(11.8%) subjects communicate in Ogu and only 7(5.5%) subjects favoured Ogu and English.

This table clearly shows the dominance of the English language at work. In all the different contexts, the English language takes the lead; this may not be unconnected with the fact that English is the nation's official language. This is followed by Yorùbá. Moreover, the choice of Yorùbá and English also thrives here. The table also reveals the fact that unlike in other official settings where English is the most preferred, communication with a junior colleague is more of Yorùbá or English and Yorùbá, as the percentage drops for private

discussion either with a superior or subordinate and with a mate. We may attribute this to the desire of senior colleagues to build a close relationship and confidence with the junior colleagues who are likely to be at ease with somebody who they can approach in a less formal or informal manner. This also reveals that language use is influenced by the intimacy or distance a speaker aspires or wishes to establish with an interlocutor, (Giles 1973); in other words, language is used to build friendship or create a distance. To this end, Dyers (2008) opines that much more than a policy, the major influence on language choice is the relationship between interlocutors.

Unlike Dada (2006), where the use of local languages is rampant coupled with very few number of government workers, there is a high prevalence of the use of the English language in this community. This is because Badagry is a multilingual community, the cradle of civilization, and a home to people of diverse languages and cultures. It is interesting to note that the Yorùbá language features prominently at informal periods, used as either the only language or combined with English or Ogu. This study confirms Soyeye (2006) that workers diverge to the Yoruba language to meet their communication needs. Apart from official duties, workers are seen discussing in Yoruba at various work places within Badagry town.

Moreover, the study shows that when serious issues are involved, workers tend to reverse to their native language. This proves that language is a psychological thing. They do not view English not even Yoruba as a language worthy of discussing serious issues, especially when they want to be factual and down-to-earth, when sentiments are aroused and when the issues involved are beyond official.

1.8 Conclusion

The study clearly demonstrates language use at work places in Badagry town. As in other places, the English language is used more than the other local languages in the area. However, the local languages serve as language of intimacy because workers prefer to share their private lives and challenges in Yoruba language. Beyond, this Ogu is mostly used at informal periods and in discussing serious issues as a form of ethnic bonding. The study confirms Dyers (2008) where he states that

even in the presence of a powerful language of wider communication, people can continue to identify powerfully with their home languages, especially when it enhances their personal and group identities or is a marker of their ethno-linguistic distinctiveness”(Dyers 2008:19).

However, the use of Ogu in work places is still very minimal; except in few instances as our data presents. Two reasons adduced for this in positions maintained by Onadipe-Shalom, (2013) are that the Yoruba Language is an influential language in the community and secondly, the community operates an open policy (Lewis 1985). Here, Lewis postulates that the openness of a community is related to the people's language choice. He indicates further that some communities are open to linguistic and non-linguistic contact and these contacts may result in the adaptation of a new language. Lewis (1984) in Yet (2004). However, if the recommendations in Oyetade (2015:32) especially the call 'to upgrade the status of many minority languages in Nigeria' are followed, the language will serve better in work places.

These findings have great implications for language maintenance and shift. Since there is no law forbidding the use of native languages at work, especially in oral form, more workers should adapt the use of Ogu rather than Yoruba. This will also boost its prestige within the local government areas. The government also has a role to play in increasing institutional support for the language and making it attractive to speakers across different levels and endeavours of life.

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The Caretaker: Ambiguity from page to stage

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Abstract

This paper will rivet on the specific techniques used by Clive Donner, the director of The Caretaker movie to underline the ambiguity on the screen stage. It is by analyzing the mise-en scene that we begin to see what are the meanings intended by the director. In other words, analyzing the camera movements, the zooming in and the zooming out , paying attention to the style of actors 'performance and how objects are placed in the scene would highlight the artistically elusive characteristics of the movie. The editing within the film and the spectators 'receptions are also very important to grasp the meanings of the work.

Keywords: *The Caretaker*, Mise-en Scene, ambiguity, Filmic techniques, Performance.

It is noteworthy to mention that in staging a filmic scene, any minor detail becomes meaningful as soon as it is captured by the camera, which is not the case in stage theatre. Film Studies assert that in order to study a film and deconstruct its meaning, we should pay attention to its mise en scene and examine how the film is constructed and shaped (Nelmes 14). In his book *Introduction to Film Studies: Critical Approaches*, Richard Dyer defines Film Studies as an academic field of study that approaches films theoretically, historically and critically. Actually, “Film Studies is less concerned with advancing proficiency in film production than it is with exploring the narrative, artistic, cultural, economic and political implications of the cinema” (1). In this sense, studying a film should not be separate from the textual analysis of its screenplay with its different cultural and political implications. A film is a complex historical event and it is not an invention or a mere industry. It is an artistic production in which a myriad of ideas is brought to the fore through the different components of its mise-en-scene. In the modern era, the growing of the Films Industry has resulted in an artistic movement that approaches films esthetically and not as commercial products. This has attributed to the success of certain absurdist plays when adapted into movies, *The Caretaker*, for instance. In this respect, this paper handles Clive Donner’s movie *The Caretaker*, a play written by one of the most prominent absurdist writers Harold Pinter. The paper offers a survey of the different dramatic techniques used by the director to highlight Pinter’s ambiguous instances.

Clive Donner’s movie *The Caretaker* shows the importance of the mise en scene in decoding its hidden meanings and in endowing the movie with its highly artistic traits. The film opens with an outside scene, with Mick smoking his cigarette in his car. In this scenery, the mise en scene is organized so that it appears that Mick is sitting in front of us with his somewhat hidden identity. This effect is partly dependent on the lightings, the construction of the image and the movement of the camera’s lens. In fact, all the elements placed in front of the camera in this scene are described by the term mise-en -scene. The car, the cigarette casted off on the street, the door of the house, the stairs, are all staged in a way that makes the location, at first sight, looks very familiar to the spectators.

The camera pays a close- up shot to the black car. A close up shot is a shot that makes an object appear enormously important on the screen when compared to the surrounding objects and it is the one which gains more attention. Clive Donner moves the camera extremely close up to the window of the car in a mid shot¹ and hence, the spectators are introduced to the first actor of the movie Alan Bates. This deep focus technique creates the sharpness of the image and allows the spectator to identify the different components of the stage. Mick’s identity is partially revealed to the spectators as the camera lingers on the car, then it pays a mid shot with an eye-level movement to Mick sitting close to the window.

Indeed, what really matters in the filming process is “the way in which subjects and objects are framed within a shot [that] produces specific readings. Size and volume within the frame speak as much as dialogue, so too do camera angles” (Malkiewics and Mullen 22). For example in the opening scene of the movie, the mid angle shot in a medium close up on the car points to Mick’s mysterious identity because his face was partially hidden by the

¹ Shows some part of the subject in more detail while still giving an impression of the whole subject.

overwhelming darkness of the place. The mystery of Mick is reinforced by the overhead shot from a high angle when he ascends the stairs and the camera follows his movement without revealing his true identity. An overhead shot is a type of shots in which the camera is situated above head height. The movability of the camera in this opening scene, translates perfectly the unfathomable attitudes of Mick. In fact, from the very beginning of the movie and thanks to the camera movement, the spectators can understand that Mick's character is a fluid one. He is always in a state of constant movement, in the same way the camera moves back and forth, from the left to the right and from a high to a low angle. Simultaneously, Mick gets out of his car, throws his cigarette and ascends the stairs. According to Steven Gale, a British movie critic explains the movement of the camera with the nature of the character itself. In his terms:

Mick's movements are sending mixed signals, thereby intensifying the audience's subconscious discomfort. A left-to-right movement across the screen is considered natural and comforting; movement across the screen is disturbing and suggests that the character does not abide by socially imposed restrictions. He determines his own course and limitations. The movement away from the camera is confusing because the threatening figure is retreating, but this movement likewise reduces the audience's ability to verify the nature of the character. (Sharp Cut, 175)

The focus in² and the focus out³ techniques created by the camera shots prove what Gale has said about Mick's character. The camera pays a medium close up shot on Mick and on the casted off cigarette, and then it abruptly moves away in an aerial shot to focus on the surrounding large space. Consequently, Mick becomes off screen. All of that creates a feeling of discomfort amongst the spectators and maintains that Mick does not believe in social restrictions. He does not think that individuals should abide by it and follow the laws of their society. Mick is reminiscent of the anger youth generation of the 1960s who is characterized by their constant move from one place to another and their ultimate objections to any rule or law that may restrict their sense of freedom.

There is a cut, in other words, an immediate transition from one shot to another. There is a transition from focusing on the outsider scene to focus on Mick while he is ascending the stairs. With a close up shot the camera lime lights on the circular form of the stairs and the quick movement of Mick which increases the spectators' feelings of alarm and dismay. Again the camera movement works as a catalyst for the spectators' emotions and as a reminder of the characters' attitudes in the movie. When watching the different scenes of the movie, the good sit down scene, the invitation scene, the identity paper scene, the game scene...Etc, we deduce that Clive Donner uses the strategy of close-up camera movement, to achieve at least one thing which is that feelings of discomfort among his spectators. In the film review of Bosley Growther of The New York Times, the writer argues that, "the fact that Donner has chosen to have most of the scenes played very close, with the camera crowding rudely right up against the characters' chests or poking right into their faces, as though they

² Focus in Technique is a technique which uses fast wide angle-lenses and fast film to preserve as much depth of field as possible in order to create the sharpness of the image (Hayward 87)

³ Focus out technique is a technique that uses camera angle to decrease rapidly the magnification of the image of a distant object by means of a zoom lens. (87)

were car Dreyer's Joan of Arc, tends to cause a somewhat spotty pattern of individual emotions" (1). In other words, the employment of the close-up shots as their name suggests is to take us into the mind of the character and to create this intimacy between him and between the spectators. Therefore, the spectator feels either comfortable or uncomfortable when he or she goes beyond the image into the inner mind of the pictured character. The "good sit down scene" is a good example of the appliance of close up shots in the film.

The good sit down scene 's running time is approximately 25 minutes .It starts when Aston and Davies are still in front of the house and ends up when Aston leaves Davies alone in the room and goes out for a walk. The camera pays a full long two shots on the two characters while they are standing in front of the house. Then it lingers in a mid close up on Aston's face while he is silently looking at one of the house's windows, exactly that of the room where Mick is sitting. The facial expressions scanned by that close up shot indicate that Aston does already know that Mick is in the room. The close up shot unveils the inner thoughts of the character and brings to the light his hidden intentions. In keeping his eyes still whenever he looks to the window, Aston discloses his real intention behind bringing the old tramp into the house. He is either transgressing his brother's will when he decides to share his dreams and thoughts with another person or everything is already planned by both of them to make fun of the new guest. Eyes are always formidable communicators of comfort or discomfort, feelings or thoughts; that is why Clive Donner chooses to use extremely close up shots of the eyes in this scene. In the play, for example, the reader cannot know from the beginning that Aston knows about the presence of his brother in the house, however, in the film and thanks to the camera movement things become clearer from the very beginning.

The camera's graphic activity makes the spectators feel that the character is in front of them with all his minor details. So close does the camera get to him, so closer the character appears to the spectators, which increases consequently their preconceived depth. The camera's extremely close up shot on Davies' face draws the attention of the spectator to his miserable situation. In the play, Davies' description underlines that the character is a poor old tramp looking for a shelter, but when the camera pays a long close up shot of him, the spectator might feel his unpleasant odor. Indeed:

So close the camera gets to him, so hotly does it breathe down his neck, that you see every detail of his squalor, his filthy and tattered clothes, his bad teeth, his beard all flecked with matter and the beady rheum in his eyes. After more than an hour and a half with him, you sense not only the dismal thing he is---a brazen, bullying, selfish, cowardly creature but also how horribly he smells.(*The new York Times Review 2*)

In the play, Harold Pinter's depiction of Davies does really disclose his filthy nature but it is not in the same way the camera close up shot does. The focusing shot on Donald Pleasence amplifies these details and makes the spectator feel like he or she is in front of him. In the text, the stage directions read: "Davies wears a worn brown overcoat, shapeless trousers, a waistcoat, vest, no shirt, and sandals" (Act 1, 39). It is important to note that camera movements are used to depict and build up characters in the movie with graphic details. This is a part of the impact of the picture on the spectators which asserts that the visual is more powerful than the written.

Another effect of the camera movement is that it defines a mood of tension in the movie. The movement of the camera to the left and to the right in a quick manner as soon as Mick hears Aston's unlocking of the door at the end of the "good sit down scene" increases tension and creates a mood of discomfort. According to Brian Baker:

There are two important shots of Mick. The first is from the room Mick has just entered: The camera is behind and to the right of him, looking over his shoulder to the landing and the other door which Aston unlocks, opens and enters followed by Davies. The second is from the position of the landing, the camera medium low- angled, looking at Mick peering from behind the door of the now shut over door, his face obscured partially by shadows. (184)

Mick enters quickly his room and through a half-way opened door he catches a glimpse of the two comers. The position of a medium close up shot represents him like a shadowy ghost or a malevolent person and creates feeling of discomfort and uneasiness.

In staging *The Caretaker*, not only are camera movements a vital part of the filmmaking, setting, space and décor are essential parts of the film's mise-en- scene. They produce specific readings and say as much as camera angles do. It is remarkable that the opening scene of the film is set outside the brothers' house, unlikely in the play where events start in a small room. The director added the outsider scene of the car to reinforce the realistic aspects of his movie. According to Harold Pinter, it is very important to the meaning of the work to add this realistic scene (qtd. in Gale, *Sharp Cut* 13). The link between the external and the internal world of the play that Clive Donner establishes in the movie makes the scenes seem less claustrophobic than they are in the play. In the play, the first Act opens with Mick in his small room, sitting on his bed. Stage directions read: "Mick is alone in the room, sitting on the bed. He wears a leather jacket" (Act 1, 39). To set characters rambling into the street or "off to a neighborhood café, for breakfast, adds action to the movie" (The New York Times Review 2) and it disperses the tensional mood of the play. Outsider scenes might be seen like an instance of relief in the movie easing the ambiguity and the elusiveness of the play. We notice two important outsider scenes; the opening scene and the car scene; they add action to the movie and reinforce its realistic aspects.

Despite the addition of some outside scenes to the screenplay to ease its mood of tension and discomfort, we notice that the organization of the stage screen with all its assorted junks in the room reestablishes the claustrophobic nature of the text. In other words, the way with which Clive Donner puts props and objects on stage brings into life the picture of the room as it is described in the play. The camera pays a long close up shot on the Buddha Statue picked up by Aston. The statue is put on a higher place when compared to the surrounding objects left on the floor. This significant arrangement would undoubtedly captivate the attention of the viewers and stimulate their sense of interpretation. There are three important close-up shots of the Buddha Statue in the film: The first is when Mick is sitting alone on his bed, then stands up and looks at the statue near the window. The second shot is when Aston shows the statue to his new guest as if he were a member of the family the new visitor should be introduced to and the final shot is at the end of the film when Mick looks at the statue and smashes it. In that scene, the camera pays an undershot angle to the pieces of the statue shattered on the floor.

In the first shot, the director's simultaneous focus on Mick and the Statue of Buddha coincides with the coming of Aston and his new guest. It is noteworthy to mention that the statue is an object that Aston has picked up and brought to the house, similarly, Aston picked up Davies from a café quarrel and brought him home. Thus, the close up shot on the statue in this scene may signal the approaching of a new comer. In a sense, the Buddha could be considered as the symbol of Davies, for; both of them were brought to the house by Aston. "Buddha resembles Davies, who can also be seen as something useless Aston has picked up. The Buddha, therefore, could be a symbol of Davies" (Piquemal 9). This idea is highlighted by the second shot on the statue when Aston and Davies enter the room. As soon as Aston gets in the room followed by the old tramp, the camera pays an overhead close shot to the statue that sits atop the gas stove. In fact, all the objects cluttered in the room were picked up by Aston and his unfathomable look to the Buddha may indicate that he manages to pick up another object to be put up in the room. The third close up shot on the Buddha statue takes place when Mick breaks the statue into pieces. Mick's smashing of the Buddha is one of the most important scenes, both in the play and in the film, for the Buddha is a symbol of complex meanings. Its destruction could be interpreted as Mick's destruction of Davies' plans to stay in the room. It could be interpreted also as Mick's rejection of the type of life he leads. He does no longer believe that there is a God who controls people's lives. Life is meaningless and God is like any other useless object. Besides, "The utilization of the statue can also be viewed as comment on human emotions. Throughout the play the characters were quite detached, both from each other and the outside world, however when Mick passionately breaks the Buddha (serenity), Davies is requested to leave and the order that has been displayed throughout the play is lost." (Free Essays 5). The idea is that Buddha symbolizes a seemingly ordered world and because people are emotional by nature, this order can be easily broken in a moment of anger (Mick's anger lead him to destroy the statue) or a moment of great happiness.

In the movie, "the closed in sense of the stage set is replicated by shooting through piles of junk" (Gale, *Butter's Going up* 12). Obviously, the director has been able to replicate the same staging for the movie through the different objects and props he resorted to. the use of props is essential in adding meaning to the movie. The buildup of junk on the stage screen appears to stress the feelings of confinement amongst the spectators in the same way the play does. The sequences of separate close up shots on the disconnected gas stove, the step- ladder, the bed, the shopping trolley, the coal bucket and the kitchen sink bring to the fore the idea of separate human beings. The room is full of unconnected items that have been gathered over the years; similarly the world is full of different unconnected people who haven't communicated with each other for years. Each object "is completely unrelated to the others, like people they are a mixture of things, and therefore, can be nothing but isolated" (Free Essays 5). The broken toaster is another essential prop in the staging of the movie. The camera pays an overhead shot on Aston at the very beginning of the movie while he is fixing the plug of the toaster, and then it lingers on the toaster in a close-up shot. The same thing happened in the final scene when Aston picks up the toaster to fix it again. Very similar to the play, this displays that nothing happens in the movie. The movie ends in the same way it starts and this highlights the idea that life in the modern world is becoming meaningless and futile.

The style of the actors' performance is a fundamental component of the staging of the movie. Actors' performance may add to it a bundle of meanings. In his review of the film, Stanely Kauffmann praises the efforts of the three actors, who, in his terms, have offered the world of cinema one of the best movies at that time. Accordingly, "the three actors of the original production are, like the play itself, even better in the film: Robert Shaw, Alan Bates, the younger brother, Donald Pleasence, who has the part of his life as the derelict and is, to put it in one word, perfect" (qtd. in Baker 22). Kauffman finds the film version much better than the previous theatre production as far as actors' performance is concerned. It is noteworthy to add that Alan Bates and Donald Pleasence participated in the previous stage theatre productions, only Robert Shaw was the predecessor of Peter Woodthorpe in the film.

Commenting on his role in the movie, Alan Bates argues that:

The film version of *The Caretaker* was essentially a piece of theatre, but I don't want to call it filmed theatre, because I think Clive Donner's direction got far beyond that. Nevertheless, the speeches and the conception of the characters are to a certain extent stylized although the treatment was very simple and realistic. Since I'd done it in the theatre, there was some necessary adjustment for the film particularly in my part [...]. The character is sinister anyway, of course, I think the closer you are the more sinister he is, because you see much more of his interior mind, whereas in the theatre, the emphasis was on funny lines. (qtd. In Gow 12)

Alan Bates asserts that his performance has entirely developed in the film version and all the adjustments that have been done particularly to his speeches were needed basically due to the filmic nature. These adjustments make him look more serious on the screen than he is on the stage theatre. His speeches on the stage theatre stimulate the audience's laughter; however, on stage screen they become discomfiting and threatening. The movements of the camera focusing on his mind's eyes rather than his words along the whole film diminish the degree of humour and increase the actions' seriousness.

For Donald Pleasence the movie was an opportunity to go beyond his competency and capacity as an actor and to show the spectators another performance different from his other performances on stage theatre. Donald Pleasence is a "very well established actor, nationally known for his television work, before the advent of *The Caretaker*, but with his portrayal of Davies during two years in London and New York, followed by the film, he gave one of the finest performances in living memory" (McFarlane 82). Donald Pleasence has a quite long experience with the role of Davies; he knows the character very well and this has undoubtedly contributed to his brilliant performance of the character on stage screen. In his interview with Gordon Reid, Donald Pleasence says:

I'd already played in the character for a long time on stage before we made the film and making the film was a luxury. I knew the character so well, I could improvise... I knew exactly what that character would do in any situation. In fact, when we were filming in Hackney, I used to walk about the streets in character. (qtd. in McFarlane 2)

In fact, Donald Pleasence's experience with the role of Davies helped him improvise and add significant traits to the character in the film that is why his performance reached the pick of greatness and won the admiration of the critics.

In his book *Text and Performance*, the writer and the film critic Ronald Knowles praises the performance of Donald Pleasence, but as far as the role of Aston is concerned, he argues that Peter Woodthorpe's portrayal of Aston on stage was very faithful to the play and better than that of Robert Shaw in the film. According to Knowles, "the part of Aston is the most difficult in the play. The characters of Mick and Davies necessarily have a variety of gestures-vocal and physical but Aston, partially numbed by his experience in a mental hospital, just has the toaster and the odd plank to occupy him" (78). In other words, the nature of the character is not that easy to be performed and that is due to the character's psychological traumas which require a lot of effort from the part of the actor in order to bring them into life. In the terms of Knowles, Peter Woodthorpe has perfectly succeeded in unveiling the inner psyche of the character more than did Robert Shaw in the film; Peter Woodthorpe's performance on stage theatre was "extraordinary formidable...a latent implacability...so powerful and so quite" (78). The best thing about his performance is that, "the oddity of Woodthorpe's Aston came from within, inevitably, as a total condition, not an occasional aberration provoked by something external. Aston's stillness was like a grotesque travesty of the statue of Buddha he has brought to the attic, as his long speech closing act two manifest" (78). In the stage version, Peter Woodthorpe attracted the appeal of the audience with his excellent playing of the role of Aston as he stuck faithfully to the description of the character pointed out by Pinter in the original text. However, in the film Robert Shaw plays in his role differently. Indeed:

Robert Shaw took a different approach. He recognized that the more normal he attempted to be as Aston, the more painfully contrasted his manifest oddity would be, Robert Shaw is in both manner and appearance, surprisingly normal...Peter Woodthorpe had an odder, more offbeat appearance and he did more to play the character's eccentricities. (qtd. In Knowles 79)

Obviously, with the filmed version of Aston's character, the normality of Robert Shaw has reduced the oddity of Aston's character. This oddity has been better highlighted in the text of the play. In the text, Harold Pinter depicts Aston as a traumatized person who lives imprisoned to his pipe dream of building a shed, surprisingly, despite his psychological inconsistencies; he is characterized by slow and often meaningful utterances when compared to the other characters. Stage directions read: "Aston sits on the bed, takes out a tobacco tin and papers and begins to roll himself a cigarette" (Act 1, 40), "Aston crosses to the plug box to get another plug" (42), "Aston goes back to his bed and starts to fix the plug on the toaster" (42). This obsession with fixing the plug of the toaster occupying Aston's life may seem to the reader a normal activity when he starts reading about the character. However, at the end of the play he or she becomes sure that the character's odd activity suggests his strange behavior. The complexity of the character lies in this contradiction between how he appears and how he is in reality. His apparent normality hides his strange behavior.

In the film, the hidden oddity of the character is substituted by a certain visual normality due to the performance of Robert Shaw and due to Nicholas Roeg's camera movements. Watching the first ten minutes of the "good sit in" scene, the first scene of the movie which sets the stage for Davies and Aston to have an exchange of words, we deduce that the camera cuts twice to Aston in a close up shot while he is listening quietly to Davies. The camera's closing all the time on Aston's face suggests to the spectator a quite normal person. Indeed, it is the power of the camera focusing techniques and not Robert Shaw's

performance that shaped Aston's character in the film. Robert Shaw's performance was great but some of the filmic necessities have modified the text's depiction of the character.

Significantly, we notice that there are no women in the cast of the film, despite the mentioning of two female figures in the play; Aston's wife and the brother's mother. Clive Donner could have worked on the idea of female figures in the movie, at least in the way Harold Pinter dealt with them in the play. In the play, female figures have a great impact on the other male characters, though they are absent in the scenes and actions of the play. Moreover, their descriptions are taken from the point of view of male characters (Aston and Davies), who, attribute to them a bad reputation. Indeed, "this theme is worth mentioning. The absence of something or someone might be revealing as its presence. This [movie] would certainly not please feminists since women are not only excluded but also ill-treated when referred to. Each character talks of a woman at one point in the play and in the movie" (Piquemal 30). Some feminists would find the play as well as the film very provocative in the sense that they eliminated the presence of female characters and they even dealt with them as minor figures in the process of events. "First Davies tells Aston why he left his wife; he says she was so dirty and untidy that she left her underwear in the saucepan (p.4). Then Mick uses his mother as a joke to destabilize Davies (p.52) (he says to him that the bed is his mother's). Finally Aston says that his mother permitted the electroshock therapy, though he had written a letter to her, begging her to refuse" (30).

Surprisingly, Davies leaves his wife because she is dirty while he, himself, is dirty, untidy and evokes disgust with his unpleasant odor. Mick also has used all of his power and tricks to keep up his relationship with his brother out of the reach of the greedy guest, whereas, when he and his brother talked about their mother, they treated her badly. This will lead the spectators and the critics to wonder, "Why women are treated so badly. May be their absence stresses the characters' loneliness; in a society where young brides are unclean, and where mothers let you down, you cannot rely on anybody" (Piquemal 30).

When adapting the play into the movie, one can deduce an obvious process of editing and modification that takes place, particularly, in the speeches of the characters. These adjustments facilitate for the actors the performance of their roles and add a realistic aspect to the staging of the movie. The camera's close up shots has substituted many of the character's words. Actually:

With Bate's screen performance Pinter halved the celebrated speeches of Act two [pp. 40, 41, 44-5]: the first speech cut out, "had a marvelous stop-watch...to it was a funny business; the second cut "this chap...to the nag's head"; the third line speech has 23 lines cut, including the lengthy final passage "on the other hand...won't we?". What Pinter did was to reduce considerably the theatrical nature of the speeches [...]. In the film subtextual implication was replaced by close-up. (Knowles 74)

Due to the filmic nature which requires that some outside scenes should be added to the play, speeches should be re-organized to put up with the alteration of the setting. It is noteworthy to add that some lines are also removed from Aston's hospital monologue. In the second scene of the second Act, Aston tells Davies about his experience in a mental hospital and how he managed to escape. The bitterness of this experience is highlighted through a

sequence of close up shots on the eyes and face of Aston rather than emphasizing the words of his monologue .That is why some sentences are removed from his speech. According to Steven Gale:

Because some of the action now [in the film] takes place outside the room, dialogue must be added, cut or rearranged in order to accommodate the differences in setting. Partially, too, the dialogue alterations (e.g.) the removal of some lines from Aston's hospital monologue, are necessary because of the kind of flow of action demanded by the film. As a matter of fact, the screen writer seems more willing to substitute pure actions for words in some cases" (*Butter's Going up* 14).

This is quite clear in two scenes, the hospital monologue scene and in the "good sit in" scene when Davies enters the room for the first time and starts to look upon the place. In the play, the character says: "there is a good bit of stuff" (Act 1, 43). In the movie this sentence has been removed and substituted by two close- up shots on Davies and on the piled junk, "the piled junk seen behind him almost seems to be closing in" (Gale, *Butter's Going up* 4). This endows the movie with a highly comic effect, due to the graphic movement of the camera.

The pathetic tone of the "hospital monologue" scene and the comic effect of the "good sit down" scene reinforce the importance of the spectator as the engine of the meaning-making. In his book *Film Theory: An introduction*, Robert Stan allots a critical importance to spectators in the filmic actions. Accordingly, "cinema ensures that the spectator is established as the active centre and producer of meanings. The events, people, landscapes and objects of the film, its fictional reality; are always and necessarily seen from a fixed point in its imaginary space, one that is occupied by the spectator" (79). Thereby, the movability of the camera in the visual space works as a catalyst and as a stimulus to the spectators' reactions. However, stimulating the reactions of the spectators has nothing to do with whether the mise en scene of the film is realistic or not, actually, "the film does not judge mise en scene by how closely it mimics the world we live in, just as director might want to create a thoroughly wrapped suburban living room set with oversized furniture" (Sikov 6). The movement of the camera and the movement of the actors on stage screen stimulate either the spectators' tears or spectators' laughing .This does not have any relationship to whether the mise en scene is realistic or absurd. Let's take the example of the hospital Monologue scene, a scene with a running time of nine minutes; Aston's sentences are fragmented and even meaningless. He appears like hallucinating, however, spectators' tears underline their compassion and identification with the character. Besides, in the opening exchange between Aston and Davies, Clive Donner stresses the comic nature of Davies. His filthy and untidy clothes as well as his manner of talking stimulate the spectators' laughing, who start to recognize Davie as a comic figure. Moreover, as much as the spectators can laugh heartily when watching Davies' character, they may feel menaced when watching the mysterious Mick in the opening scene. Mick is always in a constant situation of motion and change. Along the whole movie he hardly talks to his brother, however, surprisingly, he uses all of his power to evict the new guest who threatens his relationship with him. This unfathomable nature of the character creates feelings of doubt among the spectators. "The spectator begins to feel concerned" (Gauthier 112), yet for him/her there can be no complete explanation. Indeed, the spectator reviewer adds much to the rhythm of a stage screen production and he/she is a central component in the filmmaking process.

In order to understand how Clive Donner's *the Caretaker* works out and reflects meanings to the spectators, an investigation in the term *mise-en-scene* has been conducted in in this paper. Indeed, by analyzing the *mise en scene* of the movie we start to understand what those meanings might be. To conclude, the adaptation of Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* into a film has clarified some of the text's ambiguities, yet, it has not altered the austere nature of the play. It is noteworthy to mention that even after the final blow of the film many questions remained unanswered and many details were left unexplained.

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Discourse Functions of Modal Verbs ‘Will and Shall’ in Christian Prayers

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Abstract

Prayer and language can be said to share similar definition in that they are both means of communication, though in prayer, one is communicating solely with a Supreme Being. This communication implies that a prayer is a form of discourse due to the presence of interaction; as such a discourse analysis of prayer will not be out of place. This study therefore investigates the use of modal verbs by pastors in Christian prayers. This is with a view to identifying and examining the discourse functions performed by these modal expressions. The Speech Act Theory and Systemic Functional Grammar, mainly using the system of modality, are used to examine the focus of this study. Prayer utterances made by four ‘popular’ Nigerian pastors served as the data set for this study. The system of modality helps to understand the modulation and modalization of these modal verbs as used in the prayer statements, whereas the speech act analysis expresses the types of illocutionary acts the modal verbs indicate in the prayer statements. The interaction of the two theories helps to bring to fore the discourse functions performed by these modal verbs in the Christian prayers. It is noticed that a prayer statement may express more than one speech act, when this happens the acts dictate the discourse function that such modal expressions perform. This study therefore concludes that the discourse functions resultantly enhance the level of the recipient’s belief in God and His ability to grant the prayer requests.

Keywords: Christian prayers, discourse functions, prayer discourse, modal verbs.

1. Introduction

Prayer is nothing else but an intense longing of the heart. You may EXPRESS yourself through the lips; you may EXPPRESS yourself in the private closet or in the public; but to be genuine, the EXPRESSION must come from the deepest recesses of the heart. - M. K. Gandhi

Prayer is the most vital part of the Christian religion. From the quote above, it can be deduced that prayer is a language on its own which comprises the combination of certain words formulated into grammatical structures (i.e. clauses and phrases) with which an individual expresses the deepest concerns of his/her heart. It has enjoyed other numerous definitions, some of which are: it is a reverent petition made to God; it is an effort to communicate with God; it is an earnest request of God for help with intense yearning. It should be noted, however, that the main locus of prayer is to communicate with a supreme being.

Bloomaert (2003) defines discourse as 'language in action', placing particular attention to language and to action. If prayer is considered to be a language, it follows therefore that, it can conveniently be situated within the larger purview of discourse, as such, an analysis of prayer discourse will undoubtedly avail us the understanding of the discourse features and functions of certain linguistic elements that are used in it. An important linguistic element that is used in prayers is the modal verbs.

Modal verbs function like other aspects of language as they can also be analyzed from the discourse perspective. They are used to indicate different meanings or acts like request, obligation, order and permit. Modal verbs in English are regarded as small class of auxiliary verbs. They distinguish from other verbs in that they have no participle or infinitive forms. The modal verbs that are of interest to this study are 'Will and shall.' These modals mostly talk about the future; 'the most frequent choice is used to make requests when used as an interrogative and to make promises when used in declarative sentences' (Thornburg, 2004). These modal verbs are also capable of creating or revealing the illocutionary act performed by the speaker in a statement.

