Editorial Board

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Editorial

Dear Colleagues and Readers

I am so glad to present Volume 3, Issue 3 of the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS). The IJHCS has moved to its more advanced and technically rich website through the use of the popular Open Journal System. This, of course, reflects the depth of the work being done in our journal.

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 March 2017 and your valuable contributions are welcome till 20 February 2017.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba
Editor-in-Chief
The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies **(IJHCS)**

Design and development of performance indexes with Balanced Score Card Approach
(Case Study of Pishgam Company)

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Abstract

It seems that in order to remain in the business environment of today, companies are required to control and adjust their processes according to specified strategic goals. In this article and by using "Balanced Scorecard" we try to demonstrate and evaluate corporate's performance based on its strategic goals to see whether the corporate is on the right path or not. The organization for our survey is manufacturer of ball valves in the oil & Gas industry which recognizing its main goals and performance indicators has been implemented in 2014 & 2015. In order to recognize corporate's main goals and indicators, we utilized strategic planning steps and then categorized all the company's activities in six main step. In this process, goals and key performance indicators have been specified which resulted in company's strategic plan. Moreover, company's performance level in each four aspect of "Balanced Scorecard" has been measured between the years of 2014 & 2015.

Keywords: Balanced Scorecard, Performance evaluation index, Oil & Gas equipment manufacturer, Strategy map, Strategy planning.

1. Introduction

In recent years, due to the ever changing environment of markets, companies are striving to maintain their position in the market. It seems that this goal can be achieved only through possessing a competitive advantage, being able to adopt processes according to benchmarking standards and improving the company's performance which in the long run will help them not to only do the right thing but doing the processes in a right, proper way (Punniyamoorthy and Murali, 2008). As time passes companies begin to realize the importance of constant performance evaluation (Projogo & Sohal, 2004) but in the beginning it was believed that evaluating a company's performance is only possible through assessing and comparing the financial measures while in 1992, Kaplan & Norton proved that non-financial measures are as important as financial ones in an integrated system of "Balanced Scorecard". The objective of this paper is to implement the Balanced Scorecard system in a Pishgam manufacturing company of piping material equipment for oil & gas industry in order to investigate the relationship between company's strategy and measurable indicators (Financial/Non-Financial).

2. Literature Review

During past two decades, market economy has grown which in turn forced companies to grow as well. In order to reach the fast pace of growth, companies and organizations tries to expand themselves through branches inside and outside their origin country. Therefore, they were entering new markets and new business environments which were more competitive and volatile (Punniyamoorthy and Murali, 2008). All the changes in the business environment forced companies to set more accurate and detailed strategies for utilizing their resources in order to meet the markets' needs and fulfill stakeholder's expectations (Johnson and Scholes, 2001). In 1980s, many scholars including Kaplan & Norton criticized companies who believed that the only important indicators in performance measurement are financial indices such as net profit, return on investment and etc. The problem with financial metrics is their concentrated focus on short term results while other factors such as quality, process cost reduction, cycle time are also influencing the final performance of the company (Johnson & Kaplan, 1987; Kaplan & Norton, 1992; Lynch & Cross, 1991; Chenhall & Langfield-Smith, 2007). Therefore, combination of evaluating both financial and non-financial metrics resulted in a system known as balanced scorecard. The original version of balanced scorecard presented by Kaplan & Norton was designed based on more financial measures and consisted of three perspectives of customer satisfaction, internal business processes and innovation and learning (Hoque, 2014). In following years and after examining more than 300 organizations, Kaplan & Norton presented series of article (Kaplan & Norton, 1996 a, b, c) in which the original structure was improved and altered into a final one consisting of four perspective of financial, customer, internal process and learning & growth. These perspectives are designed to create a balance between company's short term and long term objectives (financial/quantitative objectives or non-financial/qualitative objectives) (Papalexandris, Ioannou, Prastacos and soderquist, 2005). Moreover, they have emphasized on the fact that there is strong connection between company's strategy map and scorecard's metrics. They

also believed that utilizing the balanced scorecard and company's strategy should become employee's everyday activity (Kaplan & Norton, 2008). Therefore the first step in implementing the balanced scorecard is to recognize company's strategy and design a map based on it. Balanced Scorecard has evolved through years which have made managers consider it not only as a performance measurement tool but as a strategic and management system (Papalexandris, Ioannou, Prastacos and soderquist, 2005). Although utilizing the balanced scorecard is beneficial for companies but implementing this system requires supporting factors and systems such as IT infrastructure, project management and etc., On the other hand implementing BSC is always accompanied with problems such as employee's resistance to change and misleading decision making information. Below table (table. 1) can be considered as a proof that how understanding and communication of employees and managers in an organization will affect their performance (Stewart, 1999).

Table 1. Employees & Managers communication and understanding of organization's goal

	Well-Performing Org. (%)	Poorly-Performing Org. (%)
Employees have good understanding of organization's goals	67	33
Senior managers are highly effective communicators	26	0

In this paper designing and implementing the Balance Scorecard based on the company's strategy map, in one of the equipment manufacturers of oil & gas industry is discussed. Next part of the paper is dedicated to the introduction of company's vision, mission and the strategy map which was shaped according to the company's strategy. Third part of the article introduces the key performance indexes recognized based on the factors of strategy map and the process of measuring them. The final part of the article discusses the result of implementing BSC in the company, issues encountered during the process and areas for future study.

3. Balanced Scorecard in Oil & Gas Industry
Balanced Scorecard" has been utilized in many business fields however, studies in the application and implementation of BSC in the industry of Oil & Gas has been limited.
Some research on the topic has even been facilities management related (Hedley et al., 2002; Levin, 2005; Bigliardi and Dormio, 2010; Bigliardi and Bottani, 2010). In facilities management field, the balanced scorecard has been utilized in two ways.
First, the facilities management goals and measures may be combined to be a part of organization wide measures. In this case, the strategic foundations are derived from organizational strategies and vision. Second, there have been balanced scorecards that are specially done from the point of view of facilities management (Nenonen and Lindholm, 2006). In this article implementation of BSC in one of ball valve manufacturers has been

studied. Also, designing the BSC was according to the book of "Balanced Scorecard by Paul Arnion" in which every step of implementing it has been defined thoroughly.

Mission

Values

Vision

Strategy

Strategy Plan

BSC and its
Key Performance Indicators (KPI)

Goals:
What should we do?

What should we do about personal Goals?

Strategic Outcomes

Satisfied Stakeholders	Satisfied Customers	Efficient Processes	Motivated Employees
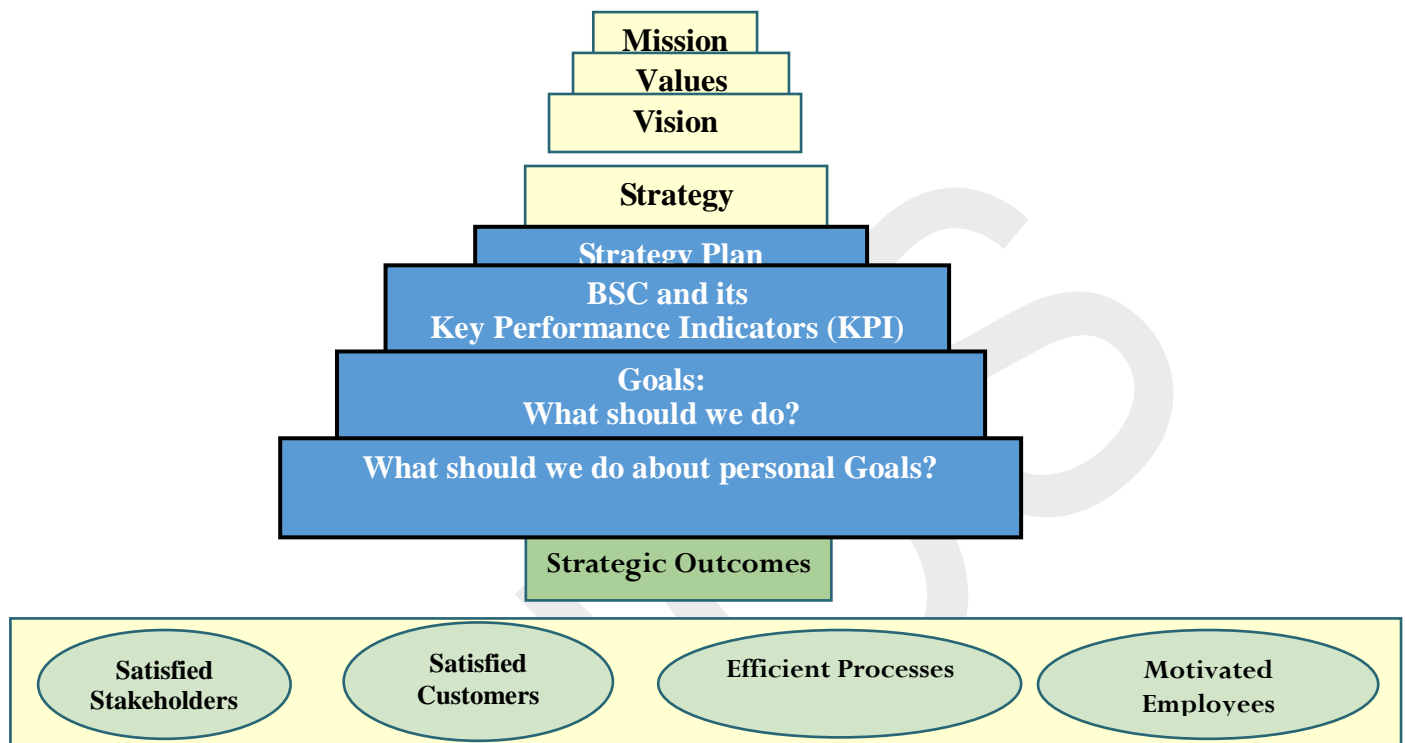
measure something, you can claim that you know it while your inability to present the facts with numbers represents your lack of knowledge" (Niven, 2006).

The importance of the issue is due to the fact that in the ever changing world of today and in order to equip organizations to face the constant market change, it seems necessary to be able to evaluate and measure organization's performance to check whether they have achieved their goals or not. In this regard, Balanced Scorecard system can assist managers and organizations to analyse and measure firm's performance. Balanced Scorecard is considered as one of the most important tools aiding organizations to create a strategic information system, influencing customer's satisfaction and value of the company's share in the market as well. This tool was first introduced in 1992 by Kaplan & Norton. They believed that "*what you get is what you can measure*". Balanced Scorecard evaluates firm's performance from four perspectives of Financial, Customer, Internal Processes and Learning & Growth. Based on previous studies only 5% of employees have thorough understanding of firm's strategy, only 25% of managers try to turn their organizations into a strategy based one and 85% of managers discuss strategy less than an hour a month (Kaplan & Norton 2001).

By utilizing BSC, measuring a firm's strategy and goals will be possible. In other words BSC is a system to translate firm's strategy into an operationalized concept. What should be taken into consideration is that implementing BSC requires a managerial system to

1-   Create new strategies for achieving goals

2-   Providing set of indexes for evaluating firm's performance in accordance with strategic goals

4. The main purpose of implementing Balanced Scorecard

Pishgam co. is one of the main Ball Valve manufacturers in the Oil & Gas industry of Iran and due to the fact that employee's performance has a direct effect on firm's performance, thus measuring staff's efficiency in order to check if they are acting based on company's vision and strategy is considered as an important factor for firms. Employees are firm's intangible asset and by utilizing BSC, a firm would be able to adjust its employee's performance with its main goal, vision and mission.

As it was mentioned before, Pishgam co. is one of the main valve manufacturers in the Oil & Gas industry and is striving to improve its knowledge and skill in this area by utilizing local experts. On the other hand, the company is trying to manufacture the products based on customer's needs, latest standard and with high quality. Due to the fact that employees are considered as valuable assets therefore, the firm is trying to improve their performances by providing a suitable work environment, enhancing their motivation, setting a compensation system and job security. Also, the firm is trying to equip itself for entering new international markets (specifically Middle East market) by constant improvement of procedures, providing an environment for staff to learn and share their knowledge and experience. Another issue which the firm is trying to concentrate on is guaranteeing the profit and share value of the stockholders and fulfilling its duty toward the society and customers while protecting the environment by acting based on environment friendly standards and rules.

As it was mentioned before, first step in designing a BSC is to determine mission and vision of the company.

4.1.   First Step: Mission & Vision

For the first step, vision and mission of the company was established through interview with managers and history of company. Defining company's vision and mission was considered as the most important part of designing the strategy map due to the fact that without it no company can survive or even plan for its future.

4.2.   Second Step: Determining Key Goals

For the second step in designing a strategic plan, main goals of the company should be determined. In order to recognize that, main processes of the firm were specified and as result main goals of the firm and the ways to achieve it were determined. This should be done through meetings with senior managers of the company. In case of the company we are studying (Pishgam Co.), main goals are specified as below table. (Table 2)

Table 2. Main goals of Pishgam Co.

No.	Main Goals
1	Entering the Middle East market
2	Acquiring the knowledge for manufacturing 36" valves in all classes

3	Training the human resource
4	Increase the satisfaction level of stakeholders

4.3.   Third Step: Setting goals in BSC

After establishing the vision and mission of the company and in order to achieve strategic goals, company should start to set goals for the four perspective of the "Balanced Scorecard". In other words, analysing main and long term goals will be done through Balanced Scorecard. Below figure shows main goals of the company in each perspective of Financial, Customer, Internal Processes, learn & growth.