This study is primarily situated within the ambits of the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) as proposed by M.A.K. Halliday. This theory incorporates a semantic dimension in its interpretation of language use as being an enormous systems network of meaning potential. The system of Modality serves as the basis for explaining the functioning of the modal verbs. Likewise, insights will be derived from the speech act theory. The interaction of these two theoretical bases will adequately help to uncover the propositional effects and discourse functions of these modal verbs in prayer statements.

2. Language and Christian prayers

Language and Christian prayers are interestingly interrelated and intermingled. Language is seen as a tool for communication. It is a social phenomenon by which we persuade, advise, warn, request and also interchange in different ways. On the hand, prayer is defined as a means of communicating with God. To this extent, prayer can be categorized also as a language that expresses a number of actions such as thanking, requesting, adoring and supplicating. Komolafe (1992) opines that language used for religious activities such as prayer is used 'in a manner whose sense and meaning is different from that of the ordinary day-to-day human life.' Likewise, Houghton (2004) avers that the language used while praying is simple and has a similar sentence structure which forms a pattern for a particular group of topic in the prayer.

Christian prayers are requests made to an omnipresent God whose name is known to those who worship Him and who has replaced all covenantal bargains by His incarnation, death and resurrection. The individual's expectation as regards the requests made is directly proportional to his/her recognition of and relationship with these theological assumptions. In this vein, certain individuals are revered as having an extremely accurate relationship with the omnipresent God; hence, prayer made by such people is always considered a priority by God. These people are commonly referred to as the pastors or ministers of God. Christian prayers vary in types, some of which are agreement prayers, personal prayers and intercessory prayers. Of interest in this study is the intercessory prayer.

An intercessory prayer is an act of praying for other people. While interceding in prayer for people, the pastors frequently use modal verbs, perhaps unknowingly, when expressing the prayer statements. However, it is noticed that this frequent usage of modal verbs in the (prayer) discourse between the individuals and the Supreme Being has certain functions they are invoking. As such, this study is interested in deciphering these perceived functions through a data-driven approach.

3. Aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to examine the discourse functions that English modal verbs perform in Christian prayers. The specific objectives that guide the discussion in this study are to:

- i. identify and explain the discourse functions performed by the modal verbs in the prayer statements
- ii. identify and explain the illocutionary acts the modal verbs are expressing in the prayer statements
- iii. examine the propositional effect(s) of the prayer statements on the participant involved in the prayer discourse

4. Previous works

Shala and Shima (2012) assess the speech acts of curses and prayers in Persian. Using Searle's (1975) version of Speech Act Theory, they discover that prayers and curses are classified as expressive acts, since they reveal the speaker's attitude and feelings towards the proposition (i.e. prayers and curses)

Bankole and Ayoola (2014) carry out a Systemic Functional analysis of Christian Women Mirror magazine to examine how the systems of mood and modality are creatively used in them. Using Halliday's SFG, they discover that most articles in the Christian magazines carefully employ and manipulate their grammatical choices to express the propositions in the magazines. As a result of this, the intended persuasive outcome expected from the reading of these magazines is achieved. They conclude that the relationship between the lexico-grammar (modality) analysis and the speech functions (mood structure) of the clauses are due to the need to get the readers persuaded about the Christian ideology.

Assessing the particular speech acts of modal verbs in the use of language by the politicians, Khalid and Zhang (2013) assert that the speeches of the politicians in general, and Barack Obama specifically, mainly involve the speech act of request. The use of modal verbs 'can, will and must' functions to express the speech act of request in the analysed speech. They conclude that speech act of request is the most frequent act prevailing in the political speeches which mostly happens in an indirect manner.

This present study will appropriately consider the findings of the above related works to see how they can provide insights and guide for the current study. In addition, this present work will examine the discourse functions that certain illocutionary acts perform through the use of modal verbs in Christian prayers, and its importance to Christian religion. This is noticeably absent from the finding of the previous works on religious discourse.

5. Theoretical frameworks

Two major theories serve to accurately expatiate on the focus of this study. They are: Systemic Functional Grammar and Speech Act theory. The Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) was proposed by M.A.K. Halliday (1985), and its view of language emphasizes that the grammar of a language is a system of options from which speakers choose according to the social circumstances. That is, any form of language use is a harmonious network of linguistic elements that coalesce to realize particular language functions based on the social context. These language functions, according to Halliday and Hassan (1989), 'are interpreted not just as the use of language but as a fundamental property of language itself' because 'the organization of every language is explained in terms of its functional capacity.'

According to Halliday and Hassan (1989), there are three general (Meta) functions which language fulfill at a time; each function operating proportionately with a distinguish system. These functions are the ideational, textual and interpersonal functions. The ideational function communicates the events and objects in the world; it is realized by the transitivity system. The textual function constructs links with itself and with features of the situation in which it is

used; it is realized by the theme and rheme system. The interpersonal function establishes and maintains social relations; it is realized by the systems of mood and modality. Since this study is mainly focused on modality, the interpersonal function will serve as the major concern.

Modality is the language system which functions to establish, change and maintain social relations between speakers. Modality lies between the positive (*yes*) and the negative (*no*) polar of propositions. Saragih (2007) sees modality as 'a personal judgment on opinion.' This is possibly because modality reverses not only the linguistic elements but also the opinion and judgment of the speaker on the context of the clause. Hence, perspective, attitude and personal judgment of the speaker to the context of the clause is considered primary to modality. This suggests that any form of language use is potential for the use of modality because, over and above what has been said; modality takes into consideration the relevance of linguistic and extra-linguistic contextual factors in the production and interpretation of modal utterances in discourse.

Based on Gonzalvez Garcia's (2000) explanation, modality consists of modalization and modulation. Modalization, otherwise known as epistemic modality, expresses possibility, necessity and prediction based on the proposition of the discourse. Modulation or deontic modality expresses permission, obligation and volition on the proposition of the discourse. In this study, the interaction of modalization with modulation will help to bring to light the discourse functions of the modal propositions.

The Speech Act Theory also counts as an inevitable theoretical basis for this study. The theory as propounded by J. L. Austin (1962) in his work of monograph, *How to do things with words* distinguishes three kinds of acts. These are: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. The locutionary act is what the speaker says with determinate sense and reference, and the illocutionary act is what the speaker intends to convey by his utterance such as offer, promise and advice. While the perlocutionary act is refers to the results of the audience from that saying such as persuading, misleading, and convincing (Levinson, 1983: 263). In his classification of speech acts, Austin took the English illocutionary verbs (performative verbs) and divided them into five categories: Verdictives, Exercitives, Commissives, Behabitives, and Expositives. Searle (1975) developed the theory of speech act and proposes taxonomy of illocutionary acts as five kinds of action that one can perform in speaking; these are assertives, directives, commissives, expressive and declarations.

1. Assertives (Representatives): The speaker commits to the truth of the expressed proposition as in asserting, concluding. Examples are: boast, assert, claim and predict.
2. Directives: This category of speech act is represented by the fact that the speaker attempt to get the hearer to do something. Examples are: request, pray and advise.
3. Commissives: The illocutionary point of this kind of acts is that the speaker commits her/himself to some future course of action. Examples are: promise, pledge and threaten.

4. Expressives: In this kind of speech acts the speaker is capable of expressing some kinds of psychological state such as feeling sorry or thanking. Examples are: apologize, thank and congratulate.

5. Declarations: In this category, the speaker change the external condition of an object, by other words changes the world.

It is believed that the incorporation of these two theoretical bases will enable this study to find out exactly the discourse functions of modals in the Christian prayer statements.

6. Methodology

The data for this study include recordings of preaching cum prayer sessions of four purposively selected 'popular' Nigerian pastors. They are: Pastor E.A. Adeboye of Redeemed Christian Church of God, Pastor David Oyedepo of Winners Chapel, Pastor W.F. Kumuyi of Deeper Life Bible Church and Pastor D.K. Olukoya of Mountain of Fire and Miracle Ministries. The recordings were done with the aid of a phone enabled for such purpose during live broadcasts of the churches' programs.

For the purpose of this study, only prayer statements that include modal verbs 'will and shall' were selected. These prayer statements were either uttered during preaching or during prayer session which often times comes after the preaching. The selected prayer statements were transcribed. The linguistic elements were analyzed for modality and speech acts to reveal their discourse functions.

7. Research Procedure

The study is expounded within the theory of Speech Act as remarked by Searle (1975). The analysis is categorized into two sections. The first section is based on the interaction of the supreme God with the modal verbs and the second, based on the interaction of the other participants (the pastor and the recipient of the prayer) with the modal verbs in the prayer statements. In the two sections, the focus will be on identifying and explaining the illocutionary acts of the propositions made in the prayer statements through the use of 'will and shall'. Also on how each participant in the prayer discourse processes the proposition expressed in the prayer statements, which in turn reveals its discourse function.

8. Data Analysis

The acts performed by the modal verbs vary on the propositional effects of the prayer statements on the participants involved. Hence, it will be unsurprising to find out, as this work reveals, that a modal verb (will or shall) can carry more than one speech act in a particular prayer statement. This understanding is derived from the role each participant plays in relation to the stated prayer. To broadly examine the foregoing, the data have been segmented into two categories and are discussed below.

Category 1

Excerpts:

1. Hear tonight, the Lord will wipe away your tears

2. God shall make you a divine showroom to display His power and prosperity
3. Because you have decided to praise him (God), God will level the road before you.
4. The Lord will cause abundance to follow you now and forever.
5. The Holy Spirit shall deliver you from yourself into God's plan for you this year
6. God shall waste all your wasters.
7. The Lord shall help you to live within His ordained capacity for your life.

The participants in these prayer statements are God, the Supreme Being who is being prayed to; the pastor who is making the prayer statements and the recipient of the prayer; the individual being prayed for. In this category, God and the pastor are considered the active participants who dictate the act(s) indicated by the modal verbs 'will and shall.'

1. Assertive (Representative): The use of 'will and shall' by the pastor in the prayer statements above show that he is positively committed to the truth of the expressed prayer statements. This derives from his ultimate belief in God to grant the request made at no distant future. For instance, in excerpt 1, it is the pastor's belief in God's ability to wipe humans' tears that made him boastfully assert that the recipient's tears will soon be wiped away. Likewise in excerpt 7, the belief in the capacity of God to do all things gives the pastor the assurance to affirm that the Lord shall help the person being prayed for to live within God's ordained capacity for the person's life. This is also true of other prayer statements in this category as the pastor asserts them based on his unwavering belief in God's ability to grant them.

2. Commissive: To see these modals 'will and shall' as expressing a commissive act, the attention is shifted to God as the actual speaker while the pastor is considered as a pseudo speaker through whom the act is expressed. In other words, the pastor is performing the act on God's behalf. As such, God is seen as the illocutionary agent whose intention is committed to the actualization of future promises and actions. For instance, the use of 'will' in excerpt 4 shows the intention of God as believed and indirectly expressed by the pastor *to cause abundance to follow* the recipient of the prayer at the present time and a particular time in the future. In excerpt 7 also, 'shall' depicts God as committing to a future occurrence of *helping the recipient of the prayer to live within God's ordained capacity for his life*.

3.

Discourse functions

In this first category, the discourse functions performed by the acts expressed in the prayer statements are prophesying and promising.

1. Prophesying

Prophesying entails saying/stating what will happen in the future. This is a major feature of an intercessory prayer in the Christian religion. According to the Christian injunctions, righteousness is considered a major prerequisite for prophecy. Since pastors (active

participants in the prayer discourse) are generally considered to be usually righteous, it follows that they have the spiritual wherewithal to engage in the act of prophesying.

The discourse function of prophesying is expressed by the assertive speech act, indicated in terms of the pastor's belief in God. This function is understood through the pastor's use of modal verbs 'will and shall' in his interceding prayer statements. Like the act of prophesying, these modal verbs are usually making reference to a future occurrence. As such, the pastor commonly makes use of this modal element as a tool for prophesying while interceding.

In excerpt 4 '*the Lord will cause abundance to follow you now and forever,*' the choice of 'will' evidently points to the fact that the pastor is not only relating the prayer to the present situation (i.e. *follow you now*), but he is also prophesying into the future (i.e. *follow you forever*). Also, 'shall' in excerpt 5 is used by the pastor to achieve the prophesying discourse function. This is because it has helped the pastor to convincingly express the message in the said prayer to be an occurrence that is going to last for the rest of the recipient's life; a projection that continues into the future.

Furthermore, through the use of 'will and shall' in prophesying, both the epistemic and deontic scopes of modality are realized. The pastor, who is the locutionary agent and the source of modality prophesizes based on his belief in and bond with God in such a way that leaves no room for doubt pertaining to the prayer statements made. This enhances his will and authority to prophesy; a modulation of the deontic modality.

2. Promising

Promising is an act of intimating someone about one's intention to fulfill or not to fulfill an expectation. In Christian prayers, a promise can be taken to mean an infant form of response to prayer requests. The promising discourse function is expressed by the commissive speech act which projects the intention of the speaker to fulfill some future actions. In so doing, the important linguistic elements that point at God's intention are the modal verbs 'will and shall' as used by the pastor in the prayer statement.

However, in this study, the prayer statements that denote this discourse function are uttered by an indirect source, hence, it is termed an indirect promising. It has already been established that the pastor is a pseudo speaker in the discourse. This is because he cannot grant the recipient's request; rather it is only God who has the capacity of making promises and granting requests. Likewise, looking at the structure of the prayer statements in the excerpts, the subject of the main clause is the Supreme Being (God or Holy Spirit) who is ordinarily the performer of the actions stipulated by the verb of the clause; this invariably makes the Supreme Being the person engaged in the act of promising. But when the pastor utters this prayer statement, he is considered to be making the promises on God's behalf.

With this in mind, we can aver that the pastor is only performing the act of promising on behalf of God. For instance, in excerpt 7, '*the Lord shall help you to live within His ordained capacity for your life,*' it is noticed that a promise of 'help' has been made by the pastor. Unfortunately, he does not have the wherewithal to fulfill this promise, only God does. As a

result of this, God is considered in this study to be the main speaker who has promised but has only projected the promise through the prayer statement uttered by the pastor.

Furthermore, excerpt 1-7 will count as performing a function of promising because they satisfy certain conditions for analyzing such promise utterances.

Firstly, the propositional content performs some future action (A) by the speaker (S). For instance in the excerpts 5-7, the propositional elements, which are the prayer statements, clearly show God as being committed to performing actions such as helping, providing, delivering in the present and also in the future.

Secondly, a statement will count as promise if the hearer (H) prefers speaker's doing A to his not doing it. The hearer here is the recipient of the prayer, and he utterly believes in the accomplishment of the prayer statements uttered by the pastor. As such, he would want the expressed prayer statements to be fulfilled. However, he knows that the pastor cannot actualize this; rather it is God who is promising and who is capable of fulfilling such promises. For instance, whenever the pastor makes a prayer statement in the recording (E.g. *because you have decided to praise him (God), God will level the road before you; the Lord will cause abundance to follow you now and forever*), the recipient(s) of the prayer responds by saying 'amen'. This shows that the person willingly prefers that the speaker (God) does the action expressed in the prayer statement.

Thirdly, the speaker seeks to do A. This means that merely projecting the prayer statement through the pastor shows God's readiness and willingness to perform the action expressed. In addition, the non-inclusion of a negator (not) in the excerpts also shows that the speaker (God) who is promising is committed to doing the actions embedded in the prayer statement.

All these point to the fact that the use of the modal verbs in prayer statements uttered by the pastor also functions as promising. This discourse function is also realized through the interaction of the modalization and modulation scopes of modality. In that, the locutionary agent, God is seen as being committed to an obligation to fulfill certain promises that count as necessary for those who believe in Him and have made certain requests.

Category 2

The attention in this category is shifted to the person who is interceding and the person being interceded for. The interaction of their roles in the prayer discourse will be examined to reveal the acts performed through the use of modal verbs 'will and shall'. Consider the following excerpts:

8. You shall see the glory of the Lord manifesting in your life
9. You shall trample upon the serpents and scorpions assigned to put you to shame
10. You will display God's power and prosperity
11. My prayer is that, you will get your bearing right on time

12. As the Lord, the author of this commission liveth, you will get to the top
13. You will not get up late for the plan of God
14. You shall grow in God ordained capacity for your life
15. Because you have opened your mouth to praise the Lord tonight, I pray that you will not run another man's race.

In these prayer statements, the pastor who is interceding is directly addressing the recipient of the prayer, as noticed by the choice of the second person pronoun form 'you' in the prayer statements. This is done in a bid to rouse the belief of such person and get him spiritually optimistic for answers to the prayers. In view of this, the modal verbs 'will and shall' that situate these propositions are deduced to perform a directive speech act.

1. **Directives:** The use of 'will and shall' in this category of prayer statements indicates that the pastor tries to get the recipient of the prayer to see himself as the performer of the action stated in the prayer. This in turn will spiritually elevate the individual's belief in the prayer statements as he expects the fulfillment of the promises. For instance, in excerpt 14 '*you shall grow in God's ordained capacity for your life,*' the pastor directly addresses the recipient, who also considers himself as the main addressee, to whom the action is attracted. This understanding gets him to enhance his belief in the prayer and willfully desires the response.

Discourse function

In this category, the discourse function performed by the act expressed is assuring.

Assuring

Assuring is a discourse function that states that something is definitely going to happen, especially when elements of doubt are observed towards the subject matter. The illocutionary act that expresses this discourse function is the directive act. In Christian prayers, the belief system of the person being prayed for is needed in its absoluteness; else, there might not be answers to prayer requests as expected. Thus, the pastor needs to carefully choose certain linguistic elements that will motivate and enhance the recipient's belief in God and in the prayer.

In excerpt 11 '*my prayer... you will get your bearing right on time,*' the use of modal verb 'will' suggests an occurrence that is going to happen, relating it further to the subject (*you*) of the main clause- the person being prayed for, and the other elements in the clause (e.g. *right on time*) reveals that the pastor is overtly assuring the recipient that he will get his bearing at a particular time. This statement of assurance invariably hoists the belief of the recipient in the uttered prayer.

In addition, as seen in the other excerpts, the pastor is visibly assuring the person being prayer for through the use of 'will and shall'. The recipient of the prayer statements is assured of not running another man's race (excerpt 15), of getting to the top (excerpt 12), of seeing the glory of the Lord manifesting in his life (excerpt 8) and so on.

9. Conclusion

It might be overambitious to draw broad conclusions based on a study of a limited number of prayer statements by selected Nigerian pastors. Nonetheless, certain patterns are observable from this investigation. This study reveals the preponderance of modal verbs such as will and shall in intercessory prayers of the Christian pastors examined. Using Searle's (1975) model of Speech Act Theory and Modality as explained in Hallidayan SFG (1985), an examination of the use of these modal verbs 'will and shall' reveals that the pastors use it to achieve certain discourse functions such as prophesying, promising and assuring.

Furthermore, the speech act analysis of the modal expressions reveals that prayer statements that incorporates either 'will or shall' is capable of performing more than one illocutionary act. The distinction in the kind of act performed lies in the roles each participant in the discourse plays and how the proposition affects each participant. As such, a prayer statement can perform both assertive and commissive speech acts based on the relationship of the participants to the proposition.

In addition, this study exposes the fact that both the epistemic and deontic modality relates at a level to disclose the discourse functions of the modal verbs as used by the pastors during intercessory prayers.

Considering all these, it is discovered that as much as the pastor is committed to the truth of the prayer statements and also believes in it, the recipient of the prayer must also operate at the same level of belief for a positive outcome. Therefore, this study concludes that the choice and use of modal verbs (will and shall) in Christian intercessory prayers functions to enhance and elevate the recipient's level of belief in God and the expressed proposition; likewise in God's ability to grant the prayer requests.

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Foreign language learning theories: The “wastebasket” of psycholinguistics

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Abstract

Several inquiries are raised whenever foreign language learning is broadly tackled: (i) why are foreign language learning researches ongoing, numerous methods and approaches has been developed in less than one century, approximately between one and two methods each decade(Lopez,1990), (ii) Is this a syndrome of a chronic failure to elaborate an adequate approach that meets all needs?

For Davies (2007, p.66), the history of foreign language learning is a history of method. Like fashion in dress/clothes, approaches in language teaching emerge and disappear, and if one looks far enough it recycles itself after a decent interval.

In point of view, this is due to the fact that foreign language researchers should look for solutions for a ‘wastebasket’ full of many problems from the surrounding disciplines mainly psycholinguistics.

Keywords: critical period theory, language anxiety, psycholinguistics, Pavlov’s stimulus response theory.

It is evident to any one reading research in second language acquisition, that the field is inter-disciplinary. The study of second language acquisition can be linguistic, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, sociological, psychological and educational. (Sliger, Seliger, Elana & Shohamy, 2001, p.1)

1. Introduction

The epigraph mentioned above outlines foreign language learning as an umbrella label that covers several disciplines. Whenever it is broadly discussed, one is confronted by different areas of knowledge. Lopéz (1990) noted that “nowadays, we know that linguistics is not the only area in which a language teacher should be trained. The importance of psychology and sociology as well as more training in pedagogy is being recognized” (p.10). A significant contribution to the literature are studies that document the influence of different areas of research, mainly linguistics, sociology, sociolinguistics, psychology and psycholinguistics on FLL researches. Gass and Schachter (1989) asserted

Earlier work in the field of second language acquisition focused on acquisition from a pedagogical perspective, in the sense that goals of research were ultimately to refine our knowledge about classroom practices (...) but currently, most scholars engaged in second language research view the field as an autonomous discipline with our set of questions and issues and its own research agenda and goals (p.3).

Halimi (2012, p.427) endorsed this idea that literature on Second/Foreign language acquisition perceived the psychological aspect as a clear link to the language learning process and success, which explains why in the research of foreign language acquisition, psychological factors have also been found very influential. According to Davis (1995, pp. 427-428), experts in SLA studies used the research techniques and philosophy dominant in the social sciences, particularly psychology. They adopted psychological models for explaining how language is acquired, theorists and researchers tend to view SLA as a mental process. In parallel, studies place considerable importance to language learning, mind, brain and society (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994; Gardner, 1985; Williams & Burden, 2010). Furthermore, an examination of the abundant glossaries of FL literature confirms observations of the widespread use of terms borrowed from psychology and psycholinguistics

1. Foreign language learning: A psycholinguistic question

The involvement of some psychologists, like Lozano and Asher, in foreign language learning may explain the interface between foreign language researches and surrounding disciplines like psycholinguistics. Scholars from non-linguistic fields become involved in foreign language learning on the basis that language is a psychological phenomenon. According to Sapir (1993, pp.10-11) the psychologists, as well as linguists, have been concerning themselves more and more with linguistic data. So far it is doubtful if they have been able to contribute very much to the understanding of language behavior beyond what the linguists have themselves been able to formulate on the basis of their data.

Additionally, the value of psychology in foreign language learning resides in the fact that it answers some inquiries beyond the linguists' remit. It is the concern of psychologists to give explanation to some phenomena such as the relation between learners' psychological variables (personality traits, perceptions, beliefs, etc.) (Ganschow et al, 1998; Tanveer, 2007) and language learning and speaking process (Ellis, 1994; Patten, 1994) so as to explain some phenomena like the structures and processes, which underlie the learner's ability to speak a second language and resolve some psychological problems like language anxiety (Andrade & Williams, 2009).

1.1. "Anxiety": A psychological problem in the foreign language researches

This paragraph reviews some preliminaries. What is meant by anxiety? What is its type?

Wilson (2006) differentiated between general anxiety and academic anxiety.

In one context, general anxiety is thought of as a psychological phenomenon that concerns human mood in everyday life. In the Wikipedia entry about anxiety, anxiety is defined as

An unpleasant state of inner turmoil, often accompanied by nervous behavior (...) it is the subjectively unpleasant feelings of dread over something unlikely to happen. Anxiety is not the same as fear, which is felt about something realistically intimidating or dangerous and is an appropriate response to a perceived threat; anxiety is a feeling of fear, worry, and uneasiness, usually generalized and unfocused as an overreaction to a situation that is only subjectively seen as menacing.

In a second context, academic anxiety referred to psychological trouble associated with learning context in general and not limited to FLL. Trang (2012) claimed that "Research has shown that anxiety is not uncommon in almost all disciplines of learning" (p.69). Wilson (2006, p.44) mentioned many types of academic anxiety such as school subjects, such as math anxiety, second language anxiety that is referring to "the feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts, including speaking, listening and learning" (MacIntyre & Gardner 1994 p.282). In FLL realm, language anxiety

becomes a conventional concept that emerged with a radical rectification in the FLT scope and the shift from the teacher to the learner. Lopez (1996) claimed

In the past, the most question frequently asked which is the best methodology? Now teacher asks how can my student best learn the language, the focus was shifted from the teacher to the learners. This has come the realization that each learner is individual with distinct needs learning styles ,mental schemata and attitudes. And to further complicated matters not only different overling style, but an individual learners utilizes different approaches to learning at different stages in the learning process p.10).

Relying on Hamilton Anxiety Rating Scale, Horwitz et al. (1986) developed the foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS), and (Spielberger 1983) elaborated the State-Traits –Anxiety –Inventory (STAI) as a tool to assess foreign language anxiety Such scales measure the degree of anxiety throughout three different stages of language learning:(i) Input anxiety scale: determines the degree of learner’s trouble when taking information in FL,(ii) Processing anxiety scale, measures the level of anxiety when thinking in FL,(iii) Output anxiety refers to the apprehension experienced when speaking or writing in FL(MacIntyre & Gardner ,1994,p.289)

Such empirical studies deduce two things (i) rate of anxiety is more aggravated in FLL than in other academic discipline (Trang, 2012, p. 70). Tóth (2011) commented on that “What makes this anxiety, called foreign language anxiety (FLA), different from other academic anxieties is a unique metacognitive element, which manifests itself in learners’ awareness that “deprived” of their normal means of communication n (i.e., the L1) they are to communicate via a language in which they do not have full competence(p.40) (ii) The degree of anxiety is constant during the learning stages, Tanveer (2007) claimed that “All the three stages of anxiety are somewhat interdependent; each stage depends on the successful completion of the previous one”(p.23).

Anxiety as a psychological problem stimulated many discussions in the foreign language realm. Scholars realized that anxiety is not the unique obstacle that hampers foreign language learner, but insecurity, negative attitude towards foreign language and apathy are other factors that affect foreign language learning.

1.2.Humanistic approach to foreign language learning: A solution for language anxiety

The assessment of language proficiency from a psycholinguistics perspective has been a subject of considerable interest. Many literatures are devoted for the explanation of certain psychological phenomena related to language acquisition and language learning like language anxiety and how to deal with such phenomena.

Regarding this problem affective humanistic approach to language is introduced as a solution to the problem that originates from the pessimistic impression regarding learning a foreign language. During the 1970's a number of teaching methodologies appeared broadly labeled as "humanistic approach". Deeply rooted in a psychological theory that gives importance to the feeling and emotions, these methods are also depicted as clinical method (Balboni, 2005, p.45). The proponents of this approach presume that an encouraging atmosphere is mandatory to liberate learner from his dark view towards foreign language learning.

Affective humanistic approach also called clinical method (Balboni, 2005, p.45) has a psychological underpinning and interested in learner's psychological mood. Cook (1994) claimed "the aim of the humanistic model of teaching is to help the learner develop his own personality and mind to respond to his personal fears and needs and encourage his emotional and social development" (pp30-31). This approach gave birth to many teaching methods dealing with such issues.

The silent way and the suggestopedia are cataloged under the affective humanistic approach rubric since they are obsessively concerned with the learner's mood. Bowen and Marks, (1994) wrote "the silent way, suggestopedia and community language learning have for quite a long time been lumped together as 'humanistic' or 'alternative' or even 'fringe' approaches" (p.158).

1.3. Pavlov's psychological experiments in the foreign language debate

Epistemologically speaking, as a general theory of language learning, behaviorism grew out of the Pavlov's psychological experiments known as classical conditioning or stimulus response theory or behavior theory. Language is conceived as a behavior that is acquired in the course of a process of habit formation (Moulton, 1984, p.173).

In the linguistic realm, behaviorism was developed throughout the 1950s and 1960s; it relies objectively on observable measurable behavior and discounts mental activities in explaining language as another human property. For Littlewood (2006, p.5) language is not a mental process, it is a behavior, it is like other forms of human behavior language, it is acquired by a process of habit formation, its main components are: first, the child imitates the sounds and patterns which he hears around him; second, people recognize the child's attempts as being similar to the adults and reinforce (reward) the sounds by approval or some desirable reaction; third, in order to obtain more of these rewards, the child represents the sounds and the patterns, so that these become habits, and finally in this way the child's verbal behavior is conditioned or shaped until the habits coincide with the adult models.

In parallel, many experiments in other disciplines like ethology (Lorenz, 1961) questioned the behaviorist assumption. It is Lenneberg (1967) who, ironically, criticizes behaviorism for it was derived from the study of animals' behavior (p.227), though he built his critique upon Lorenz's observation of a bird's behavior. He claimed that behavior has a

genetic origin and environmental factors are not sufficient to acquire language. His argument is that at a certain age, well known as critical age period, is roughly defined as ending sometime around puberty, after which acquiring a language becomes effortful and learners do not reach a normal level of capability despite the exposure in the natural environment. He noted that

Between the ages of two and three years language emerges by an interaction of maturation and self-programmed learning. Between the ages of three and the early teens the possibility for primary language acquisition constitutes to be good; the individual appears to be most sensitive to stimuli at this time and to preserve some innate flexibility for the organization of brain functions to carry out the complex integration of sub-processes necessary for the smooth elaboration of speech and language. After puberty, the ability for self-organization and adjustment to the physiological demands of verbal behavior quickly declines. The brain behaves as if it had become set in its ways and primary, basic skills not acquired by that time usually remain deficient for life (p.158)

Another argument questioning the behaviorist view is that some children born with specific impairments are unable to acquire language although they are exposed to a natural environment which implies that language is not a behavior as it was thought to be. Gopnik and Graco (1991,p.2) who conducted an experiment on 30 children deduced that that some children whom appear to be normal in every other respect, are very late in acquiring language, those who conform to this clinical description have been referred to variously as 'developmental language dysphasic, specific language impairment or language impairment Critical age theory and language impairment plagued the theory of behaviorism and prevented it from being strictly acceptable and the behaviorist theory is not as comprehensive as its proponents thought it to be. In spite of the shortcomings in the theory, it continues to be a source of inspiration for research in surrounding disciplines comprising mainly FLL/FLT.

1.4.Critical period theory in the foreign language learning debate

Language learning as a habit formation process is the paramount tenet dominating foreign language learning literatures (Alkhuli, 1976, p.11; Freeman, 2000, p.26-28; Moulton, 1984; Stevick, 1982, p.15; Stern, 1992, p.73; Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p.9; Zimmerman, 2003, p. 8).

This tenet developed from the work of first language acquisition research (Lewis, 1993; Moulton, 1984; Littlewood, 2006). The greatest objection of this view is the critical period theory which is an influential theory in first language acquisition researches, too. Critical period theory proves that biologically at a certain age, acquiring another language is

significantly more difficult if not impossible (Goodluck, 1991, p.141). According to Skehan (1998,p.283), a precondition for the claim that second language learning is cognitive is that a critical period exists for language learning, and subsequent to this period such pre-wired capacities are no longer available, between the age of 14 and 17 or so direct primary processes no longer apply. Since both hypotheses are convincing, the biological programme for language learning does not preclude the importance of the environmental stimuli (Goodluck, 1991; Krashen, 2000; Schachter, 1989; Zimmerman, 2003), scholars draw our attention to the discrepancies between language learning as a conscious and explicit process (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p.412) and language acquisition as an unconscious and implicit process. Stevick (1982) detailed that “the end of the critical period is the point at which the nature of language learning changes from being an automatically engaged process to one in which it becomes yet another cognitive activity.” (p.84)

Critical age theory implies two requirements of great importance in foreign language researches: (i) at any age foreign languages are learnable (ii) a learner must be conceived as a child in his native language regardless of his mental capacity.

2. Conclusion

My original purpose in this article is to prove that foreign language teaching is the wastebasket of psycholinguistic problems. My claim draws on two observations:

(i) The majority of teaching methods have psychological underpinnings, and (ii) Foreign language researches are implicated in many psychological problems related to language acquisition and language learning like language disorders/impairments, critical/sensitive period, language anxiety. The paper tackles the controversies over psycholinguistic issues, mainly language anxiety, critical age period and Pavlov’s stimulus response theory in the foreign language researches

The study ends with three noteworthy issues.

- ✓ Foreign language learning is at the crossroad of disciplines, it is affected by the problems of the surrounding disciplines
- ✓ A perfect approach in foreign language learning does not exist for the problems mentioned above.
- ✓ Foreign language learning is a psychological issue rather than a linguistic issue because such problems (language anxiety, language disorder) are beyond the linguists’ remit.

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L'éducation à la citoyenneté en Tunisie

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Résumé :

L'éducation à la citoyenneté est un sujet d'actualité. En effet, les nouvelles tendances d'enseignement incitent les élèves à participer à la vie sociale et les initient aux valeurs démocratiques. Mais, cette approche n'a pas encore trouvé une place primordiale dans les programmes de l'école tunisienne. Dans cette perspective l'éducation à la citoyenneté n'a pas encore pris une assise dans les réformes constantes des approches et pratiques pédagogiques. Cependant, l'éducation à la citoyenneté est un élément novateur et fédérateur dans le projet d'école.

Mots-clés : Valeurs démocratiques, éducation à la citoyenneté, pratiques pédagogiques, citoyen responsable.

Abstract

The citizenship education is a crucial topic. Indeed, the new teaching trends encourage students to participate in social life and introduce them to democratic values. But this approach has not yet found a prominent place in the Tunisian school programs. In this perspective, the citizenship education has not yet taken a seat in constant reform approaches and teaching practices. However, citizenship education is an innovative and unifying element in the proposed school.

Keywords: democratic values, citizenship education, teaching practices, responsible citizen.

Introduction

Certes la question de la citoyenneté est au cœur des finalités de l'école dans les sociétés démocratiques. Cette intention a été traduite parfois dans les manuels scolaires et les programmes officiels notamment de disciplines des sciences humaines. À cet égard nous posons la question suivante : Est-ce que l'éducation nationale de Tunisie reflète les finalités assignées à l'enseignement entre autre la construction de la citoyenneté chez les élèves ?

La citoyenneté en tant que concept est fortement liée au sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté et l'exercice des droits politiques et des obligations civiques. De ce fait, Caroline Guibet Lefaye signalait que

« L'éducation à la citoyenneté ne peut plus aujourd'hui se penser dans les termes d'une éducation aux vertus civiques et politiques républicaines. Elle doit se soucier de l'acquisition d'accomplissements permettant aux élèves, devenus adultes, de tirer avantage de leur statut politique de citoyen, de participer à des processus de décision ayant des incidences sur leur existence »¹.

Bien évident l'éducation vise à atteindre le plein épanouissement de la personnalité humaine et le renforcement du respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales. Elle favorise la compréhension, la tolérance et l'amitié entre toutes les nations et tous les groupes ethniques ou religieux, ainsi que l'acquisition des connaissances et des compétences qui nous permet de comprendre le monde que nous entoure. Dans cet ordre d'idée l'éducation à la citoyenneté se trouve à l'entrecroisement de l'apprentissage des compétences et celui des valeurs universelles. Alors, L'exercice de la citoyenneté se situe au carrefour d'appartenances socioculturelles diverses et des valeurs universelles qui fondent les droits humains. L'éducation à la citoyenneté a pour but de construire des repères communs compris et acceptés de tous. Elle doit permettre à chacun de devenir acteur de la société. Or, il n'y a pas d'acteur qui n'ait une place, un rôle, des droits reconnus et des responsabilités. De ce fait, l'exercice de la citoyenneté exige des espaces de participation ouverts à tous.

Dans une société démocratique, cela signifie qu'un citoyen est une personne titulaire de droits et d'obligation. Parmi ces droits figure en premier lieu, le droit de participer au pouvoir soit directement soit par l'intermédiaire de ses représentants. A ces deux attributs s'en ajoute un troisième qui est celui du sentiment d'appartenance. Ce dernier a nécessairement une dimension affective, qui est liée à la fois à une continuité des générations et à une solidarité entre les contemporains. Ces solidarités verticale et horizontale expriment le partage d'un destin commun.

I. L'école : lieu de citoyenneté

L'école transmet les valeurs de la République comme la liberté, égalité et refus de toutes les discriminations. De ce fait, Outre la transmission des connaissances, l'école a comme mission première de faire inculquer aux élèves les valeurs de la démocratie pour former des citoyens responsables et conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs.

¹ Guibert Lefaye., C, « Education à la citoyenneté et parité de participation », in *Raison publique*, N°11, Edition PU Rennes, 2009, p. 2.

1. Qu'est ce que l'éducation à la citoyenneté ?

L'éducation à la citoyenneté est un thème d'actualité mais n'a pas encore trouvé une place primordiale dans les programmes de l'école tunisienne. En effet, elle n'a pas encore pris une assise dans les renouvellements constants des approches et pratiques pédagogiques, à ce titre l'éducation à la citoyenneté est un élément novateur et fédérateur dans le projet d'école. Cette dernière constitue un contexte propice pour la construction des citoyens conscients de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs civils ainsi que politique parce qu'elle a une certaine autonomie par rapport à la société. Alors l'école peut être un agent de changement pour démocratiser la société. Dans cette perspective Marie Lafontaine Schwarz notait

« l'éducation à la citoyenneté démocratique n'est pas un simple concept d'éducation, mais un véritable projet de société qui vise un changement profond des mentalités ».²

2. La citoyenneté

Thomas Humphrey Marshall donne une définition sociologique de la citoyenneté comme suit :

« La citoyenneté est un statut accordé à ceux qui sont des membres à part entière d'une communauté. Tous ceux qui jouissent de ce statut sont égaux en regard des droits et des devoirs dont un tel statut est doté ».³

Bien entendu, Marshall est le pionnier de l'étude contemporaine de la citoyenneté. Sa définition comporte tous les éléments essentiels à la compréhension de la dynamique qui lie les individus au corps social dans la modernité. La citoyenneté donne aux membres d'une communauté un statut comportant des droits et des devoirs. Dans cet ordre des idées la citoyenneté est à la fois appartenance et participation. Appartenance parce que Les notions de citoyenneté et de communauté renvoient à cet aspect fondamental de l'activité humaine qui consiste à vivre avec les autres. Les deux mots dépendent l'un de l'autre. La notion de citoyenneté n'a pas de sens en elle-même : en effet, on ne peut être citoyen que d'une entité et, plus précisément, d'une communauté. Il n'y a pas non plus de communauté digne de ce nom qui n'accorde pas à ses membres le sens de quelque chose qu'ils partagent et un statut d'appartenance commun. Mais elle est également participation parce qu'elle commande l'exercice des devoirs du citoyen. Ainsi, la citoyenneté définit les conditions d'exercice de la démocratie. Le point de vue de Marshall était qu'il fallait que l'ensemble des citoyens puisse accéder à cette culture commune à travers l'institution scolaire. Alors l'école est un lieu privilégié pour faire acquérir les élèves les principes fondamentaux de la citoyenneté qui leur permettent de vivre ensemble.

² L'éducation à la citoyenneté démocratique et aux droits humains en Suisse, état des lieux : réalisé dans le cadre de l'année européenne de la citoyenneté démocratique par l'éducation du Conseil de l'Europe (2005) ; Institut de hautes études internationales HEI/PSIO, Genève, 31 Mars 2006.

³ Marshal. T-H, *Citizenship and social class*, Cambridge, 1950, p.92.

3. L'éducation

L'éducation est l'action de développer un ensemble de connaissances et de valeurs morales, considérées comme essentielles pour atteindre le niveau de culture souhaitée. L'éducation permet de transmettre d'une génération à l'autre la culture nécessaire au développement de la personnalité et à l'intégration sociale de l'individu. Émile Durkheim notait que

« L'éducation est l'action exercée par les générations adultes sur celles qui ne sont pas encore mûres pour la vie sociale. Elle a pour objet de susciter et de développer chez l'enfant un certain nombre d'états physiques, intellectuels et moraux que réclament de lui et la société politique dans son ensemble et le milieu spécial auquel il est Particulièrement destiné »⁴.

Il résulte de la définition qui précède que l'éducation consiste en une socialisation méthodique de la jeune génération. A cet égard, en chacun de nous, il existe deux êtres. L'un est fait de tous les états mentaux qui ne se rapportent qu'à nous-mêmes et aux événements de notre vie personnelle : c'est ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'être individuel. L'autre est un système d'idées, de sentiments et d'habitudes qui expriment en nous, non pas notre personnalité, mais le groupe ou les groupes différents dont nous faisons partie ; telles sont les croyances religieuses, les croyances et les pratiques morales, les traditions nationales ou professionnelles, les opinions collectives de toute sorte. Leur ensemble forme l'être social. Constituer cet être en chacun de nous, telle est la fin de l'éducation. De ce fait,

« Au cours de notre histoire, il s'est constitué tout un ensemble d'idées sur la nature humaine, sur l'importance respective de nos différentes facultés, sur le droit et sur le devoir, sur la société, sur l'individu, sur le progrès, sur la science, sur l'art, etc., qui sont à la base même de notre esprit national ; toute éducation, celle du riche comme celle du pauvre, celle qui conduit aux carrières libérales comme celle qui prépare aux fonctions industrielles, a pour objet de les fixer dans les consciences »⁵.

Par ailleurs, les finalités de l'éducation s'orientent vers la construction de la citoyenneté des apprenants. En Tunisie, d'après l'article n°2 de la loi d'orientation de juillet 2002, l'élève est au centre de l'acte éducatif en tant que futur acteur responsable et éclairé. Alors l'école vise à lui transmettre de normes, de valeurs et modes de comportements communs. Elle lui prépare aussi à la vie active et favorise ainsi l'intégration professionnelle. Cependant, L'école se trouve ainsi devant une sorte d'antinomie. D'un côté, la lutte contre l'échec scolaire conduit à une pédagogie de plus en plus différenciée et individualisée. D'un autre côté, l'exigence de plus en plus criante de l'éducation aux droit civils conduit au contraire à privilégier l'apprentissage de la vie en collectivité et à valoriser la communauté scolaire en tant que telle. Alors cette orientation fonde un nouveau triangle didactique (citoyen- savoir-enseignant). En effet, actuellement le rôle essentiel de l'école est de socialiser des futurs citoyens et de contribuer à la consolidation de la vie collective.

⁴ Durkheim., E, *Education et sociologie*, PUF, 1922, p. 8.

⁵ Durkheim., E, *Education et sociologie*, op, cit, p. 8.

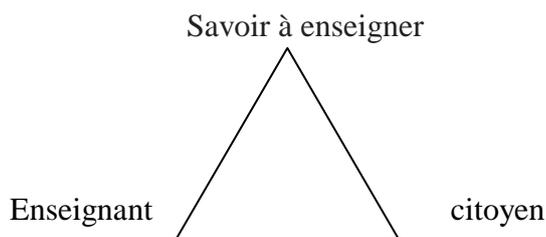


Figure 1 : triangle didactique mettant l'accent sur la formation des futurs citoyens

II. Le système éducatif tunisien a-t-il mis en exergue la citoyenneté ?

1. Pour des Compétences de base et une évolution scientifique

Le système éducatif tunisien a connu depuis l'indépendance en 1956 deux grandes réformes.

La première réforme : Instituée par la loi n° 58-118 du 9 novembre 1958, cette réforme a, pour ainsi dire, fondé le système éducatif tunisien. Expression de la souveraineté nationale retrouvée, ses objectifs majeurs étaient :

- instaurer un système éducatif national unifié,
- se réapproprier l'école en « tunisifiant » ses personnels, ses programmes et ses manuels.
- ouvrir l'école à tous les enfants tunisiens sans exclusive,
- doter l'Etat naissant des cadres dont il avait un besoin urgent,

La deuxième réforme : Commencée en 1989, elle a été consacrée par la loi n° 91 - 65 du 29 juillet 1991. Cette loi d'orientation a jeté les bases d'une réforme radicale allant au delà de l'acte didactique et des aspects structurels pour toucher à la philosophie éducative et aux choix fondamentaux sur lesquels repose le système éducatif : Les principes qui y sont énoncés et les objectifs visés répondent tout à la fois aux aspirations de la société tunisienne et aux défis scientifiques et technologiques d'une mondialisation triomphante. Cette Réforme a réaffirmé avec force le principe de gratuité à tous les cycles de l'enseignement. Celui de l'obligation scolaire de 6 à 16 ans et un enseignement de base de 9 ans réparti en deux cycles. Les programmes ont été reformulés conformément aux exigences d'une pédagogie nouvelle induisant des pratiques d'apprentissage performantes. Des mesures ont été prises pour réduire sensiblement l'échec scolaire sous ses deux aspects, le redoublement et l'abandon précoce. L'objectif étant qu'aucun jeune ne quitte l'école sans compétences le qualifiant pour l'intégration dans la vie active.

Bien entendu, l'article premier de la loi n° 91-65 du 29 juillet 1991 est consacré aux principes et aux objectifs généraux de l'éducation dans le cadre de l'identité nationale et de l'appartenance à la civilisation arabo-musulmane. Ces principes se résument comme suit :

1. Offrir aux jeunes, depuis leur prime enfance, ce qu'ils doivent apprendre afin que, chez eux, se consolide la conscience de l'identité nationale tunisienne, se développe le sens civique et le sentiment de l'appartenance à la civilisation nationale, maghrébine, arabe et islamique et s'affermisse l'ouverture à la modernité et à la civilisation humaine.
2. Préparer les jeunes à une vie qui ne laisse place à aucune forme de discrimination ou de ségrégation fondées sur le sexe, l'origine sociale, la race ou la religion.

3. Donner aux élèves la maîtrise de la langue arabe, en tant que langue nationale, de façon qu'ils puissent en faire usage, dans l'apprentissage et la production, dans les divers champs de la connaissance : sciences humaines, sciences exactes et technologie.
4. Faire en sorte que les élèves maîtrisent une langue étrangère au moins de façon à leur permettre d'accéder directement aux productions de la pensée universelle, technique, théories scientifiques, et valeurs humaines et les préparer à en suivre l'évolution et à y contribuer d'une manière propre à réaliser l'enrichissement de la culture nationale et son interaction avec la culture humaine universelle.
5. Offrir aux élèves le droit à l'édification de leur personnalité et de les aider à accéder par eux-mêmes à la maturité, de sorte qu'ils soient élevés dans les valeurs de la tolérance et de la modération.
6. Contribuer à promouvoir leur personnalité, à développer leurs potentialités, à favoriser en eux la formation de l'esprit critique et de la volonté efficiente de sorte que, peu à peu, leur soient inculqués la rationalité et la modération du jugement, le comportement empreint de confiance en soi, l'esprit d'initiative et la créativité dans le travail.
7. Réaliser l'équilibre dans l'éducation des jeunes générations entre les diverses matières d'enseignement de sorte que les intérêts portés aux sciences, aux humanités, à la technique, à la dextérité manuelle ainsi qu'aux dimensions cognitives, morales, effectives et pratiques soient équivalents.
8. Permettre aux élèves d'exercer les activités physiques et sportives en tant que partie intégrante de la formation éducative.
9. Préparer les jeunes à affronter l'avenir en les exerçant dans les divers cycles de l'enseignement, à l'auto formation afin qu'ils puissent à la sortie du système éducatif, suivre les mutations rapides que connaît l'époque moderne et y contribuer positivement.
10. Habituer les élèves à aimer le travail et à en considérer la valeur morale et le rôle effectif dans la formation de la personnalité, la sauvegarde de la nation et la contribution à l'épanouissement de la civilisation humaine.
11. Faire assumer à l'activité éducative son rôle dans la marche globale du pays par la formation des aptitudes et compétences capables d'assumer les devoirs de développement intégral que cette marche nécessite.
12. Veiller , à toutes les étapes de l'activité éducative , dans ses programmes et dans ses méthodes, à susciter la conscience de la citoyenneté et le sens civique afin que , à la sortie de l'école tunisienne , l'élève soit un citoyen chez qui la conscience des droits n'est pas séparable de l'accomplissement des devoirs conformément aux exigences de la vie humaine dans une société civile et institutionnaliste fondée sur le caractère indissociable de la liberté et de la responsabilité.

La troisième réforme : malgré que l'article n° 3 de la loi sur l'éducation de 2002 évoque l'importance de faire instruire les élèves à la fidélité à la Tunisie, l'ensemble de cette réforme souligne par ailleurs l'importance des technologies de l'information et de la communication dans le secteur éducatif. Dans cet ordre des idées, parmi 70 articles nous n'avons pas trouvé que l'article n°3 qui a cité la loyauté à la Tunisie comme finalité primordiale. Cependant, cet article se révèle dépourvu de toute évocation aux valeurs de la république comme l'égalité et la liberté. En effet,

« l'éducation a pour finalité d'élever les élèves dans la fidélité à la Tunisie et la loyauté à son égard, ainsi que dans l'amour de la patrie et la fierté de lui appartenir. Elle affermit en eux la conscience de l'identité nationale et le sentiment d'appartenance à une civilisation aux dimensions nationale, maghrébine, arabe, islamique africaine et méditerranéenne, en même temps qu'elle renforce l'ouverture sur la civilisation universelle »⁶.

D'après les trois réformes du système éducatif tunisien nous remarquons que l'accent a été mis sur les compétences et les connaissances que les élèves doivent acquérir pendant leur processus d'enseignement apprentissage. Cependant, nous n'avons pas identifié la mise en évidence des valeurs morales susceptibles de forger une société homogène et moderne. Également, la notion de la citoyenneté n'a pas été évoquée que dans la dernière finalité de la deuxième réforme éducative, son sens a été dépourvu de la composante de participation comme un droit indispensable pour tous les citoyens tunisiens. Ainsi, la citoyenneté dans le système éducatif tunisien reste dépouillée de la parité de participation qui s'impose actuellement comme nécessité et exigence.

2. Les programmes officiels occulte la notion de la citoyenneté

Les programmes officiels constituent un révélateur de la place de la citoyenneté dans la conception des disciplines scolaires notamment l'enseignement-apprentissage de l'éducation civique et l'histoire. En effet, le programme officiel trace les principales tendances de l'éducation dans la mesure où il incarne des recommandations pédagogiques pour les enseignants.

a. Le choix des programmes officiels de 7^{ème} et 8^{ème} années de base

Le programme officiel définit les connaissances essentielles et les méthodes qui doivent être acquises par les élèves. Il représente les orientations pédagogiques par lesquelles les enseignants organisent leurs enseignements en prenant en compte les rythmes d'apprentissage de chaque élève. Alors, nous avons opté pour l'analyse du programme officiel, car il reflète les principales caractéristiques du système éducatif.

Nous avons choisi d'analyser les programmes officiels de l'éducation civique de 7^{ème} et 8^{ème} années de base pour identifier la mise en œuvre de la citoyenneté chez les élèves. Bien entendu, ces deux niveaux d'enseignement constituent la première occasion pour les lyciens d'apprendre l'éducation civique.

Le programme officiel de 7^{ème} et 8^{ème} années de base est subdivisé en trois chapitres qui sont : La vie familiale, la vie scolaire, la vie sociale, l'élève participant dans la vie sociale, la participation au sein des organisations et des partis, participation électorale. Devant chaque chapitre nous trouvons les finalités d'enseignement, les contenus, les références et le temps consacré pour le cours magistral.

Nous avons opté pour une grille d'analyse constituée de trois indicateurs inspirés du schéma de l'éducation à la citoyenneté élaboré par la didacticienne Claudine Leleux.

⁶ loi n° 2002-30 du 23 juillet 2002.

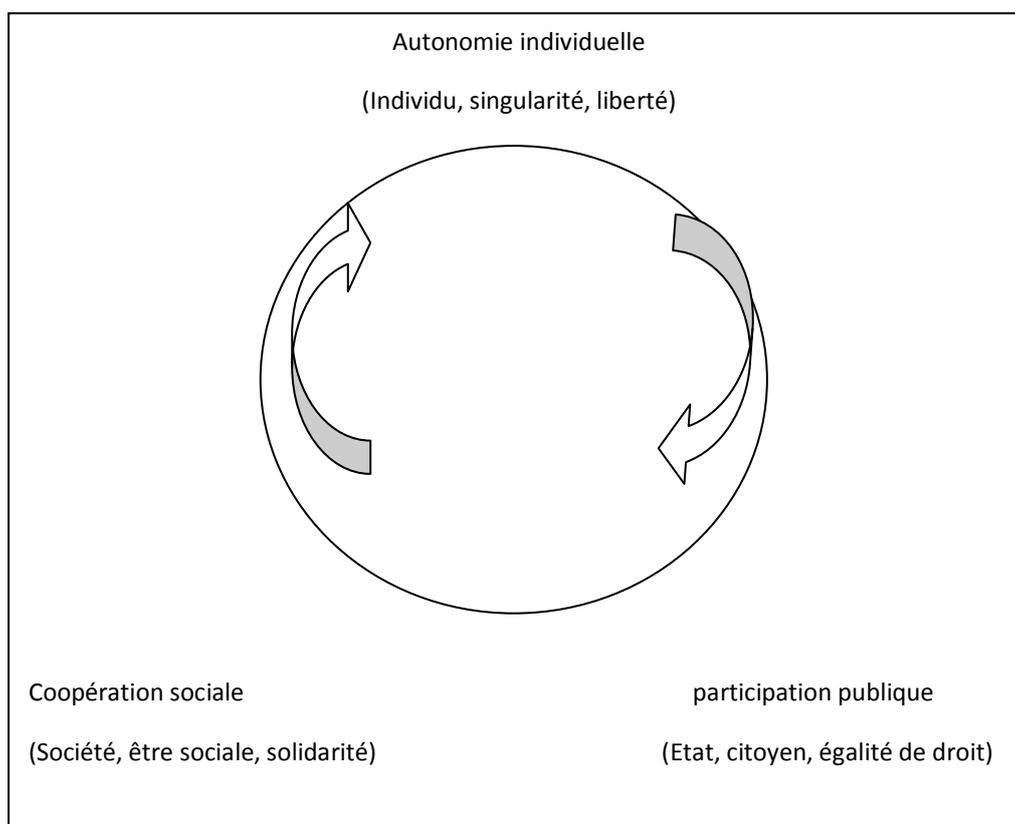


Figure 2 : Schéma d'une éducation à la citoyenneté inspiré du travail de Claudine Leleux (2006)

Claudine Leleux a mentionné dans son livre éducation à la citoyenneté Tome 2 que « *l'apprentissage de la citoyenneté, comme tout apprentissage scolaire d'ailleurs, vise aujourd'hui à faire acquérir des compétences plutôt qu'à transmettre des connaissances* »⁷. Les principales compétences de l'éducation à la citoyenneté ont été récapitulées par Claudine Leleux comme suit : l'autonomie individuelle, la coopération sociale et la participation publique. Ces trois compétences sont interdépendantes et desquelles découlent toutes les autres. En effet, elles font référence, d'un point de vue systématique, à trois dimensions de l'homme : la première se réfère à l'individu en tant qu'être singulier ; la deuxième fait référence à l'être-pour-autrui qui ne peut se constituer une identité hors des interactions avec les autres, ne peut se construire qu'en tant qu'être social ; la troisième compétence, la participation publique de l'individu, fait référence à sa dimension politique de citoyen.

⁷ Leleux., C, Education à la citoyenneté, t.2, De Boeck, Bruxelles, 2006, p.8.

b. Analyse du programme officiel

L'analyse du programme officiel montre que l'accent a été mis sur la dimension sociale de l'homme en occultant sa dimension singulier ainsi que politique. Cependant, André Duhamel notait que

« la tâche d'une nouvelle éducation à la citoyenneté paraît complexe et lourde, car il s'agit non seulement de former à la liberté civile et l'autonomie privée, mais aussi à la solidarité sociale et à la participation politique »⁸.

Alors, la citoyenneté caractérise les rapports que l'homme entretient avec autrui dans leur dimension politique. Le citoyen, c'est l'homme en tant que membre d'une communauté juridique. De ce fait, le citoyen se replace au carrefour de ces valeurs, de normes pragmatiques ou sociales et de normes juridiques. Dans cette perspective l'élève en tant qu'individu doit être formé et éduqué en prenant en compte ses dimensions intimes, civiles et publiques.

Pour identifier la mise en œuvre de la citoyenneté dans le programme officiel nous avons mesuré le taux d'occurrence de l'autonomie individuelle, solidarité sociale et participation politique. Egalement nous avons mesuré le temps alloué à chaque chapitre.

- Analyse thématique du programme officiel

	Autonomie individuelle	Solidarité sociale	Participation politique
Occurrence	Aucun indice	79	12

- Temps alloué à chaque chapitre

	Vie familiale	Vie scolaire	Vie collective	L'élève un participant dans la vie collective	la participation au sein des organisations et des partis,	participation électorale.
Temps alloué	9 heures	9 heures	9 heures	9 heures	11 heures	8 heures

Dans le programme officiel nous n'avons pas trouvé un écho de la dimension intime de l'homme en tant qu'être libre et capable d'agir dans sa patrie ni de sa dimension publique c'est-à-dire son droit à participer dans l'Etat public. Dans le dernier chapitre du programme officiel qui s'intitule participation électorale, l'accent a été mis sur l'intérêt des élections sur la vie collective et non plus comme droit d'un citoyen en tant que législateur et qui détient une part de la souveraineté politique. La citoyenneté comporte des droits civils et politiques et des devoirs civiques qui permettent aux personnes d'une communauté de vivre ensemble. Mais, les droits et les devoirs n'ont pas été décortiqués dans le programme officiel notamment la

⁸ Duhamel., A, « on ne naît pas citoyen », on le devient, in *Enseigner et éduquer à la citoyenneté*, ouvrage collectif, sous la direction de André Duhamel et France Justras, les Presses De l'Université Laval, 2005, p. 3.

participation politique qui n'a pas été présentée comme un droit. Egalement, les concepteurs du programme officiel n'ont pas évoqué ni la notion de citoyenneté ni la notion de citoyen. Alors, la finalité primordiale du programme officiel est de construire des élèves responsables et participants, mais cette tâche ne serait accomplie sans aborder la citoyenneté en tant que finalité dans les instructions scolaires.

Nous avons remarqué que les concepteurs de programme officiel ont abordé amplement l'importance de la vie collective ou la solidarité des individus dans la société. Cependant, cette orientation se manifeste dépourvu de la répartition équitable des droits et devoirs quelque soit civils ou politiques entre les membres de la société. En effet, la vie collective est davantage liée à la participation du citoyen aux prises de décision dans la société. Actuellement, la vie collective et la citoyenneté sont deux conditions indissociables dans une société démocratique. Dans cette perspective, au-delà du strict aspect juridique, la citoyenneté se définit par la participation active à la vie de la société ; cette participation active prend son sens avec le droit de vote. En votant, le citoyen fait valoir son point de vue vis-à-vis le gouvernement. Les citoyens peuvent jouer dans la vie quotidienne un rôle important dans la société en adhérant à une association, un syndicat ou un parti politique.

Par ailleurs, la solidarité collective puise ses origines dans la participation active des individus dans les élections et la répartition de droits et de devoirs d'une façon équitable entre les individus de la société. Cependant, le programme officiel dévoile l'importance des élections en tant que moyen de participation dans la vie collective, mais sans les présenter comme un droit indispensable de chaque citoyen. Dans le même ordre des idées, le temps alloué aux deux chapitres derniers c'est-à-dire la participation associative et la participation électorale (19 heures) reflète une absence de prise en considération de la citoyenneté dans le programme officiel.

Conclusion

L'éducation à la citoyenneté n'a pas encore trouvé une place primordiale dans l'enseignement en Tunisie. En effet, durant la période qui s'échelonne de l'Indépendance jusqu'au 14 janvier 2011, la Tunisie a vécu l'ère du Parti unique. Elle est caractérisée par la dominance d'un seul parti politique. Le contexte actuel dans lequel se développe la société civile tunisienne est caractérisé par les changements progressifs et rapides des sphères politiques et institutionnelles et la permanence des problèmes et aspirations socio-économiques de la population. En effet, la révolution a permis de libérer la parole et de générer un élan national qui se traduit par une multitude d'initiatives citoyennes. Mais, le pays est encore en pleine phase de transition, ce qui implique qu'un très large nombre de paramètres institutionnels du pays sont en cours de définition. Dans cette perspective, il importe de signaler que la citoyenneté démocratique concerne l'inclusion sociale, l'accès aux droits, l'esprit de solidarité, l'exercice des droits civiques et la prise de responsabilité. La citoyenneté démocratique c'est l'inclusion et non l'exclusion, la participation et non la marginalisation. Il s'agit de se poser des questions sur la culture et les valeurs, et non des simples questions de procédure intellectuelles circulant dans le théorique. Au premier plan se trouve la participation active à l'élaboration de conceptions et pratiques de la citoyenneté et non la «consommation» passive de «produits» démocratiques.

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Teaching an Invisible in Translation: On the Effect of Genre in Translation of Political News

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Abstract

Despite the fact that a bulk of research has been done in the field of translation studies and news reporting, the effect of precision and authenticity of translation on reframing the message, constructing meaning, political stance, institutional practice and the way through which we control our audience is little investigated. The current research, therefore, was an attempt to bring to light the extent to which Iranian news translators are familiar with genre features of source language texts. For that reason, a bulk of 50 political news stories translated by Iranian news translators in different news agencies were analyzed through genre analysis tools and frameworks. Also, 20 different news translators were selected non-randomly based on purpose sampling procedures to enquire into the extent of Iranian news translators' familiarity with genre and its textual features using a diagnostic tool. The results showed that Iranian news translators are not familiar with steps and moves that realize news report genre and therefore, fail to preserve genre characteristics of source language in Persian translation which brings about an inadequate translation. Finally, to redress this deficiency, the research put forward some suggestions for teaching genre-related issues in translation courses such as TSPs (translation for specific purpose), genre-based tasks and strategic resources. The results of the study have implications for Iranian English teachers and students, journalists, news agencies and politicians.

Keywords: Genre Analysis, News Reports, Political News, Teaching Translation.

1. Introduction

In the last three decades, many studies were conducted in the field of translation with a sharp focus on various approaches in translation and linguistic, literary, and sociolinguistic issues associated with it. In spite of this very fact, according to Schäffner and Bassnett (2010) and Schäffner (2012), translation issues related to politics and national institutional practices and on top of that genre features behind these practices have been neglected in the research. Intactness of this area on one hand and professional difficulties of this setting on the other has caused problems the roots of which can be traced back in the lack of adequate knowledge on genre, invisible in discourse which stands in the need of a sophisticated mastery to deal with.

Swales (1990), one of the pioneers in the field of genre analysis studies has stated that genre is a class of communicative events behind each of which one can find a communicative purpose. He has also claimed that these purposes or communicative goals are discernable only by the expert members of the source language. These communicative purposes not only select the organization of discourse but also the way content is embedded in it. Two years later a bulk of research by Wallace (1993) firmly endorsed this stance, where she defined genre as the social events, roles and purposes that are created by speakers and writers of a discourse community. Not unlike Swales, Wallace has also claimed that particular listeners or readers can get to the bottom of these communicative functions and purposes. Besides, in his definition of genre and what comprises it, Bakhtin (1986) had previously culminated in the same conclusion. He had already postulated that function of language can be realized if one can understand the thematic content, style, and compositional structure of a discourse, the integration of which comprises a genre. The difficulties in understanding genre-related features are also relevant in translation and interpretation of discourse. Investigating these difficulties, Pagano (1998) devoted herself to the study of transformations occurring in genres when transposed from their original medium, especially in translations. He observed that translators are troubled with understanding macro structures and rhetorical patterns of the discourse and the way through which meaning is organized. These findings are in line with more recent findings in the field of genre analysis such as those by Bhatia (2008) who had felt around this problem in a more elaborate statement when he claimed that one area for which teaching English as a foreign language received criticism is that, language learners, when placed in professional settings suffered defeat to handle textual features and rhetorical patterns of the professional genres because they knew little about discursive realities of the foreign language discourse, if at all. In Iran, as an EFL context where most of language learners stop short behind native-like proficiency, the same problem comes on the scene in the performance of those who are graduated in language and work in professional settings. As an example, professional translators working for news agencies are among those whose deficiency in terms of genre knowledge and mastery of rhetorical patterns of source language discourse, may bring about mistranslations and failure in conveying the message, with all those functions, roles and practices behind it. Although indifferent wordings, this problem was also touched by translation theorists such as Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), who believe

that when a discourse is translated from one language to the other, it undergoes two kinds of changes, obligatory changes that are brought about as a result of linguistic differences, where the target language does not allow a literal translation of the corresponding item in the source language, and optional changes which are concerned with preferred linguistic structures in the target language. In this sense, rhetorical patterns of a discourse are among those obligatory parts that if failed to be correctly conveyed, incapacitate the functions the discourse plays and consequently throw translation into disorder and interfere with its accuracy and authenticity.