Fig 2. Main goals of each company in four perspective of BSC

4.4.   Fourth Step: Strategy Map

At this stage the company should be able to design a strategy map based on all previous information. Below figure shows the strategy map of company X
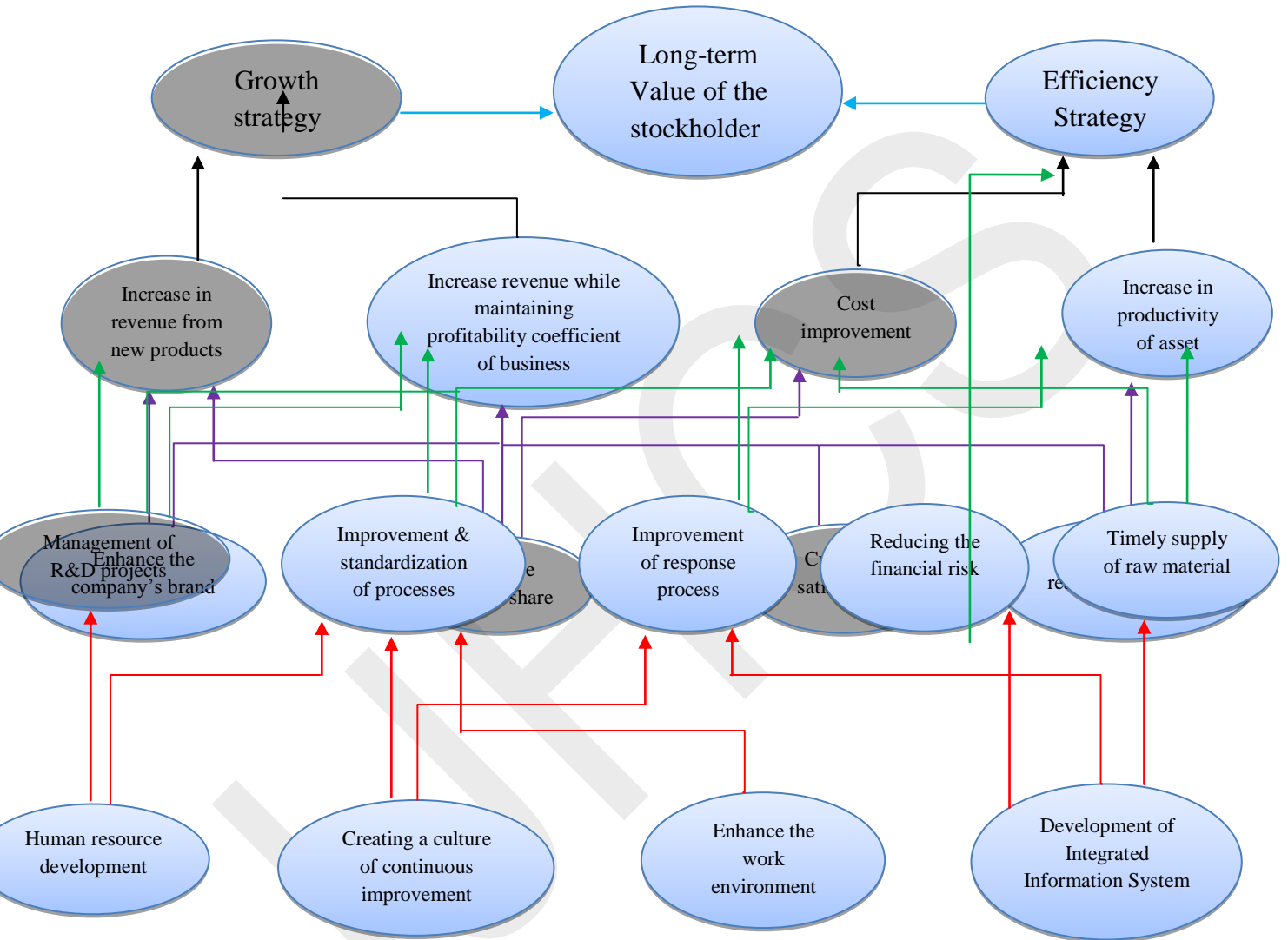
Fig 3. Strategy Map of Pishgam Co.

Fifth Step: Allocating Key Performance Index (KPI)

At this stage, appropriate KPIs should be defined for the goals in each aspect in order to be able to measure them.

Financial Perspective

Table 3. Main goals and KPIs in financial perspective

No.	Goal/Target	Performance Index
1	Increase of productivity of assets	Current asset to current liability
2	Cost Recovery	Reducing the cost of raw material in total cost
3	Increase revenue while maintaining profitability coefficient of business	Increase in sales volume
4	Increase in revenue from new products	Income from sales of new products

Customer Perspective

Table 4. Main goals and KPIs in customer perspective

No.	Goal/Target	Performance Index
1	Customer retention & customer attraction	Number of customers attracted to total customers
2	Customer satisfaction	Average delay in delivery of goods
3	Enhance the company's brand	Customer's recognition of the company
4	Increase market share	Company's market share of total market demand

Internal Processes Perspective

Table 5. Main goals and KPIs in internal processes perspective

No.	Goal/Target	Performance Index
1	Timely supply of raw material	Number of delayed days in the supply of raw material
2	Improvement & standardization of the processes	Utilization rate of machines (production)
3	Improvement of response processes	Reducing the response time to customer's questions and special requests
4	Reducing the financial risk	Number of months that the company's liquidity can cover the payments
5	Management of Research & Development projects (R&D)	Number of registered product design in company (R&D)

Learning & Growth Perspective

Table 6. Main goals and KPIs in learning & growth perspective

No.	Goal/Target	Performance Index
1	Human resource development	Average number of training hours per year by internal/external experts
2	Development of Integrated Information System	Number of units covered by Integrated System
3	Enhancement of working environment	Motivation index (based on answers of different department's employees)
4	Creating a culture of continuous improvement	Percentage of recommendations for process improvement by staff

4.5.   Sixth Step: Measuring the KPIs & Reports

After setting KPIs for each perspective of Balanced Scorecard, the company would be able to take reports in different time periods in order to see how every department works. BSC Designer Pro 7.4.1.33 is a performance management application which works based on "Balanced Scorecard". The core of application is based on strategic maps and enables company to create those strategic maps, trace the cause and effect relationship between elements of map and performance evaluation. The application enables companies to enter the data/variables and present graphic tables in order to check whether the company has achieved the goal or not. Therefore, you would be able to see the connection between strategic goals and action plan details. Due to the fact that evaluation of the company will be done in a year, the results of the beginning will be compared with the results at the end of process.

Table 7. Results of implementing BSC in Pishgam Co.

No.	Perspective	Goal (%)	Value of 2014	Value of 2015
1	Financial	100	30	40
2	Customer	100	36	40
3	Internal Process	100	56	60
4	Learn & Growth	90	35	47

5. Conclusion

One of the important factors in controlling the systems is "Performance Evaluation" which requires data from each department's performance. In balanced Scorecard, main goals of the company have been divided in four categories of Financial, customer, internal process, Learn & growth in order to get information from these departments individually.

In this article as the first step, main processes of a ball valve manufacturer (Pishgam Co.) in the oil & gas industry from four perspectives has been identified then KPIs were defined for

each goal and via BSC Designer application the status of these goals and firm's performance have been presented in the form of charts and tables. The importance of implementing balanced scorecard in organizations is due to the fact that constantly being aware of company's status will help managers to make better decisions in critical situations. By clarifying organization's goals for employees and presenting them with methods to achieve those specified goals, the organization can be sure of taking the right path to success. In this survey, authors strived to scan the company (Pishgam Co.) thoroughly in order to find the gaps between employees, managers and customers. By implementing BSC in Pishgam Co. all the important factors in each perspective for managers were revealed so they were able to make better decisions to satisfy their customers. In the end, we should thank all the managers and employees of Pishgam Co. who helped us in the process of data collection and implementation of balanced scorecard. Below figures are the results of implementing BSC in each perspective for Pishgam Co.

2015   2014
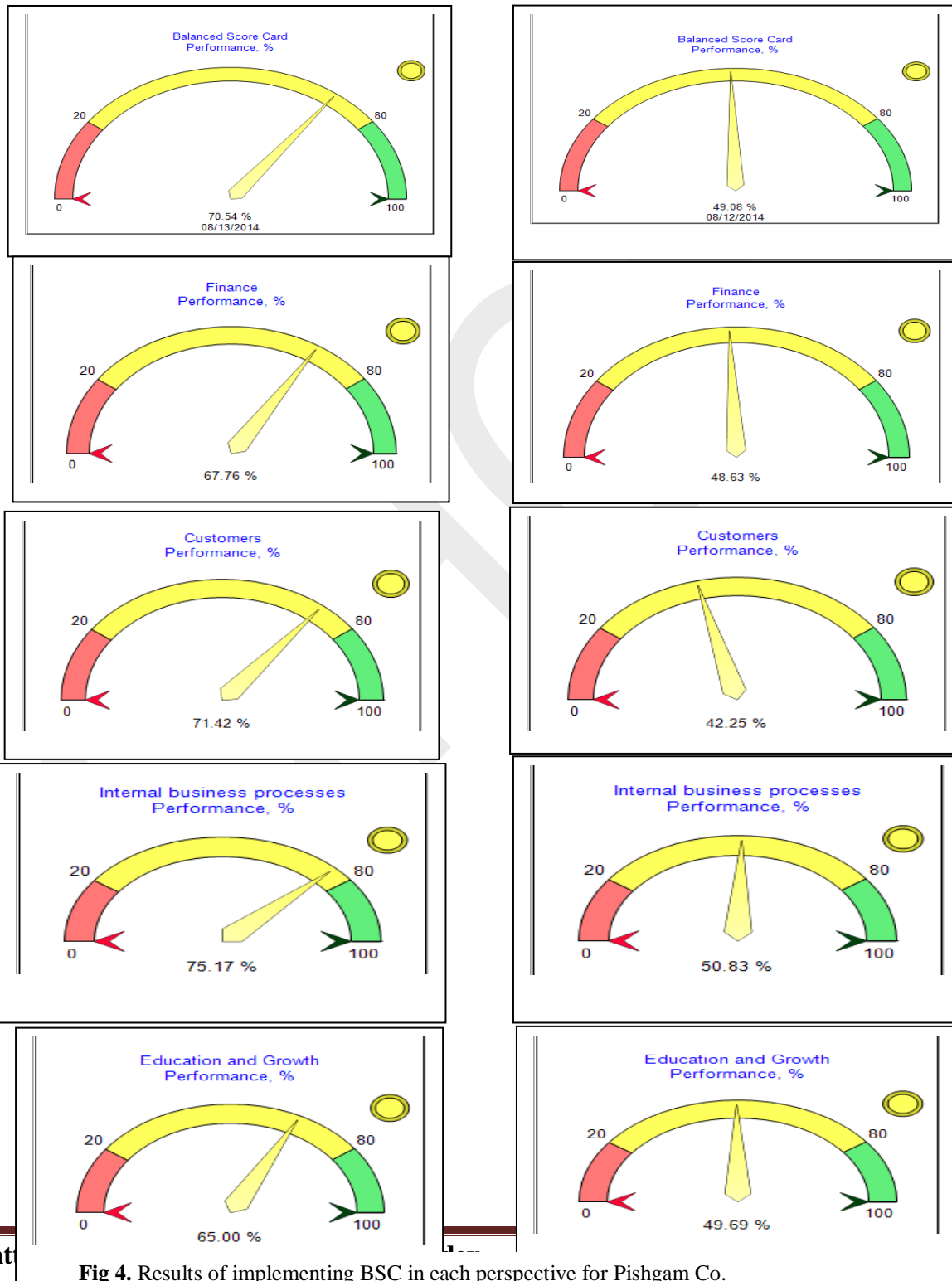
Fig 4. Results of implementing BSC in each perspective for Pishgam Co.

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Demolishing Generic Borderlines in Truman Capote's *Handcarved Coffins*: A 'Missionary Role' of Generic Assimilation

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Abstract

A short novel amongst Music for Chameleons, Truman Capote's Handcarved Coffins: A nonfiction Account of an American Crime appears to be categorized as a literary work of nonfiction, accorded the form of literary reportage. This article, however, tends to divert such a classification towards unveiling the adoption of different generic forms and styles that Capote incorporates in his work.

The study of Capote's strategy of adapting and merging generic codes in Handcarved coffins, is based on his prevalent use of intertextuality on the level of format and content, and the adoption of fictional techniques like symbolism and symbolic characterization in a supposedly reporting-based factual account.

It is thus, through demolishing generic classifications and through the implied symbolic representation in the story that Capote's missionary role of generic assimilation renders him a 'Savior' of literary writing by establishing a 'true art' where an amalgamation of styles voices the author's implied criticism to the symbolically deciphered prevailing facets of his community.

Keywords: demolishing, adaptation, adoption, assimilation, merging, art.

Introduction

With the subtitle "a Nonfiction Account of an American crime", *Handcarved Coffins* appears to be classified as nonfiction writing where capote proclaims a faithful and objective reportage of facts. Therefore, this paper aims at studying the extent to which this piece of writing abides by the codes of nonfiction writing through unveiling, in its first part, the amalgamation and adaptation of a variety of literary codes and formats, and the prevalence of intertextuality in the story. The study of the blend of fiction and facts is then, the focus of the second part of this article mainly through the study of symbolism and symbolic characterization in order to trace the adaptation of literary genres and themes in *Handcarved Coffins*; and to decipher the intentional assimilative adoption of a new literary art that breaks traditional generic boundaries.

I.   Adaptation of generic codes and format

Based on an American crime, like its subtitle evokes, *Handcarved Coffins* is classified by many critics as a work of nonfiction writing just like Capote's thirteen-year older work of new journalism *In Cold Blood* which Capote classifies as "a full-scale narrative" and "a '"nonfiction novel'"" and to which many critics accredit the title of a precursor work of new journalism (Plimpton 49). However, its precursor *Handcarved Coffins* is shaped as "a nonfiction short novel" as Capote asserts in his preface Music *for Chameleons* (xviii).

In fact, this short story opens with a date stating "March, 1975" as its first line (67). Then, in a non-grammatical and verbless statement, the writer elucidates the setting as "A town in a small Western state" without specifying a precise location, violating by that one of the codes of reportage. However, the anonymity of the setting does not entail that *Handcarved Coffins* is mainly fictional, but it can rather be adhered to the fact that the reported case remained legally unsolved.

Furthermore, *Handcarved Coffins* seems to integrate what Tom Wolfe introduces in his 1973 anthology *The New Journalism*, as the main devices new journalists borrowed from literary fiction. It therefore, interpolates full dialogues stated as conversational speech that extend over pages, scene-by-scene construction of the narrative that revolves around the events of the eight announced crimes and , status details as records of ostensible details about characters and their surroundings including Capote himself. However, the third person point of view, as a another criterion of journalistic writing, is substituted by first person narration in the short novel under study, as Capote chooses to "set [himself] center stage…" and thus breaks the authorial detachment imposed by Wolfe's manifesto of the genre (xviii).

In fact, the breaches of the codes of new journalism seem to implement an adoption of other literary forms in the work both by means of explicit and implicit references through intertextuality and generic textual format.

1.   Intertextuality

Originally coined by Julia Kristeva in the 1960s in her "Word, Dialogue and Novel" the term "intertextuality" indicates the interrelatedness of literary texts with those that precede them so as to denote that "a literary text is not an isolated phenomenon but is made up of a mosaic of quotations and that any text is the 'absorption and transformation of another'" (Dictionary of Literary Terms & Literary Theory 424).

In Capote's *Handcarved Coffins*, a clear interplay of texts lends itself to the study of intertextuality. This is in fact spotted by a description of detective Jake's Motel room and his selection of books belonging, in Capote's words, to "intelligent men", who are writers of different origins and different literary eras like: Dickens, Melville, Trollope and Mark Twain. Besides, not only does Capote allude to titles of writers but he also quotes Mark twain about the evil nature of man that parallels the cruelty of the reported American series of crimes in the story.

Intertextuality, is also inferred to through the technique of allusion as "…an implicit reference…to another work of literature or art, to a person or an event"; for Capote implicitly alludes to the genre of autobiography through Mark Twain's quoted passage without explicitly stating it (Dictionary of Literary Terms & Literary Theories 27). Hence, based on the readers' prior knowledge of the genre, the interrelatedness of literary texts is revealed through the matching of the meaning of the quote and that of Capote's reporting-based novel, probably to insinuate the fact that difference of genres does not deny the similitude in content within art.

Furthermore, instances of intertextuality and allusion in *Handcarved Coffins* can be revealed through Capote's reference to a funny characteristic of Jane Austin's literature praises for Eric Ambler's thriller writing *A Coffin for Dimitrios,* defensive attitude towards Graham Green and his love and admiration for both Agatha Christie and Raymond Chandler (94,105).

The function of employing the formerly stated intertexts and allusions is not restricted to the level of meaning but it rather ascends to that of the genre as well. Actually, these referenced writers and texts, are allusions respectively to the genres of autobiography, fiction, thriller, and detective novels; indicating the literary genres from which the unconventional features in *Handcarved Coffins,* originate. Thus, non-arbitrarily selected references and allusions to literary works of different genres, render Capote's in *Handcarved Coffins* a literary ground of generic assortment that adds layers of depth to its meaning, for "an allusion may enrich the work by association … and give it depth" (The Dictionary of Literary Terms & Literary Theory 27).