Considering the problem stated above, the current research is an attempt to answer the following questions.

- Are Iranian news translators familiar with the genre-related features of news report discourse?
- Which teaching techniques and strategies may help translation students to overcome genre-related difficulties?

It is hoped that the results of this research will shed lights upon rhetorical differences and similarities between source language and target language news reports and help news translators accurately identify important textual features, organizational patterns and possible social, political and cultural elements that affect nature, usage and accuracy of translation in this important professional discourse.

2. Literature Review

Studies in the field of genre analysis and discourse typology from Swales (1990) to Hyland (2010) and even more recent studies of this kind unanimously indicate that discourses are organized according to a distinguishing way of using languages, structures, purposes and institutional practices which make one genre different from another. Hyland (2010) stated that every study in the field of genre analysis and genre determination, before anything else must postulate that features and rhetorical patterns of a similar group of discourses depends on the social contexts in which they are created and used. The related literature shows that different researchers have been investigating this issue from a variety of theoretical perspectives. In line with Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics, Swales (1990) gave a functionalist linguistic definition of genre as a class of communicative events and gave prominence to the functions different discourses perform for their producers and receivers. Some years later Martin (1997) gave birth to a new concept of genre and expounded genre as a stratal one in which he deviated significantly from the concepts of text type and register of Hallidayan linguistics because he believed that ideational, interpersonal, and textual language usage give birth to register and consequently genre is realized through register. A more recent wave of research in the field of genre analysis has laid stress on the communicative events for the realization of genre. This approach which was also called ESP approach to genre analysis and was put forward by Hyland (2010) concerned with contexts in which and for which the

discourse is produced. In other words, this approach takes into account the connection between social contexts and individuals and communities, who are involved in the creation of discourse. Therefore, whatever that makes one genre different from another is the social context in which genre is given birth to.

Accordingly, taking translation into account, Choi (2010) believes that familiarity with knowledge about genre, text typology and rhetorical organization of discourses will help language learners and users both theoretically and practically. Since the source discourse is highly conventionalized and rhetorically and structurally organized, translators may fail to pinpoint these rhetoric and conventions and as a result bring an inadequate translation into life. Choi (2010) also believes that it is important for a translator to enjoy an adequate amount of particular knowledge on the particular genre features in the source and the target languages because this knowledge is necessary criterion for evaluating the quality and equality of translation. The importance of genre knowledge has been underscored by many researchers from decades ago. Reiss (2000), for example, stated that understanding the typology of texts is crucial to the process of translation and failure in understanding this typology and the function it plays in discourse, often leads to a distorted translation. Besides, investigating a sample of postgraduate students of translation rendering some articles from the Times magazine, Hatim and Mason (1990) concluded that in spite of the fact that some communicative functions and text types are all-embracing and universal; they fulfill the functions of particular cultural norms based on which discourses are organized, therefore turning a blind eye to the knowledge of genre, communicative functions and discourse types brings about a distortion in translation. Seven years later House (1997) developed a genre-based model for translation analysis in which she stated that familiarity with Filed (subject matter and social action), Tenor (participants' relationship), Mode (the medium through which message is conveyed), register and genre purpose act on the accuracy of translation. Insisting on the importance of genre knowledge in translation, the latest researches on translation studies have underlined the issue of institutional practice – a factor that not only gives birth to different genres but also gives identity to the discourse produced by a special institute or agency. The importance of this factor is doubled in news agencies. In the latest studies of this kind, the issue of institutional practice which shapes translators works, conditions and options available to them, has been inquired into by a variety of researches including Mossop (1990), Gagnon (2006, 2010) and Koskinen (2008, 2011). Taking these views and theoretical positions into account, the current research, too, is an attempt to bring to light the effect of these contextual differences and those of use and institutional practice in the product of political news reports.

3. Method

3.1 Participants and Data Collection

Based on the procedures of convenient sampling two major news agencies were selected from which the data of the research were gathered. From each news agency 10 different news

translators who were involved in translating political news reports were selected purposively. In a period of 10 working days a bulk of 50 different translations produced by these translators were selected non-randomly for further analysis. To ensure the homogeneity of English political news reports the Hallidayan tripartite model was taken into account based on which it was ascertained that the data were selected from a similar field, mode and tenor in American media context.

3.2 Instruments

The current research has employed an adopted analytical framework form Pak (1998) which was later adapted by Jabbari and Farokhipour (2014) for news report analysis. In journalistic terms, news report is regarded as the most frequent type of soft news which stands in sharp contrast with hard news. In other words, soft news is a kind of news in which the editorial comment is incorporated because it represents the partial, national and private opinion of journalists and news editors as well as their cultures, institutional practice and foreign policy while in hard news only the event is displayed (Jabbari & Farokhipour, 2014).

3.3 Procedure

In the first step of the study a bulk of 50 different English political news reports as well as their Persian translations were gathered and investigated in the first round of the analysis. In the second round of the analysis, however, using the analytical framework, the steps and moves realizing the genre of news report were singled out and coded in their respective categories. Then, to bring to light the percentage of conformity of each corpus with the analytical framework, the frequencies of different moves were calculated in English news reports and their Persian translations. Then, in order to see whether the Persian translations matched the English texts in terms of genre features, the comparative analysis of these frequencies was conducted.

4. Results and Discussion

The analytical framework used for the purpose of this study includes six different moves that realize the news report genre. The first move is the title, the one that establishes a theme around which the report is centered. The second move is the preparatory comment which is a kind of writing that prepares the mind of the readers for the things to be followed. The third move is the main topic which is the central topic or issue discussed in the news reports. The fourth move is the main thesis which summarizes the position of the newspaper on the main topic. In other words, the main function of a news report is to present the newspaper's view on a particular issue, which is performed through this move. The fifth move is analysis or alternatively called argumentation which provides the reader with more explanations on main topic and main thesis through different steps. And the last move is directive which presents a restatement of the main thesis or a summary of the elaboration on the main topic. The directive may also be prediction or recommendation. The result of applying this framework

to English political news reports and their Persian translations are presented in the following table:

English Political News Reports			Persian Translation of Political News Reports				
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent		
1	Move	50	100	1	Move	50	100
2	Move	48	96	2	Move	50	100
3	Move	49	98	3	Move	9	18
4	Move	43	86	4	Move	5	10
5	Move	37	74	5	Move	41	82
6	Move	39	78	6	Move	18	36

The results of these frequency analyses shows that English political news reports received from a variety of American Media sources swim with the streams and follow the previously established and substantiated genre rules shown in the analytical framework. In their equivalent translations the reverse is the case. The result of frequency analysis shows that Iranian news translators fail to identify the rhetorical organization of the source text and as a result they are found wanting and defective in their work to convey functions and institutional practice of the source language text. As it is seen in the above table, the fourth move which is the main thesis that summarizes the position of the newspaper on the main topic is only preserved in 5 cases and hence is almost lost in the Persian translations of political news reports. As it is mentioned above, this move contains the institutional practice of respective news agencies that Iranian news translators succeed little to provide for, if at all. Missing such an important communicative purpose or discourse level functions brings a disordered and inadequate translation into life. To add flesh to these inadequacies, applying the analytical framework, a representative English news report that conforms one hundred percent to the framework is presented followed by its Persian translation

❖ **MOVE ONE: HEAD**

Sanctions Lifted, American Tourists Head to Iran

❖ **MOVE TWO: PREPARATORY COMMENTS**

○ *STEP 1: The lifting of sanctions on Iran last month has resulted in a surge of bookings, tour operators say, many from Americans undeterred by a State Department warning laying out the risks of taking trips there.*

○ *STEP 2: Tour operators say the demand has been so acute that they are racing to add new departures and selling them in record time. Tourism in Iran is already popular with Europeans. Iranian officials told The Associated Press last fall that about five million foreign travelers visited Iran in 2014, and that the country aims to attract 20 million tourists, spending \$30 billion, by 2025.*

○ *STEP 3: Among growth signs, Air France recently announced that it plans to start three flights weekly between Paris and Tehran beginning in April. Already Iran is a one-stop destination from New York via Istanbul, Dubai or Doha on Turkish Airlines, Emirates or Qatar Airways.*

○ *STEP 4. Iran hosts some of the world's oldest cultural monuments, including 19 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and its varied terrain ranges from desert locales to ski resorts.*

❖ **MOVE THREE: MAIN TOPIC**

○ *STEP 1: Intrepid travelers are booking tours anyway. In response to an increase in inquiries, the Seattle-based Mir Corporation, which has been operating in Iran for 15 years, has added new train trips and small group departures in the country this year, for a total of about 10 different trips.*

❖ **MOVE FOUR: MAIN THESIS:**

○ *STEP 1: The State Department warning, however, says that travelers should be wary, noting, "Various elements in Iran remain hostile to the United States." Last month, Iran freed four Americans of Iranian descent, including a reporter from The Washington Post but the State Department still warns that people with both Iranian and American citizenship in particular risk detention.*

○ *STEP 2: "We'd seen it for a while but as people become comfortable with Iran on the world scene, they think it may be a good time to do something they may have wanted to do for a while," said Annie Lucas, vice president at Mir. "We feel there's pent-up demand on the part of intrepid travelers."*

❖ **MOVE FIVE: ANALYSIS:**

○ *STEP 1: This year, Britain-based Golden Eagle Luxury Trains, which has run tours via sleeper trains in Iran since 2014, reports that Americans account for 88 percent of its passengers in Iran, compared with about 50 percent in previous years. The company has added a 2016 departure between Moscow and Tehran over 18 days in addition to its 14-day Heart of Persia tour that includes Isfahan, notable for its Islamic architecture; Shiraz, known for its gardens; and Persepolis, ancient ceremonial center of the Achaemenid Empire.*

○ *STEP 2: Mountain Travel Sobek has run two trips to Iran each year for the last three, and has more recently added private departures. (Those include trips for Times Journeys, which is operated independently of the New York Times newsroom.)*

○ *STEP 3: With the lifting of sanctions, Iran is set to come in from the cold. Apart from opening its door for foreign investors and tourists, it has... Some operators who waited for political clearance to go into Iran are now organizing departures. Norman Howe, president of the luxury tour operator Butterfield & Robinson, said inquiries about Iran began spiking the last few months. The company is organizing several private trips and hopes to run a small group trip in November, to be regularly scheduled come 2017. His clients “were waiting for Iran to normalize and they want to get there before the crowds,” he said.*

○ *STEP 4: Where to lodge the growing numbers of travelers may pose a challenge to the country even though Iran’s PressTV reported a dozen new hotels had been built in the past two years, and AccorHotels opened two hotels in Tehran in October. “The issue now for us as a tour operator is there aren’t enough hotels,” said Ms. Lucas of Mir, who noted that some of the hotels in areas beyond the big cities are worn out. “There’s over demand and not enough supply.”*

❖ **MOVE SIX: Directive**

○ *STEP 1: It is still difficult to arrange a trip. American travelers must obtain a visa before traveling to Iran, a fairly straightforward process, according to tour operators, but a slow one that can run to months, limiting spontaneous travel. Americans in Iran must also be accompanied by a guide. Banking restrictions, which largely bar the use of credit cards and A.T.M.s, force travelers to bring cash. In keeping with Islamic rules, women must cover their hair and dress conservatively, in loose long-sleeved tunics that go at least to the knee. Men, too, cannot wear shorts. There are other inconveniences, Ms. Lucas said: “The infrastructure is not perfect, but it’s pretty good. The roads are decent. No alcohol can be roughing it for some people. The public bathrooms are not on par with what people would like. But the caliber of attractions and guides balance it out.*

As it is seen in American political news report, the greatest weight is given to

institutional practice of the broadcasting agency realized in the fourth move “Main Thesis” which stands in sharp contrast with whatever shown in title of the news report. In other words, in spite of the fact that the title sends words to reader that the sanctions are lifted and it is the time to travel to Iran, the news writer has used this move to put his institutional mission into effect through main thesis and denotes the unwillingness of the country (political stance of the country) regarding citizens’ travel to Iran. These findings are in line with Pak (1998) and Jabbari and Farokhipour (2014). In Persian translation of the same news report a different structure is used however.

❖ **MOVE 1: TITLE**

در پس‌ابرجام ایران میزبان 20 میلیون توریست از آمریکا و اروپاست

❖ **MOVE 2: PREPARATORY COMMENT (LEAD)**

در کمتر از یک ماه از برداشتن تحریم ها ، میزان فعالیت موسسات و آژانس های مسافرتی که مشغول انتقال توریست های آمریکایی به ایران هستند به قدری افزایش یافته است که نگرانی های دولت آمریکا را در پی داشته است.

❖ **ARGUMENT 1:**

به گزارش خبرگزاری... به نقل از نیویورک تایمز، در کمتر از یک ماه از برداشتن تحریم ها ، میزان فعالیت موسسات و آژانس های مسافرتی که مشغول انتقال توریست های آمریکایی به ایران هستند به قدری افزایش یافته است که نگرانی های دولت آمریکا را در پی داشته است. مدیران این آژانس های مسافرتی اعلام کرده اند که میزان تقاضا برای مسافرت به ایران به شدت افزایش یافته است به گونه ای که این آژانسها مجبور شده اند یکی پس از دیگری به تاریخ های اعزام خود و سقف فروش خود اضافه کنند.

❖ **ARGUMENT 2:**

اگرچه میزان توریست ها در ایران در سال 2014 معادل پنج میلیون نفر بوده است ولی مقامات ایرانی اعلام کرده اند که با سرمایه گذاری 30 میلیارد دلاری این میزان در سال 2025 به 20 میلیون توریست افزایش خواهد یافت.

❖ **ARGUMENT 3:**

این در شرایطی است که هیچ پرواز مستقیمی بین آمریکا و ایران وجود ندارد و مسافران از طریق کشورهای دوم رد و بدل می شوند. در همین حال این استقبال باعث شده است که شرکت های بزرگ اروپایی مانند ایرفرانس از قصد خود برای افزایش تعداد پروازهای مستقیم به ایران خبر دهند. این شرکت مسافرتی فرانسوی اعلام کرده است که از ابتدای ماه آوریل سه پرواز مستقیم هفتگی به ایران دایر خواهد کرد.

❖ **ARGUMENT 4:**

بر اساس این گزارش، ایران یک کشور تاریخی است و 19 اثر ثبت شده یونسکو را در خود جای داده است و دارای جاذبه های طبیعی فراوانی است. به همین دلیل توریست های آمریکایی بدون توجه به هشدارهای دولتی در تورهای مسافرتی به ایران ثبت نام کرده اند و تنها یک شرکت مسافرتی در سال جاری میلادی 15 گروه توریستی آمریکایی را وارد ایران می کند.

❖ ARGUMENT 5:

آنچه که جالب توجه است این است که هشدارهای وزارت امورخارجه آمریکا از یک سو و اختلافات ساختاری و فرهنگی مانند عدم قابلیت دستگاه های خودپرداز برای اتصال به شبکه جهانی بانکی، اختلافات دینی و پوششی از سوی دیگر نتوانسته است که توریست های آمریکایی را متقاعد کند تا از دیدن بناهای تاریخی، جلوه های طبیعی، معماری اسلامی اصفهان، باغ های زیبای شیراز و تخت جمشید، مرکز امپراطوری هخامنشیان، دیدن نکنند.

❖ ARGUMENT 6:

بر همین اساس آژانس مسافرتی انگلیسی " قطارهای لوکس گولدن ایگل" اعلام کرده است که 88 درصد از مسافران این شرکت در سال 2014 آمریکایی بوده اند.

As it can be seen in the report above, Iranian news translator has failed to identify the macro-structure and rhetorical patterns of the source language texts including moves and steps through which news report genre is realized. Therefore, the translator, distracted by the misleading informative title of the news report, lacked the ability and knowledge to render the main communicative purpose and institutional practice of source language discourse and very little pointed to the main thesis move of the American news report if at all. According to Pak (1998) and Jabbari, et al (2014) this move is an obligatory move and if neglected brings about failure in understanding the communicative purpose of the discourse and consequently a disordered translation. Besides, this findings show that the Iranian news translators, unaware of the difference between soft news and hard news and genre structures inside news reports, renders this discourse type into simple inverted pyramid model of news writing in which different parts of a news story are organized based on importance and value – from most important one at the top to the least important at the bottom – while turning a blind eye to socio-rhetorical patterns and macro-structures of source language discourse. For instance, in the translation analyzed above, the deep function of the report –Americans resistance on not having relations with Iran - is neglected and a completely contrasting message – Americans willingness to visit Iran – is rendered into Persian. Deficiency in genre knowledge, as it is also proved in this research; results in deficient and all the more, wrong translation. Therefore it deems necessary to provide the language learners and students of translation with the genre knowledge needed for performing in different professional settings including news translation contexts such as news agencies. The results of the study which inadequately point out the inadequacy of Persian translators' knowledge on genre related features also indicate that in training translators, developing and using genre-based tasks that launch students into translation, and in this way gradually raise awareness of students on macro structures of texts, rhetorical organizations and institutional practices behind each discourse through repeated comparative analysis of genre between the source language discourse and that of target language are of utmost importance. These tasks can be selected from a variety of news broadcasting resources, with considering the homogeneity of genre. For instance, in the case of news reports genre, teacher must select news report genre and nothing else. Homogeneity

of materials and tasks can be assured through Hallidayan tripartite framework (field, mode and tenor) and other genre analysis tools and frameworks. According to Auria (2006), translation tasks can be used as an adequate instructional tool for genre, because they help language learners to infer and deduce the complexities of a professional genre. Besides, genre-based translation tasks are useful for understanding linguistic usage and linguistic variability across different discourses because through them language learners can encode and decode mechanisms involved in meaning making, and the linguistic realization of social practices and purposes in settings of specific purpose and profession. The same stance is also endorsed by Basylev (2008) and Alekseeva (2010).

The second technique that may help language learners to master the discursive practice of genre translation is to develop specific TSP (translation for specific purpose) courses, the objectives and goals of which are established a priori through a need analysis project in which linguistic content, course objectives and evaluation are organized around translation. In this way, translation is used to teach translation and socio-rhetorical differences between source text and target text. According to Lemke (1993), using translation to teach genre facilitates understanding the pattern based on which technical information are organized in the discourse and thematic elements are connected within a rhetorical structure, one that is apparently absent in the translation of Iranian news translators. Besides, using this method, translators can analyze the source text features at all levels to form a pool of translation difficulties and find the relevant solutions for a translation of equal value (Volkova, 2014).

The third possible technique is to teach strategic resources that writers or speakers use to organize texts logically. Teaching directly the organizational patterns of a typical genre helps professional actors to become equipped with sophisticated knowledge needed in professional settings. In other words, language learners before entering a particular professional setting that stands in the need of special genre knowledge can learn it as prefabricated rhetorical patterns of that typical genre that is established in advance through linguistic analysis. For instance, in the case of news report genre, teachers can teach news translators or students of journalism with already established steps and moves through which native speakers organize their news reports frequently (Farokhipour & Jabbari, 2014).

5. Conclusion

To answer the questions of the research, an analytical framework was used to study the genre structure of English news reports and their Persian translations. The result of this comparative analysis showed that Iranian news translators are not familiar with rhetorical patterns and macro-structures of English news reports and therefore can not convey the hidden communicative messages behind news reports and simply consider the informative function of the media in their translation. This, in turn, brings about an inaccurate translation where the main message remains undelivered in Persian text. To redress this deficiency, translators prior to being placed in professional settings which stands in the need of

sophisticated genre Knowledge , must acquire the necessary skills in dealing with socio-rhetorical patterns and macro structures of different genres through TSPs (translation for specific purpose), genre-based tasks and strategic resources needed in form of prefabricated patterns and rhetorical structures.

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Study of the Relationship between Empowerment and Quality of Staff Working Life of Iran Telecommunication Company

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to identify the relationship between empowerment and quality of work life in Iran Telecommunication Company. This empowers and increases staff performance, which would develop organizations. Therefore, higher income and quality of working conditions enhance the performance of the status of the company. Quality of working life includes legalism, growth opportunities, fairly payment, social affiliation, and the general atmosphere of life, social integration, safe work environment and the development of capabilities. Empowerment includes effectiveness, significance, sense of competence and the right choice.

Research methodology is correlation and functional and data collection method is documentary and survey questionnaires. The researcher made questionnaire for the quality of working life and for empowering, he used from PEQ standard questionnaire. The population includes employees of Iran Telecommunication Company with 240 people that were selected by using Cochran formula with 147 people. The output results of the SPSS software show confirmed the relationship between employee empowerment and working life quality with amount of 0.734 and the significant level of 0.001. A significant and positive correlation was found between empowering and growth opportunities and variables of legalism, independence and social integration.

Keywords: quality of working life, empowerment, Iran Telecommunication Company.

Introduction

Our world is the world of our organizations and the main drivers of this wheel are humans. They give means to the body of the company and permit the realization of the goal. Without humans, organizations are meaningless, and management is fictitious. Possibly, this raises doubts about the discourses that in the future world machines will replace people in the organization and the human role in the organization will fade. This is not likely because automation transformed the work type of human activities and according to Peter Drucker, manual labor has been replaced by knowledge work. But the decisive role of man will be established and continued as the governing force of the organization (Moorhead and Griffin, 2008: 5).

New attitudes towards humans are strategic. This means that humans are the major work factors and their creators. Therefore, human labour force plays a pivotal role in organization evolution and the development of the organization is derived from the unlimited capabilities this human factor (Moheb Ali, quoted by Sharif zad and Kheirandish, 2009). Nowadays, most employees have higher living standards, and generally have better education and are more informed and aware. As a result, this increased the ability of their self determination and self control. They want to have independency and be recognized as important persons. They want to have an opportunity to be empowered and obtain more potential capabilities (Herci and Blanchard, 1996: 139).

A suitable environment should be provided to circulate these capabilities. The environment affects the job atmosphere and enhances an appropriate and open communication channels so that employees become involved in major decisions and procedures of the organization. Therefore, their participation and satisfaction in work increases, and their work related stress decreases. These environmental features represent of a kind of corporate culture or management style. Accordingly the staff has a sense of ownership, autonomy, responsibility and self esteem (Dolan and schuler, 2008: 354). Quality of work life is one of the main sources of development of the organization. This takes place with the combination of science, art, experience, wisdom, knowledge, and ultimately human common sense (Salmani, 2003: 73). In fact, quality of work life is realized because of participative decision making, job security, working improvement and environment, a sense of ownership and self, creating opportunities for professional development, appreciation of the work and the development and job enrichment. Self satisfying the needs of individuals and incentives for retention in the organization is of great importance. The aim of this effort is the access to efficient tools and methods in order to analyze and evaluate various aspects, relating to quality of work life and determining the suitable strategies for its promotion and finally, improving individual and organizational productivity.

Problem Statement

Organizations are living in a context that is called the environment. Organizational environment includes all factors that affect organizations. But those factors are not under supervision (Rezaian, 1998). Increased environmental changes such as increasing development of technology, intensity of competition and changing expectations of customers and stakeholders force to adapt to their environment in order to survive and to develop (Markvard, 2002). With the development of science and technology and the expansion of business areas, such as virtual organization or network, expanded business and the business environment have become challenging and competitive. New variables appear which make the survival for many organizations a difficult task. In such an environment, it is natural to reshape competitive advantages. The biggest competitive advantage is expressed in the new variable of business and learning (Senge, 2003). Many organizations have recognized solutions to enhance the capabilities of organizational learning and empowerment programs. Efforts were made to implement the reform program of the affecting variables on individuals, learning and empowerment in order to take advantage of them. This would help overcome internal and external obstacles and create necessary background for enabling staff training (Mohammadi, 2003). This empowerment increases employee performance, grows organizations and therefore higher income and quality of life result. Such high quality of life increases the performance of staff in organization.

Quality of working life is such an important issue. The spread of technology and industrialization process in western countries was considered and encouraged by social scientists. "The quality of working life" can be considered a component of welfare and to this purpose; organizations, governments and different professional efforts measure and improve the quality of working life. So check the quality of working life, communities and different groups are becoming one of the most popular evaluations in recent years.

According to Feldman, the quality of relationships between staff and all workplace, is in the form of programs and activities and is done to improve the quality of working life, emphasizing the human dimension in parallel to the technical and economic interest in organizations (Pardakhtchi et al., 2009).

Quality of working life often uses objective criteria or subjective criteria, and rarely can it be measured with the use of both types of indicators. Subjective indicators are achieved from the survey of perceptions, evaluations and satisfaction of urban residents, while objective indicators related to observable facts which are often obtained from secondary data. In fact, the quality of life considers all the social indices and their empowerment as the need for basic and fundamental factors. Many of these factors overlap with variables related to quality of life. Empowerment is a mechanism that increases the organization's ability to effectively use human resources (Conger, 1998). Empowerment can be the style of management. Managers and employees are invited to

greater involvement in the processes, through their involvement in decision making. But the integration in the organizational literature is the work resulting of scholars such as, Conger, Congo, Thomas, Velto and Spreitzer (Horabadi Farahani, 2006) that have offered various theories and numerous definitions in this field. But ultimately it is mentioned that empowerment shaped as a resource for behavior or performance is related to the results of performance.

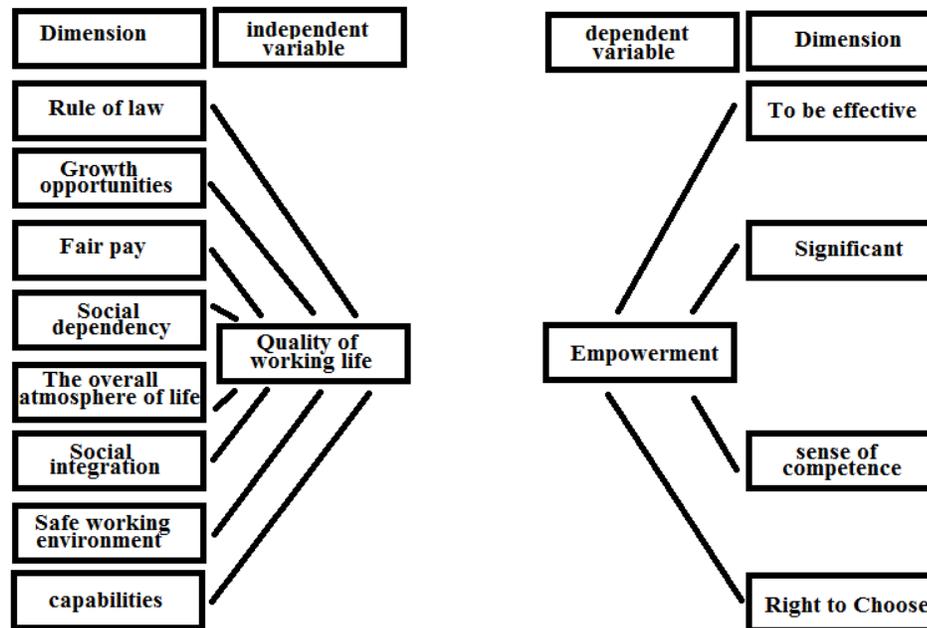
In fact, the impact of the quality of working life on employees empowering in organization is the researcher's main concern. The main research questions are whether Telecommunications Company's empowering staff causes a change in the quality of work life. How is this change? Is the relationship to change direct or inverse?

Theoretical background

Empowerment builds and strengthens confidence of people about themselves which results in increasing effort in the direction of the effectiveness of the organization's activities. Conger and Canango (2010) think that two dimensions of psychological empowerment are feelings of self efficacy and self efficacy. Thomas and Velthos (1990) pointed out to four aspects of the sense of effectiveness, feeling of having a choice, sense of competence, feelings of worthiness and sense of meaning. Whetten and Cameron (1998), based on research by Mishra (1992) and Sprentz (1995) introduced five dimensions of empowerment, including effective feeling, the feeling of personal choice, sense of competence, feelings of worthiness and a sense of security at work.

Quality of working life is the reaction of employees about work, in particular. It is necessary to satisfy the professional needs and mental health consequences. Using this definition, quality of work life focuses on personal effects and how to improve the work experience to meet individual needs. In terms of quality dimensions of working life, it includes job security, wages, occupational pride, desire and motivation at work, employee relations, and settlement of staff, career advancement and participation of employees.

Actually, the relationship of quality of work life and employee empowerment is a two way interaction and both create productivity in organization. So quality of working life is an important factor in the empowering staff. Accordingly, below model is designed to summarize the theoretical foundations of the research:



Source: derived from the theoretical foundations researcher

Findings and Results

Correlation coefficient between fair pay and empowerment showed no significant relationship between the amount of fair compensation and empowerment ($r = -0.006$). So the hypothesis is rejected and H1 and H0 of hypothesis are confirmed. This result confirms the findings of Hasan Poor (2008): Hasn Poor (2008) studied the factors affecting on the relationship between empowerment and organizational commitment in the 19 areas of education organization of Tehran. Affecting factors on empowerment are "organizational factors, led light, reward system, job design" by empowering employees and also the relationship between empowerment and organizational commitment was investigated. Results showed that among the affecting factors on empowerment, there is style that has the most important role. The relationship between the dimensions of meaningful sense of empowerment, a sense of competence and self regulating organization with a commitment to not support the relationship between effectiveness confirmed the reliability to work with organizational commitment.

Correlation coefficient between safe work environment and employee empowerment showed no significant relationship between safe work environment and employee empowerment with values ($r = -0.015$). Hypothesis of H1 is rejected and the hypothesis of H0 is confirmed.

At the same time correlation coefficient between growth opportunities and empowerment showed significant relation between growth opportunities and empowerment with values ($r = 0.529$). The hypothesis of H1 is confirmed and hypothesis of H0 is rejected.

The correlation coefficient between legalism and empowerment represents a significant relation between the rule of law and the empowerment of value ($r = 0.440$). The hypothesis of H1 is confirmed and the hypothesis of H0 is rejected.

Correlation coefficient between social involvement and empowerment indicates there is a significant relationship between social involvement and empowerment with values ($r = 0.374$). The hypothesis of H1 is confirmed and the hypothesis of H0 is rejected.

Correlation coefficient between the general atmosphere of life and empowerment showed no significant relationship between overall atmosphere of life and empowerment to the amount of ($0.087-r =$). So the hypothesis of H1 is rejected and hypothesis of H0 is confirmed.

Coefficient of correlation between social integration and empowerment indicates that there is a significant relationship between social integration and empowerment with values ($r = 0.769$). The hypothesis of H1 is confirmed and the hypothesis H0 is rejected.

The correlation coefficient between the development and employee empowerment showed no significant relationship between the development and employee empowerment of the amount ($r = 0.080$). The hypothesis of H1 is rejected and the hypothesis of H0 is confirmed.

This study confirms the results of Segal and Gardner (1998). Sigal & Gardner (1998) have concluded in a study entitled "Factors associated with psychological empowerment" among the 203 employees of industrial companies of California in USA that the relationship between employees and supervisors, based on communication and a sense of meaning and self organizing, is a significant relationship.

Finally, the coefficient of correlation between the quality of working life and employee empowerment showed significant relationship between the quality of working life and employee empowerment with values ($r = 0.734$). The hypothesis of H1 is confirmed and hypothesis of H0 is rejected. Moore & Hopkins (1998) in their study on a group of factories in America entitled "quality and empowerment programs of bilateral road towards customer satisfaction" fulfilled and emphasized the role of psychological empowerment programs to enhance the quality and improve service and customer satisfaction.

Accordingly, the result of the lack of attention to quality of work life leads each person to seek ways to satisfy their needs. This often conflicts with collective interest and creates a social vicious circle.

Nowadays, successful a manager is a manager that can work with the acceptable minimum and with maximum punishment such as: reprimand, salary deduction and facilities and. He provides incentives such as rewards, overtime, and employee selection. But experts believe that an effective manager is the one who can put in use 80 to 90 percent of the capabilities of staff.

The manager strengthens the spirit and increases mental energy in the workplace, organizational performance and good professional practices. More importantly, he tries to find better and more effective ways to do the work. Otherwise, we cannot expect find solutions, or show extraordinary effort. So it is better that cultural manager leads the side to enhance such a spirit in the workplace.

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Examining the role of marketing models based on social networking in the tourism industry in Iran

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Abstract

The importance of using social networking as a marketing tool is growing rapidly and is included in many areas. One of these areas is tourism. Today, one of the largest and most diverse industries in the world is tourism industry. Due to the economic impacts of the industry, if the countries that have attractions of cultural, natural or historical, can use their capacities and correctly manage this industry, they can attain large economic growth and prosperity. The main objective of this research is the investigation of the role of a marketing model based on social network in tourism industry in Iran.

This is non experimental research (descriptive). This research is based on correlation. The purpose is a cross sectional application study. On the other hand, according to the nature of information collected, this research is a field work research. In addition, documentary or library sources are used to collect the theoretical foundations of the research. Statistical population is all tourists that are Iran Traveling followers in Instagram social network page that will be randomly used for sampling. The number of sample size according to the Cochran formula is 382 people.

The results suggest that there is a direct and significant relationship between the confidence in social networks (sig: 0.000), social networking quality to introduce tourist attractions (sig: 0.000), social networking quantity to introduce tourist attractions (sig: 0.000), consumption media generally (sig = 0.002) and plan to travel (tourism) in Iran.

Keywords: social networking, tourism, confidence, plans to travel.

Introduction

Tourism, like other industry always faces many challenges. Therefore, researchers are trying to consider this diversity of problems. While addressing the short-term current issues they do not neglect sustainable issues.

"Tourism is essentially meant to travel from an origin to a destination/target for travel or business and covers cultural, economic and social processes» (Lumsden. 2001: 15) "Many experts believe that the analysis of tourism industry is matter of system not a market industry» (Lumsden. 2001: 25).

Also, essentially, marketing is an exchange process management between supplier and customer. Marketers also, generally focus on exchange process. On the issue of tourism marketing is important. Forecasting market changes, fierce market competition, social and environmental characteristics and potential of tourists is a crucial challenge. Five important principles distinguish services marketing, industries marketing or commodities quick sale. They include: 1. intangible services 2. Unstable services 3. Heterogeneous services. Resolution services 5. Non-acquisition of services.

A marketer must analyze consumer behavior and consider their motivation to offer products tailored to their interests and wishes and meet their expectations. Market segmentation is the primary and most urgent step, the whole market to identify and separate sections divided on the basis of clearly defined features.

The principle of market segmentation should always give great interest to six features: the knowable, cohesion, measurable, availability, large and striking and passivity. Generally it can be said that «there is urgent need to plan in tourism industry marketing as the only way to improve performance in a market that is subject to rapid changes, " (Lumsden. 2001: 153).

"One of the most difficult marketing tasks is the prediction of demand" (Lumsden, 2001: 154). This forecasting method is divided into two main groups: 1. qualitative methods 2. quantitative methods. "Qualitative methods are methods that use mind detailed analysis to assess future values in demand» (Lumsden. 2001: 156). Quantitative methods are based on the analysis of current and past data and sometimes also consider future demand and potential changes.

Statement of the problem

Today, tourism is one of the largest and most diverse industries in the world. Due to the economic impacts of this industry, good management of the sector will generate great economic prosperity. Iran has great touristic attractions. International tourists whether directly and indirectly can have a crucial impact on various economic sectors. The development of tourism

industry can be used to get rid of the single oil-based economy and achieve growth and sustainable development.

Social networking is a social structure made of nodes which are generally individuals or organizations. They are interconnected by means of one or more specific types of communication such as financial transactions, friendship, business, emotions, passions, hobbies and habits. Nowadays huge volume of information on social networks, blogs, sharing sites and sites related to scenic cities and big countries are available.

In 1960, for first time, social networking was introduced at the University of Illinois of United States. Then in 1997, the first social networking site was launched to URL of Sixdegrees.com. But after the 2002, there was explosion of commerce in social networking websites such as LinkedIn and Orkut, which caused enormous changes in the social networking field. In 2004, social networking of Friend Star with 7 million users and MySpace with over 4 million users had first position. Facebook also was launched in that year. (Chen, 2007)

Social networks laws emerged in 2005 to create certain rules to maintain personal information and communication. Finally, 2006 was the year of expansion of social network websites users and visitors.

From 2007 onwards with the development of web based software tool, users were allowed to share, create or use the content generated by social media. Social media became widespread for social networks.

The importance of using social networking as a marketing tool is growing rapidly. The analysis of the interdependencies between customer and consumer network can help to attract corporate customers who have been identified through traditional methods. Today, with advances in information technology, social networks are not limited to physical face to face. Online social networks have become a new interface for direct oral marketing. While direct, oral marketing has greater impact on the purchase decision of customers, in recent years, with the growth of the Internet and virtual communities, oral communication has been created in online channels.

Nowadays, customers can dramatically change their behavior in line with the technology and the world of economic environment. They gain a lot of familiar information, products and lose trust in advertising. They prefer customized products and services and change their purchase channels. So businesses are forced to survive to modify or change their advertising strategies, with behavior of their customers. Nowadays, e-commerce transact based on social network or base confidence.

Customers' traditional offline markets, like craigslist and eBay, do transactions regularly with strangers which makes them vulnerable against forgers. Social market adds social networking features with online shopping society and allows customers to shop from friends or friends of friends. Overstock.com is an example of this auction markets based on social networks. Like other social networks, this auction also encourages users to create a profile through a dedicated page along with individual history, photos, and connect with friends. But the contrary to typical social networks, this site focuses on the priorities of the purchase and sales policy.

In the world of e-marketing, new trends are emerging and new models are introduced o business. One of the latest trends is social networks which not only attracted a large number of users and visitors but represented a space for advertising of companies and various corporations. Social networks have connected people to all different types of favorites and one of the growing areas in use of social networks is pages and issues related to manufacturing and service organizations and companies. (Pace, 2008).

Business has begun to use social networks as a way for helping the employees and customers to connect in order to learn about interests. Also, they provided customer services in an attractive technological environment.

In addition, the popular online social networks attract online advertising from retail stores and other companies. Placement of online advertising in social networking site will benefit them from advantage of high visitor volume of potential customers.

Using social networks is one method of internet marketing. In this way, marketing companies and sellers must be registered in social networks with the release of content, images, video and they get help of facilities that exist in this network. Also, networks have attracted other comments of other present members in this network and encouraged them to visit their website and the purchase of goods and services.

In this study, we will be measure the role of marketing models based on social networks in tourism industry of Iran.

Theoretical model

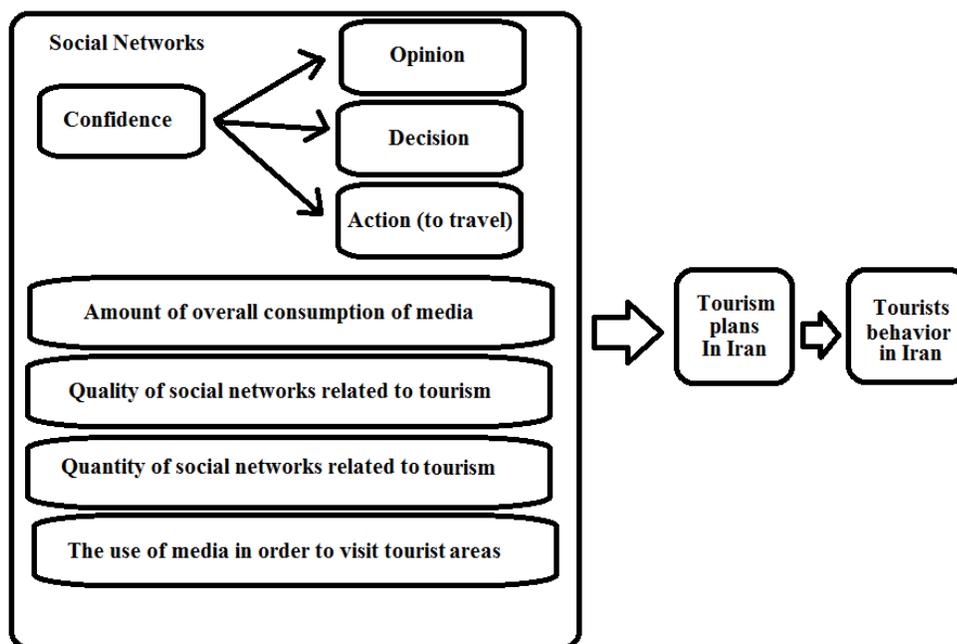


Figure 1. The theoretical model: research is made according to the theory of Pierce (2008), Keenan (2009), Boone (2008), Dietz and Hartook (2006)

Analytical results

Table 1. There is a significant relationship between trust of social networks and plans to travel (tourism) in Iran.

		confidence	Tourism
confidence	Pearson Correlation	1	.612**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	382	382
tourism	Pearson Correlation	.612**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	382	382

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

On this basis value of Pearson test of 0.612 with a significance level of 0.000, that shows that the hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 2. There is a significant relationship between quality of social network in introduction of tourist attractions and plan to travel (tourism) in Iran .

		quality	Tourism
quality	Pearson Correlation	1	.513**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	382	382
Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.513**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	382	382

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

On this basis value of Pearson test of 0.513 with a significance level of 0.000, it shows that the hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 3. There is a significant relationship between quantity of social network in introduction of tourist attractions and plan to travel (tourism) in Iran .

		quantity	Tourism
quantity	Pearson Correlation	1	.303**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	382	382
Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.303**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	382	382

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

On this basis value of Pearson test of 0.303 with a significance level of 0.000, it shows that the hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 4. There is a significant relationship between the amount of media consumption in general case and plan to travel (tourism) in Iran

		media consumption In general case	Tourism
media consumption In general case	Pearson Correlation	1	.156**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.002
	N	382	382
Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.156**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
	N	382	382

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

On this basis value of Pearson test of 0.156 with a significance level of 0.002, that show hypothesis is confirmed.

Table 5. There is a significant relationship between the amount of using the media to visit the different tourist areas and plan to travel (tourism) in Iran .

		amount of using the media to visit the different tourist areas	Tourism
amount of using the media to visit the different tourist areas	Pearson Correlation	1	.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.684
	N	382	382
Tourism	Pearson Correlation	.021	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.684	
	N	382	382

On this basis value of Pearson test of 0.684 with a significance level of 0.021, it shows that the hypothesis is confirmed.

Discussion and conclusion

Nowadays, in the age of information technology, mass communication has very important role. So, institutions have many tasks and roles to confront and deal with.

The role of awareness and filling leisure time activities of people, especially in third world countries, like Iran, is crucial.

Explicitly, concealed role of mass media is the homogenization of general public and even at an international scale. Mass media creates conformity.

Internet, in this millennium, is the most affecting and most important means of communication; it is comprehensive and its use is growing. Through all facilities, internet offers to their contacts, the use of social networks which is expanding. Therefore, in websites and blogs

interaction has been very limited and only comments are allowed. But, in the new technology-based society, where direct social interactions are declining, people take refuge in social online networks, to compensate for the missed human interaction.

Social networking sites are web-based that contribute to sharing information. Through the internet, users create profiles and signing by participating in this space and with the help of capability of multimedia site, such as sharing photos, text, content or links to external content, develop their own spaces. Currently, there are hundreds of social networking sites with different capabilities. They include visible profiles that show the user's system list and millions of users can pay attention to it. These sites constituted major part of their daily tasks and activities.

These networks have different technical features. Some of these network sites are designed based on specific categories of religious, racial, sexual, political or other cognitive indicators. But totally, these networks can be classified, in terms of the purposes of use (education, business, entertainment, politics ...), focus (coverage and specific orientation / public), as well as the extent of access (limited / unlimited).

Social networking websites were formed in 1997 with the advent of www.sixdegrees.com. Services of this site despite having millions of members were limited to set profiles and the ability to send and receive friend requests from other Members. For this reason, it was closed in 2000 and during this period from 1999 to 2001, other social networking websites with new features were created, like Ocean Avenue, Black Planet, Cretu, Kai World. They encourage people to create specialized, personal, career and friendships pages. But since 2001, with the rise of sites, such as Ryze (travel), LinkedIn, Friendster, Coach Serfing, My Church for Christians, Dogster, Catster and other items, specialization of virtual social network accelerated and user networks were distinct from each other. The basic difference in virtual social networks can be searched in the support of their network relationships which focused on individual issues or individual users.

This expansion and the development of virtual social network at this speed indicated the increasing interest in this service among users in the international community. Even though in Iran, more social networks including Twitter and Facebook face problems of filtering, but the number of Iranian users to these sites is increasing steadily. According to the statistics of Alexa, Facebook is one of the top ten sites used by Iranians in cyberspace.

Despite the relative novelty of those social media networks, the number of users is increasing because the various attractions those sites provide. Being engaged in spaces of this kind, offers unlimited possibilities and alternatives. Three levels of "information, communication and interaction can be examined.

It seems that Iranian users, especially young generations, often use these types of sites for facilities and making friendships.

Iranian society is in transition from tradition to modernity. New generations want to determine their way of life and follow western lifestyle and friendships. In their opinion such desire is justifiable and in the community's opinion it is unwarrantable.

In a conservative society like Iran there is no full freedom of expression of political opinions. Young and rebellious generation try to express their views through this channel. But it should be noted that this motivation, often is not for political work but is to participate in political debates since these people do not have organized political activity. But also should not be neglected from this point, there is organized activities.

Generally, traditional marketing is about to vanish due to increasing customer behavior to television advertising and direct mailing.

With increasing the popularity of product recommendation systems, social networking websites, online chat programs and major social networks will expand everywhere. Social networks in a way have changed electronic commerce led to new marketing methods. Electronic business and electronic firms have overcome existing problems in business.

Recent research shows that oral expression with clients for the development of a company is much more positive and better. Marketing by verbal interaction has basic advantages. So recommendations from a friend or trusted authority can compensate for the lack of available credit in advertising. In future, online social network are likely to add other services, like sale goods to create new marketing possibilities and opportunities.

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Investigating the Effect of Self-Leadership on Entrepreneurs' Innovation in Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

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Abstract

Entrepreneurs play an important role in the economic development of countries. In the literature of entrepreneurship, self-leadership and entrepreneurs' innovation are considered as the most driving forces for sustainable development of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs). The aim of the present study is to investigate the relationship between self-leadership, its associated strategies, and entrepreneurs' innovation in small and medium-sized enterprise (SMEs) in the textile industry. In terms of objective, this study is considered as an empirical one and the research methodology is descriptive-correlative type. Among 380 textile companies, 191 were selected to be studied using Cochran formula and through the stratified random sampling method. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was used for data analysis. Findings of the study show that self-leadership has significant and positive effect on entrepreneurs' innovation. The results also show that there insignificant and positive relationship between behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, constructive thinking patterns and entrepreneurs' innovation.

Keywords: Entrepreneurs' Innovation, Self-Leadership, Behavior Strategies, Natural Reward Strategies, Constructive Thinking Patterns.

Introduction

Nowadays, knowing where to concentrate on self-leadership within businesses could be a key driver of entrepreneurs' innovation process (Shipton et al., 2005). According to Li (2012), the leadership and managerial practices identity building, nurturing the spirit of collaboration, innovation, constantly work on the relationships with supply chains. They understand and make use of market manoeuvres, and create meaning in the environment. All of these practices need an entrepreneur who is aware of innovation and knows how to use it to build relationships and further collaboration (Hunter & Cushenbery, 2011). Entrepreneurs, as self-leaders in SMEs, need to assume the role of business owner with an entrepreneurial spirit (Houghton & Yoho, 2005).

Self-leadership is about setting goals and getting access to the potential abilities of human resources (Brown & Ryan, 2013). One of the most important aspects of self-leadership is to make sure that people put themselves on the right track and manage their abilities (DiLiello & Houghton, 2006). Self-leadership includes cognitive and behavioral strategies that have a positive effect on self-efficacy (Luthans & Avey, 2011). Self-leadership strategies are generally divided into three groups: I) behavioural strategies; II) natural reward strategies; III) strategies for constructive thinking patterns (Shipton et al., 2005).

Today, science and technology are advancing at an incredible pace, which leads us to a magical era of technological achievements (Hunter & Cushenbery, 2011). The only wise path to manage the business world is that entrepreneurs should adapt themselves to the fast, gradual, and unpredictable changes of the modern era by innovation (Houghton & Yoho, 2005). Entrepreneurs should look for a unique human feature called self-leadership which can contribute to human creativity and innovation (Mohanty, 2009)

According to the definition of leadership and management, self-leadership can be defined as the "process of influencing oneself" (Goffee & Jones, 2005). Manze and Neck (2004) discussed that that self-leadership can be thought of as influencing oneself. The influencing behavior can be explained just like the learning behavior and lies at the heart of leadership development (Manz & Sims, 2001). All the successful entrepreneurs have developed and maintained their self-reliance under all circumstances (Houghton & Neck, 2012). This is because one of the major roles of entrepreneurs is their entrepreneurial role (Neck & Houghton, 2006). Entrepreneurs are considered as the driving force of economic development and play the main role in the development of creativity and innovation (Brown & Ryan (2013). In this line, self-leadership can play an active role in an organization that promotes innovation (Feser,2012).The current study is an effort to investigate the theoretical principles of self-leadership and entrepreneurs' innovation.

Literature Review

The theoretical foundation of self-leadership is built upon social learning theory (Bandura, 1977).Social leaning theory explains how people can influence their own cognition, motivation, and behavior (Yun et al., 2006). Self-leadership explains how self-leaders think and how they

behave according to cognitive, motivational, and behavioural strategies (Feser, 2012). The concept of self-leadership in today's open environment has impressive potential for application in organizations characterized by empowerment and decentralization (Houghton & Yoho, 2005). Self-leadership is defined as a systematic set of strategies through which individuals can influence themselves toward higher levels of performance and innovation (Manz & Neck, 2004). The three strategies associated with self-leadership include behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, and constructive thinking patterns (Manz & Neck, 2004; Neck & Houghton, 2006).

Behavioral strategies are designed to increase self-awareness leading to successful management of necessary tasks (Feser, 2012). Behavioural strategies are directed towards enhancing self-consciousness and include self-observation, self-goal setting, self-motivation, positive self-feedback, reward, and self-coaching (Goffee & Jones, 2005). Behavioural strategies also enable an individual to identify specific behaviours that need to be changed, enhanced or terminated. Behaviour-focused strategies heighten self-awareness and facilitate personal behavioural management through methods such as self-goal setting, self-reward, self-punishment, self-observation, and self-cueing (Mohanty, 2009).

Natural reward strategies concentrate on the fundamentally pleasurable aspects of work. The two primary approaches in natural reward strategies involve building pleasant features into an activity that is naturally rewarding and focusing on the rewarding aspects (Manz & Neck, 2004). The natural reward strategies can lead to increased feelings of competence and innovation, which can lead to entrepreneurial performance (Zhou & George, 2003).

Constructive thinking pattern strategies involve three primary tools for shaping self-leadership thinking patterns: self-analysis and improvement of belief systems, mental imagery of successful performance outcomes, and positive self-talk (Manz & Neck, 2004). Increased mental imagery of oneself can help lead to the natural reward structure of increased competence and self-determination, which makes an entrepreneur more confident for innovation, mental imagery of successful performance outcomes, and positive self-talk (Manz & Neck, 2004).

Goffee and Jones (2005) in their study stated that although entrepreneurs are innovative enough to fulfill their duties, not everyone can do innovative activities because one of the key elements of the self-leadership concept, i.e. self-navigation. People who are at a good level of self-leadership know quite naturally how to work towards and pursue a goal and also have a high level of internal motivation. For example, during the first stage of the innovation process, constructive thinking patterns are very efficient and useful.

In another study, Hunter and Cushenbery (2011) revealed some aspects of self-leadership (i.e., behavioural strategies, natural reward strategies, and constructive thinking patterns) that can enhance the efficiency of entrepreneurs' innovation, which in turn, has a positive effect on the development and efficiency of a business. Elsewhere, Ort and Duin (2008) showed that the success of the entrepreneurs' innovation process depends on the thinking, focus, and energy that entrepreneurs can put into use in an organization or a company so that it becomes a modern and

innovative one. Basically, the heroes in an organization or a company use self-leadership strategies to innovate.

Sweetman et al., (2010) in an article entitled "Relationship between positive psychological capital and creative performance" (Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences,) showed the positive relationship between self-leadership and innovation that has roots in some concepts as independence, personal will, and determination. They also revealed that independence as one of the key aspects of innovation has a relationship with personal determination and inner motivation. Personal determination is one of the major aspects of natural reward strategies in self-leadership. Other researchers (e.g., Manz. and Sims; 2001; Feser, 2012) have also reported the relationship between self-leadership, behavioral strategies, constructive thinking and entrepreneurs 'innovation.

Based on the aforementioned discussed literature, the research conceptual framework is shown in the figure 1.

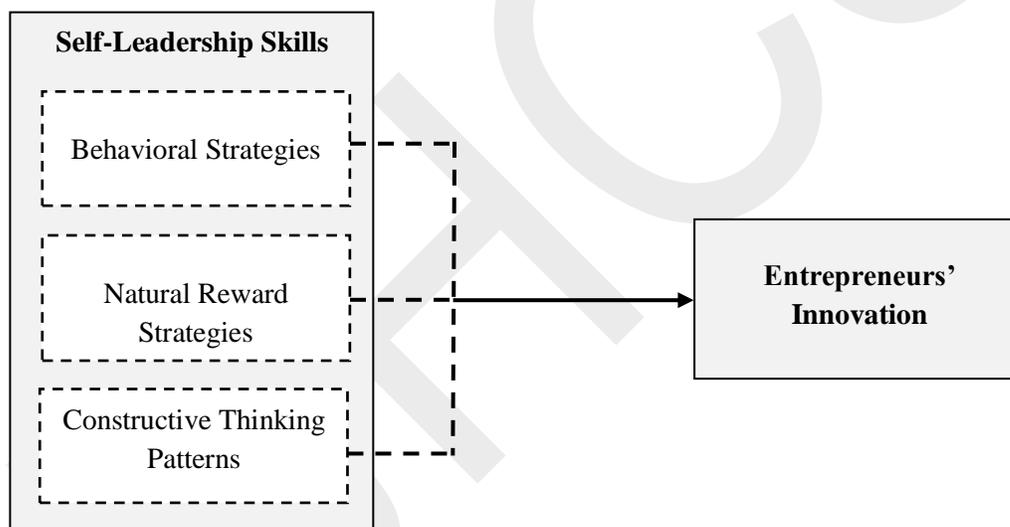


Figure 1: The Research Conceptual Framework

Based on the research conceptual framework of this study, the research hypotheses in Table 1 have been expressed.

Table 1: The Research Hypotheses

Index	Hypothesis
H1	There is positive relationship between self-leadership skills and entrepreneurs' innovation.
H2	There is positive relationship between behavioral strategies and entrepreneurs' innovation.
H3	There is positive relationship between natural reward strategies and entrepreneurs' innovation.
H4	There is positive relationship between constructive thinking patterns and entrepreneurs' innovation.

Research Methodology

The purpose of this study is considered as an empirical one in terms of objective and its research methodology is descriptive-correlative type. The population includes 380 entrepreneurs in the in textile industry throughout Iran. Among those individuals, 191 entrepreneurs were selected to be studied using Cochran formula (Formula 1) and through the stratified random sampling method.

$$n = \frac{N \times Z \alpha^2 / 2 \times P(1-P)}{\varepsilon^2 (N-1) + Z \alpha^2 / 2 \times P(1-P)} = \frac{380 \times 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5}{0.05^2 \times (380-1) + 1.96^2 \times 0.5 \times 0.5} = 191$$

Formula 1: Cochran Formula

In the present study, we used Manz. (2011) questionnaire on self-leadership skills and entrepreneurs' innovation and Latham & Frayne (2008) questionnaire on behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, and constructive thinking patterns to collect data. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was applied for data analysis. Measuring reliability was done through two criteria of Cronbach's Alpha and Composite reliability (CR). Validity was also measured by Convergent and Divergent Validity. Convergent validity controls if the correlation between a construct and the questions of that construct is adequate (Hulland, 1999), Divergent validity compares the correlation between a construct and the questions of that construct with the correlation of that construct with other constructs (Hulland, 1999). Table 2 shows these amounts.

Table (2): Cronbach’s Alpha, Composite Reliability, Convergent Validity, and Divergent Validity

Measure	Alpha’s Cronbach	Composite Reliability	Convergent Validity	Divergent Validity	Scale
Criterion	Above 0.7	Above 0.7	Above 0.4	-	-
Self-Leadership Skills	0.82	0.811	0.40	0.804	Interval
Behavioral Strategies	0.72	0.806	0.41	0.823	Interval
Natural Reward Strategies	0.71	0.817	0.48	0.866	Interval
Constructive Thinking Patterns	0.77	0.721	0.57	0.819	Interval
Entrepreneurs’ Innovation	0.79	0.833	0.51	0.733	Interval

The Results and Findings

The results in the descriptive statistics part of the study show that 82 percent of the participants are male and 34 percent are female. In terms of age, most of the participants are in the range of 31-40. Regarding education, most participants (%52) hold the bachelor degree. Descriptive statistics for the samples are shown in Table 2.

Table (2): Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Levels	Abundance	Variable	Levels	Abundance
Sex	Man	156	Type of Product	Carpet	78
	Woman	34		Cloth	74
Age	20 to 30 years	65		Rug	39
	31 to 40 yeas	80	Education	Bachelor	101
	Over 41	46		Master	72
				Ph.D	8

The Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) approach is particularly suitable for measuring and estimating a theoretical model with linear relations between variables, which may be either observable or directly unobservable. SEM enables an explicit modeling of the measurement error for the observable variables and avoids potential bias, thus allowing constructing unobservable variables. In the current study, Partial Least Square (PLS) variance-based SEM has been utilized to analyze the epistemic view of data. First, none of the independent and dependent variables was absolutely measureable. Further, rather than aiming at producing the covariance matrix as close as possible to the theoretical model, the aim has been set as analyzing the degree of cooperative entrepreneurship. In such a situation, the variance-based PLS approach seems suitable (Henseler

& Chin, 2010).). The analysis and interpretation of data process covariance structure analysis and structural equation modeling software with Smart PLS 3 software is what followed

The Measurement Model

The proposed conceptual model in the current study has been developed based on the theoretical foundations and it has been analyzed by SEM. Figure 2 shows the measurement model in the state of estimation of standardized coefficients. Loading factor and path coefficients can be estimated according to the model in the state of estimation of standardized coefficients. Based on the loading factor, the index of the highest loading factor has the greater proportion in the measurement of the related variable and the index of the lower loading factor has the smaller proportion. Determination index also has been shown in this model.

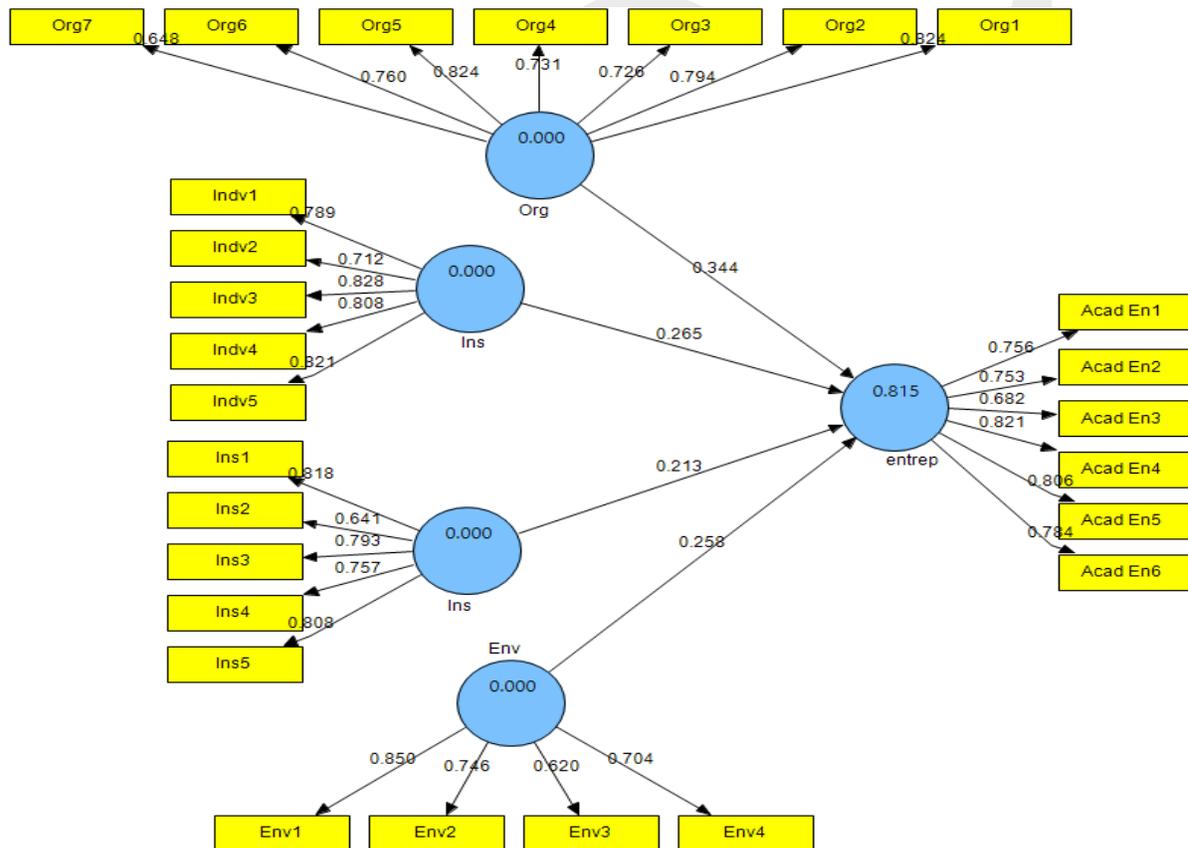


Figure (2): Model of the Estimated Coefficients

Figure 3, also, shows the research model in a significant state of coefficients (t-value). This model, in fact, tests all the measurement equations (loading factor) and the path coefficients using T statistics.

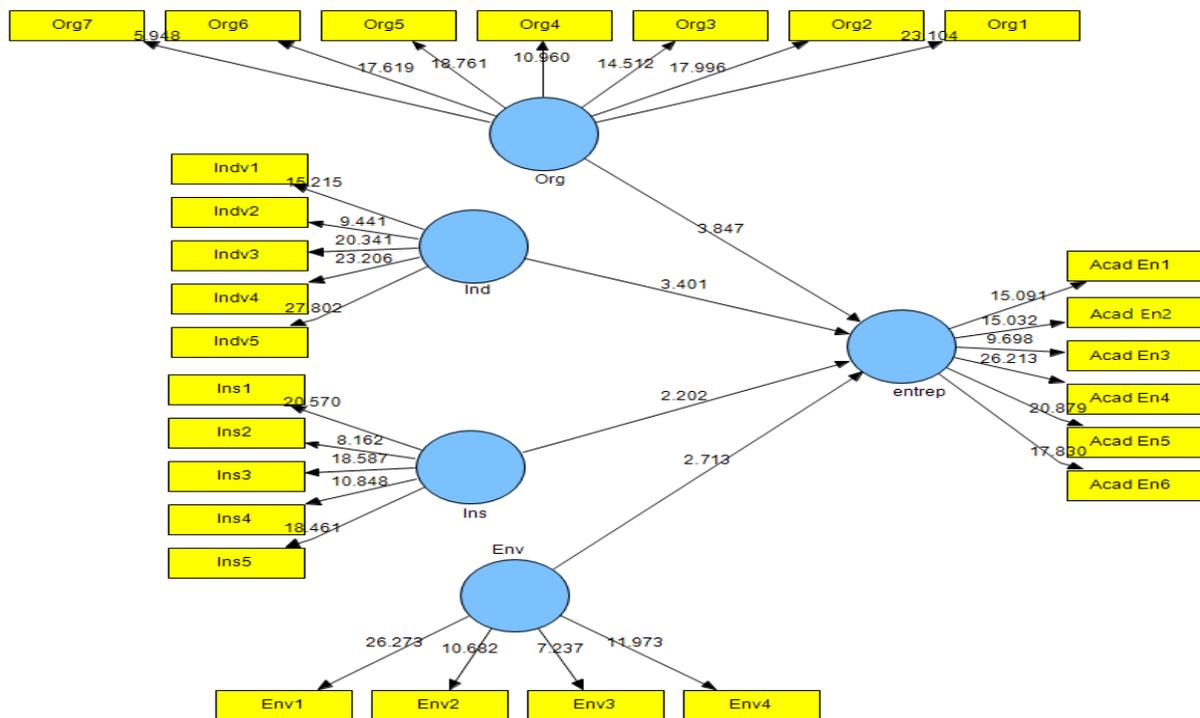


Figure (3): The Research Model in the Significant State of the Path Coefficients

Based on the results obtained by figure 3 and 4, a significant weight in the confidence level of 99% for three dimensions is established: self-leadership skills, behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, constructive thinking patterns, and entrepreneurs' innovation (T statistics out of the intervals of 2.58 to -2.58) and institutional dimension. The confidence level was of 95% significant (t statistics out of the interval of 1.96 to -1.96) and could have a significant loading factor. To check the reliability of the measurement model and reliability Item evaluation have been used from two ways as follows:

i) Cronbach Alpha

Cronbach alpha is considered as classic criteria for evaluation and appropriate measures for evaluating the internal in the measurement model. This measure shows the correlation between the structure and its related indicators. Higher values of 0.7 markers would be acceptable reliability (Henseler & Chin, 2010). As can be seen in table 3 Cronbach alpha values are greater than 0.7 for model structures and models of measurement have required reliability.

ii) Combine Reliability (CR)

Smart PLS software uses more modern standard called combined reliability (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). The reliability of structures calculated not only as an absolute but also according to their structural correlation with each other.