Another intertextual reference in the short novel is drawn by Capote during his first meeting with the suspect Quinn whose hands remind him of the Russian composer Rachmaninoff. In fact, Capote's allusions to public figures, mainly artists, interpolate his preoccupation with art and maybe his perception of writing as musical composition where notes are rummaged to form an artistic piece, just like a narrative plot. Intertextuality in *Handcarved Coffins* is, thus, multilayered through a multiplicity of textual references.

Hence, not only does Capote employ intertextuality to credit a factual dimension to his work, but he also seems to shape his text through artistic and literary references, relying on the adaptation of different features of literary genres. This adaptation reflects Capote's intention of exposing reporting as an artistic task and a favorable ground for generic amalgamation.

2. Merging formats

To put emphasis on the defining function of intertextuality on the levels of the form and content in literary texts, Norman Fairclough distinguishes two shades of the notion as being "manifest intertextuality" and "constitutive intertextuality;" with the former referring to intertextual elements such as presupposition, negation, parody, irony, etc. and the latter to the interrelationship of discursive features in a text, such as structure, form, or genre (117).

Therefore, according to Norman Fairclough, "manifest intertextuality" is to be associated with the content of the text, and "constitutive intertextuality" is rather concerned with its form. The double dimension of the notion of intertextuality then, highlights the literary text as being set to inherit its form and structure in relation to other texts and it can be either in terms of content through poetic devices, or on the level of structure and genre through generic norms. Accordingly, it's through constitutive intertextuality that the adaptability of a variety of generic forms is to be studied in Capote's *Handcarved Coffins*.

It is in reference to the distinctive textual display of this short novel that the adaptability of textual formats is grounded in this paper. In fact, each adopted intertextual format seems to be manifested through a distinctive layout in the text.

A predominating aspect in *Handcarved Coffins*, the use blank lines seems to signal the shift in reporting scenes as a predetermining feature of new journalism—the scene-by-scene construction. Accordingly, each scene is dominated by extensive dialogue revealing characters and plot.

Throughout the dialogue, however, instances of intrusive narration or commentary, are marked by parenthetical statements and paragraphs indented from the text. These parenthetical statements may also reveal the stream of consciousness technique that prevail in the genre of new journalism, and according to which Capote flings ideas, and emotions coded by heavy punctuation, in order to involve readers into the text. Nevertheless, when the dialogue between characters reaches an end in a reported scene, both descriptive and narrative passages in *Handcarved Coffins,* extend over pages without being incorporated within parentheses.

Furthermore, parenthetical statements that describe characters reactions, physical and emotional behavior are placed within the dialogue with no indentation. Such instances resemble stage directions within a play, which direct the reader's own understanding of the described scenes of probably reproduced or reported facts. Thus, another literary form that prevails in *Handcarved Coffins* is that of the play.

Another literary subgenre that Capote adopts in his work is travel writing manifested throughout the passage in which he reports his three-week long trip to Europe, as he recalls instances of his journey to Switzerland, Italy, Athens and Istanbul, and finally back to New York.

Marked through the incorporation of an italicized paragraph that presents a letter from detective Jake to Capote, the format and style of the epistolary novel is implied through the integration of letters into the narrative. Italics are thus mostly a mark of intertextual refrences incorporated in the book to allude to the epistolary novels and their quality of dialogically presenting letters; which further emphasizes the allocation of a polyphonic aspect in Capote's nonfiction short novel.

And, towards the end of the story, events are mostly coded through the style and format of writing journals, according to which each event is signaled through a full date and through the use of colloquial language, displaying non-grammatical sentences lacking the subject "I".

Hence, techniques of new journalism, parenthetical style recalling stage directions, autobiographical retrospection, elements of fiction writing, and fully-dated journal entries- all co-exist in Capote's work as a literary arena of generic adaptation elucidated through format and intertextuality.

Intertextuality is therefore used by Capote as a pivotal medium that alludes to the connection between literary texts at both the level of content and form. This notion also

unravels the blend of what is artistic and what is seemingly acknowledged to be nonfictional in *Handcarved Coffins*, which not only question Capote's proclamation of faithfulness to truth through the subtitle, but also blurs the distinction between the factual and the imaginary.

II. Fusing fictional tools into "nonfiction"

Commenting on the double-faceted quality of literary journalism, critic Thomas Connery describes it as a genre that has reveals a factuality of journalism but "informs at a level common to fiction" (8). Thus, despite its factual dimension partly intensified through partial faithfulness to codes of new journalism, the prevalent use of intertextuality and the relatedness with formerly existent literary texts, *Handcarved Coffins* seems to display a fictional style through occurrences of different stylistic devices mainly symbolism. Such a fictional device seems to extend to the level of characterization as a principal component of both literary reporting and fiction writing, and thus adds a deeper level of meaning to the presumably inscribed facts through carrying implied authorial intentions to be deciphered.

1. Symbolism and symbolic characterization

While the first character introduced is Capote's work is detective Jake Pepper, not till the second page is a hint to the reporter-narrator's voice inscribed through the personal pronoun "we" to refer both to Jack and the narrating voice. The narrator later anonymously presents himself through the first person pronoun "I" that is eventually unveiled through the initials of Truman Capote's name "TC", as he engages in a dialogue with the protagonist.

Therefore, Capote's adoption of the first person point of view, as the first notable violation of Tom Wolfe's manifesto of new journalism is not only to engage himself in the events as a character-narrator-reporter, but also to be in interrelatedness with other characters.

In fact Capote's involvement in the reported facts is further explained when he states in the preface for *Music for Chameleons* that, "From a technical point, the greatest difficulty I'd had in writing *In Cold Blood* was leaving myself completely out of it" (xviii). Detachment, in this short novel however, is sighted by Capote as a partially preserved by the choice of the abbreviating his name in dialogues in contrast to other characters- an instance that carries suspense effect but that also partially veils the speaking voice's identity.

Actually, using the first person point of view might be for the sake of adding a fictional feature to the text through according distinctive dispositions of characters through allowing each to have his or her own voice in the narrative while the teller-reporter is voiced distinctively through the utterance of the speaking "I". The use of autodiegetic narration infers the flaw of third-person pronoun reportage, for being a favorable terrain for the manipulation of the characters' consciousness and thus distortions of their opinions. However despite voicing the characters and preventing himself from interfering in character's consciousness by being involved in the reportage, Capote's reportage in *Handcarved Coffins* is still criticized for involving fictional and symbolic dimensions.

Accordingly, Critic Peter Gillman, in his article "The Truth about Truman Capote," explains that the writer attributed fictional names to characters in *Handcarved Coffins*. Besides, Critic John Hersey adds that characters in the short novel are "unseeable" as real ones, because Capote changed their identities and replaced them with imaginary ones (70). However, Capote denounced such a claim and clarified that "he had to omit a few identifying things", while no there is no proof that reveals the factuality of the characters and the serial murders that are set in an anonymous setting in *Handcarved Coffins* (qtd. in Hersey 70).

Presented as detective who has been living in a motel room in the same town for five years, Jake Pepper is questioned to be a fictive figure as no biographical studies reveal the factual face of this character as the detective of the serial murders. Whereas, critic and journalist Peter Gillman, in his article "The Truth about Truman Capote," explains that the character of Jake holds clear resemblances to the Kansas Bureau of Investigation detective Alvin Dewey, who had handled a much similar murder case in Ensign. Gillman therefore, states that Capote elaborated on the Ensign case "blending fact and fiction under the cloak of anonymity" (Gillman). Thus, it is through the blending of facts and fiction into narration and techniques of characterization that Capote manages to perfuse a symbolic dimension into his work.

Partly fictional, then, the character of Jake seems to be pictured under the spot of a relentless tenacity as he refuses to give up on a case that he had worked on for years, to eventually remain unsolved, without defying his sense of certainty about his intuition. Therefore, Jake might appear as symbolic reflection of capote's strong belief in his own ability to adapt fictional writing into reportage, denying by that their antagonist natures.

In addition, according to Critic David Frankel, "quickness of pen and extraordinary imagination," in *Handcarved Coffins* is also marked in scenes like Capote's first meeting with Quinn's wife, Juanita (Frankel). The latter, for Frankel, is probably an imaginary character that is depicted in her house, as a drunkard watching television with muted sound. In fact, Juanita's preference of making up scenarios during her regular muted-television-watching game alludes to Capote's own perception of the function of literature as a form of artistic reporting that makes the reader experience literal imagination while the text's intentions are almost silenced. Then, just like "imagining keeps [her] awake" the task of reading awakens the readers' imagination to decipher what is symbolically coded. Juanita as a character is highlighted by Capote as a hint to his belief in the adaptation of facts and imagination as none is superior to the other even in nonfiction writing.

Another central character in the story is Robert Hawley Quinn who is a cattle rancher suspected by both detective Jake and Capote of being behind the enigmatic sequential killing of the town's committee members after having denied him water rights over the Blue River. While the story ends without proving his guilt, the white rancher Quinn remains the major suspect who terrifies his victims by mailing them similar boxes in the shape of coffins carved by hands and wrapped by brown paper over which the name and address of the victim in anonymously written in black ink. Each coffin contained the victim's contextualized photograph as a code that alarms their soon death.

When Capote first encountered Quinn in his ranch to play a chess game, both Quinn's physical appearance and character reminded him of Reverend Joe Bobby Snow who baptized him in Alabama River. Quinn is sketched by Capote as giant in height, with "simianlike arms," "long," "capable," with "aristocratic" fingers, and having grey eyes that were "alert, suspicious, intelligent, merry with malice, [and] complacently superior." (109-110). His "belt buckle; …was decorated with two crossed tomahawks made of gold and red enamel." (110). His house was a castle, and one of its rooms was immense like "a cathedral stuffed with Spanish furniture," and decorated with a baroque mirror, an entire wall of "blocks of irregularly cut granite," and a fireplace that can fit "a roast of a brace of oxen" (110-111).

Accordingly, Quinn is presented as a character that insinuates a religious figure 'owning' a cathedral, obviously under the Roman Catholic Church alluded to through the baroque mirrors that are fundamental to the Baroque style promoted by Catholic popes and missionaries. Besides, his grey eyes and "simianlike" hands clearly recall Reverend Snow's

physical appearance that reminds Capote of his childhood memory of baptism. Another religious allusion displayed through this character is that of the oxen which are referred to in the bible as a symbol of profit and power as the *Authorized King James Version* of *The Holy Bible* states, "Where no oxen are, the crib is clean; But much increase is by the strength of the ox". (Proverbs 14:4).

Besides, Tomahawks, as described in Quinn's belt buckle, are culturally referred to as light weapons used by Native American people as an sign of warfare. In fact, such an image recalls the history of aboriginals of the New England, who had to defend themselves from the corrupted invasion they were subjected to after the advent of Christian pilgrims—the Puritans— to their land. Moreover, the red color of enamel of which the tomahawks are made is a reference to the color of blood; and thus the image of raised crossed tomahawks that symbolizes a declaration of war as the tradition of Red Indians implies. And since the tomahawks on the character's belt buckle is made of enamel which is "protective or decorative coating baked" on gold, Quinn's accessory seems to be reflective of both his heritage, his social status and his belief in bloodshed (the Free Dictionary). As a result, Capote's intentional use of both religious and implied historical registers to describe Quinn's house, his golden belt, and his "aristocratic" fingers, is mainly for the sake of picturing him as an incarnation of the relatedness of American history, religion, power, and wealth.

In addition, Quinn's association with religious metaphors is extended by describing his eyes as "dedicated to the religious task of rescuing his king" during the chess game with Capote (116). The act of rescuing the king is maybe another symbolic allusion to the assembled religious superiority and political power embodied in the character of Quinn whom Capote sarcastically infers to as a "messiah with a task" while detective Jake was recalling the murders Quinn had presumably committed (141).

Furthermore, the image of Quinn as he jumped in the Blue River, "laughed," "scowled," "… raised his own hand" and said "God's work. His will" pictures him as a tyrannous Pope giving a call to arms in a sermon and claiming to have power and authority in God's will. It is however, an image that Capote seems to denounce as he describes the Blue River where Quinn was standing as starting to "weave like a dark ribbon" between Quinn's fingers, as if to suggest that God's will and his blueprint for his creation is only darkened by such oppressive figures who vindicate bloodshed by claiming it to be God's will.

Consequently, embodying religious, cultural and social power in the character of the suspect of the serial murders is clearly a statement of criticism to the history of corrupt clergymen as members of the privileged classes whose pomp is a source of neither religious glory nor spiritual salvation; but rather a cause of principally social and religious assault. Thus, Capote's pejorative perception of religious matters in his work is indeed a communication of his implied criticism to his community and to the Christian religious history in general.

However, capote's preoccupation with the issue of religion as reflected through the character of the murderer Quinn is alluded to since the very first page when he described the setting as a town that "supports twelve churches," and as he recalls his childhood memory of Baptism.

During his visit to the suspect Robert Quinn, a childhood memory of Capote was ignited by the sight of this rancher. Capote recalls his memory of forced baptism, when at the age of five, he was immersed in "a sluggish muddy river that repelled [him], for it was full of water moccasins and whiskered catfish" (Capote 116).

In fact, the fatal characteristic in Capote's description of Alabama River, as full of water moccasins and catfish, allocates the setting a fictional dimension, and thus denies Capote's designation of the scene as a mere faithfulness to a childhood memory in retrospect. Such a description in fact, turns a cherished religious practice into a shocking event that is maybe set as a literary image baring authorial intentions within its layers of meaning

Hence, neither the catfish nor the water moccasin is arbitrarily inscribed by capote. In *The Holy Bible* eating catfish is forbidden as it should be "an abomination unto" Christians, because a catfish has no "fins and scales" (Leviticus.11. 9-12). However, the author recalls "[he] was fond of captured catfish, fried and dripping with ketchup,…" and that they had " a cook who served them often" (116). This cook happens to be Lucy Joy, the woman who took Capote to Reverend Snow's sermon. Accordingly, eating Catfish, on the one hand, seems to deny the effect of shock he had during his baptism; and on the other hand, it affirms it by bringing to surface capote's counter-biblical practices as a reaction to that memory.

Relating his first religious memory with shock, is further intensified through his description of Reverend Snow, who was a white man whose "audience was segregated" and who had a "dominant-voice" and "simian arms [that] reached for [him]" and made the narrator feel "vomit in [his] throat" (118). Surprisingly, it is the image of the Reverend that caused the narrator to experience disgust during his shocking Christening, while the religiously forbidden catfish that the Bible condemns as an abomination appears to be of enjoyment to him. Yet both abomination and shock for the narrator seem to be intensified as a grown-up, while recalling this memory and as he draws on the image of the cook Lucy Joy.

The latter, like all blacks, "seemed to live from Sunday to Sunday" while singing in the "choir of some pineywoods church" (116-117). Unlike her name suggests, Lucy Joy, whom Capote describes as the least "joyous" woman he had ever met, seems to mirror the state of a whole black race discriminated against in Capote's southern community, and deprived of being accredited appropriate prayer zones, demolishing by that, their rights to equally enjoy religious salvation and spiritual fulfillment (Capote 116).

But ", … Lucy had figured it out that the only way she would be welcome was if she brought along a little white boy to be baptized" in order to attend Reverend Snow's sermons, Capote adds (117). Thus, the fact that Lucy is "hefty black," is a determinant of the state of a whole victimized race enduring racial discrimination by whites during the 1930s in the American South, coinciding with the same period when the author-narrator-reporter's memory took place —at the age of five.

Besides, the very last name of Reverend Joe Snow is an emphasis on his representative aspect of white man's burden of ruling over other races to civilize them. It is thus, such a tyrannous claim of duty that Capote denounces and pictures as culturally and religiously meaningless through Cook Lucy's act of serving fish, and as evil and shocking through the figure of Reverend Snow (117).

Hence, Capote's implied symbolic representation of the paradoxical nature of his community where craving for religion and claiming religiousness are opposed by irreligious beliefs in the supremacy of whites over blacks, implies Capote's proclamation of being fed paradoxical cultural and religious morals to which he counteract, as delineated through recalling his enjoyable habit of eating catfish.

Thus, through his childhood memory of baptism, which seems to underlie fictional dimensions, Capote seems to belittle the religiousness of the event to maybe praise, instead, its figurative connotation that summons up the first baptism of Jesus, symbolizing his divine

acquisition of a prophetic religious mission. Hence, the memory of baptism seems to denote Capote's acquisition of a mission, the value of which is not religious but rather artistic.

Just like his pictured baptism in the story, Capote's first experiences with writing started when he was eight; and were "out of the blue" as he states in the preface of *Music for Chameleons* (xi). A Christ-like artistic figure, Capote alludes to his artistic mission through his career as a novelist, playwright, screenwriter, nonfiction writer, and actor; which he describes as "creative destiny" (xiii). The act of baptism is thus the symbol of Capote's immersion into his own destiny of being an artist and most precisely a writer.

The idea of Capote's prophetic mission of writing is further evidenced as he states that "… one day [he] started writing, not knowing that [he] had chained [him]self for life to a noble but merciless master" (xi). His master is symbolically his sacred gift of being a writer that he calls "the whip God gave [him]." It is this artistic whip that Capote uses to tame his literary and artistic knowledge in order to set what he defines as a new writing style (xviii).

Furthermore, Capote's allusion to his artistic missionary role in *Handcarved Coffins* in particular, makes this short novel an endosement of his decision to break the old normative generic classifications, as he affirms in his preface for *Music for Chameleons* that: "… [He] eventually developed a style," and that "[He] had a framework into which [he] could assimilate everything [he] knew about writing" (xviii). Therefore, it is in the short novel under study that Capote simulates his artistic mission of jointing the separate borderlines of generic codes by assimilating them in one piece of writing. Capote's purpose is thus, "to successfully combine within a single form… all he knows about every other form of writing" without being restricted to the norms of a definite literary genre, resulting in "insufficiently illuminated" writing (xvii). The missionary role that Capote accredits himself through assimilating genres is therefore, that of an artistic 'Savior' of literary writing from predetermined artistic divisions, through adapting styles in a literary text and orchestrating them into an artistic unity and wholeness.

Finally, the very title of the short novel seems to bare an equally symbolic significance that further enhances Capote's artistic missionary role of generic assimilation, for the description of the symbol of death in the story as "Handcarved Coffins" and the choice of such phrase for the title are not randomly set.

In fact at a first glance, such a title can be read as an allusive hint to gothic fiction and thus consolidates this short novel as an arena of generic assimilation. However, the fact that these coffins, which are sent to victims to alarm them about their soon death, are carved by hand, determines Capote's emphasis on the artistic value accredited to the image of these coffins, despite being a sign of death. Thus, if the title is to be symbolically deciphered, it would be read as "artistic death", respectively referring to the artistry of carving by hand, and to coffins as symbols of multiple corpses implying the idea of death.

Hence, as Capote tends to denounce the traditional generic boundaries that separate genres, the title can be an allusive reference to the artistic death of generic literary borderlines that presets the separate normative generic classifications in terms of form and meaning.

Thus, the fact that such a death of generic limitations is accredited the feature of being artistic entails that it is art that announces their death, and consequently Capote's tool to demolish generic borderlines, is the artistic amalgamation of literary codes that are assorted in *Handcarved Coffins* in order to establish the image of literature as a unified art that breaks free from the chains of generic classifications.

Generic assimilation is thus, Capote's artistic mission to create an invasion of generic territories in order to write what he names in his preface to *Music for Chameleons*, "true art"

(xi). It is, then his realization of the fact he had never written "true art" that is "subtle but savage" that ignited his missionary role in *Handcarved Coffins* whose very title displays an artistic savagery that seems to delegate the author's will to accomplish his role of writing literature as a unified whole—as "true art."

Conclusion

Classified as nonfiction for its incorporation of codes of reportage, *Handcarved Coffins* underlies breaches of the tradition of nonfiction writing both through partly breaking the norms of new journalism, and through merging fictional and factual styles. Besides, breaching authorial detachment and adopting autodeigetic narration, accredits the author the role of a narrator-reporter-protagonist engaged within his short novel. The latter forms a favorable ground for generic amalgamation, as the tool of intertextuality functions as a pivotal medium to spot the interrelatedness of *Handcarved Coffins* with its intertexts at both the level of form and content. Constitutive intertextuality thus, pictures the short novel as an arena of merged generic formats adapted in one text to denote the interrelatedness of literary genres and to reflect Capote's intention of blurring the distinction between the factual and the imaginary.

Therefore, it is through the adaptation of stylistic tools of fiction into nonfiction through the prevalent use of symbolism and symbolic characterization, that Capote simulates his artistic missionary role of demolishing traditional generic limitations through assimilating genres as a determinant facet of "true art." Hence, deciphered by means of symbolism, the paradoxical nature that generic assimilation might evoke in *Handcarved Coffins* at both levels of form and content, seems to be implicitly and artistically reflective of the paradoxical aspect of Capote's community where antagonistic religious and cultural values prevail as targets of his implicit criticism. .

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Foreign Language Vocabulary Retention: Investigating the Role of T-Coding Method in Comparison with Rote Rehearsal Learning

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Abstract

English as Foreign Language (EFL) learners frequently encounter difficulties in applying disparate strategies or techniques in order to recall the unfamiliar vocabularies. Language learners use vocabulary as a mean of reception and expression to acquire and convey meaning. Therefore, being able to remember new and unfamiliar words is outstanding for their success. Allen (1999) states that "vocabulary instruction is one of those educational arenas in which research and best practice are elusive". The present study was an attempt to compare the effect of T-Coding method and Rote rehearsal learning on Iranian EFL learners' immediate and delayed vocabulary retention. For this purpose, two intermediate classes from a private language institute in Karaj, Iran were initially selected and randomly assigned to one of the two learning conditions: T-Coding Method and Rote Rehearsal Learning. One meaning recall test was administered one day after the treatment to check the learners' immediate retention and the other one was given two weeks later to check the learners' delayed retention. The findings revealed that T-Coding method produced better recall compared to Rote rehearsal learning, it means that those who learned words via T-Coding method outperform well both in the process of immediate and delayed retention. Therefore, mnemonic devices should be given prime attention by either EFL material developers or instructors as an efficient technique for vocabulary instruction, acquisition, and retention.

Keyword: Mnemonics, T-Coding method, Rote rehearsal learning, Immediate Retention, Delayed Retention.

Introduction

Teaching vocabulary is a significant factor in language teaching, since words play an important role in expressing our feelings, emotions, and ideas to others during the act of communication. In many EFL (English as a foreign language) classes, even where teachers have devoted much time to vocabulary teaching, the results have been disappointing.

During the act of communication words play an important role in expressing our feelings, emotions, and ideas to others. Learning vocabulary has an important role in acquiring a second language, which has been emphasized by Paivio (1986) as a part of Dual Theory. "Vocabulary learning is an important goal in itself, far more important and complex than it is generally conceded by teachers of foreign languages" (p. 256).

Wenden (1987) reminds us of an old Chinese proverb which states as follow: "Give a man a fish and he eats for a day, teach him how to fish and he eats for a lifetime." It means that if learners are just supplied with ordinary way of vocabulary learning, only their current problem is solved. However, if the students are taught vocabulary learning strategies, they may be empowered to manage their own learning. Learners need to learn how to learn and teachers need to learn how to facilitate the process (Oxford, 1990, p. 201).

According to Chamot & O'Malley (1996) Strategy instruction can help students in different ways: *Firstly*, by strategy training students will be better trained and by gaining the skill in using those strategies they will be independent and confident learners, and *secondly*, they will be more motivated when they understand the relationship between strategy use and their success. In the process of identifying and categorizing language strategies, many studies dealt indirectly with strategies specifically applicable to vocabulary learning. In fact, as O'Malley et al. (1985, p. 561) noted, "Training research on learning strategies with second languages has been limited almost exclusively to cognitive applications with vocabulary tasks". O'Malley and Chamot (1990) divide language learning strategies into three major types: metacognitive, cognitive, and social/affective strategies.

From among those researchers tackled language learning strategies Oxford's (1990) classification is the most comprehensive one. Oxford's (1990) classification embodied direct and indirect strategies with 6 categories, 19 strategies and 62 sub-strategies. Direct strategies consist of 'memory', 'cognitive' and 'compensation' strategies. Indirect strategies include 'metacognitive', 'affective' and 'social' strategies.

Vocabulary retention has been defined as "the ability to recall or remember things after an interval of time. In language teaching, retention of what has been taught may depends on the quality of teaching, the interest of the learners, or the meaningfulness of the materials" (Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p. 457).

One of the best and most effective strategies in improving both immediate and delayed retention of second language words is mnemonic.(Atkinson, 1975) Mnemonic strategies refers to memory aids for enhancing the memory and making information more meaningful. Acrostics, acronyms, keyword, loci, and pegword method are different types of mnemonics.

Kenneth Higbee (1977) explained how training in memory aids, i.e., mnemonic techniques can be readily applied to a wide range of material that is to-be-remembered. Mnemonics are not only helpful in recalling concrete information, e.g. a shopping list, names, and faces but can also be efficiently applied to abstract concepts, e.g., a poem, lecture on philosophy, etc. Having a trained memory can be as effective for recalling information as speed reading is for absorbing written material. Not only do students remember more, but they do so more efficiently and effectively.

T-Coding is the new version of mnemonics in which concept making is the most important T-Coding phase. Generally speaking, it includes three phases: first a link is identified and created in the first language or it can be a second/foreign language link that the learner already knows, then for this link a real life example and explanation (universal code) provided to include both the link and the word, after that it should be used in a sentences so as to create more connections in the memory (Taraghi, 2015).

In this method the concept of the new words is created through explanations and examples, while in the previous strategies, an image was tried to be created which was sometimes impossible in abstract words. There is no limitation for T-Coding as is with the keyword method, the most acceptable mnemonic strategy. In fact in T-Coding words are not taught but implanted in the memory with the real life examples which exists in the learners' current memory. The dual informational coding system, dual process theory of memory, connectionism theory, and concept making are foundation for T-Coding method (Taraghi, 2015).

In order to facilitate the maintenance of vocabularies better and also faster, Taraghi (2015) revealed 14 categories in his conference in the university of Texas at Austin which each one employs special features in order to implant the idea and meaning in the learners' mind. These categories will be explained in the following statements along with some tangible examples:

1. Imagery codes: The codes used to form mental pictures of objects or events not present to the eye and connect the words with those in the native language, Persian, which associates well with a real image that can then affect later recall and comprehension. The theoretical position behind the notion of imagery strategy refers to constructivism. Spivey in 1987 considered three sub-processes of the notion of constructivism that are subsumed within the constructive process. These include the *organization*, the *selection*, and the *connection* of concepts through the construction of inferences or elaborations.

A wide range of vocabularies can be taught based on imagery codes such as bulky, typical, survive, flexible, and slender.

English word: Bulky /ˈbʌlki/

Persian code: (bul) بال =wing

بالهای عقاب Bulky هستند.

Persian equivalent:حجیم,بزرگ

2. Sentence in pronunciation codes: This feature related to those vocabularies that sentences can be formed out of their pronunciations. These kinds of codes are considered as the best one since the pronunciation leads to a sentence which help language learners remember to-be-learned information.

A large number of vocabularies can be taught based on Sentence in pronunciation codes such as: vicinity, dread, appealing, detest, reptile.

English word: <u>vicinity</u> /və-ˈsi-nə-tē/

Code: we see vicinity.

3. Exact Word in pronunciation codes: As mentioned earlier, the pronunciation of the vocabulary plays a crucial role in preparing the codes. These types of vocabularies are well-considered as the easiest and the most retrievable ones since they have the exact equivalent in the native language, Persian.

Some vocabularies possess this feature are as follow: technology, placard, charlatan, burden, theory, amateur, and censor.

English word: technology /tek-ˈnä-lə-jē/

Code: technology

Persian equivalent: تکنولوژی

4. Orthographical form codes: Some retainable shapes were designed out of the orthographical forms of vocabularies. Although this way of providing code is powerless, it can be applicable for several vocabularies.

Descend, ascend, idle, idol, and vertical own this feature.

English example: <u>d</u>escend /di-ˈsend, dē-/

Code: d (d   ): to write/d/toward down.

Persian equivalent: پایین رفتن, غرق شدن, فروکش کردن

5. Juxtapose codes: In the process of Juxtapose codes two words are coordinated together. The pioneer of the method believes that although there is not specific hint in this feature, words can be retained well due to using companion in producing these codes. Juxtapose codes are considered as the well-remembered codes since the retention's speed is faster. Several words belong to this specific feature such as novel and means.

English example: <u>Novel</u>/ˈnä-vəl/

Code: دیروز از بازار یک novel کهnovel بود را خریدم.

Persian equivalent: رمان , جدید

6. Hold in meaning codes: Some codes own the equivalent meaning spontaneously in themselves, therefore; we can grasp the meaning based on the existence code in the words. The question rise here is that "why do not we use all codes similar to this feature?" It should be asserted that if something is used in a routine way, it will not only be tedious but also will not be traceable by the mind as well. Therefore; applying disparate types of codes is a paramount necessity which is highly emphasized in T-coding method. Among the words that possess this characteristic we can refer to affluent, callow, and furtive.

English example: <u>call</u>ow /ˈka-(ˌ)lō/

Code: (Call=کال =immature)

آدم های کال و بی تجربه Callow هستند.

Persian equivalent:خام , بی تجربه, ناشی

7. Historical reality concept codes: In fact in creating these kinds of codes the originator of the method exploited the concepts expressing the truth that has been established according to the historical facts. All these codes refer to a historical belief that has been on our minds since childhood. As these concepts have settled in our mind along with their images since our childhood, activating them leads to recall the words as easy as a piece of cake. Variant words encompass this characteristic like spontaneous, squander, victorious, and deceive.

English example: <u>victor</u>ious /vik-ˈtōr-ē-əs/

Code: victor

victor Hugo یک نویسندهVictorious بود.

Persian equivalent:پیروز , فاتح, موفق

8. Social belief concept codes: The beliefs by which groups in a community identify themselves are used in order to construct these codes. These social beliefs are sets of ideals and worldviews: They are coherent from inside; they appear to be true once they are accepted, and they seem to be wrong once they are dismissed. Certain words comprise this feature such as sinister, valid, bigamy, prominent, hesitate, and adequate.

English example: <u>Si</u>nister /ˈsi-nəs-tər<u>/</u>

Code: (Si=سی = Number 30)

این سی نیست که Sinister هست بلکه اون سیزده است.

It should be noted that Iranians consider number 13 as a sinister number which brings them bad luck.

Persian equivalent:شوم, نحس

9. Action codes: An action code refers to a concept that can be expressed in the form of an action which is done or performed. Several words bear this feature such as eliminate, tempt, unique, mount, and migrate.