If the value for CR is greater than 0.7 for each structure, it has shown suitable reliability for measurement model (Henseler & Chin, 2010).). As it is seen in Table 3 CR structures values are above 0.7 and reliability of measure models is approved.

Table 3: AVE, Composite Reliability, and Cronbach's Alpha

Characteristics	AVE	Composite Reliability	Cronbach's Alpha
Self-Leadership Skills	0.625444	0.810344	0.805551
Behavioral Strategies	0.501789	0.809570	0.815478
Natural Reward Strategies	0.642293	0.828331	0.843507
Constructive Thinking Patterns	0.508724	0.855547	0.895482
Entrepreneurs' Innovation	0.637301	0.804458	0.807265

iii) The Narrative Validity of Convergence

The second measure, which is used to measure model in PLS is a measure of the average variance extracted (AVE). It shows the level of correlation of a structure with its indexes. AVE value is accepted above 0.5 (Henseler & Chin, 2010). As it shows in table 3, AVE is greater than 0.5 for all model structures and reliability of model is verified for measurements.

iv) Cross-Loading Method

All questions are in endogenous and exogenous latent constructs. Factor load shares more with its own structure compared to other structures which suggests divergent narrative that is suitable for the research model (Hulland, 1999).

v) Method of Fornell and Larcker

As shown in Table 4, AVE root variable for entrepreneurs' innovation is greater than amount of correlation between the indexes and other structures. As a result, this subject is evidence of divergent narrative suitable for this variable model. With little indulgence, this thread is true about variable entrepreneurship education. Hence divergent narrative of the model is confirmed.

Table (4): Fornell and Larcker Test Results

	Self-Leadership Skills	Behavioral Strategies	Natural Reward Strategies	Constructive Thinking Patterns*	Entrepreneurs' Innovation *
Self-Leadership Skills	0.712445	-	-	-	-
Behavioral Strategies	0.458348	0.802832	-	-	-
Natural Reward Strategies	0.413457	0.862811	0.700379	-	-
Constructive Thinking Patterns*	0.665311	0.767416	0.711258	0.655887	-
Entrepreneurs' Innovation *	0.657132	0.708451	0.708059	0.906903	0.500271

Hypotheses Testing

The significance level in Smart PLS 3 software is equal or more than 1.96, which shows that the hypotheses are significant. Research hypotheses would be supported if the score becomes above 1.96. In addition, according to Henseler & Chin (2010), the coefficient must become equal or above 0.30 which is the ideal score for the indicator. Based on standards, the hypotheses test results and PLS hypothesized models are presented below (Table 5).

Table 5: Direct Effects, T-Statistics, and the Results of Research Hypothesis

Hypotheses	Relationship	Sig Level (t)	Coefficient (B)	Results
Hypothesis 1	There is positive relationship between self-leadership skills and entrepreneurs' innovation.	2.23	0.47	Significant and Positive Effect
Hypothesis 2	There is positive relationship between behavioral strategies and entrepreneurs' innovation.	3.8	0.21	Significant and Positive Effect
Hypothesis 3	There is positive relationship between natural reward strategies and entrepreneurs' innovation.	2.1	0.27	Significant and Positive Effect
Hypothesis 4	There is positive relationship between constructive thinking patterns and entrepreneurs' innovation.	2.65	0.28	Significant and Positive Effect

General Model Validation

To address the measurement of the model, Smart PLS 3 software, calculates loads of items and the variance of residuals. In the structural level, it also, calculates the path coefficients, correlation between latent variables, explained variance, and the average variance extracted (AVE) of the latent variables. The t statistics is calculated using the cross-cutting method or personal accomplishment (PA). The proper model fitting is achieved when the path coefficient is significant, the explained variance is acceptable, and internal consistency is higher than 0.05 for each construct. Acceptable values of loading factor also show the proper model fitting (Table 6). Moreover, goodness of fit testing (GOF) is the index for checking the model fitting to predict endogenous variables. Three values, 0.01, 0.25, 0.36 are identified as the weak, medium, and strong values of GOF (Formula 2), respectively.

Table 6. Common Values

Dimensions	Organizational	Individual	Institutional	Environmental	Entrepreneurial University	Mean
Commonalities	0.7381	0.6983	0.6871	0.6399	0.5902	0.67

$$Gof = \sqrt{\text{communalities} \times R^2} = \sqrt{0.670 \times 0.815} = 0.739$$

Formula (2): GOF Index

Since the calculated values of GOF are greater than 0.36, it shows the proper model fitting, also all the path coefficients are significant and explained variance is acceptable and internal consistency of constructs is higher than 0.05.

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study proposed and tested a model that links three strategies of self-leadership and entrepreneurs’ innovation. The findings of this study show that self-leadership and its strategies (i.e., behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, and constructive thinking patterns) promote entrepreneurs’ innovation. The literature suggests that entrepreneurs could be trained to improve their self-leadership skills and thereby improve their innovative attributes. Therefore, businesses need to invest efforts in developing behavioral strategies, natural reward strategies, and constructive thinking patterns to improve the overall functioning of their innovative. The finding of the current study is crucial because entrepreneurs’ innovation in SMEs is the basis for competitive advantages in current competitive markets. The results of study are consistent with previous studies that mainly focused on such attributes (e.g., Feser (2012); Janssen (2004); Houghton et al.(2013). Enhancing learning and awareness at all levels to affect change and

innovation requires encouraging entrepreneurs to release their full creative potential in the businesses (Shipton et al.,2005).

The central emerging point in this study is that the new business innovation environment requires entrepreneurs to develop their self-leadership awareness and competencies. It is not enough to have just a selected few skills that lead innovation with natural tendencies and high perceptions of their innovation capabilities. Everyone has the ability to communicate ideas externally and receive ideas from external sources toward innovative projects. Entrepreneurs should know how to apply their self-leadership skills to transform those ideas into innovation success. In addition, future research may consider whether self-efficacy beliefs would be more likely to influence self-leadership strategies, whereas general self-efficacy beliefs may be more likely to influence the use of natural reward and constructive self-leadership strategies.

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“Surviving Calamity”: Allied Intelligence Failures and Anti-gas Responses at the Beginning of the Western Front Gas War, April-May 1915

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Abstract

Based on British and French archive material, this paper seeks to contribute to the limited “gas warfare historiography” by exploring a neglected but revealing aspect of Franco-British chemical warfare in 1915. A contextual examination of the first German gas attack will be undertaken while the light will be cast on a revealing yet unexplored archival document about the “murky side” of French military acquaintance with the first German use of poison gas.

Keywords: First World War, Gas Weapons, Allies, German Army, Western Front, Schlieffen Plan, Intelligence.

The year 2015 marked the centenary of the introduction of chemical weapons during the First World War. Following an explanation of the wider context, this article focuses upon the intelligence dimension of the initial gas attacks undertaken by the German army and explores the allies' emergency, make-shift responses to protect their front line troops from chemical poisoning.

At the heart of the problem of the twentieth century's first total war was how to break the stalemate on the Western Front. The flat open land of northern Belgium was the obvious choice for the German army for a swift and decisive attack to encircle the French forces. But the unfolding of the Schlieffen Plan in August 1914 resulted in Britain declaring war on Germany in defence of Belgian neutrality.¹ Seventy German divisions attacked about seventy French divisions along with the six divisions of the British Expeditionary Force in the first of the great land battles of the Western Front: the first battle of Ypres. After one hundred days the fighting stalled into what became known as the trench pattern. The German army had been held in the west. The high hopes and over confidence of the Schlieffen Plan had been dashed and an unprecedented form of large-scale, attritional static warfare now confronted the combatants.² Nevertheless, Germany retained the initiative by its occupation of French territory.

The French were placed in a position where they had to evict the Germans. The only tactical means available to the French were frontal offensives against German trench systems. The technical problems of trench warfare baffled the armies of Western Europe. One of these problems was to do with the impact of modern weapons on the battlefield which led to the superiority of defensive firepower.³ For example, the machine gun, invented in 1884 by Hiram Maxim, transformed infantry tactics by both its range and rate of fire power.⁴ Indeed, a major military lesson of both the Boer War (1899-1902) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904) was the greatly increased killing power of modern rifles, machine guns and quick firing artillery. The scale of the challenge was highly significant. Given, the continuous battle line stretching from Switzerland to the English Channel, the imperative was how to overcome the defender's use of firepower to dominate the battlefield. Soon the machine gun became the exterminating reaper of the battlefield. As the infantry crossed no-man's land between the trenches, the enemy machine gunners dispatched them on a fearsome scale.

It was this exceptional combination of circumstances, static warfare combined with the supremacy of defensive firepower, which led to the appalling levels of lethal and non-lethal casualties.⁵ By 1915 breaking out of a more-or-less static trench warfare remained the over-riding objective of the combatants. But what new weapons and tactics could be employed? Later in the war the tank would be used (prematurely at first, as it turned out) as

¹ Belgium had been created as an independent kingdom in 1830. Its neutrality had been guaranteed in perpetuity (in 1839) by France, Britain, Austria and Prussia.

² Corelli Barnett, *Britain and Her Army*, (London: Allen Lane, 1970), p. 376.

³ The role and implications of the vastly increased firepower of modern weapons by 1914 is discussed fully in Albert Palazzo, *Seeking Victory on the Western Front. The British Army and Chemical Warfare in World War I*, (Lincoln, Nb: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) esp. pp. 190-191.

⁴ Sir Hiram Stevens Maxim (1840-1916) was born in the USA who later emigrated to England. He was the inventor of the Maxim Gun, the first portable, fully automatic machine gun.

⁵ For example, during the Second Battle of Ypres in April-May 1915 aggregate British losses amounted to 2,150 officers and 57,125 enlisted men.

part of new tactics to return to mobile warfare.⁶ But earlier, on the 22 April 1915 at the Second Battle of Ypres, the age of modern chemical warfare arrived on the Western Front.

What prodded the great gas war into being was – to use the terminology of crime detection – a consequence of motive and means. The pressing desire of the German army to unravel the Western Front deadlock was a compelling motive to resort to the use of chemical weapons; while the scientific, technological and industrial means to develop such weapons were now either at the disposal or within reach of the key players locked into the bloodletting stalemate in northern France. What was necessary was the willingness to deploy poison gas against the enemy. The German High Command took that fateful decision confident in the knowledge that behind them stood Europe's most powerful and the world's most advanced chemical industry.⁷ In particular, remarkable and rapid progress in their dyestuffs sector had made possible, *inter-alia*, the mass production of a fearsome range of chemical weapons.

Having decided to adopt the weapon, the German army formed two new units, the 35th and 36th pioneer regiments whose task it was to deploy chlorine gas on the Western Front, with the primary aim of disempowering lethal defensive artillery in order to achieve a tactical breakthrough.

Historical accounts of the German first use of gas against the western allies on 22 April 1915 usually stress the complete surprise that the attack occasioned – along with the resulting panic and disintegration of the affected section of the French front line. A few historians, however, have explored in more detail the complex circumstances behind the first German chemical attack. Tim Cook, for example, has questioned the assumption that by early April 1915 the gas weapon remained a well-guarded secret. Indeed, he argues that the allies knew about the possibility of gas warfare – through a range of intelligence breakthroughs – but were handicapped into impotence because they lacked precise knowledge of what type of chemical would be used against them and the specific delivery method to be employed.⁸ Like other Anglo-Saxon historians in the field, Cook relies almost exclusively on British and (in his case) Canadian evidence to support his arguments. Nevertheless, he maintains that in the days and weeks up to the initial German gas attack the senior British commanders “following the lead of the French whose command had declared ‘All this gas business need not be taken seriously’ ordered their soldiers to be more worried about the German conventional build up [at Ypres] than some real or imagined gas cloud.”⁹ In the light of this assertion attributed to the French command, it would be pertinent to examine the French experience incorporating material from their own archives. In particular, it is important to establish just how seriously or not “this gas business” was taken by the French military authorities.

While the pitiful rout of French and French colonial troops – fleeing unprotected from the lethal chlorine gas clouds – would appear to confirm the assumption of surprise and complete unpreparedness, there is in fact evidence to suggest that the French High Command

⁶ The British introduced tanks on the battlefield for the first time in September 1916.

⁷ The decision led to the deployment of poison gas against allies' troops at Ypres on 22 April 1915.

⁸ Tim Cook, *No Place to Run The Canadian Corps and Gas Warfare in the First World War* (Vancouver B.C: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), p. 19.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 19.

were less unsuspecting than their hapless front line troops.¹⁰ Revealing fragments of information spanning a period of three weeks prior to 22 April 1915 suggest that the French First Bureau had sufficient material to piece together a convincing intelligence picture of an impending enemy chemical attack.

Perhaps one of the most authoritative sources printed in English which details the catalogue of allied mistakes in misreading intelligence about the German army's offensive gas war initiative in April 1915 is Foulkes' account of the British Special Brigade.¹¹ Over a number of pages he painstakingly lists in chronological order the crassly discarded pieces of an extensive intelligence jigsaw. While both allies were to blame, the apportionment of responsibility was perhaps implicit in Foulkes' concluding remarks on the episode:

It seems that the French were inclined to regard the reports as a ruse deliberately conveyed to their notice in order to prevent them from withdrawing troops from Ypres for the offensive which they were preparing near Arras; while the British appear to have been prevented from raiding the enemy's trenches to investigate the matter owing to a shortage of the ammunition required for the preliminary bombardment. Nobody realised the great danger that was threatening...¹²

It is instructive to examine some of the French intelligence evidence. For example, as early as 30 March 1915, the Tenth Army interrogated a German prisoner who informed them that bottles containing asphyxiating gas were being stored near Zillebeke, on the Ypres salient.¹³ Much more detailed and specific confirmation was forthcoming on 14 April 1915 when a German soldier of Reserve Regiment 234 of the XXVIth German Corps told his French interrogators at Langemarck that German pioneer companies had prepared, but postponed, gas attacks scheduled for the 15 and 16 April 1915. In addition to his detailed confession, the German prisoner presented to his French interpreter some physical evidence to validate his account: an anti-gas compress which had been treated with neutralising chemicals.¹⁴ According to Foulkes, the prisoner's admissions so impressed General Ferry that he warned the Brigade Commander in the 11th French Division. Ferry made three important recommendations: the reduction of French troops in the front line to minimise losses, the bombardment of the storage areas containing the German gas cylinders and an attempt to extemporise respirators.¹⁵ He also, says Foulkes, sent an officer to warn the 28th British Division in Ypres and the Canadian Brigade in Boesinghe of the impending attack and

¹⁰ Grenouillet (Lieutenant-Colonel), "La Naissance de la Guerre Chimique," *Revue d'Artillerie*, 1935, pp. 232-265; Mordacq (General), "La Première Attaque par les Gaz Asphyxiants (22 et 23 Avril 1915)," *L'Amicale des Anciens du 1er Régiment de Tirailleurs Algériens*, 1976, No. 109, pp. 4-6; Macwilliams, James and James Steel, *Gas! The Battle of Ypres: 1915*, (Ontario: St Catherine, 1985); John P. Sinnott, "It Was Algerian and Canadian Soldiers at Ypres Who Suffered History's First Poison Gas Attack," *Military History*, 1994, Vol. 11, pp. 12-16.

¹¹ A reference to the British Gas Brigade.

¹² C.H Foulkes, *Gas! The Story of the Special Brigade* [1934], (New edition, Uckfield England: Naval and Military Press, 2002), pp. 34-36. Brigadier C.H Foulkes was one of Britain's senior gas soldier who led the Special Brigade

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 28.

¹⁴ A full account of the interrogation of this German prisoner was published by General Ferry in his article "Ce Qui S'est Passé Sur L'Yser," *La Revue des Vivants*, July 1930, Vol. pp. 899-900. See also Foulkes, *Ibid*, p. 32, Foulkes said that the captured soldier was carrying his gas mask. Ferry's identification of this former prisoner of war led to his arrest and trial in Germany in 1932.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 3.

despatched a special messenger to the XXth French Corps and the HQ of the *Groupe d'Armées du Nord*. Despite General Ferry's valiant efforts, the outcome, Foulkes reminds his readers, was a catastrophe:

...not only was no notice taken of these warnings but General Ferry was told a few days later that the affair of the gas could not be taken seriously, that he had no right to communicate direct with the Allied Forces; and that the disposition of troops in the trenches was fixed by *G[rand] Q[uartier] G[eneral]*.¹⁶

However, what is not in Foulkes' or in any subsequent account is any reference to an intriguing piece of evidence in the Vincennes archive which could suggest that, contrary to the conventional narrative, French GHQ nevertheless initiated a mitigating, if largely inadequate, measure which anticipated the possibility of a German gas attack. Two days *before* the enemy chemical assault, French GHQ confirmed the dispatch of 5,000 pairs of gas goggles to the front.¹⁷ It is at least plausible to infer from this information that General Ferry was perhaps not such an isolated voice and that some senior French commanders did take "this gas business" more seriously than is generally assumed. Sending anti-gas accessory equipment to the trenches at this juncture would appear to underline this.

What also remains revealing is that the French army had such equipment available and in such quantity but it is not clear what happened to this consignment of gas goggles. There are certainly no contemporary descriptions of the French troops involved in the initial German gas attack wearing these protective eye pieces. Moreover, this complicating detail highlights the tragic human outcome of the first gas attack on the Western Front and poses new questions about the French high command's culpability in failing to alert, let alone protect, their front line troops. The evidence presented above suggests that the high command had received detailed, multi-source intelligence and that there was good reason to fear a forthcoming chemical attack in the Ypres area. Even though the French military authorities may have lacked precise knowledge of the poisonous chemical that was to be used by the Germans, prisoner information about stores of chemical gas containers was suggestive, at least in terms of limiting the possible delivery scenarios. While it is possible that a practical, if tentative, anti-gas response was initiated by French GHQ – as detailed above – the brutal fact remains that on the day of the first enemy gas attack, French soldiers were left physically unprotected and psychologically unprepared for what was to follow.¹⁸ Even so, Tim Cook's inference about the French army command's wholly dismissive attitude to the imminent prospect of chemical warfare on the Western Front may require some qualification.

There is, however, another possible explanation for the presence of these gas goggles at the French front line in April 1915. In a secret letter written in French and dated 23

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 33.

¹⁷ Service Historique de la Défense (Vincennes), hereafter SHD, 16N832, report No. 3948, 2 May 1915 from the Minister of War to the General Commander of the army. In the report he stated: "the letter 7150 by the General Headquarters sent 20 April 1915 includes the demand of 5,000 goggles."

¹⁸ Palazzo, Ibid, p. 42 for a discussion of the related psychological issues.

December 1918 from General Herr, General Inspector of Artillery to Brig.General Foulkes, it was confirmed that French troops had received lachrymatory shells for the first time on 21 February 1915, two months before the German first use of poison gas at Ypres.¹⁹ At the same time it was made clear that toxic shells (which had been filled with bromine-acetone) along with “suffocating” shells (filled with chloroformiate of methyl monochloride) had only been supplied in the following July, over two months after the first German chemical assault, the implication being that the lachrymatory shells delivered earlier were not lethal.²⁰ If the goggles had been issued to protect French *attacking* troops then it may have been assumed by the High Command that they would have been sufficient on their own to protect key troops because of the particular vulnerability of the optical organs to lachrymatory gas – even though it might appear reasonable to assume that the olfactory organs would require protection too.²¹ The relatively limited number of goggles involved may also be significant especially if only focused tear-gas assaults had been planned by the French army. Unfortunately, in the absence of additional evidence this explanation also remains highly speculative. Nevertheless, the information in this letter from General Herr would appear to confirm that the allies did not breach the letter of the Hague protocols in the use of poisonous gas – at least not before the Germans.²² Moreover, it is not entirely clear when this lachrymatory gas was first used against the enemy by the French army.

The abject failure of the allies on 22 April 1915 cost many lives and ruined many more.²³ It also cast many shadows. One in particular appears to have haunted the French. Although a matter of conjecture, it is perhaps appropriate to speculate whether the French army’s subsequent, and almost obsessive, preoccupation with defensive anti-gas issues – as suggested by the sheer quantity of documentary material related to it in the Vincennes archive – was in large part a consequence of their painful and embarrassing initial failure to react effectively on the day offensive gas warfare began on the Western Front.

In his interwar study *La Guerre Chimique*, Rudolph Hanslian appeared to state a critical home truth when he maintained that had effective gas masks not been produced in time and in quantity for the allied armies, then the tactical and strategic implications of the scale of the likely losses of men and territory arising from Germany’s use of poison gas could

¹⁹ The National Archives (KEW), hereafter TNA, MUN 142/109, secret letter from General of Division Herr, Inspector General of Artillery, Commander of General Reserve Artillery to General Foulkes, Director of Gas Service, 23 December 1918.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ TNA MUN 142/109, letter No. 32,326, 23 December 1918, op.cit.

²² Ibid

²³ The exact casualty figures for second Ypres remain a subject of controversy among historians. Olivier Lepick, *La Grande Guerre Chimique 1914-1918* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1998), pp. 80-81 and “Une Guerre dans la Guerre: les Armes Chimiques 1914-1918,” *Revue Historique des Armées*, Vol. 2, 1996, p. 76 claims that the losses of 22 April 1915 were fantasies; more realistic estimates would vary between 200 and 500, while the official medical history of the war states that the first German gas attack resulted in the deaths of 3000 allied troops with an additional 7000 who were gas wounded, W. G. McPherson, W. P. Heeringham, T. R. Elliott, A. Balfour, *Official History of the Great War: Medical Services, Diseases of the War* (London: H M S O, 1923), Vol. 2; an official French medical report dated 25 April 1915 indicates that the number of fatal gassings among French troops over a 36 hour period from the beginning of the attack was 625. SHD, 16N826, Medical Inspector’s report sent to the C-in-C, 25 April 1915.

have drawn the conflict to a premature close.²⁴ Time, as it turned out, was the all important factor. But as the combat evidence suggests it was more by luck than efficiency that the French forces, in particular, avoided further massacres at the hands of the enemy's chemical soldiers. For over three weeks after the shock of 22 April 1915, French troops were left almost defenceless in the face of further possible enemy chlorine gas attacks until the first supplies of the C1 *compresse* – which was a copy of the German mask – began to reach front line troops.

Between 15 May and 30 July (1915) about two million C1 masks were distributed. While the French newspapers at the time celebrated the efforts of their nation's chemists and manufacturers in developing effective anti-gas appliances, a more intangible, if fortuitous, benefit perhaps was the enemy's extended delay in repeating chemical attacks along the French lines. British and Commonwealth forces were not so fortunate however: they faced new German gas assaults on 24 April and on the 6 and 10 May.²⁵ It was not until late May 1915 that enemy gas attacks resumed against the French army.²⁶

There is no shortage of evidence concerning the depth of official French concern or the determination of the High Command to combat, as quickly as possible, the German chemical warfare threat with effective anti-gas measures.²⁷ Once the identity of the enemy's poison gas had been confirmed, three pressing but connected challenges followed. The first imperative rested with French physicians as they extemporised individual and collective anti-gas protective antidotes.²⁸ The second challenge concerned the material means of protection. By 28 April 1915 the mass production of *compresse* masks, based on captured German examples, began at a factory in Auchy-lès-Hesdin where 24 hour a day production was maintained by a pattern of working triple shifts. A laboratory chemist supervised each section which comprised fifty workers.²⁹ With equal speed the medical laboratory of the French army produced 120,000 bags of hyposulphite solution (a chlorine antidote) in ten days.

Finally, there was the logistical urgency of equipping front-line French troops as rapidly as possible. With such frenetic application to respirator production it remains unclear why it then took the French weeks to supply the initial consignment of masks to the front. It is not known whether any post-production problem arose with the C1 *compresse* which might have delayed their despatch although there is no indication of such difficulties in the military archives. But it is possible that the distribution process was simply impeded within the quick

²⁴ Franz Carl Endrés, *La Guerre des Gaz*, (Paris: Imp. Ramlot et cie, 1928), quoted Rudolph Hanslian, *La Guerre Chimique*, (Paris: Bloc Limited, 1927), p. 182-183.

²⁵ Cotte, J. P, Prigent, J. and Richard, R. *Carnets de Guerre d'un Officier D'Infanterie Territoriale, Lieutenant Clément Joseph au 76 R.I.T (5 Octobre au 20 Novembre 1918), La Première Attaque aux Gaz du 22 Avril 1915* (Bretagne: Association Bretagne, 2006), pp. 42 and 78-86. See also, Victor Lefebure, *The Riddle of the Rhine, Chemical Strategy in Peace and War*, (New York: The Chemical Foundation, 1927), p. 35.

²⁶ From the end of May 1915 the German artillery began using new chemical weapons against the French trenches. At the opening of their Argonne offensive on 20 June 1915, they fired up to 25,000 T-Stoff filled shells.

²⁷ See for example, SHD, 16N834, report regarding instructions to use protective apparatus distributed to the French army 11 November 1915, and memo dated 4 December 1915.

²⁸ SHD, 16N826, reports, 23 April 1915, and 25 August 1915.

²⁹ Auchy-lès-Hesdin is a French village situated in Pas-de-Calais.

sands of official French bureaucracy.³⁰ In the meantime the *poilu* at the front could only rely, at best, on such improvised protection as handkerchiefs soaked in their own urine.³¹ The situation, however, was little better in the trenches occupied by British and Commonwealth troops at this stage of the gas campaign but the mountain of home-made, if largely ineffective, anti-gas veils produced after a brief national press appeal in late May (1915) at least reached the British front line troops within a few days.



British women workers producing protective anti-gas veils at the start of the gas war

Source: The *Daily Mail*, 5 June 1915

As it happened the Germans failed to exploit their technological and tactical advantage in April 1915 while the French and British allies went on to counter the enemy's initiative

³⁰ For a study of French bureaucracy see for example PhD thesis by J.F. Godfrey, "Bureaucracy, Industry, and Politics in France During the First World War," ([S.I.]: University of Oxford, 1974).

³¹ TNA WO142/90/DGS3, memo, 5 May 1915.

with improved anti-gas discipline and the development of more effective protective equipment. As a consequence, poison gas lost its strategic potential to alter the course and outcome of the war and became instead a weapon of tactical opportunity.

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Children's Right to Education: Examination of the Role of Head Teachers in Effective Instructional Time Management in Junior High Schools in Ghana

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Abstract

Children all over the world have a right to education. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana even provides for Free, Compulsory, and Universal Basic Education for children in the country. This education ought to be quality so as to be able to unlock and develop the potentials in children and subsequently turn into quality human resource to drive the development of the nation. This study sort to examine the role of the head teacher in Ghanaian basic school towards effective instructional time management so as to enable students enjoys their right to education. The study employed the descriptive design situated in qualitative paradigm using structured questionnaire to gather data. In all 80 teachers were sampled and used. It was discovered from the study that most head teachers in Junior High Schools performed their role in facilitating effective instructional time management in their schools. Most of the head teachers came to school early, queried teachers over ineffective instructional time management, and supervised switch-over time. These lead to good academic performance among students as teachers are able to cover the topics on the syllabi with the students.

Keywords: Rights, Instructional time, Management, Teachers, Students, Effective, Challenges.

1.1 Background to the study

Effective time management is one of the qualities of an effective education profession. The teacher as a professional plays the most important role in teaching and learning in the school. He also serves as a living model for the student and a moderator of the student's learning, (Beach and Reinhartz, 1989 p 106). The teacher therefore ensures that instructional time is put to very good use so that he or she can confidently guide students through their academic and non-academic components of schooling.

The importance of time management cannot be underscored as far as teaching and learning is concerned. Time is the most valuable and scarce resource available to mankind. It is the most important and only resource given to everyone in equal amount (Archer, Adentwi & Sam, 2008 and Afful-Broni, 2005). Time is one important resource we all share. What we choose within the time we have and how we actually spend our time differs widely across individuals. It is believed that no one actually "manages time". However we can manage the use of our time by clearly identifying our personal goals and scheduling our time to reflect that (Alvy, 1983 p77).

Due to its importance, what schools do to manage time and bring students, teachers and materials together in a coordinated manner for learning to take place is the time table. The primary purpose of the time table is to maximize the period of time devoted to academic work. The time during the school day in which students study core academic subjects such as English, Science, Mathematics and Social Studies is important. That is why more time, and the early hours of the day are reserved for these subjects. Despite that, many teachers still fail to make judicious use of time at school, due to poor time management.

Many teachers go to school late and on daily bases too. They then miss the first lessons on the time table. Some begin to search for teaching and learning materials when it is just time for them to start lessons, and so they go to the classroom late. Some other teachers begin to prepare their lessons when they have less time left to meet their class. All of these are due to their inability to manage time properly.

Teachers who lack proper management of time need proper guidance for it. So head teachers as human resource managers of their schools are responsible for equipping their staff with the relevant time management skills. This issue should be tackled head-on so that the purpose for which schools are established will not be defeated in Ghana.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Time management practice among teachers which is a problem has not been addressed properly by education authorities in the country. Ghana has been making efforts over the last two

decades to improve education so as to contribute to national development. Teachers are perceived as principal instruments to be used in this direction.

In order to carry out the responsibilities effectively, the teacher should be able to manage time for work. According to Archer et al., (2008), time is finite and irreplaceable, and so it is wise to undertake periodic review of how it is being used to determine whether its use is in line with what will be beneficial to man or not. It is therefore imperative to explore the best ways possible to manage time which is the most valuable and scarce resource available to mankind including the teacher.

Now, there is no denying the fact that leaders play very significant and essential roles in the daily and overall lives of any given society. So in the school setting, the head teacher plays very significant and indispensable roles to keep the school running. He/she is the leader of this organization and so we can even go as far as saying that the success or failure of the school is determined to a large extent by the quality of headship that is in place there (Starrat, 1994). One of the roles of the head teacher therefore, relates to helping teachers to manage instructional time effectively. This study, therefore, looks at how the head teachers help their teachers to manage instructional time effectively.

1.3 Research questions

The following research questions were formulated to guide the study:

- How do the Junior High School (JHS) head teachers in Ghana help their staff to manage their time?
- How do the ways head teachers in Ghana help their teachers to manage instructional time affect teaching and learning in the schools?
- In what other ways can head teachers in Ghana support their staff to manage instructional time effectively?

2. Literature review

2.1 The concept of time management

Time management is the act or process of planning and exercising conscious control over the amount of time spent on specific activities, especially to increase effectiveness, efficiency or productivity. It may be aided by a range of skills, tools and techniques used to manage time when accomplishing specific tasks, projects and goals complying with a due date. Alvy (1983) says time management can be described as making the most effective and efficient use of time. Alternatively put, time management involves making the best use of time. Jones (2006) points out that time management is actually self-management- it is about using time effectively to achieve tasks. McMillan (2007) points out that time management is:

...the act of controlling events. It is more than just managing out time. It is managing ourselves in relation to time. It is setting priorities and taking charge of our situation and time utilization. It means changing those habits or activities that cause us to waste the opportunities and moments that we have. It is being willing to experiment with different methods and ideas to enable us find the best way to make maximum use of time when we have it.

2.2 Importance of time management

Time management is an important aspect of general management. So in appraising a teacher, time will be considered. It is quite motivating for a worker especially a teacher to be time conscious. There is much satisfaction carrying out tasks within stipulated time frames. When time is used effectively in a school setting, it serves as a means of controlling teachers to respect and be guided by time. It is believed no one actually manages time. However, we can manage our use of time by clearly identifying our personal and professional goals and scheduling our time to reflect that (Alvy, 1983). This suggests that the best use of available time is an important element of good management and high productivity is assured especially in the hands of dedicated teachers.