English example: <u>Mount</u> /ˈmau̇nt/

Code: Mount

من از اون mount ,mountain کردم.

Persian equivalent: صعود کردن , بلند شدن,بالا رفتن

10. Self-made concept codes: The initiator of the method made an attempt to provide some innovative concepts. It should be considered that those concepts would be real or fake; in other words there is no certainty or scientific fact behind them. As it was mentioned previously the pronunciation of the words play a crucial role in preparing these codes. There are many words that self-made codes help learners to retrieve them better such as fiction, frank, torrent, vague, and unanimous.

English example: <u>frank</u> /ˈfraŋk/

Code: Frank_____Frankfurt

مردم Frankfurt خیلی Frank هستند.

Persian equivalent: بی پروا, رک,صریح

11. Lie concept codes: The pioneer of the method generated some false concepts with deliberate intention. The weirdness of these concepts which convey the false impression facilitates the learning condition. Several words contain this feature such as absorb, defraud, pollute, lubricate, and calamity.

English example: <u>Absorb</u> /əb-ˈsȯrb, -ˈzȯrb/

Code: (Ab=water=آب, Sorb= Lead=سرب)

آب سرب را به خودش Absorb می کند.

Persian equivalent: مجذوب کردن,کاملا فرو بردن در ,جذب کردن

12. Imperative concept codes: Imperative concept codes can express a different emotion or desire. Moreover, they issue a request, give a command or express a desire or wish. Expressing strong feeling, or asking a question assist learners to retain provided information better and also faster. It is worth pointing out that most of the imperative concept codes are short and simple. Several words embody this feature are as follow: narrow, debate, assemble, drench, ballot, and retain.

English example: <u>Narrow</u> /ˈner-(ˌ)ō, ˈna-(ˌ)rō/

Code: (Narrow=نرو=Do not go)

از کوچه های تنگ و Narrow نرو.

Persian equivalent: تنگ,دراز و باریک ,محدود ,باریک

13. Joke concept codes: As the name suggest Joke concept codes refer to those codes that something is said or done to evoke laughter or amusement, especially an amusing story. Learning a second language requires a particular positive atmosphere in the classroom. In the field of foreign language teaching there are numerous suggestions for the use of humor in the language classroom (Cornett, 1986; Fisher, 1997). Since using humor can promote understanding, and hold the attention of the students**,** learning vocabularies will be easy and also more enjoyable for the learners. Several words like deride, horrid, wail, reluctant, and devise own this characteristic.

English example: Re<u>luc</u>tant /ri-ˈlək-tənt/

Code: (luc=لاک=nail polish)

پسرها از لاک زدن reluctant هستند.

Persian equivalent: بی میل

14. Scientific concept codes: The codes which regulated by or conforming to the principles of exact science. Many words can be taught according to this attribute such as survive, maim, threat, source, preserve, and vessel.

English example: Survive

Code: (Surv=سرو=Cedar)

درخت سرو حتی در هوای سرد هم Survive می ماند.

Persian equivalent: باقی ماندن, زنده ماندن

Method

Participants

The participants of this study were 80 intermediate female students studying English at Jahad Daneshgahi institute in Karaj, Iran. They were selected out of 120 EFL learners who took a Standardized English Proficiency Test (i.e. Nelson test) based on the results of their performance. The learners whose scores fell one SD above and below the mean on the Nelson proficiency test were selected to take part in the study. This ensured that all the participants were homogeneous regarding their English proficiency. Most of the participants had previously passed starter, elementary and pre- intermediate classes. All the participants were either high school or university students in different fields. The participants' age ranged from 14 to 21. The participants were randomly divided into two groups.

Instrumentation

The researcher constructed two booklets for each teaching condition. One of them for the T-Coding condition consisted of only English words and the other for the Rote rehearsal learning included the English words and their Persian equivalents .The other instruments used in this study consisted of a Nelson English proficiency test and three vocabulary tests: one of them as the pre-test and the others as the post-tests.

Procedure

In this study, the researchers utilized a Nelson proficiency test to place the participants in a range of one standard deviation below and above the mean (26.508). Allotted time for this test was no more than 25 minutes and all attendants finished just in time. To ease the process of correction, an answer sheet was constructed consisting of 50 multiple-choice boxes for the participants to mark with pencil. Before administering the test and after the distribution of test and answer sheets as well, the researchers explained the instructions in participants' native language (Persian). After 25 minutes, they were asked to put their pencils down and all answer sheets were collected for data analysis.

In order to homogenize the participants, measures of central tendency including mean scores and standard deviations of the test were performed. The number of students who participated in this test was 120. The range of scores was between 10 and 44. The reported mean was 26.508 and those participants whose scores were approximately in the range of 25.5 to 32 (about plus or minus one standard deviation) were selected; therefore, 80 participants were chosen as the final sample.

According to their scores, the participants were randomly divided into two groups. Members of both groups were females. To check whether the determined groups were homogeneous an F-test was applied. Results of F-test (0.007) showed that the T-Coding method was not significantly different from Rote rehearsal learning.

To ensure the homogeneity of learners regarding their knowledge of vocabulary prior to the treatment, a list of 450 vocabularies (taken from current vocabulary sources used in Iran) were given to the students to write down the meaning of the words either in English or Persian .As it was essential to recognize how many of them were familiar to the students to check the effectiveness of the words on both their immediate and delayed vocabulary retention as well. Accordingly, those words of this list which were unknown to the learners were selected and the rest were omitted from this list. The pretest and the posttests of the study were also developed based on these selected words procedure, finally 150 words randomly selected out of those unfamiliar words for the treatment. Out of this list 120 questions were designed, 40 questions were considered for pretest, 40 questions for post-test 1, and the other were allocated for post-test 2. To estimate the reliability index of the pre-test and two post-tests Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was used and the obtained result for the pretest was 0.71. The obtained Cronbach's alpha coefficient for posttest 1 and posttest 2 were 0.65 and 0.69, respectively.

In the first stage of the study, a test consisting 40 multiple choice questions used to identify the level of vocabulary knowledge for participants. They were supposed to mark the answer on their answer sheets in 20 minutes. The answer sheets were gathered and scored by the researcher, the true response to each item was awarded 1 point; while, for each item that was unmarked or marked erroneously, zero score was assigned.

The participants in the T-Coding method group received the same words as the participants in the Rote rehearsal learning group. Unlike the Rote rehearsal learning group, in T-Coding method group there is a code of the similar sound to Persian word along with some concepts provided by the instructor for the learners between each English word and the Persian

equivalent. They received their booklets included only the English words. After explaining the T-Coding method to the learners, underlined the hints and then provided a connection between the foreign words and their own language, Persian. She supplied the most appropriate concepts for the learners as well, then she asked the learners to write down those concepts and their definitions in their booklets; furthermore she asked them to repeat the words and their concepts along with their meaning chorally. The class held just in one session and took four hours long, it should be noted that after 2 hours they had a 15-minute break time in favor of refreshing their minds.

The participants in the Rote rehearsal learning group received their booklets for the memorization condition included the English words and their Persian equivalents. They received a total of 150 words to study and used conventional methods of learning vocabularies. The words and their Persian equivalents were written on the board by the instructor and the students were supposed to listen and repeat aloud, as repeating aloud has more influence on learning than repeating silently. After finishing the repetition, they were offered to have a 15-minute break time. Then they were asked to read the words for themselves silently. Similar to the experimental group, the class held just in one session and took four hours long.

After the treatment, the two groups were tested two times; allotted time for each test was 20 minutes. A day after the treatment session the first test was given to both groups, this test consisted of 40 multiple choice questions in order to check the students' immediate retention. Two weeks later, another test was given for the second time to check the students' delayed retention. After the collection of data, the participants' scores were obtained by adding up the correct answers. Each participant's total score fluctuated between 3 and 40.

Data analysis

In order to analyze the collected data multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted as the dependent variable of the study was measured at three stages. To show the differences between two group three independent t-tests were applied.

Data analysis

Some descriptive and inferential data analysis procedures were performed:

Table 1. Descriptive results of mean and standard deviation of pretest and posttests in both experimental and control groups

Variable	Group	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Pretest	T-Coding method	2.32	1.92	40
	Rote Rehearsal learning	2.27	2.03	40
Posttest 1	T-Coding method	32.17	7.47	40

	Rote Rehearsal learning	15.00	6.55	40
Posttest 2	T-Coding method	33.62	7.01	40
	Rote Rehearsal learning	12.35	6.10	40

As it can be seen in the table, in the descriptive level, an average of two experimental and control groups in all three tests (i.e. pretest, posttest 1, and posttest 2) are different. These results indicate that T-Coding had been of more beneficial effects than the Rote rehearsal learning on the learning and retention of the vocabularies; however, in order to determine if the differences among means were significant or not, multivariate Analysis of the Variances was run on the data. The results showed that the differences among means were statistically significant (Table 2).

Table 2. The results of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA)

Source	Variable	SS	Df	MS	F	Sig.
Group	**Pretest**	**0.050**	**1**	**0.050**	**0.013**	**0.91**
	Posttest 1	**5899.613**	**1**	**5899.613**	**119.346**	**0.000**
	Posttest 2	**9052.513**	**1**	**9052.513**	**209.370**	**0.000**

Based on the above table, the lack of significance in pre-test (not a significant difference between the T-Coding method and Rote Rehearsal learning groups in the pre-test stage) and being significant in both posttests (significant differences between T-Coding method and Rote Rehearsal learning groups in terms of both immediate and delayed retention), T-Coding in case of enhancing learning both in terms of delayed retention as well as immediate retention has a positive effect.

Table 3. Results of the independent t-test to evaluate differences between the groups in terms of pre-test

Pretest	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig.	Mean	Std.	95% Confidence

Posttest 2	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				(2-tailed)	Differen ce	Error Differen ce	Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	0.986	0.324	0.113	78	0.911	0.05000	0.44344	-0.83281	0.93281
Equal variance not assumed			0.113	77.756	0.911	0.05000	0.44344	-0.83286	0.93286

Table4. Results of t-test to evaluate differences in terms of post-test 1

Post-test 1	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Differe nce	Std. Error Differen ce	Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	1.248	0.267	10.925	78	0.000	17.17500	1.57215	14.04509	20.30491
Equal variances not assumed			10.925	76.711	0.000	17.17500	1.57215	14.04426	20.30574

Table 5. Results of t-test to evaluate differences in terms of Post-test

	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	0.464	0.498	14.47	78	0.000	21.27500	1.47032	18.34782	24.20218
Equal variances not assumed			14.47	76.561	0.000	21.27500	1.47032	18.34695	24.20305

Considering the lack of meaningful Levene's test (p> 0/05) applying t-test to compare the groups is permitted. Moreover, based on the significance level of the results reported in table 3 (p> 0/05) there is no significant difference between the T-Coding method group and the Rote Rehearsal Learning group in the pre-test scores. However, According to the results reported in the table 4 and 5 (P <0.01) there is a significant difference between the the T-Coding method group and the Rote Rehearsal Learning group in posttest 1 and posttest 2 as well.

Conclusion

The present study was set up to investigate the role of T-Coding method in comparison to Rote Rehearsal Learning on Iranian EFL learners' vocabulary retention.

Most relevant studies are findings by direct comparison of the conventional meaning and keyword. Regarding mnemonic strategies, Thompson (1987) concluded that mnemonic aids, particularly the keyword method, help learners to memorize words more effectively. Pressley, Levin, and McDaniel (1987) emphasized that through mnemonic aids such as the keyword method a direct link is made between the word and the associated definition.

In DCT, it is assumed that the dual encoding of imagination in verbal and imaginal forms enhances elaboration, comprehension, and memory by producing extra memory traces and more acceptable retrieval paths. Since T-Coding triggers activation in both verbal and imaginal system, it was expected to produce the better results than the other conventional methods such as rote rehearsal. Furthermore, it was expected to be superior than the keyword method, because although the keyword method also activated both the verbal and imaginal systems, T-Coding would provide much more elaboration in the verbal system and more referential connection between the two systems not only for the concrete words which are the integral parts in keyword method but also for the abstract words as well. Some investigations revealed that the words with concrete referents were more successfully recalled than the words with more abstract referents especially those vocabulary items which the instructor had been able to establish a stronger mnemonic relation. Hulstijn (1997) states that the keyword method can be effective for concrete words only, so T-Coding disqualifies Hulstijn's (1997) position to assume an unquestionable validity. Raugh & Atkinson, 1975; McDaniel & Pressley, 1984; Rodriguez & Sadoski, 2000 in their findings emphasized that the key word method led to a stronger retention of vocabulary items than the classic memorization practices. As few examples, the obtained results stand in   harmony with the findings of

Pressley et.la (1982), who showed that those learners who used key word method were more successful in learning and retaining the vocabularies than those who only memorized the vocabularies. Similarly, the findings are consistent with those of Baleghizadeh and Ashoori (2010) conducted a research to compare the effect of keyword and word list methods on immediate retention of English vocabulary in a natural classroom setting. They concluded that the keyword method produced better recall compared to the word list method, suggesting a promising educational value for its utility. Likewise Levin et la (1992), Beaton et al (2005), and Nemati (2009) among others demonstrated that mnemonic keyword method results in more efficient vocabulary learning and long-term retention than the other methods.

Pedagogical Implications

The first and most advantage of T-Coding is that it saves time a lot. As we move forward in our field of language teaching we can easily see that learners seek to find the easier and faster methods of language, therefore T-Coding can fulfill their needs. In addition, as data demonstrated, retention through this method both in short term and long term was superior to the other methods. Furthermore, there is no difficulty in learning vocabularies in this method because it involves jokes, stories, and also it keeps learners alert in the class room. No complex process is involved in this method, it only consists of three phases, creativity link which has been made before presenting in the class, creating concepts and explaining them to the learners, that's how this method works well. There is no claim that T-Coding is the only best way in teaching vocabulary learning and retention, it may have some disadvantages as well, however the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. One more implication to consider is that it can be applied to all languages; the only necessity is that teachers learn how to make codes and present them to learners.

Suggestions for Further Research

Considering the research findings and limitations of the current investigation, some suggestions for further research possibilities are introduced as follow:

- To examine T-Coding on a larger number of learners, both female and male, and on different level of language proficiency, and also on different ranges of learners' age

- To imply further studies with more participants from other nationalities

- To examine different types of mnemonic devices on EFL learners' vocabulary recall aside from T-Coding

- To examine the effect of T-Coding on the other components of language

- To compare T-Coding with other vocabulary learning strategies in acquiring productive knowledge of foreign words.

Acknowledgement

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The E-commerce Development and its Limitations in Full Operating Cycle Firms in V4 Countries

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Abstract

In recent decades, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe there are significant changes in national economies. Many of them joined the European Union in 2004. Among the EU Member States noteworthy is the largest group of countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Czechia, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary. On 15 February 1991 they have concluded an agreement on the formation of the Visegrad Group. It was aimed at expanding cooperation between these countries and in the initial phase of accession to the European Union and NATO. Analysis of the changes that have taken place in companies using online sales in the countries of the Visegrad Group is the subject of this article.

Keywords: e-commerce, online, internet sale, V4.

JEL codes: D21, D22, D61, M41

1 Introduction

The main purpose of the paper is a scientific discussion about the influence of stock level in enterprises selling online. The research includes companies from the countries of the Visegrad Group, called in brief V4. In the initial stage, these countries were of similar economic conditions (Jašová et al., 2016), (Tkáčová, Siničáková, 2015), (Šoltés, Gavurová, 2014), (Michalski, 2016b), (Reznáková, Karas, 2015), (Raisova et. al., 2014).

Name of the Visegrad Group was formed during the meeting of the presidents of Czechoslovakia and the Polish and Hungarian Prime Minister. This meeting took place at the castle in the Hungarian town of Visegrad. It has been planned exactly in this group, because these countries have not only convergent main foreign policy goals, but also enjoy the possibility of its implementation (Novotná, Luhan, 2012). Visegrad Group established International Visegrad Fund.

These countries from the beginning of political transformation build their competitive potential. Giving priorities for investment in the industrial sector industries that rely on local raw materials, and private industries that are based on the production of the chemical industry and petrochemical, As well as expansion in some industries based on agriculture products and marine resources sector in order to reduce dependence on the raw material sector. V4 countries were concentrated on the possibility of creating some of the devices and the institutions that support export activity physically and morally. They focused on domestic production to cover domestic demand and reduce dependence on imports and restrict the goods and products that the local economy is unable to produce them locally (Ahmidat,2016), (Michalski, 2016a), (Michalski, 2015c), (Merickova et. al., 2015), (Cheben et al., 2015), (Gavurova, Soltes, 2016), (Gavurova, Soltes, 2014), (Brozyna et. al., 2015), (Bem et al., 2015b), (Michalski, 2015b), (Soltes, Gavurova, 2015). They do this in order to meet the competitive forces in quite the single European market and the global markets (Zielińska-Głębocka and Gawlikowska-Hueckel, 2013). Even for rather small economies, such type of cooperation can be of great significance (Pavlicek, Kristoufek, 2015), (Michalski, 2015a), (Bem et al., 2014b), (Bem, Michalski, 2016), (Bartak, Gavurova, 2015), (Szczygieł et. al., 2015).

Visegrad countries were different from the other countries of the former communist bloc. In other countries, internal changes were generally much less advanced, and strive for EU membership much longer or as was the case in Slovenia, the road was much shorter. At present, all countries of the Visegrad Group are the members of the European Union (Gałaś, 2015), (Michalski, 2010), (Bem et al., 2015c), (Bem et al., 2014a).

Electronic commerce (e-commerce, e-commerce) as defined by the Polish Central Statistical Office includes the transactions carried out by the network. They can be based on IP or other computer networks. Goods and services are ordered over those networks, but the payment and the ultimate delivery of the ordered goods can be made in or outside the network. Literature describes the internet and e-commerce as an indispensable element of the development process (Lawrence, 2013).

This is some of the attributes associated with the e-commerce revolution (Brożyna et al., 2015), (Bem et al., 2015a) that has brought about a fundamental change in the conceptualization of commercial transactions: economic cost, convenience, sustainable value creation and product diversity.

Definition of objective and measurable financial criteria of what is considered sustainable value creation for the corporations is a key to understand full operating cycle firm position. Going through annual reports there is possibility to found in the annual reports a measure which the company uses for that exact purpose which is called *Value Added*. It's supposed to quantify the financial value which is added during a given fiscal year deducted by the capital invested to provide the operational assets. For fiscal year 2015 Daimler stated the value add to be 5675 T€. Using above factors and the data listed in the 2015 annual report there is possibility to calculate and verify the stated value. This value add calculation and the logic behind makes fully sense, especially when looking at it from the key objective of good corporate governance which is creating sustainable value. The formula and calculation that can be seen as a basis to use and compare value adds of the different companies and during the course of using the formula in the best in class approach or/and finetune the formula to allow financially proper comparisons (Bledinger, 2016).

E-commerce is associated production and sale of goods by modern information and communication technologies (Szopiński, 2013). Each transaction conducted over the internet is the result of steps: search, order, payment and delivery. According to Kraska e-commerce is commercial transactions via telecommunication networks, coupled with making payments for goods and services. This takes place without direct contact between the parties (Kraska, 2004).

During the past years steadily increasing the number of internet users has created a possibility to get to know the advantages and benefits offered by electronic commerce (Kim, Chung and Lee, 2011).

2 Methodology and Data

The test procedure is based on the method of multiple case studies. The research will be companies implementing online sales in countries belong to the Visegrad Group. The project will be mainly used methods of descriptive statistics and financial analysis. Empirical data are derived from the financial statements of companies operating in V4 countries. Selected research units will differ from each other in terms of market offer and the number of employees.

An in-depth financial analysis reports will focus in particular on measuring the effectiveness of activities. In addition, literature studies and analysis of extensive statistical data will allow for the emergence of strategic factors affecting the competitiveness of enterprises operating in the field of internet commerce. This will allow to assess the impact of factors specific to the investigated company on the relationship between the use of modern forms of sales and competitive advantage.

The study began by calculating the index Stock rotation in days. It indicates how many days the company renews its stocks to realize sales. The formula to calculate the index can be presented as follows:

$$\text{Stock rotation in days} = (((S_1+S_0)\div 2) \times 365) \div S_A \qquad (1)$$

where: INV_1 – stock in current year; INV_0 – stock in previous year; S_A – sale in current year.

3 Results and Discussion

Modern concepts of inventory management are focused on maximum reduction of differences between the intensity of use of the stock and the rate of supply, in order to obtain the continuity of material flows with minimal inventories. The most important goal for the organization becomes an increase in the worth of the business successfully applying competitive means. Modern organizations are forced to seek alternative means for resolving business problems.

Companies can no longer afford to lose their money in e-business initiatives without developing and using suitable means to support the appropriate level of inventories. Stock rotation in days for each of the countries of the V4 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Stock rotation in days

	2009	2010	increase 2010	2011	increase 2011	2012	increase 2012	2013	increase 2013
Czechia	33,14	53,71	62,07%	102,36	90,58%	42,33	-58,65%	45,74	8,06%
Hungary	157,57	91,37	-42,01%	69,84	-23,56%	492,94	605,81%	98,56	-80,01%
Poland	188,54	108,35	-42,53%	1175,40	984,82%	34,95	-97,03%	137,39	293,10%
Slovakia	1964,28	1476,39	-24,84%	120,34	-91,85%	481,19	299,86%	505,45	5,04%

Source: own study based on data from e-commerce firms reported in Database Amadeus product of Bureau van Dijk, [date: 2016 MAY 10]

Stock rotation in days in Czechia rise between year 2009 and 2011. In 2012 it fell from 102,36 to 42,33. In last examined year in Czechia stock rotation increase by 8,06%.

In Hungary we can see decrease in every year, beside 2012. In this year stock rotation reach the value of 492,94 days. In Poland the value rise sharply in 2011 by 984,82%. Slovakia reach a peak in 2009 year with value 1964,28 days.

Figure 1 Stock in e-commerce companies in V4 countries
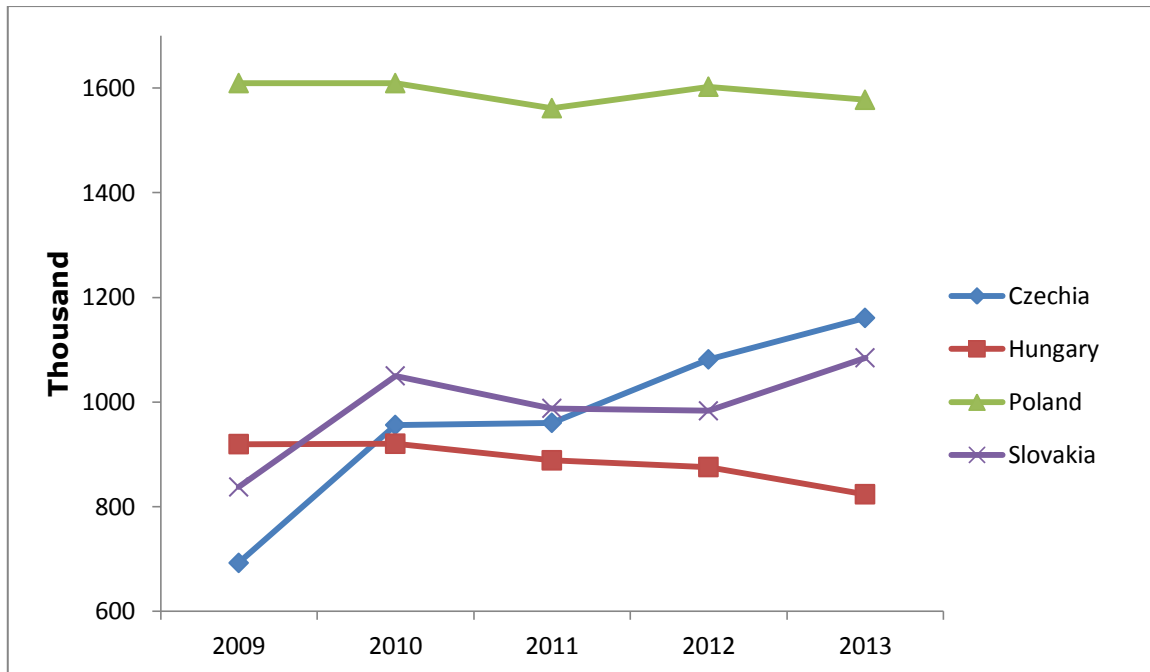
Source: own study based on data from e-commerce firms reported in Database Amadeus product of Bureau van Dijk, [date: 2016 MAY 10]

Country with the biggest value of stocks is Poland. Average value of inventories in Poland is 1600 thousand euro. Other countries have the value of stock between 600 and 1200 thousand euro.

The next stage of the study was examined the volume of stocks in comparison to each country. There was conducted Student t-test to examine whether these values differ from each other statistically. The results for Czechia compared to each country are presented in a separate table.

Table 2 T-student test for e-commerce companies in Czechia and Hungary

	Average CZ	Average HU	T	df	p	St. Dev. CZ	St. Dev. HU
Stock rotation 2013	45,7424	98,558	-0,92214	1734	0,356586	81,300	935,02
Stock rotation 2012	42,3349	492,935	-0,48051	1588	0,630933	62,997	15347,92
Stock rotation 2011	102,3585	69,843	0,89406	1463	0,371438	1059,061	320,04
Stock rotation 2010	53,7084	91,371	-0,80092	1440	0,423310	280,452	724,86
Stock rotation 2009	33,1434	157,569	-0,70135	1112	0,483234	39,665	2582,17

Source: own study based on data from e-commerce firms reported in Database Amadeus product of Bureau van Dijk, [date: 2016 MAY 10]

In any of the tested years p-value is lower than 0,05. In enterprises selling online in Czechia we cannot find the relationship between enterprises selling online in Hungary.

Table 3 T-student test for e-commerce companies in Czechia and Poland

	Average CZ	Average PL	T	df	p	St. Dev. CZ	St. Dev. PL
Stock rotation 2013	45,7424	137,394	-0,80575	656	0,420680	81,300	1856,98
Stock rotation 2012	42,3349	34,951	1,34157	639	0,180212	62,997	72,58
Stock rotation 2011	102,3585	1175,404	-0,83106	607	0,406265	1059,061	20795,09
Stock rotation 2010	53,7084	108,350	-0,58354	559	0,559766	280,452	1444,44

Stock rotation 2009	33,1434	157,569	-0,70135	1112	0,483234	39,665	2582,17

Source: own study based on data from e-commerce firms reported in Database Amadeus product of Bureau van Dijk, [date: 2016 MAY 10]

The same as in Hungary case in any of the tested years p-value is lower than 0,05. We cannot find the relationship between enterprises selling online in Hungary and enterprises selling online in Czechia.

Table 4 T-student test for e-commerce companies in Czechia and Slovakia

	Average CZ	Average SK	T	df	P	St. Dev. CZ	St. Dev. SK
Stock rotation 2013	45,7424	505,447	-1,34546	490	0,179099	81,300	5583,31
Stock rotation 2012	42,3349	481,188	-1,67603	488	0,094372	62,997	4286,87
Stock rotation 2011	102,3585	120,340	-0,21700	476	0,828298	1059,061	668,79
Stock rotation 2010	53,7084	1476,392	-1,15879	451	0,247154	280,452	19218,37
Stock rotation 2009	33,1434	1964,275	-1,15562	372	0,248577	39,665	24341,28

Source: own study based on data from e-commerce firms reported in Database Amadeus product of Bureau van Dijk, [date: 2016 MAY 10]

The last table shows that there is no relationship between stock rotation in e-commerce companies in Czechia and Slovakia. P-value is higher than 0,05 and

4 Conclusions

Problems in the development of e-commerce may be due to the characteristics typical of the post-socialist backwardness constraints. The economic reforms associated with the transition to a market economy resulted in rising unemployment and general impoverishment of the population. The European Union currently consists of many countries, and some of them are countries of the former Eastern bloc. Europe's center of gravity shifts. The process of enlargement of the European Union not only drives the changes in the new countries, but also leads to a change of the whole of Europe.

Acknowledgments

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Be/Longing for Belonging: Asian Americans' Dilemma of American-ness in Kingston's *Tripmaster Monkey* (1989)

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Abstract

Belonging is intrinsically related to the concept of identity which has yet to be created and recreated times and again, especially by contemporary writers who find themselves located within multi-cultural and multi-racial societies. Within the context of the United States of America reputed for its ethnic strata, constructing one's identity becomes a pressing need taking into consideration the ever-lingering opposition between the hegemonic mainstream and the marginalized minorities. Maxine Hong Kingston, a Chinese-American woman writer exposes the Chinese-American quandary of belonging to America in her novel Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book (1989) wherein she considers constructing identity as an ongoing process whose objective is to situate oneself with regard to an Other. Kingston reiterates the idea of a need to define oneself vis-à-vis the Other. In this process, marginalized individuals as well as diasporized ethnic minorities write themselves back into the mainstream history and discourse from which they are excluded or absented. They do this through asserting their belonging to a certain ethnic, racial and cultural space. Wittman Ah Sing, Kingston's protagonist, is situated into a bicultural environment where he keeps struggling to make disparate cultures have a peaceful encounter; therefore, he creates a third hybrid space to which he proudly admits belonging.

This paper seeks to gloss over Chinese-Americans' struggle to belong to the American nation through investigating the life of Wittman Ah Sing and depicting his quest of identity, which is anchored on the notion of belonging. The paper is divided into three sections: the first one deals with the intrinsic relationship between belonging and identity. The second section aims to contextualize belonging with reference to the notion of 'place' and that of 'space.' The last section is devoted to Kingston's Tripmaster Monkey (1989) which serves to illustrate the previous ideas of belonging, identity construction and the pertinence of place and space to the quest and articulation of identity.

Keywords: American-ness, belonging, Asian Americans.

Introduction

Belonging is intrinsically related to the concept of identity which has yet to be created and recreated times and again, especially by contemporary writers who find themselves located within multi-cultural and multi-racial societies. Within the context of the United States of America reputed for its ethnic strata, constructing one's identity becomes a pressing need taking into consideration the ever-lingering opposition between the hegemonic mainstream and the marginalized minorities. Maxine Hong Kingston, a Chinese-American woman writer exposes the Chinese-American quandary of belonging to America in her novel *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* (1989) wherein she considers constructing identity as an ongoing process whose objective is to situate oneself with regard to an Other. Kingston reiterates the idea of a need to define oneself vis-à-vis the Other. In this process, marginalized individuals as well as diasporized ethnic minorities write themselves back into the mainstream history and discourse from which they are excluded or absented. They do this through asserting their belonging to a certain ethnic, racial and cultural space. Wittman Ah Sing, Kingston's protagonist, is situated into a bicultural environment where he keeps struggling to make disparate cultures have a peaceful encounter; therefore, he creates a third hybrid space to which he proudly admits belonging.