According to Afful-Broni, (2004), time management to a greater extent determines an individual's success or failure in his or her respective organization. Understanding time in this light helps individuals to handle it carefully in order to be productive in their respective organizations. Jones (2006) points out that time management is actually self- management- it is about using time effectively to achieve task. He noted further that successful time management is important considering the following:

Successful time management enables staff to gain a better perspective of pending activities and priorities. Effective time management does not allow for misplaced priorities and wrongful use of time. Some teachers, for example, use precious time without care for it. If a worker, say, a teacher, uses time for rest to go for "all- night" prayers and wants to use teaching time for rest, there is no excuse here.

Good time management leads to good work performance in the educational context. On the contrary, poor time management in the educational context is one of the causes of stress. Stress involves a subtle but progressive erosion of behavior, attitudes, health and spirit that eventually inhibits an individual's ability to function effectively at work (Berg, 1994; 185). So if a teacher plans his time properly, it helps him avoid anxiety, less stress and work with confidence. Ultimately, teaching and learning will be effective and academic performance of students will be good.

Successful time management also helps staff to gain more leisure time. Leisure time can be used by the teacher to relax. Willis (2007) says relaxing is first and foremost a state of mind. It is no good waiting until we are over –stressed and fatigued before we take the appropriate

measures, so good time management can help the teacher device healthy safety values to have time to rest and prepare adequately to teach.

One other important thing about good time management is that it enables the teacher for instance to attain objectives consistently and systematically. With enough time available for the teacher he can prepare his lessons well, get the needed teaching and learning materials ready to deliver a good lesson. In this way the set aims and objectives of the lesson will be achieved.

Afful-Broni (2004) also notes that effective time management helps individuals to develop a deeper appreciation of the value of time. Vandever and Manfee (2010) say a good time management system allows workers to keep track of appointments and to organize important aspects of their lives. Say “no” to projects that don’t fit into your time schedule, don’t fit your values or goals, or compromise your mental or physical health. One will know the development of procrastination if one is able to value time management.

Effective time management also helps individuals to set clearer and achievable goals. According to Woodruff, (1961) cited in Adentwi et al.,(2010), teaching consists of setting up clear objectives, setting up learning experience to reach the objectives and helping students become receptive for the learning experience. The teacher has to plan ways of getting the student to go through the right learning process for achieving his objective. The planning entails the use of time. Teacher planning involves formulating objectives and organizing learning experiences. If the teacher is desirous of teaching effectively and helping his students to succeed, then he has to plan ahead what, when and how he is going to teach. All of these will help the teacher achieve his set goals and objectives during his lessons in the classroom.

Another important thing about effective time management is that it helps the teacher to have an organized lifestyle. According to Adentwi, et al., (2010: 247) many people believe that the teacher’s personality is the most crucial factor in successful teaching. It is believed that if the teacher possesses warmth, empathy, sensitivity, enthusiasm and humor he is much more likely to be successful than if he lacks these characteristics. They are the characteristics a teacher needs to portray when he is discharging his duties. These characteristics can be well exhibited if only the teacher practices good time management.

Increased or enhanced productivity emanates from effective time management among others. Productivity is the dependent variable, the variable that changes as a result of the change in certain factors as salary, environment or condition (Vandever, et al., 2010:10). Many other dependent variables can change as a result of a change in an independent variable.

According to Hersey, Blanchard, and Johnson (2008:286), productivity is the ratio of the output of goods and services divided by the input or resources used to produce those goods and

services. Like all ratios, it can be improved by increasing the output, decreasing the input or both.

The four dependent variables studied the most in organizational behavior are absenteeism, job satisfaction, turnover and productivity. Organizations are always looking for policies that decrease absenteeism, increase job satisfaction, decrease turnover and increase productivity. Considering the above it is clear that time management is a good tool for productivity.

Effective time management also helps people to experience quality health. Physical and mental health issues are the effects of stress, and stress itself is the effect of poor time management. It therefore means that effective time management is a panacea for good health because its practice keeps off stress. Dr. Hans Selye (1907-1983) has the following about stress; cited in Willis (2007). 'Stress is the nonspecific response of the body to any demand, whether it is caused by, or results in pleasant or unpleasant conditions' (p.8). The effects of stress affect both mental and physical health. The fictitious Johnny's experience also reminds us of the long-term consequences of stress on our physical and mental health. If we are continuous worriers the GAS has to work overtime and instead of helping us may even become a hindrance to our health. Willis (2007; 33). From the above it is clear that effective time management helps people to experience quality health.

Effective time management also makes an individual punctual and disciplined, boost his morale and accomplishes tasks on time and become less prone to stress and anxiety.

2.3 Challenges to effective time management in schools

It is said that identification of problems is always the first step towards finding solutions to the problems. It is therefore necessary for the school head or any organizational leader to identify what constitutes possible challenges in time management in order to deal a decisive blow to them. The Centre for Continuing Education of the University of Cape Coast (CCEUCC) identifies some challenges associated with time management. They include the following:

Lack of planning; If we don't plan to do things we may end up doing them haphazardly leading to repetition and duplication of efforts. Just as Yukl (2010:121) says; the purpose of planning is to ensure efficient organization of the work unit, co-ordination of activities and effective utilization of resources. For example, operational planning is the scheduling of routine work and determination of task assignments for the next day or week. And action planning is the development of detailed action steps and schedules for implementing a new policy or carrying out a project. So if one cannot plan, one cannot effectively manage time.

The second challenge is indecision. The key to making a decision is to understand the problem. And to make the best decision, you need to identify the things that must be done and the things you want to do (Vandever, et al., 2010:145). Before coming to a final decision, the decision maker needs to consider what must happen with the decision as well as what he or she wants out of the decision.

Making decisions is one of the most important functions performed by leaders. And where the teacher or head is undecided he cannot manage time. If one cannot decide well or is inconsistent with decisions, there is always the tendency to retract a decision when even much resources, efforts and time have been committed already.

Third challenge is objectives. Objectives which are the same as aims or goals in this context are something that one tries hard to achieve specially in politics or business. Objectives serve as the road map that leads us to our destination, so without clearly stated objectives we tend to beat about the bush and consequently get derailed from our course. In this state of mind we cannot manage time effectively.

The fourth challenge in time management sees Snowden and Gordon (2002: 169) talking about priorities. Those problems or tasks with the greatest potentially negative consequences in the aftermath of an incorrect decision demand more immediate and more extensive attention than other kinds of problems and tasks that carry fewer potentially demanding consequences. In short, problems that need immediate attention should be tackled first before those that do not need immediate attention. If we are able to set our priorities right then we can always do first things first and not waste time on unnecessary things. But if we cannot, but have misplaced priorities we will have problems managing time effectively.

The fifth challenge is in lack of self-discipline. The origin of discipline is 'disciple'. Disciple means a learner. Constructive discipline is designed to be a learning process that provides an opportunity for positive growth. Effective managers use constructive discipline when people slip in performance readiness (Hersey, et al. 2008: 197). Anyone who is not self – disciplined can hardly put in the efforts and commitment needed in undertaking certain activities thereby wasting a lot of time.

3.0 Methodology

The researcher employed the descriptive study of the qualitative paradigm in the study. The population for the study consisted of selected teachers from 6 selected JHS in Bolga South-West Circuit. The sampled size was fifty (50) teachers. Fraenkel and Wallen (2002) define a sample as a group in a research in which information is obtained. So, a group of fifty (50) randomly sampled male and female teachers was selected from the six (6) conveniently chosen JHS from Bolga South-West Circuit for the study.

The sampling techniques used in the study were the purposive, simple random and convenience sampling. The Junior High Schools in the circuit were purposively selected from many Kindergartens, Primary Schools and other JHS because the study was focused on only public JHS. Through convenience sampling, six (6) JHS namely Aningazanga, Adabase, Anowaam S.D.A, Baptist, Kalbeo-Tindonosobligo and Ayuusi-Yine were selected. The six (6) schools were selected from a total of twenty-one (21) schools made up of seven (7) Kindergartens, six (6) Primary schools and eight (8) JHS.

After a convenience sampling was used to select the six (6) schools, a simple random sampling was also used to select teachers in the schools to form the sample for the study. Lists of names of all teachers in each of the six (6) schools were made. This was further arranged alphabetically and the first ten (10) names for one school and then the first eight (8) names for the five remaining schools were selected to constitute the sample.

Sixty percent (60 %) of the sample was male and forty percent (40%) was female. The sample was dominated by males because majority of the teachers in the circuit were males, thus, making the males to have a higher probability of being selected through the random sampling process. This selection process worked well because it was done through the simple random sampling process. The table below shows the sample of the selected schools and teachers for the study. . The researcher employed a structured questionnaire to gather data.

4.0 Findings/ Discussion

The discussion of the data and findings from the research work is here presented. The discussion was done based on themes. Tabular expressions of the views as were given by the respondents have been done.

4.1 Understanding instructional time management practices

On instructional time management practices, majority of the teachers indicated that they had an understanding of “Instructional Time Management” in education. The table below indicates responses from the teachers on the understanding of “Instructional Time Management”.

Table 1: Teachers' views on their understanding of Instructional Time Management

RESPONSES	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Strongly Agree (SA)	20	40
Agree (A)	28	56
Disagree (DA)	2	4
Strongly Disagree (SDA)	0	0
Total	50	100

Source: Field data, 2014 Key: A= Agree; SA= Strongly Agree; DA= Disagree; SDA= Strongly Disagree

From Table 1, (20) teachers representing forty percent (40%) indicated “strongly agree, twenty eight (28) indicated agree, two (2) indicated disagree and none indicated strongly disagree respectively to show their levels of understanding of the concept of “Instructional Time Management”.

A sum of SA and A (SA+A) gives 48 respondents (98%) indicating they had a good understanding of instructional time management in education. This is a welcoming situation which was indicative of the professional qualification of the respondents as teachers. This indicates a case of high productivity as teachers, which is in line with Afful – Broni (2004) view that “time management to a greater extent determines an individual’s success or failure in his or her respective organization”. Understanding instructional time management would help teachers to handle instructional time carefully in order to be productive. Also, the awareness of instructional time management among teachers serves as good thing for time management practices which gives focus to workers. This has also been expressed by Jones (2006) when he wrote “Successful time management enables staff to gain a better perspective of pending activities and priorities. Effective time management does not allow for misplaced priorities and wrongful use of time. Some teachers for example use precious time without care for it. If for example, a teacher uses time for rest to go for all night prayers and wants to use teaching time for rest, then, there can be no excuse here.

The two respondents who indicated that they did not have a good understanding of Instructional Time Management were “young teachers” who were engaged by the Municipal Education Directorate to augment/fill the vacancies due to the fact that old and experienced professionally trained teachers were not enough.

4.2 Head teachers time management practices

The head teachers were generally seen by teachers as not guiding them to manage their instructional time as expected. The head teachers failed in providing leadership directions and practices to enhance instructional time management. The table below shows the views of teachers on the time management practices of head teachers in their schools

Table 2: Head Teachers Instructional Time Management Practices

/N	ITEMS	RESPONS			TOTAL
		A	D	F	
					(100)
	My head teacher comes to school early and regularly		8	6	5 0(100)
	I am encouraged by my head teacher to apportion time on various parts of my lessons.		9	8	5 0(100)
	The head teacher of my school insists on pupils going out for breaks and returning to the classroom at the appointed time		7	4	5 0(100)
	Teachers are queried for inadequate management of instructional time by the head teacher of my school.		8	6	5 0(100)
	The head teacher always supervises the switch – over of lessons according to the time table in my school		8	6	5 0(100)
	The head teacher of my school organizes workshops on instructional time management for teachers.	8		6	5 0(100)
	We have a teaching time table which is regularly observed		8	6	5 0(100)

Source: Field data (2014 **Key:** A = Agree; D = Disagree; %A = Percentage of agree; %D = percentage of Disagree

Table 4.2 shows that 48 (96%) of the teachers indicate that their head teachers did not come to school early and regularly, while 2 (4%) of the teachers indicate their head teachers came to school early and regular statement. Forty-nine (98%) of the teachers also disagreed that they were encouraged by their head teachers to apportion time to various parts of their lessons while 1 (2%) of the teachers agreed. Also, 47 (94%) of the teachers indicated their head teachers did not insist on pupils going for breaks and returning to classrooms at the apportioned time with just 3 (6%) of the teachers indicating otherwise.

The table also shows 48 (96%) of teachers disagreed that their head teachers queried them on instructional time management, while 2 (4%) of the teachers indicated they were queried by their head teachers. It can also be seen from the table that, while 48 (96%) of the teachers

disagreed that their head teachers supervised the switch-over of lessons, 2 (4%) of the teachers agreed. Again, the table also shows 2 (4%) of the teachers disagreed that their head teachers organized workshops on instructional time management while 48 (96%) of the teachers agreed. Finally, 47 (94%) of the teachers disagreed they had a teaching time table in their schools with 3 (6%) of the teachers agreeing.

Majority of the teachers indicted that their head teachers did not come to school early and regularly. As a result of this, the head teachers were unable to notice teachers who were not managing their instructional time effectively since they were not early and regular in coming to school. They could not notice the teachers that came to school late, when lessons started and when lessons ended. They were also unable to direct teachers to get pupils organized for lesson early. The head teachers could not ensure that teachers did not spend more than the time allocated for pre-instructional activities such as morning devotion, inspections, silent hour, morning assemble etc came since they came late themselves.

Again, the teachers were not encouraged to report at school for work early since their heads teachers did not come to school early. Teachers knew that if they came to school late, they would not have any problems with their heads. Most of these head teachers therefore failed to teach their subordinates through exemplary life. This is indicative of the fact that these people might not have been appointed as heads of their schools due to their competencies and leadership abilities.

Most head teachers in the study schools also failed to make sure that their teachers apportioned time to various parts of their lessons. These parts included introduction, presentation, evaluation, etc. The teachers indicated that their head teachers though their head teachers marked their lesson notes, they failed to ensure teachers apportioned their time very well. Some of the teachers pointed out that, the head teachers holding personal discussions with teachers on the importance of apportioning time to various parts of their lesson and also on how to apportion time to parts of their lessons could have been very helpful. Other teachers pointed out that some of the head teachers themselves failed to apportion time to parts of their lessons they taught as they were often unable to complete their lessons.

It also emerged from the study that, most of the head teachers did not insist on pupils going out for break and returning to the classroom according to the time allocated. The head teachers never move through the classroom when it was time for break to be sure that pupils were released by teachers. Teachers that were still teaching during break time were never asked to stop and allow the pupils to go out. Most of the head teachers did little to ensure the pupils returned to classrooms after break time. Some of the teachers were of the view that the head teachers could have insisted that teachers should start teaching as soon as the break time was over and also punish pupils who did not return to the classroom five (5) minutes after the break over bell was rang.

Furthermore, it emerged from the study that most of the head teachers never queried their teaching for ineffectively managing instructional time. They did not also supervise the switch – over lessons by teachers according to the time table. Most of the head teachers neither ensured that the bell was rang for lessons to be changed nor moved round to see to it that teachers changed over lessons and also taught effectively.

Most of the respondents indicated that just a few of the head teachers organized workshops on instructional time management for their teachers. It was expected that, due to the apparent importance of instructional time management, workshops were organized and resource persons invited to take teachers through the importance of and to effectively manage their instructional time but this was not the case in most of the schools. It emerged as expected that all the study schools had teaching time tables which were not however regularly observed. The time table indicated when each lesson of the day would start and end. Head teachers were to monitor to ensure the time tables were followed during lessons but most of the head teachers reneged on this responsibility.

4.3 The Impact of Instructional Time Management on Teaching and Learning

The table below expresses summary of responses from teachers on the impact of instructional time management on teaching and learning.

Table 3: The Impact of Instructional Time Management on Teaching and Learning

/N	ITEMS	RESPONS				OTAL
		A	D			
						5
	Providing training on instructional time management is regarded as a support for staff career development	4	8		2	0(100)
	Instructional time management is an important tool for effective teaching and learning.	8	6			0(100)
	Effective instructional time management allows me to cover all/most of the topics in the syllabus.	5	0		0	0(100)
	Instructional time management results in improved academic performance in pupils.	6	2	4		0(100)

Source: Field data (2014). **Key:** A = Agree; D = Disagree; %A = Percentage Agree; %D = Percentage Disagree

Table 4.3 above shows the views of teachers on how effective instructional time management would impact on teaching and learning. Forty four (88%) of the teachers agreed that, providing training in instructional time management is regarded as a support for staff

development while 6 (12%) of the teachers disagreed. Some forty eight (48) representing ninety six percent (96%) of the teachers indicated that instructional time management is an important tool for effective teaching and learning while 2 (4%) of them disagreed. The table also shows 45 (90%) of the teachers agreed that effective instructional time management would allow them to cover all or most of the topics in the syllabus while 5 (10%) of them disagreed. Also 46 (92%) of the teachers agreed that instructional time management would result in improved academic performance in pupils while 4 (8%) of them disagreed.

Respondents were emphatic on the positive impact of effective instructional time management on teaching and learning. Teachers regarded providing training on instructional time management as support for staffs' career development which would empower them to be professionally competent in delivering their teaching activities. Professionalism ensures a possibility of higher result. It was therefore not surprising when majority of the respondents indicated that instructional time management is an important tool for effective teaching and learning. This means if teachers are able to manage their instructional time effectively, they can effectively teach the topics they are expected to teach and this would lead to their learners learning effectively.

The teachers were also emphatic that effective time management would allow them to cover most of if not all topics in their syllabi. They explained that instructional time management curtails spending so much time on few topics at the expense of others. Instructional Time Management makes teachers plan ahead on what to teach and consciously navigate through the planned activities. This therefore cuts excesses. It also cuts out unimportant elements thereby providing focus and direction. Time wasting is directly controlled making it possible for teachers to be able to cover most or all topics on their syllabi.

Furthermore, teachers indicated that instructional time management by teachers would lead to improved academic performance of pupils. This results from the fact that effective instructional time management enables teachers to cover the topics on their syllabi.

Again, since instructional time management makes teachers to plan ahead of time, they would become prepared with appropriate methods and materials for their lessons; this will result in improved academic performance for the pupils.

4.4 Ways of Improving upon Instructional Time Management by Teachers in Schools

On ways of improving upon instructional time management by teachers in schools, the table below presents the views expressed by the respondents.

Table 4: Ways of Improving upon Instructional Time Management by Teachers in Schools

/N	ITEMS	RESPONSES			TOTAL F (%)
		A	D		
	Head teacher's demonstrating concern on teachers' management of instructional time.	0	00		5 0(100)
	Provision of training on instructional time management	0	00		5 0(100)
	Involving teachers in generating ideas on instructional time	9	8		5 0(100)
	Recognizing and rewarding teachers for effective instructional time management	0	00		5 0(100)
	Teachers knowing the work expected of them at a given time	0	00		5 0(100)
	Teachers having the required teaching and learning materials ready for topics to be discussed.	0	00		5 0(100)

Source: Field data (2014). **Key:** A = Agree; D = Disagree; %A = Percentage Agree; % D = Percentage Disagree

From table 4.4 above, all 50 (100%) teachers agreed that it is important for head teachers to demonstrate concern on teacher's management of instructional time. All of them also agreed that providing for training in instructional time management, recognizing and rewarding teachers for effective instructional time management, teachers knowing the work expected of them and teachers having the required teaching and learning materials ready for lessons are ways of enhancing effective instructional time management. Except 1 (2%), all the teachers agreed to involving teachers in generating ideas on instructional time management as a good way to enhance instructional time management.

Head teachers were seen to have important roles in improving or enhancing instructional time management by teachers in schools. Head teachers were expected to demonstrate concern for teachers' management of instructional time. This was expressed by all teacher respondents. Head teachers would therefore be expected to closely monitor how teachers manage their instructional time; pointing out short comings and offering suggestions on how to effectively manage instructional time. Again, head teachers were also expected to provide training or workshops on instructional time management for teachers to expose them to know the importance of instructional time management. Such training or workshops would also equip teachers with the skills or techniques of managing instructional time effectively. Resource

persons invited to the workshops would serve important role in getting teachers to appreciate the importance effective instructional time management.

Head teachers were also expected to involve teachers in generating ideas on instructional time management. This will make the teachers feel part of the process and also share their own ideas on managing instructional time since majority of the teachers indicated they have good understanding of instructional time management in education. This would ensure that the teachers own ideas of managing instructional time which would subsequently ensure the operation of such idea.

Head teachers were also expected to recognize and reward teachers for effective time management. This would motivate these teachers to continue to practice instructional time management in line with many theories on the effect/impact of motivation on learning and productivity.

Teachers also have a role in improving upon instructional time management in their schools. Teachers were expected to know the work expected of them at a given period of time. Teachers having understanding of the volume and nature of the work they have to perform within a given period of time, would help them plan ahead and put measures to effectively manage time. This will also make them allocate time to specific tasks in their work and follow on to observe such timelines. Teachers were also expected to have the required teaching and learning materials for topics. The use of appropriate teaching learning materials has been proven to facilitate quick understanding of concepts and topics. This reduces the use of lengthy time in explaining concepts to pupils thereby avoiding the spending of a lot of time in explaining things to them to understand.

5.0 Summary of findings

The following were the major findings from the study:

1. Teachers had adequate understanding of “Instructional Time Management” in education. A majority percentage of ninety six (96%) of the respondents indicated they have understanding of instructional time management. This expresses professionalism on the part of teachers since in the view of Afful- Broni (2008), effective time management helps individuals to develop a deeper appreciation of the value of time. Vandever and Manfee (2010) also say a good time management system allows workers to keep track of appointments and to organize important aspects of their lives and as well say “no” to projects that don’t fit into your time schedule, don’t fit your values or goals, or compromise your mental or physical health.
2. Head teachers of the study schools did not engage in enough instructional time management practices. Some expected instructional time management practices of head teachers included reporting early at school, ensuring the teachers apportioned time to various parts of their lessons and insisting pupils were to go out for break and return to the classroom according

to the time allocated. Other expected instructional time management practices by head teachers were supervising the switch-over of lessons, querying teachers for ineffective management of instructional time. This will enhance productivity since according to Afful – Broni, (2008), time management to a greater extent determines an individual's success or failure in his or her respective organization. Understanding time in this light helps individuals to handle it carefully in order to be productive in their respective organizations.

3. Effective instructional time management practices have a positive impact on teaching and learning as it allows teachers to cover most if not all the topics on their syllabi, have focus and direction on their teaching, and avoid time wasting. This would lead to improved academic performance for the students. This supports Jones (2006) when he writes "Successful time management enables staff to gain a better perspective of pending activities and priorities. Effective time management does not allow for misplaced priorities and wrongful use of time. Some teachers, for example, use precious time without care for it. If a worker, say, a teacher, uses time for rest to go for "all- night" prayers and wants to use teaching time for rest, there is no excuse here". This finding also supports Berg (1994) when he states that good time management leads to good work performance in the educational context.

4. Head teachers have an important role in improving or enhancing instructional time management among teachers in schools. The head teachers were to organize workshops on instructional time management for teachers and also show concern for teachers' practice of instructional time management.

6.0 Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn from the findings:

1. Head teachers have to carry out the important role they have in ensuring effective time management in schools for teachers would always up to their head teachers for directions and leadership.

2. Head teachers need to have proper understanding of instructional time management. This will better position them to ensure that teachers manage their instructional time effectively.

3. Teachers can achieve great success in their professional practice through effective instructional time management.

4. Teachers can also enhance the academic performance of their pupils through effective instructional time management.

7.0 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings and other issues that emerged from the study, the following recommendations were made:

1. There should be regular workshops on instructional time management for teachers. This will make teachers know the importance of managing their instructional time and how to go about the management of instructional time.
2. Head teachers should be trained to be able to supervise and support teachers in their schools to manage instructional time effectively.
3. Head teachers must motivate teachers to manage instructional time effectively by rewarding teachers who have shown commitment to instructional time management practices.
4. Head teachers should also make it a point to supervise and insist on teachers managing instructional time effectively since people would not likely do the right thing by themselves if left unsupervised.

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The Hermeneutic Dilemma in Thomas More's *Utopia*

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Abstract

Thomas More's Utopia is subject to diverse interpretations on as various levels as the diversity of the literary text. Far from being a simple object, the literary text follows different principles, meanings and connections. The shift from examining the text interpretation to its sign representation reflects the major shift of emphasis in contemporary literary theory and criticism. This paper is structured on these two orientations. The reader of More's Utopia is left guessing as to which parts of the brilliant jeu d'esprit are seriously intended to raise a hermeneutic ambiguity and which are mere paradox. On the one hand, there is an implicit "heuristic method" of great importance to a better understanding of the book. On the other, the explicit content can be better examined through the "scholastic method" which, "though only implicit in the work, used by More to make his criticism of the world created by an abuse of that method all the more ironical".¹ The present paper focuses on the hermeneutic dilemma of More's Utopia. The text interpretations that step outside the structural poetics suggest that, as a humanist, More establishes a distance between him and his own text through the use of irony and satire. Only after a postmodern reading of the text will apparent clarities of statement turn into delightful puzzles or vexatious anxieties of interpretation. This relative plethora of interpretations of Utopia is true and the themes, the dialogues and the language use are symbolic of it.

Keywords: Utopia, Post/Structural Poetics, Mimetic/Rhetorical Symbolism, Postmodernism Hermeneutic, Dilemma.

¹ P. Albert Duhamel, « Medievalism of More's *Utopia* », *Studies in Philology*, Volume III, N° 2, April, 1955, p. 99.

Utopia's Post/Structural Poetics

For a long time, literary works have often been regarded as the products of the author's life and expression of his/her inner self. However, with the introduction of modern and postmodern criticism, their focus turned to the structure of the text, giving it a primary and unusual prominence over any other element and belittling the role of the author to that of the organization of the pre-existing material. Roland Barthes stipulates that the main function of the author is the organization of material which obviously existed before him.² In a similar vein, Barthes and the other structuralists (Greimas, Genette, Todorov ...), are chiefly concerned with the literary devices which make all surface phenomena belong to some structural system whether or not we are consciously aware of what that system is. This Modern literary criticism dismisses any external factors and focuses mainly on the text and its structures. It shows how words work together to produce a meaning solely conveyed by the structure. Realizing the crucial aspect of studying the text's structure very closely, structuralists have diligently attempted to generate definite roles of structures. In this context, Peter Barry refers to Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* stating that: "the individual item is structuralized, or contextualized by structure". (*Beginning Theory* 48) Structuralists, then, moved beyond the classical 'liberal humanist' interpretation of a literary text:

The most basic difference between the liberal humanist and structuralist reading is that the structuralist's comments on structure, symbol and design, become paramount and are the main focus of the commentary, while the emphasis on any wider moral significance, and indeed on interpretation itself in the broad sense, is very much reduced. So instead of going straight into the content, in the liberal humanist manner, the structuralist presents a series of parallels, echoes, reflections, patterns, and contrasts, so that the narrative becomes highly schematized, is translated, in fact, into what we might call a "verbal diagram". (Barry 52)

Barry's observation enriches our understanding of what he calls a 'liberal humanist manner' to interpret literature. This method introduces a range of underlying parallels with the structures of language or what he calls the 'structural system'. To expose these parallels between the structure and its ideological background which is visible in More's text, is to set up different hermeneutic tools than those used by the ancient 'liberal humanist' and the structuralist critical approach. My contention is that poststructuralism has shared set of ideas that inverse the previous assumptions and provides a different notion of relation between text, discourse and context.

Thus, the text should be read as symptomatic of the discourse's internal tensions. More's *Utopia* should be read against its explicit assertions and argumentation in order to expose the problems it hides and the contradictions it tries to resolve. This textual analysis focuses on the fissures between explicit content and literary embodiment which may be expressed in various ways: contradictions in the structure of the argument or paradoxes that stem from it; the fictional imagery to conceal the real problems; gaps between the rhetorical or metaphoric aspects of the text and its content. This rule will ultimately help to better grasp the meanings unfolded in *Utopia*. Most importantly, it accounts for the hermeneutic dilemma

² R. Barthes, *Le bruissement de la langue*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1984.

which requires a re-reading of More's text stretching out the modern and postmodern approaches of, among others, Deconstruction and Marxism, because they conflate the text to discourse and context.

Read from this angle, More's *Utopia* invites to the fundamental dynamics of its divergent interpretations wavering between the syntagmatic relations of its particular structures and the associative relations specific to a collective way of thinking. The images implemented in the explicit argumentation of the text provide a utopian vision to the wor(l)d. The central contention in this study is that there is a hidden level of meaning including contradictions to the central notion of More's humanism and inversed plows of the humanist discourse.

Utopia comprises two books. In the first one the use of dialogue tends to show a varied range of discussions on government and society between various speakers or *personae*.³ Each character has his individual point of view. These characters are, Peter Giles, Hythloday, and the *persona* More who may or may not represent the views of More the writer. The formal structure of Thomas More's *Utopia* may seem simple at first sight. The book, however, is another form of Plato's legacy and influence. It comprises two books, the first of which contains, in the form of a dialogue between the *persona* More and an imaginary traveller, Raphael Hythloday, a sharp criticism of English social conditions, the enclosure movement, the penal code and the existing pattern of international relations and the lack of council for the kings and princes as it is observed in the following passage:

The most part for all princes have more delight in warlike matters and feats of chivalry (the knowledge whereof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace, and employ much more study how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than how well and peaceable to rule and govern that they have already. (*Utopia* 22)

As it is inferred above, the dramatic setting of More's *Utopia* occurs in times of social upheaval related to the tumultuous foreign affairs and the idleness of the noble class in More's era. This situation is clearly opined in this extract:

These gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. (*Utopia*, 25)

Book I, therefore, focuses on the evils of European society and deals with the question very pertinent to the situation of More at the time of writing *Utopia*, as to suggest that humanists should become involved with royal politics:

For I am sure there is no prince living, that would not be very glad of you, as a man not only able highly to delight him with your profound learning and this your knowledge of countries and peoples, but also meet to instruct him with examples and help him with counsel. (*Utopia* 21)

³ D. M. Bevington, "The Dialogue in *Utopia*: Two Sides to the Question", p. 496

In Book II a social commentary is made to ponder on the predicament of post-Renaissance era and to foreshadow the idealistic solutions that would be presented through the account of the utopians. In the form of a lengthy tale related by Hythloday, book II is a description of the social, economic, political and religious conditions of the Isle of Nowhere, Utopia. Indeed, there were new perspectives propounded by a mercantile spirit in the 16th century Europe which was ridden with wars, social and religious tensions. At that era, the Renaissance humanist views of Erasmus and More flourished to enhance a social and political improvement to achieve collective welfare. The humanists' presuppositions are that "the human world was a world made by men". Their "actual intellectual activities thus legitimately belonged to their specific milieus, traditions, interests and ideologies" and this "notion of knowledge also constituted the theoretical basis for the *vita activa*, which in turn served to legitimate the humanist's pursuits of public careers".⁴

Apart from the social welfare, the structural poetics of Utopia includes an ethical humanist perspective. The conversation of More with Giles in Book I is a representation of the sixteenth century Christian idealism which blends classical utopian thought set forth by Plato in his *Republic* with the beliefs and practices of Christians. Though at first sight they seem similar, the structure of Plato's *Republic* and More's *Utopia* are different. Plato's treatise is a philosophical work discussing abstract notions such as the soul, justice, virtue, etc. His ideal city is not to be thought of as an actuality or even as a practical possibility. It didn't aim at defining the perfect state. Plato used the state as a large scale picture of the soul in his search for the perfect soul. He projected the soul on the ideal state. Therefore, there is a difference between a "discursive" philosophical argument about an ideal city of Plato's *Republic* and a circumstantial description of utopian society in More's *Utopia* as the author claims in Book I:

For whereas your Plato judgeth that weal-publics shall by this means attain perfect felicity, either if philosophers be kings, or else if kings give themselves to the study of philosophy, how far, I pray you, shall commonwealths then be from this felicity, if philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsel?. (*Utopia*, 41)

The most common observation that historians of philosophy make about *Utopia* is that Thomas More wrote the book in imitation of Plato's *Republic*. But while there is some truth to this claim, it is a misleading statement. It gives the impression that either solely or primarily refers to the *Republic* and suggests that it was the only or at least the major Platonic dialogue that affected More. In addition, the differences between the two works are of great importance for a better understanding of these texts. For Plato as for More the ideal state represents a model how to solve and/or to criticize the society's flaws taking into account the following aspects: economical upheavals, communication and politics. They created societies in which these weaknesses, according to them, are solved so that the society will run smoothly and the cities will remain happy. Yet, critics such as Paul Turner, opines that: "Many have found it impossible to believe that *Utopia* is really offered as a model of perfection, or that More is

⁴ Hanan Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters*, United Kingdom, Lexington Books, 2010, p. 35.

seriously recommending the Utopian way of life.”⁵ The crystallization of such an attitude has been carried further through the exhaustive efforts to define the utopian literary text as a genre. It conflates the distinctions between More’s utopian world and Plato’s ideal republic:

Many specialists and utopian scholars alike have reached the conclusion that the utopian texts they have submitted to careful analysis have seemed to evade the genre typology one would have them fit (...) Actually, his (More’s) book epitomizes very accurately this shift between spatio-temporal trends. On the other, if one follows the structure “No place” may represent T. More’s actual society and the “good place”, his utopian Island. Thus, stressing even more the ambiguous element i.e., the reality of his illusion and the unreality precisely of reality.⁶

The form of *Utopia* is conceived as a hybrid representation that stimulates the critics’ divergent interpretations. As a literary text, *Utopia* is regarded as: “so complex and many-sided subject (...) its origins, its development and its uses as a type of social theory (shows its) distinctiveness as a literary form put to the service of social analysis and social criticism.”⁷ This distinct literary genre comprises two parts: part dialogue and part dramatic monologue. The stylistic device of questioning and answering is used as a literary form inherited from ancient Greek works. This form of monologue marks the ideal imaginary republic of *Utopia*. It is clearly structured as formal oration called by Hexter the “discourse on Utopia” and is preceded by the dialogue of book I called, also by, “dialogue of counsel”.⁸ In this part More introduces both himself (*persona* More) and Peter Giles together with Raphael Hythloday, as characters. The dialogue in Book I and the concluding pre-oration the “Sermon on Pride” given at the end of book II provide a contextual frame for the “discourse on Utopia” in book II. (Hexter 1973) As a rhetorical tool, the dialogue or the “verbal diagram”, to borrow Peter Barry’s term, is not only meant to answer the questions and to highlight the author’s inner mind. In each of his stories, Hythloday, for example, concentrates on deconstructive aspects of the European social and political order. It seems that this conception of an ideal society is implemented to question and to examine before doing anything to reform. Talking about the situation of the thieves, Hythloday admits that:

Neither there is any punishment so horrible that it can keep them from stealing which have no other craft whereby to get their living. Therefore in this point not only but also the most part of the world be like evils schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars”. (*Utopia*, 25)

The discourses of the utopian outlets are cynical and critical and their hermeneutic dilemma undergirds the gaps and contradictions of More’s society. These reflect an intellectual vision implied by More’s general claims showing that the utopian discourse is not simply a critique of sixteenth-century Europe but rather an embodiment of his testimony of the moral, social, and political utility of the humanist intellectual premises. Though history of

⁵ *Utopia*, Penguin Books Introduction, Paul Turner, 1965, p. 11.