This paper seeks to gloss over Chinese-Americans' struggle to belong to the American nation through investigating the life of Wittman Ah Sing and depicting his quest of identity, which is anchored on the notion of belonging. The paper is divided into three sections: the first one deals with the intrinsic relationship between belonging and identity. The second section aims to contextualize belonging with reference to the notion of 'place' and that of 'space.' The last section is devoted to Kingston's *Tripmaster Monkey* (1989) which serves to illustrate the previous ideas of belonging, identity construction and the pertinence of place and space to the quest and articulation of identity.

1- Belonging and Identity

Various debates about identity stress its unified aspect. It is considered as an independent entity. Radhakrichnan argues against the idea that "[...] identities are monolithic and non-hyphenated by nature and therefore can have only single boundaries; each identity entrenched within its own single time" (4). He points out the inherent view of identity as a coherent entity, which is not expected to split. Radhakrichnan writes about boundaries of identity and explains that:

> "The phrase 'boundaries of identity' suggests boundedness in a plural form. My point here is to multiply time by spaces to suggest, first that the concept of identity is in fact a normative measure that totalizes heterogeneous "selves" and "subjectivities." Second, that the normative citizenship of any identity within its own legitimate time or history is an ideological effect that secures the regime of a full and undivided Identity (4).

Radhakrichnan destabilizes the grounds of the traditionally-constructed idea of identity, which presents it as monolithic and resistant to changes. He uses the two factors of time and place in an interconnected way so as to offer multiple ways of constructing identity that end up to testify to the pertinence of belonging to specific time and place. Changing these two frames of

belonging generates a wealth of identities. Hence, the link between identity and belonging becomes unquestionable.

Belonging is not merely the reference of an individual or an ethnic minority group to a specific setting; it gains more momentum when it trespasses the physical setting to an abstract one. Croucher believes that belonging is "a frustratingly complex concept" (40). She adds that "it operates at the level of individuals and groups, ranging from very small to very large, and can connote juridical as well as emotional dimensions of status or attachment" (*Ibid*). Attachment is another word for belonging which is seen as complex because of its dependence on other variables. It is this dependence on other variables that account for the view of identities as "never formed in isolation" (Croucher 40). Groups' or individuals' identities depend on their relation to others in specific culturally-hybrid contexts which impact identity formation in a radical way. Croucher quotes Kevin Yelvingtons' paraphrasing of Karl Marx's idea of inventing oneself. "People invent their ethnicity, as they invent their history, but, not exactly in ways which they please (1992, 3 qtd. in Croucher 40). It is obvious from this quote that it is people who invent whether their ethnicity or their history; yet, what is worth pointing out is that the act of inventing does not always reach what it is intended to. In other words, the act of inventing oneself is triggered and governed by the need to construct identity which depends to a great extent on the agency of the self and the other and the dialectic of interaction between them.

Identity is based on self/other polarized definition. Defining oneself, individuals or groups resist being defined by others, which proves to be most often governed by racial prejudice. Yet, defining or identifying oneself in connection to others relies strongly on the geographical places and abstract locations that these individuals or groups occupy or are located in. In fact, locating oneself whether referring to individuals or groups is usually seen in relation to a definite place to which one *belongs* or in which one *is located*. Notice the deliberate switch from the active to the passive forms depending on the perspectives. In 'one belongs to a place,' there is involvement on the part of the person who belongs. It is more likely that it is this person who admits belonging to a place or a community. Yet, one is located embeds a pre-judgment, in some cases it is an implication of racism. With the idea of a strong link between identity and belonging in mind and considering the implications of the change from being active in defining oneself or being passive that is being defined by others, it is feasible to talk about an imposed identity and a gained one. While the active involvement operates in the context of a physical place, the second act of being defined by others relates to a moral abstract space which implies that place and space contextualize the quest for identity.

By constructing one's identity, people and individuals aim to attain a coherent independent entity which belongs to physical and abstract spaces. These spaces and places delineate the limits or boundaries within which one enjoys a certain power which manifests in the claim of belonging. However this process of identity construction within the borders of a certain place or space does not always culminate with an undenied belonging. It is most often stereotype-ridden and instead of belonging, people end up being located in specific physical or abstract places or spaces. The abstract aspect of a space and the physical characteristic of a place lead to conceiving identity in two different ways: as "static, essential and unidimensional, or fluid constructed and multidimensional" (Croucher 36). This one-dimensional aspect is related to the idea of imposed identity, which pins the identity of an individual or an ethnic group to a specific often stereotypical frame; while the multidimensional aspect is related to an unlimited space whose abstract borders are only

conceived by individuals who belong to ethnic minorities and to an Other who has the ability to locate groups or individuals in a certain place because he enjoys a certain self-granted power. The case of the mainstream whites and the Chinese-American diaspora, for which Wittman Ah Sing is a representative, serves to illustrate this idea. Croucher lists the adjectives "multidimensional" and "fluid" both of which suggest the idea of a flexible identity, which is molded by the abstract space to which one decides to belong. "The use of the term belonging is intended to capture the affective dimensions of attachment and identity while preserving an awareness of their fluidity and constructedness" (40). Provisional belonging seems to be, which accounts for the impact of physical places and abstract spaces in constructing self-definition.

Identity can be constructed and reconstructed an infinite number of times relying on the changes in the contexts of time, place and space. Cornell and Hartman state that "identity and belonging are something that people accept, resist, choose, specify, invent, redefine, reject, actively defend and so forth" (qtd. in Croucher 40). This idea of inventing identity and redefining it accentuates its aspect of temporariness or transience, which finds justification in America's being open to economic, ethnic and social changes. For this reason, Croucher points out: "belonging is heavily influenced by contexts and circumstances–political, economic, social and cultural" (41). Individuals' or groups' feeling of belonging operates on all these levels, most pertinent of them all, is the political level. Therefore, belonging or not belonging unfold as outcomes of political decisions. Belonging or not decides on individuals' or groups' positions with regard to political power. This is why, as I will clarify in section three, the Chinese-Americans depicted in Kingston's novel are diasporized, marginalized and treated as aliens who do not belong to the American society dominated ever by the mainstream whites.

Belonging is dichotomous to not belonging. Ethnic minorities in the United States define who they are by specifying who they are not. "Identity […] always relies upon an 'Other' (Croucher 40-41). This is consonant with Ma's assertion that "inherent in any subjectivity formation, the image of the other is required even for the founding of the United States" (2). Identity requires an 'Other;' while belonging requires juxtaposition, even an abstract one, of 'Us' and 'them.' Identity always relies on an 'Other' and belonging relies on an 'Us' [which] necessitates the existence and recognition of a "them" (*Ibid*). Croucher's use of pronouns which have different orientations and her reference to them as different entities sometimes 'Us' and some other times 'them' depending on perspectives, guides us to the notion of boundaries or borders. Croucher asserts: "belonging necessitates and implies boundaries between the different entities previously listed so that they are defined or identified. It is with reference to one another that the early-mentioned entities gain identity. This harks back to Croucher's idea of identities [which] are never formed in isolation (40). They are not immune to the influence of their contexts.

To recapitulate about the intrinsic relation between belonging and identity, it is handy to consider the pertinence of the notion of the 'Other' to the very process of constructing identity, which is succinctly captured by Kristevea's phrase, "the subject-in-progress, le sujet-en-progrés" (qtd. in Walk 105). Kristeva emphasizes the process of identity construction, which is relevant to individuals' and groups' alike. The very phrase 'the subject-in-process' is emblematic of a process which seems never completed. Subjectivity or identity is not constructed once and for all. We rather end up having at least two versions of identity; one perceived from within which refers to the way people identify themselves through asserting

their belonging to a specific group. The second version is that perceived from without which refers to the way people are identified. Croucher's account of belonging and its connection to identity paves the way for the idea of a place or a setting that cradles this process of identity construction. Place or setting is also limited by boundaries or borders. I intend to shed light on this relation in the following section.

2-Belonging: Places / Spaces

That places are associated with physical settings is casi undebatable. It is a shared finding that focuses on the literal meaning of 'places.' Yet, when subjected to an exercise of hermeneutics, places acquire a symbolic moral dimension. Hence, they turn into 'spaces' often understood as abstract notions with invisible boundaries. However the idea of invisible boundaries does not undo them. In other words, boundaries could not delineate a physical setting because in this case they are invisible. And yet, people observe these abstract moral borders. Bhabha quotes Hiedegger's definition of a boundary as "not that at which something stops but, […] the boundary is that from which something starts existing and yet this something starts existing vis-à-vis an 'Other'" (1). Bhabha uses the trope of the 'beyond' which implies the idea of a separating or limiting line i.e. boundary. The other starts existing beyond the boundaries of the self and actually this boundary is the very condition for the other and the self to start existing in particular time and place contexts.

The word 'place' becomes laden with meaning; hence, it becomes a space, a sort of an imagined place whose borders are not as clearly delineated as is the case with geographical locations. This focal point changes to another layer of thought and writers and critics try hard to draw and delineate its boundaries, yet to no avail as these borders are affected by "impermanent features of social life, dependent on particular circumstances rather than being permanent fixtures of human society" (Jacobson 4). Borders become vulnerable to events that take place and affect their strict nature making them more flexible. This implies that by changing our conception of a context for belonging, we move from a concrete context to an abstract one, from a geographical to a moral context. This is why "borders and boundaries designate moral proximity and moral distance, inclusion and exclusion." (14) The question is likely to be about the reference frame from which inclusion or exclusion could be confirmed. This reiterates the idea of the borders or boundaries of a place or a space as determining factors. In the case of multi-racial and multi-ethnic societies like that of the United States inclusion and exclusion depend mainly on racial borders. Though race can be viewed as a physical border or boundary, its implied signification is related to the abstract idea of stereotypes. This is what accounts for the exclusion of some ethnic groups as alien or exotic.

The boundary between place and space is based on people's view and reaction to physically-delineated or morally-conceived boundaries. Apart from the physical barriers that delineate places and draw borders, place which, Jacobson describes as not merely physical that is geographical but also as moral, can be associated with social identities. "Humankind's association with geographic place and the forms that association takes, tell us much about the character and shape of different social identities" (Jacobson 3). Friendship, comradeship, marriage, sororities, fraternities etc. reveal a need to belong. "People both have an emotional and a material need to belong, and an array of socio-cultural political groups including the one listed in the previous idea (family, friendship, churches, schools […] fulfill that need" (Croucher 40), which is partially dictated by a broader quest of identity. Jacobson clarifies

that "place has a distinctly moral element, containing as it does notions of belonging […] locating individuals and peoples geographically and historically and orienting them in the cosmos (*Ibid*). It orients them in their own life journey and in their quest of identities. Within the multicultural and social contexts of the United States of America, the white Americans belong to a mainstream majority; while other ethnic minorities are relegated to the margin. Accordingly their belonging to America undergoes serious threat of denial. In this respect I explore Wittman Ah Sing's dilemma of Americanness.

3- Tripmaster Monkey: Wittman's Dilemma of Belonging

Wittman Ah Sing, a fifth-generation Chinese-American descendent of a Flora Dora girl, Ruby Long Legs and a theatre emcee, Zepplin Ah Sing. Born backstage in vaudeville, he shows an obsession with theatre. Kingston depicts his life in America and evidences his belonging to America notwithstanding the racist stereotypes that stigmatize him as exotic, inscrutable Oriental (TM 310). The way Kingston problematizes belonging in her novel can be explored further when applying the notions of 'place,' 'space' and 'boundaries' dealt with in sections one and two. My investigation of Wittman and his family life and belonging to America operates at two levels; first at the physical level that perceives Wittman as a Chinese-American diasporized member within the geographical location of the United States of America. The second level deals with belonging as a symbolic abstract level where place is perceived as an imagined space.

Wittman lives in the United States of America where he is not recognized as American owing to his physical features like flat nose, small eyes and straight hair which trace him back to China. This is a major implication of the whites' racist slurs. Wittman and the Chinese-American to which he belongs are confined to the borders of Chinatowns with the degrading connotations of gambling, drugs, prostitution (Moy 35) that stigmatize China towns as a place embedding a heathen race.

Moving to the abstract notion of space, borders become a matter of awareness. Sometimes they are not clearly delineated which explains the existence of overarching spaces referred to as "contact zones" (Mary Louise Pratt qtd. in Huntley 163) or a case of in-between-ness that Bhaba calls a "third space" (37). In the American context, Wittman suffers inferiorization and asserts: "It would pain a true Chinese to admit that he or she did not have a community or belonged at the bottom or the margin" (TM 10). He judges his own position in comparison to other oppressed minorities and recognizes that he and his community are the worst classified: "There is nothing as rejected as a black woman but a yellow man" (TM 219). Skin color is evidence to racial difference. Thus, it reveals the first direct visible boundary between Chinese-American and Black African-Americans. The second boundary is that of gender. Black women are compared to Chinese men which is itself a degrading standard of comparison. It reveals a reductionist view of Chinese men which aims at womanizing them. Black women, who suffer the oppression of patriarchy, appear superior to yellow Chinese-American men. The way Wittman is viewed and treated reveals a denial of his American-ness on the part of the mainstream whites, which he feels painful.

In the unemployment office, the interviewer asks him: "You don't have a passport?" which he interprets as a hint to his alienation. "What's this? Is she calling me a wetback? I'm not going anywhere" (TM 227). Wittman is displaced as long as he is judged by the standards of white people. He "should go back to China where he belongs" (TM 308). His appropriate location is China, not America and if he happens to be there, it is only in his capacity of being

a sojourn. That the white Americans relegate Chinese-Americans to the margin of American society and refer them back to what they consider their mother country, China, in spite of their being born in America seems to be logical considering the whites' racist discourse, but that Wittman in his turn refers to himself as Chinese is what seems disturbing. For instance, when he makes a marriage vow to Taňa de Weeze, his future wife, he says: "My first marriage too, no little Chinese wife *back home*" (TM 163) (emphasis added). And the question is what he alludes to by the phrase "back home?" One should answer that by this phrase, Wittman refers to China, knowing that it was China men's common action to leave their wives in China and immigrate to America, where they may marry American women and get Americanized. Literally, this quotation helps locate Wittman in China only that an idea like that of hyphenation and in-between-ness would drain this contention of validity.

Wittman's dilemma of perceiving himself as American or Chinese is a good case of "racial double", which refers to "Asian Americans' uncritical internalization of the whites' refusal to distinguish between Asian and Asian-American. This internalization plagues Asian American protagonists by 'Asianness,' which is projected onto external figures of the same racial background and then recognized with dismay, even repugnance" (Wong 95). It also materializes the idea of "double consciousness," which is defined as "the sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of the others, of measuring one's soul by the staple of a world that looks on in an amused contempt and pity (W.E.B. Du Bois qtd. in Ling 105). It is the view one holds about himself from the perspective of the 'Other.' Wittman struggles to prove his Americanness, yet the racial stereotypes that he internalizes keep frustrating this project of gaining recognition as American. He admits suffering paranoia because of racism: "All my life, I've heard pieces of jokes-may be the same joke in fragments-that they quit telling when I walk in. They're trying to drive me pre-psychotic. I'm already getting paranoid" (TM 316). However, the desire to belong to America and re-right the historic wrongs inflicted on him and his ancestors - Kingston by extrapolation - proves to be stronger than the pain of racism. That is why Kingston models Wittman as a Monkey following the Chinese legendary figure whose main characteristic is his ability to change into seventy two transformations.