⁶ Sadok Bouhlila, *Modern Dystopian Fiction: Genesis, Typology, Evaluation*, Manouba Faculty of Arts Publications, 1990, p. 40.

⁷ Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism*, Open University Press: Milton Keynes, 1991, p. vii.

⁸ Hexter, J. H., *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation: More, Machiavelli and Seyssel*, London: Allen Lane, 1973.

philosophy reveals that More was a Renaissance Neo-Platonist, it is likely that he was an “ideal Christian”, to borrow Baxter’s term, who uses the classical philosophy to show Utopia’s new facets for a perfect Christendom. Thus, *Utopia* elucidates the central role of ancient philosophy in clarifying how:

In contrast to the medieval scholastic philosophers and theologians—with whom the humanists struggled for cultural hegemony—the views elaborated by Erasmus were not primarily derived from eternal metaphysical and religious truths. The Erasmian humanist (More), in other words, did not produce knowledge and instruct society from a transcendent sphere. The Erasmian humanist was therefore a modern universal intellectual, perhaps the first universal intellectual. (Yoran, 2010: 2)

The above statement urges to open the horizon to a postmodern reading of More’s text. In this context, Derrida claims that “the text overturns all the limits assigned to it”.⁹ This dimension is reinforced by the heterogeneity of conflictual meanings that inhabit any text. Moreover, ‘the fabric of traces’ is a further linguistic argument that shapes Derrida’s view of the text. Read from this angle, ‘the fabric of traces’ in More’s *Utopia* helps to properly understand the significance of his ‘borrowings’. In this context, one may wonder why More wrote *Utopia* with such a heavy dependence on ancient philosophy if he aspired to create new instruments in a struggle for intellectual hegemony at that time?

Visibly, More’s *Utopia* is intrinsically related to Plato’s *Republic*. He drew heavily on Plato. It is the nature of the Renaissance texts to be neo-classical and thus indebted to Greek philosophy. Yet, even on the structural level one may notice that More is distanced from Plato. He intended to make it clear from the start that he turned from Plato’s connotations:

The ancients called me utopia or nowhere because of my isolation. At present, however, I am a rival of Plato’s *Republic*, perhaps even a victor over it. The reason is that what he has delineated in words, I alone have exhibited on men and resources and laws of surpassing excellence. Deservedly ought I to be called by the name of Eutopia or happy land.¹⁰

Aware of the *Republic*’s style, More wanted his book to be deliberately different from it. He painted his work with a description of an existing state. Moreover, More’s text appeals to the general reader. Hence, the plot leaves the reader doubtful about whether to take the content seriously or not: « When Raphael had made an end of his tale (...) I need confess and grant that many things be in the Utopian weal-public which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope for ». (*Utopia*, 138) “Utopia”, indeed, is a term that allows a suggestion of doubt as to how seriously More should take what we read. Thus, by the end of the book most readers are concerned with just that dilemma, wondering if More intends to make the reader think of it all, whether he was joking or in earnest. Similarly, the seemingly purposeful expansiveness of the title, “Utopia”, introduces a series of dualism or oppositions which raises the hermeneutic dilemma that we may accept without suspicion.¹¹ Its polyphonic tone addresses the reader

⁹ In Royle Nicholas. « *What is Deconstruction ?*. Jacques Derrida. London: Routledge, 2003, p. 8.

¹⁰ Thomas More, *Utopia*, London: David Campbell Publishers Ltd., 1992.

¹¹ Any utopian politics lie in the dialectic of Hegel’s “Identity and Difference”. See G. W. F. Hegel, *Encyclopaedia Logic*, Book Two, “Essence”, Oxford, 1975, p. 1817.

using two “narrators” or speakers involved in the debate. This frames the story telling in *Utopia* along with the notoriously vexing aspect of the work linked to the uncertainty as to how far one may take Thomas More as being in sympathy with the views expressed by his fictional traveler Raphael Hythloday. In this context, *Utopia* suggests manifold meanings that convey satire. This type of satirical texts “are understood as utterances which are inextricably bound up with context of situation, with participants in discourse and with frameworks of knowledge.”¹² Moreover, “More” the *persona* is the one who takes part in the fictional discussion and it is clear that More the author wants to distance himself from this figure as fictional, not necessarily to be identified with the Thomas More of real life. While More has the same name as Sir Thomas More, the pronoun of « I » implemented in the text of *Utopia* is « he ». It’s a subtle clue that while More bears his name and perhaps some of his views, Hythloday (the « he » who is also « I ») embodies aspects of Sir Thomas More’s beliefs and ideas. In fact, one of the lessons the structure of More’s book teaches is the distinction between the fictional image and the factual one; between hypothesis and possibility. Indeed, during More’s life, the power of the word was hugely increased:

Humanist concerns with the word have a strong moral and political dimension; questions of authorship, of authority, of the power of rhetoric, of the responsibilities accompanying the knowledge which brings such power, were urgent in the increasingly secular world which Erasmus and More and their fellows addressed with such anxiety that the spirit should not be lost to the letter, or the conceptual be buried the material”. (*Utopia*, 1992: xiv)

The varied range of interpretations of the book leads to its hermeneutic dilemma and throws such a responsibility of judgment on the reader’s shoulder. This sheds new light on how to instigate *Utopia* which is embedded in the context of More’s particular humanist reformation vision rather than belonging to an enclosed self-sufficient realm of literature, as the structuralists substantiate in their arguments. Moreover, by the very ordering of the literary structure and devices (dialogue, parallels to ancient writing, ideology, irony, satire, etc.), More did not induce the truth for the reader who should deduce the truth at his own through the act of reading: “Just as the hidden God, who will always remain hidden, provokes us to try to uncover the veil, to discover perfect truth and perfect morality, so utopia’s ‘nowhereness’ incites the search for it”.¹³

More’s *Utopia* sets up the paradigm of the novel’s literary settings and structures using both a realistic tone to represent the real world and a fictional one to stir the reader’s ethos. The adaptation of More’s neo-classical text to the spirit of the age is meant to make it suitable for a new purpose or situation. In this context, Barthes assumes that adaptation is a ‘writerly’ activity deployed for ‘readerly’ ends.¹⁴ Barthes demonstrates that the novel’s reading transforms life into destiny, souvenirs into utile act and duration into a significative and effective time: « L’acte littéraire, suprêmement ambigu, n’accouchait d’une création consacrée par la société qu’au moment où il a réussi à détruire la densité existentielle d’une

¹² Paul Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire: Towards a Stylistic Model of Satirical Humour*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003, p. 1.

¹³ Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism*, Open University Press: Milton Keynes, 1991, p.3.

¹⁴ Barthes Roland, *Image-Music-Text*, London: Fontana Press, 1977.

durée jusqu'alors sans signification ». ¹⁵ This brings to the importance of the reader's reception of More's symbolism and his ability to realize how his narrative is set in stark contrast with the notion of mimicry to ancient literary ethos. The hermeneutic dilemma, however, depends for its effectiveness, on the belief *in* and exploitation *of* the difference and distance between words or events and their contexts.

***Utopia's* Mimetic /Rhetorical Symbolism:**

As it is clearly inferred from the start, this study adopts a resolutely bimodal aspect of reading fluctuating between the intrinsic and the extrinsic schools of criticism in order to avoid a prejudicial breaking up of the approach clarity. This second part shows how *Utopia* is a characteristically open-ended humanistic exercise, educative in its form and content. It flees the ancient method of the authoritative "authorial" voice telling to the reader what to think. It ponders on the conjecture that "Utopia is a variegated project, the meeting place of many purposes and many disciplines of thought. The richness of its resources gives it great capacity for survival, and revival". (Kumar, vii) The author's vision to the wor(l)d suggests his humanist view about an ideal society, dreams of perfection or rational efforts to remake man's environment to achieve "the best state of commonwealth". Other interpretations are also generated by the flourishing provisions of literary theory and criticism that require new modalities to re-visit a literary text:

By the contemporary discovery of the symbolic and following the emergence of psychoanalysis, of structuralism in linguistics and anthropology, of semiotics together with its new field of "narratology", of communications theory, and even of such events as the emergence of a politics of "surplus consciousness" (Rudolf Bahro) in the 1960s, we have come to feel that abstract ideas and concepts are not necessarily intelligible entities in their own right. ¹⁶

According to R. S. Sylvester, "The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More is a book which has meant many different things to many different men". ¹⁷ The notion of 'utopia' conjures up with a postmodern approach of its mimetic and a rhetorical symbolism. From a mimetic symbolism perspective, we have observed that More's *Utopia* is located within the broader context of the sixteenth-century Greek revival in England. In fact, More and the other humanists in England such as Erasmus became the first Englishmen to learn Greek and to make a polemical point of preferring Greece to Rome. ¹⁸ During the period of *Utopia's* preparation and publication, responding to opponents of the new Greek learning, Erasmus and his disciples launched a particularly energetic attack on Roman philosophy. It is argued that *Utopia* intervenes in this quarrel by dramatizing a confrontation between the values of the Roman republican tradition and those of a rival commonwealth theory based on Greek ethics. *Utopia* suggests a rhetorical

¹⁵ Barthes Roland, *Le degré zéro de l'écriture*, Éditions du Seuil, 1991, p. 32.

¹⁶ Frederic Jameson, "Progress Versus Utopia; or, Can We Imagine the Future?", *Science Fiction Studies*, 9 1982, p. 147

¹⁷ R. S. Sylvester, "'Sir Hythlodæo Credimus': Vision and Revision in Thomas More's *Utopia*", *Soundings* 51, 1968, 272-289.

¹⁸ J. H. Hexter, *More's Utopia: The Biography of an Idea*, Princeton, 1952; George M. Logan, *The meaning of More's Utopia*, Princeton, 1983.

symbolism which is, when seen from a Roman perspective, its Greek advice looks like 'nonsense'. But, for More, that 'nonsense' yields the 'best state of a commonwealth'.¹⁹

Another mimetic symbolism in *Utopia* that has one foot in More's reality is his defense of religious freedom to promote civic peace in Christendom and to help unify his fractious Catholic Church. In doing so, he sets forth a plan for managing church-state relations that is a precursor to liberal approaches in this area. Indeed, the origins of modern religious freedom in Protestant theology and its first mature articulation are located in Locke's *A Letter on Toleration*. Nevertheless, *Utopia* shows that modern religious freedom has Catholic, Renaissance roots. The symbolic utopian religious freedom attempts to consider the much vexed question of whether More actually favored this principle. It also presents the historical context for More's analysis, his rationale for religious freedom, its effects on utopian religion and politics. This strategy for promoting religious reform in Europe is expanded upon in this statement:

"The 'radical' interpretation of *Utopia* takes Utopian communism very seriously indeed, viewing the second book of More's work as a blueprint for the ideal society; on the other hand, what might be called the 'conservative' school of opinion sees the work as a delightful trifle that should be valued primarily for its witty satire on Western Europe, but which is by no means to be viewed as offering a concrete program for social reform".²⁰

Utopia engulfs a socialist vision and to a considerable extent a Marxist socialist vision far in advance of its time. Indeed, Marxist works and thoughts provide the reader with practical presuppositions of an ideal state. Marx constructed a link between economics and intellectual sphere. The Marxist theory generates a dialectic image to a divided society in two parts, so to speak, the economic "Base" and "Superstructure". The economic base has a corresponding superstructure which consists of social, political and cultural dimensions of human life. Marx claims that: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."²¹ More's *Utopia*, therefore, seems to be located within the history of Britain and its accompanying development of a British national consciousness. From a Marxist reading the book seems to be a precursor articulation of communism in a practical form as it provides a clear denunciation of feudal society.

However, More's political and economic opinions make the reader wonder if he himself is against common ownership of property. The polemical conflict between these two factions show how in the context of the modern world, there is a discrepancy between the assumed proportions of ideological heritage: the humanist beliefs and the Christian ethics.²² In this

¹⁹ The satirical interpretation of *Utopia* ponders on both the content and the form, synchronic and diachronic reading of the book; among others we mention: Heiserman, "Satire in the *Utopia*", *PMLA*, 78, 1963, 163-174; Elliott, "The Shape of *Utopia*", *ELH*, 30, 1963, 317-334; Johnson, *More's Utopia: Ideal and Illusion*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

²⁰ Mannheim K., *Ideology and Utopia*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

²¹ Marx, Karl. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Chicago: C.H. Kerr Publishing, 1904. Print, p. 11.

²² R. S. Sylvester, "'Sir Hythlodæo Credimus': Vision and Revision in Thomas More's *Utopia*", *Soundings* 51, 1968, p. 272.

context, More creates a rhetorical image which corroborates an idealistic nation based on an egalitarian government. His spokesperson, Hythloday, describes and evaluates utopian politics and social values, including attitudes toward money, work, land ownership, punishment of crime, and poverty. This mimetic symbolism delivers to the reader can many parallels between Utopian society and the sociopolitical structure in 16th-century England during the reign of King Henry VIII. The reader may also discern More's attitude toward his contemporary political situations as well as social laws and customs in Tudor England. For instance, the author refers to the dangers of enclosures (which inevitably led to poverty, unemployment, and crime), the unfairness of capital punishment for theft, the problems that might ensue from the foreshadowing emergence of capitalism, and the inequitableness of the wide disparity that existed between the wealthy and the poor. However, More speaks about the mitigation of evil rather than cures it. He mixes the two perspectives of a mimetic symbolism of 16th-century England and a rhetorical symbolism of an idealistic and fictitious nation (Utopia), whose the exact location is unknown: "For it didn't occur to us to ask, nor to him (Hythloday) to say", (*Utopia*, 35), his ideas and work of art transcend time and are thus valid in today's society.

These mimetic images included in *Utopia* have grown the problematic dilemma of its interpretation which is armed with suspicion concerning the amalgam between the explicit argumentation and the rhetorical symbolism in the text. It explores the hypothesis that the work is primarily and generically a conscious and consistent work of satire.²³ This satiric approach has inevitably generated a good deal of controversy in critical circles, denying as it does the basic assumption of Catholic and Marxist critics alike that *Utopia* is essentially and fundamentally a serious socio-philosophical document tinged only occasionally with topical satire.

This model operates from "the premise that satire is a discursive practice". (Simpson, 2003: 8) Satire requires a *genus*, which is a derivation in a particular culture, in a system of institutions and in the frameworks of belief and knowledge which envelop and embrace these institutions (*Ibid*). It also requires an impetus, which emanates from a perceived disapprobation, by the satirist, of some aspect of a potential satirical target (*Ibid*). As a "discursive practice", satire is configured as a triad embodying three discursive subject positions which are subject to constant shift and (re)negotiation. These are the satirist (the producer of the text), the satiree (an addressee (whether reader, viewer or listener) and the satirized (the target attacked or critiqued in the satirical discourse). This target is "what provides the initial impetus for satire." (Simpson, 8) With satire and the intrusion of an ironic vein, the ambiguity and the desire to escape from the reality towards the fictional/utopian world, the hermeneutic complexity of More's text comes to the fore. This procedure allows elucidating the referential value with which the author integrates these tensions in his imaginary universe.

Examining More's multidisciplinary manuscripts "owing to the author's wide range of interests from politics, economics and education to warfare and social relations" (Bouhlia,

²³ Warren W. Wooden, "Anti-Scholastic Satire in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Volume VIII, Supplement (1977).

26), shows how his humanist ethics explore man's existence and how the "self-image of Utopia is indeed misleading". (Yoran, 165) The focus on the mimetic and the rhetorical dimensions encountered by the reader to understand More's text, makes it subjugated to diverse versions of interpretations. The rhetorical symbolism is important to complete the utopian form with its utopian ethos. Consequently, it is primordial to read the text *in* the grain of its explicit position and *against* it, to be able to uncover the metaphorical traces of its repressed strains and contradictions. In the *The Rule of Metaphor* Ricoeur argues that because of the linguistic productive imagination meaning is generated and regenerated through the power of metaphoricity to state things in new ways.²⁴ As a rhetorical modality, metaphor is symptomatic of the discursive interpretations of *Utopia* that have been laden with its diverse rhetorical and content connotations.

The utopian social order is actually based on discipline, control and supervision. The striking manifestations of this radical uniformity are shown through the Utopia's fifty-four cities which be all set and situate alike, and in all points fashioned alike" except where geography itself makes a difference. (58) So are the "garments, which throughout all the island be one fashion (...) and this one continueth for evermore unchanged, no let to the moving and wielding of the body, also fit both for winter and summer". (66) The examples are numerous to be cited and all of them prove that the radical change remains at the level of dismantling the social distinctions and differences. They show a tendency to abolish the private property and aristocracy, but goes further to eliminate the differences and distinctions between the citizens that are not directly linked to the social problems (to choose the dress color or to express individuality). These insights are contradictory to the humanist intellectual premises and to the rhetorical image of *Utopia* itself, which is committed to epitomize the welfare of its citizens.

The combination between the postmodern intrinsic and extrinsic readings of *Utopia* attribute to the genre the "best" means to offer some reasonable assumptions about external reality and human nature. As a literary genre *Utopia* has conveyed an ideological issue through an unusual destiny for its literary form. Just as the literary value of its form is subject to permanent doubt, also its literary ethos is also ambiguous. The fluctuations of its rhetorical discursiveness do nothing to resolve this variability. Obviously, it is also not a matter of taste or individual judgment:

More's Utopians are peace-loving people, but their land was born to controversy. Many claim it: Catholic and Protestants, medievalists and moderns, socialists and communists; and a well-known historian has recently turned it over to the Nazis. Methods of legitimating claims vary widely, although most are necessarily based upon ideological interpretations of More's book.²⁵

More combines the disparate ideological imagery with the textual representation that holds to a fluctuating rhetorical symbolism. *Utopia*, therefore, transcends the mimetic representation of reality through its rhetorical discursiveness. This gap between "the rhetoric of the text and the reality it depicts is an indication of a repressed problem (...) Utopia is not happy, to say

²⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 1975.

²⁵ R. C. Elliott, "The Shape of Utopia", *ELH*, Vol. 30, N°. 4, December, 1963, p. 317.

the least, with a disruption of the routine pattern of life". (Yoran, 168) This contradiction between the explicit representation of the utopian reality and the rhetorical discursiveness of *Utopia* is one of the most interpretive zone that illustrate the profound hermeneutic dilemma. These ambiguities must be accounted for and elaborated so that the textual aporias and contradictions should be related to humanist discourse.

Partly through the diachronic analysis of the text and the synchronic analysis of More's exegeses as a humanist thinker, postmodern criticism accounts for circumstances that determine the literary ethos of the work of art. Attributing to *Utopia* this hermeneutic dilemma is subsequently generated through its "emphasis on fantasy (which) is paradoxically combined, as in modern science fiction, with an emphasis on realism" (*Utopia*, 1965: 9). In this context, Raphael Hythloday, for example, or: "Raphael Nonsenso is introduced into a genuinely autobiographical passage describing More's visit to Flanders in 1515, and tells his story in the presence of Peter Giles, who was in fact the Town Clerk of Antwerp" (*Utopia*: 1965, 9). This bimodal symbolism fluctuating between realism and fantasy derives from its justifiable referents to reality: (characters, time, space, etc.). The foreign policy is also an illustrative example showing that the unattractive practices and institutions seem to be the price paid for the security and self-sufficiency of the commonwealth. (77-99) This all-important goal may be achieved on the expense of the freedom and the individuality of the citizens. They can be compromised to achieve the egalitarian and the stable social order.

Another rhetorical modality is linked to the utopian form theory as articulated in the influential sixteenth-century literary texts and in the pedagogical theory transmitted by the Christian ethics and the humanist project. These circumstances of the prose conception and composition illustrate very well More's own situation, some aspects of his life and the factual condition of human nature in general. Thus the humanist writers concern themselves with:

The word and have a strong moral and political dimension; questions of authorship, of authority, of the power of rhetoric, of the responsibilities accompanying the knowledge which brings such power, were urgent in the increasingly secular world which Erasmus and More and their fellows addressed with such anxiety that the spirit should not be lost to the letter, or the conceptual be buried beneath the material. (*Utopia*, Penguin xiv)

More's *Utopia* seems to be fully appreciated because of the formative influence this activity had on humanism. Utopian moral philosophy does not hold to the fact that human nature is intrinsically evil, or even that men and women are more inclined to evil than to good. It goes beyond the human essence investigation to reveal some latent premises peculiar to the English humanism. Vanity, for instance, is assumed to be the root of evil. Yet, it is extrinsic to the human nature i.e., a product of specific social environment. This hermeneutic dilemma is a result of the contingent product of historical and social forces diffused in a utopian world. The collective destiny imagined by the humanist reformer can be deduced by the reader in contrast to an aristocratic mode of thought, which advocated individualism, imperialism and the inductive authorial voice. Consequently, this text is so often taken to be the expression of ideological opinions (linked to politics, religion and economy) that there is something to be said for redressing it to a resolutely formalist way. Thus, It is not only the social and historical raw materials of the Utopian construct which are of interest from this perspective, but also the

representational relations established between them, as it is shown above: closure, narrative and ellipses or inversion. This claim is one of the components of Derrida's Deconstruction stating that language is much more slippery and ambiguous than we realize. It is not transparent (the use the figures of speech and idioms...). Language is by nature rhetorical and this fact denies the possibility of a straightforward, literal and referential use of language. The mental life consists not of concepts but of fleeting, continually changing play of signifiers.²⁶

In *Utopia* the rhetorical symbolism is most revealing of what is said, but what cannot be said, what does not act on the narrative apparatus. If there is general consensus on *Utopia*'s central theme, noteworthy, is the range of opinions concerning More's position in the controversy. Was he joyously playing with both satirical and hence absurd claims? Though *Utopia* is often considered to be a reflection on the conflict between the 'ancient' and the 'modern' worlds, yet, the seeming contradictions in the book unveil that it is interpreted as either concerned with egalitarian/liberty or as its opposite, 'totalitarianism'. It is precisely this crafty perspective that yields utopia's philosophical/rhetorical lustre. More uses contradictions on purpose in order to achieve the fictionality of its hermeneutic dilemma, even if this is built on reality.²⁷ There is, thus, for the reader, an early test of judgment to confirm the credibility of the narrative, and on the other hand, to undermine that assurance with broad hints at its fictionality. Governing the contribution of such items to the structure and purpose of More's book is, in fact, a process by which the reader, as the recipient of an instructive/ diverting experience, is led on the realm of moving from illusion to opinion, to belief. This aims at examining progress and, inevitably, denying absolute knowledge. The reader discovers at times with amusement and sometimes with dismay, what slender evidence decides his acceptance of reality or fiction. He is torn between the two codes of the factual and the fictional that meant to attain his amusement and interest:

Utopia presents two distinct worlds that occupy the same textual space while insisting upon the impossibility of their doing so. We can neither separate them entirely nor bring them into accord so that the intellectual gratification of radical discontinuity is as impossible to achieve as the pleasure of wholly integrated form.²⁸

The relationship between realism and make-believe is a complex one; through the utopian realism that reveals certain natural human weakness and vices necessitate social control. For example, More justifies the impact of poverty on human conditions in England of that era which make people steal because of necessity while others work to make the aristocracy (gentlemen and noblemen) lead an idle life. More argues that the horrible punishments against the thieves should be replaced by:

²⁶ Derrida Jacques, « Structures, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences. » *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Ed: David Lodge. 2nd ed. United States: Pearson Education Ltd., 1988. 89-103.

²⁷ Jaleddine Bousseadra, "Some Reflections on Utopia and Dystopia". In *Utopias*, Manouba University Publications, 2010, p. 72.

²⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, London, University of Chicago Press, 1984, p. 22.

Some means whereby they might get their living, so that no man should be driven to this extreme necessity, first to steal and then to die"; "these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their living. (*Utopia*, 25)

One device by which More suggests his meaning is that of literary illusory where the hermeneutic dilemma comes to the fore. Any suggested interpretation is not an act that would be disconnected with *Utopia*'s ethos; the literary, philosophical, rhetorical traditions express the spirit of the age. This is not a book which tells the reader what to think, it rather shows that it is necessary to think. It is full of illusive certainties and subtle doubleness. Virtue and vice are displayed through the medium of words: "the most prominent words here are those expressing the concepts of "nobility, magnificence, worship, honour, and majesty". It is in "the common opinion" that these are "the true ornaments and honours ... of a commonwealth". (*Utopia*: 1965, xxiii) The reader's responsibility is to decipher the distinction between morality and reality: the ideal abstractions and earthly adaptations, compromises, corruptions, abuses and misuses, resolve (not reduce) complexity into simplicity. Then, they reform "the common opinion" which all humanity must share to understand any project to move on the structural/rhetorical poetics of social forms in order to achieve the 'best state of a commonwealth'.

In the ultimate analysis, the structural/rhetorical interpretations show how More exposes himself to his reader through the parallelism between reality and expectations. This outlines the main features and the major axes explored in this paper to study the dilemma that evinces to the hermeneutic facets of More's *Utopia*. The structural modalities of literature and its rhetorical reading paradigms were taken into account. The structurall/rhetorical symbolic meanings operate in the ideal state and its antinomies:

The moral authority which it possesses derives not so much from its compelling subject-matter as from its literary method, which has been artfully designed so as to insist at every turn on the necessity of active, scrupulous and skeptical interpretation. Its status as a 'classic', therefore, stems from the fact that its appearance marked the advent of genuinely new possibilities for both the reading and the writing of literature.²⁹

More's *Utopia* like many masterpieces, has always been and will always remain an elusive work confronted with such a diffuse material. Ultimately, this study suggests that though innumerable perspectives are applied on the work, all of which fail to claim definiteness. The wider history of More's thought and life is reflected in *Utopia* which expresses the English humanist vision of society and reflects conscious ethical and worldly tensions. It is ironic, however, that the author of *Utopia* describes how the Neo-Platonist vision of theocracy came to be executed by theocracy. Most importantly, the man, appeared to have special talent for representation and reflection, giving the impression that at times we ourselves are living in utopia.

²⁹ T. More, *Utopia*, Wordsworth Editions, 1997, p. xiv.

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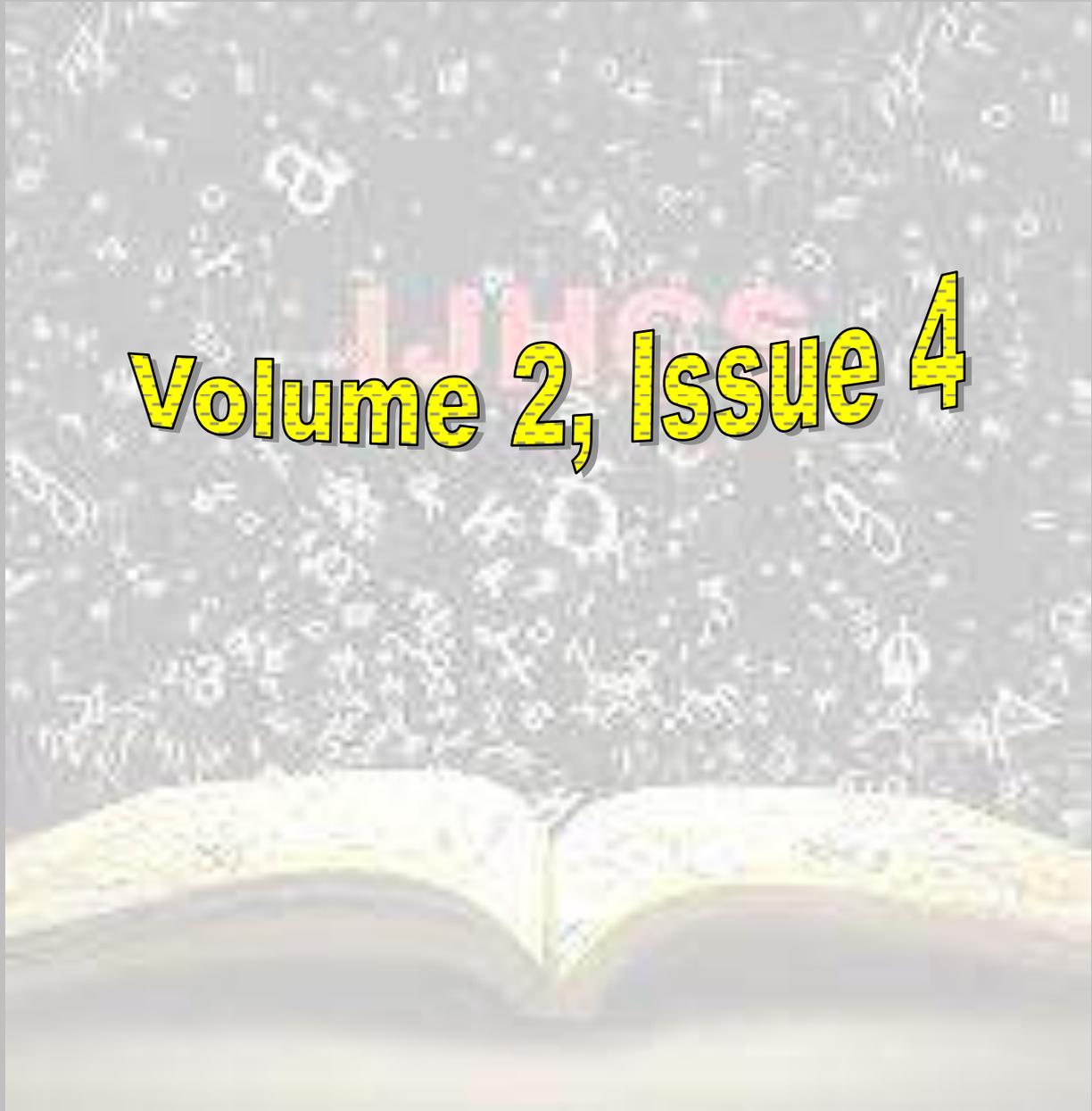
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