Wittman, "a present-day U. S. A incarnation of king of the Monkey," (TM 33) is able to be seventy two characters depending on situations, which offers him a wide range of social spaces he can occupy and seventy two chances of crossing physical and moral boundaries. He succeeds in developing a "slippery persona" that resists boundaries (Huntley 186). In fact, this ability of switching selves reveals that the apparently rigid boundaries are unstable as they depend on social markers like costumes, language or dialect. Locating individuals or racial groups depends on the perceiver's stand. "Awareness is all, on the part of the clothes wearer, and on the part of the beholder. A costume either disguises or reveals" (TM 85). Between these two acts of disguising and revealing unfolds identity, which depends on where one stands and belongs.

However this is not as simple as it may appear. Chinese-American actress, Nanci Lee, Wittman's Berkeley mate, is judged as too distracting as far as her looks are concerned. She says: "I've been to New York and Hollywood [...] you know? They say 'you don't look oriental.' I walk in, they can tell about me. They read me, then they say, "you don't sound right. You don't sound the way you look. You don't look the way you talk. Too distracting" (TM 24). Wittman's looks are distracting too. "His appearance was an affront to anybody who looked at him" (*Ibid* 44). He means to shock people and friends with his looks. He knows

that green makes his yellowness more apparent and yet he insists on wearing it. When taking pictures in the photo booth, "he looked like a wanted bandito. El imigrante, his wet back passport id" (*Ibid* 168). The previous quotations testify to the role appearance plays in locating people. Wittman's Chinese features locate him within the Chinese community referred to as outsiders.

Yet, Kingston's characterization of Wittman as a contact zone of two cultures which go as far back in Chinese history as the legend of the King of The Monkeys and as far as the sixties America. The sixties is a period of the Beatnik rebellious poets, the Civil Rights Movement, and the peace marches protesting the Viet Nam War. In this historical context, Wittman is influenced by the Hippy social vogue, by the rebellious spirit in the Beatnik poetry and by the yearning to freedom and equality energized by the Civil Rights Movement; therefore, he tries his own legitimate and historical right of singing America just like its quintessential poet Walt Whitman after whom he is called. His name "Wittman Ah Sing" is Kingston's transliteration of Walt Whitman's phrase "I sing" in his *Leaves of Gras* (Gao 105). Overlapping these abstract spaces which are here equated to the different liberating and rebellious movements and the physical contexts of Berkeley University, San Francisco, Sacramento and China Towns, Wittman remodels his identity careful to bring about a song of his unified composite self. He is depicted as wavering between Chinese-ness and American-ness and struggles to make these two parts have a peaceful meeting.

From the hyphenated third space, Wittman asserts that "he had been tripping out on the wrong side of the street. The wrong side of the world. What had he to do with foreigners? With FOB émigrés? Fifth-generation native American that he was" (*Ibid* 41). Wittman distances himself from newly-arrived Chinese immigrants in the States. He views them as aliens while to the Whites' eyes he *is* an alien too. Kingston's and Wittman's main concern is to reconcile unity and identity" (*Ibid* 105) which suggests a kind of split in the Chinese-American self. Wittman opts for a theatrical performance that would not leave anyone out of anything (*Ibid*137). The apex of his protest against the denigrating and excluding racial stereotypes is orchestrated in the last chapter of the book titled "One Man Shaw." It is Wittman's own theatrical space that he uses to alleviate his pain through talking directly to his mainly Chinese-American audience. He speaks to his heart content reproaching girls for wearing fake eyelashes and trying to meet the white American beauty standards, warning men of racist messages mediated through Hollywood films and TV programmes sensitizing his people to the explicit and implicit reductionist stereotypes abound in everyday life and art and finally singing his body electric: "I declare my looks – teeth, eyes, nose, profile- perfect" (TM, 314). Above all, Wittman reiterates the principal idea that he *is* American, which he accounts for using different arguments.

The first argument Wittman uses relates to the history of the Chinese-American in the United States. He states "Who are we? Where's our name that shows that we aren't from anywhere but America? We're so out of it. We've been here before Columbus, and haven't named ourselves" (TM 326). The need for a name, which suggests identity, is triggered by the feeling of not belonging to America, of being so out of it while Chinese-American have been there for years. Wittman is careful to point out that Chinese-Americans are no more stowaways. "Sojourners no more. You not be ocean Chinese, you be here. You're here to stay. I am deeply, indigenously here. And my mother and father are indigenous, and most of my grand-parents, indigenous. Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden State […] and more than California, the entire USA is ours" (*Ibid* 327). Relying on his birth on American land,

Wittman claims America as his ancestral land where he indigenously belongs. He also suggests removing the hyphen because Chinese hyphen American is emblematic of a sort of schizophrenia, while Chinese no hyphen American attempts to achieve a kind of monolithic entity. The hyphen stands for cultural and racial boundaries and removing it is an attempt at erasing more rigid and invisible borders. Ultimately, Kingston's protagonist succeeds to find his way out of the maze of belonging and not belonging by integrating his selves (Huntley 161), endeavoring to assert that he is an American and America is his province.

Conclusion

Wittman's being located in the geographical racist context of America dictates him an identity i.e. an imposed one. Kingston depicts him as an artist interested in theatre, which constitutes his social identity. Following his ancestral thorny path of defining oneself, he asserts his belonging to America by virtue of his birth on American soil. Furthermore, his love for theatre and poetry and his Berkeley's literary heritage shape his identity as American. He is a sort of abstract contact zone who dwells on a physical contact zone. The first refers to the encounter of his two disparate cultures; the second hints at China towns where he keeps moving about and meeting people who either confine him within the borders of China towns however hard he tries to cross its boundaries, or uphold his right of Americanness. He struggles to find his identity within places and spaces and in this quest he observes unity and identity.

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Les problèmes sémantiques dans les classes
de traduction française en Iran : le cas de polysémie lexicale

Semantic problems in French translation classes in Iran: the case of lexical polysemy

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Résumé

L'un des problèmes que rencontrent les apprentis traducteurs, c'est celui de la traduction des mots polysémiques qui reste étroitement liée au contexte dans lequel ils apparaissent. De même, les dictionnaires, surtout les bilingues, ne restituent pas les sens multiples d'un mot polysémique et ne s'avèrent pas efficaces pour surmonter cet écueil.
Les traducteurs et surtout les étudiants en traduction, dans leur pratique, se heurtent constamment à cette question : comment traduire un mot polysémique lorsque les dictionnaires ne peuvent pas en fournir une équivalence exacte ?
Ainsi, on se propose, dans cet article, d'examiner, quoique d'une manière succincte, la polysémie mais aussi et les notions telles que la monosémie et l'homonymie. On mènera ensuite une réflexion sur les dictionnaires monolingues et bilingues, en particulier français-persan, et la manière dont ils traitent les mots polysémiques. Et finalement, on étudie des exemples illustrant des difficultés auxquelles les étudiants font face ainsi que les erreurs de traduction dû à la polysémie.

Mots-clés : **traduction, polysémie, ambiguïté sémantique, monosémie, dictionnaire.**

Abstract

One of the problems that young translators encounter is that of polysemous words and knowing how to translate them -which depends closely on the context in which they appear. Similarly, dictionaries, particularly bilingual, do not restore the multiple meanings of a polysemous word and do not seem effective enough to overcome this problem.
Translators and especially translation students face constantly this question: how to translate a polysemous word when dictionaries cannot provide an exact equivalence?
Thus, we propose, in this article, to examine, albeit in a succinct way, polysemy and related concepts: monosemy and homonymy. Then, we make a reflexion about the monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, especially French-Persian, and how they handle the polysemous words. And finally, we provide examples of translation errors caused by the polysemous words by translation students.

Keywords: translation, polysemy, semantic ambiguity, monosemy, homonymy, dictionary.

Introduction

Dans le domaine de la traduction, trouver le sens exact d'un mot se pose toujours en premier lieu. Ainsi, pour les étudiants en traduction, les problèmes sémantiques, particulièrement ceux de polysémie et de synonymie, sont au centre de leurs pratiques de cours.

La présente recherche est une étude succincte des problèmes de la polysémie lexicale dans les classes de traduction française dans les universités iraniennes. Pour ce faire, dans un premier temps, nous allons présenter, sous forme d'un rappel, la notion de polysémie et celles qui semblent corrélées à celle-ci : la monosémie et l'homonymie.

Ensuite, nous allons nous intéresser à l'ambiguïté sémantique, chez le traducteur, provoquée par les unités polysémiques.

Nous allons également mettre en question l'efficacité des dictionnaires bilingues (français-persan) en tant que l'outil auquel les étudiants en traduction recourent le plus souvent.

Et finalement, nous allons illustrer nos propos à l'aide de quelques exemples commentés de l'ambiguïté sémantique dans les traductions effectuées par les étudiants.

Définition de la polysémie

« On appelle polysémique un même signe servant à plusieurs usages, répondant au principe d'économie linguistique. » (Alise Lehmann, Françoise Martin-Berthet,2000 : 65) Avec l'évolution des langues naturelles, ce phénomène peut répondre aux besoins langagiers d'une langue donnée qui pourrait se trouver face à de nouveaux concepts ou référents pour lesquels un signifiant doit être désigné. A titre d'exemple, le mot «bouche» d'après le dictionnaire *Larousse* a plusieurs sens :

1.   Organe d'ingestion des proies solides, qui caractérise l'appartenance d'un être vivant au règne animal.
2.   Cavité buccale chez l'homme.
3.   Les lèvres, qui limitent cette partie du corps : *Bouche fine, charnue.*
4.   Cette partie du visage en tant que moyen d'expression des sentiments, des sensations, ou révélatrice d'un trait de caractère : *Avoir la bouche haineuse.*
5.   Orifice de certaines cavités, de certains conduits : *Une bouche de métro.*
6.   **Armement**. Partie du canon d'une arme à feu, par où sort le projectile.
7.   **Œnologie**. Ensemble des sensations gustatives ressenties lors de la dégustation d'un vin.

La notion de polysémie a été employée pour la première fois par M. Bréal, fondateur de la sémantique, à la fin du XIXe siècle, pour qualifier la capacité des mots anciens de « prendre un sens nouveau »:

« Le sens nouveau, quel qu'il soit, ne met pas fin à l'ancien. Ils existent tous les deux l'un à côté de l'autre. Le même terme peut s'employer tour à tour au sens propre ou au sens métaphorique, au sens restreint ou au sens étendu, au sens abstrait ou au sens concret… A mesure qu'une signification nouvelle est donnée au mot, il a l'air de se multiplier et de produire des exemplaires nouveaux, semblables de forme, mais différents de valeur. Nous

appellerons ce phénomène de multiplication la polysémie » (Bréal 1897 : 154-155)[1].

Ainsi, avec un nombre limité de signifiants, une langue donnée peut exprimer un nombre illimité de signifiés, même ceux nouvellement créés, spécialement dans le domaine de nouvelles technologies. A titre d'exemple, nous pouvons citer le mot « lien » qui a les définitions suivantes et dont la dernière définition concerne le domaine informatique :

1. Chose flexible et allongée servant à lier, à attacher qqch. ➞ ATTACHE, [1] BANDE, CORDE, COURROIE, FICELLE, SANGLE; LIER.

2. fig. Ce qui relie, unit. *Ces faits n'ont aucun lien entre eux. — Lien de cause à effet.* ➞ CORRELATION, LIAISON.

3. Ce qui unit des personnes. ➞ LIAISON, RELATION. *Lien de parenté, de famille. Les liens de l'amitié. « […] le lien / Qui serre de si près mon cœur avec le tien »* (RONSARD).

4. littér. Élément (affectif, intellectuel) qui attache qqn à qqch. ➞ AFFINITE.

5. Ce qui retient, enchaîne. ➞ SERVITUDE.

6. inform. Relation établie entre des informations telle que l'accès à l'une permet l'accès rapide à une autre. *Lien hypertexte*.* (D'après *Le Robert/Dixel Mobile*)

En linguistique, ce phénomène s'appelle la **néosémie** et consiste en la création de nouveaux signifiés pour des unités linguistiques (mot, expression…) existantes. En d'autres termes, la néosémie est l'emploi de mots existants (lien, tablette, souris, virus, tsunami, etc.) dans de nouveaux sens.

Par ailleurs, d'après Kourosh SAFAVI, la langue courante exige la polysémie, car les mots ont des influences réciproques les uns sur les autres, ce qui contribue à déclencher ce phénomène.

> *On peut certainement prétendre que dans la langue courante, rares sont les mots dont le sens ne se modifie pas lorsqu'ils côtoient d'autres mots.* (صفحه 58، 1380، صفوی).
>
> En voici quelques exemples en persan :

تمام راه را تا خانه دوید.
تمام عمر را دوید و به هیچ جا نرسید.
چشمش دنبال شیرینی میدوید.
توی حرفم ندو.
رنگ آبی توی رنگ سبز دوید. *(ibid)*

Finalement, la polysémie, un signifié pour plusieurs signifiants, ouvre l'horizon vers d'autres notions dans lesquelles cette équation entre le signifié et le signifiant se joue différemment : monosémie et homonymie.

Polysémie et Monosémie

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1. Voir aussi, dans le même volume, la réédition d'un article de 1887, intitulé *L'histoire des mots*, dans lequel Bréal écrit : « Il n'a pas été donné de nom, jusqu'à présent, à la faculté que possèdent les mots de se présenter sous tant de faces. On pourrait l'appeler polysémie » (p. 314).

En parallèle avec le terme de « polysémie », il existe la notion de « monosémie »qui se définit par opposition à la polysémie : « monosémie » vient du grec « mono » (unique) et « semaînein » (signifier). En effet, lorsqu'on évoque la notion de la monosémie, le signifié et le signifiant sont liés dans une relation univoque : un signifié pour un signifiant. En d'autres termes, la monosémie est le fait, pour un mot, de n'avoir qu'un seul sens.

> *« Le mot polysémique (ou polysème) s'oppose, par définition, au mot monosémique. (...)*
> *Le mot monosémique a une seule acception (un signifié pour un signifiant). »* (Alise
> Lehmann, Françoise Martin-Berthet, 2000 : 65)

Théoriquement, la notion de la monosémie s'avère assez évidente mais il faut savoir que la monosémie n'est pas un phénomène courant en français. La tendance générale des langues, le français en l'occurrence, est la polysémie ; il suffit d'ouvrir une page d'un dictionnaire au hasard pour se rendre compte qu'une très grande majorité des mots sont liés à plus qu'un seul sens.

La monosémie reste donc un phénomène « rare » mais non pas inexistant ;à titre d'exemple,« un écrin » est uniquement*« une boîte, coffret pour ranger ou pour présenter à la vente des objets précieux ou fragiles, des bijoux, de l'argenterie, etc. »*, un « fermoir »sera un *«dispositif qui sert à tenir fermé un portefeuille, un collier, un bracelet, etc.»*, un « encéphalogramme » est « *un tracé obtenu par électroencéphalographie »*, un « kilomètre » sera « *l'unité pratique de distance (symbole km) valant 1 000 mètres »*, un «carburateur », « *un appareil préparant le mélange d'air et de vapeur d'hydrocarbures destiné à alimenter un moteur à explosion à allumage commandé »* et « octane » en chimie qui désigne « *Hydrocarbure saturé C_8H_{18} »*.

Ce que nous pouvons déduire des exemples cités ci-dessus c'est qu'il existe un seul domaine où la monosémie semble avoir son mot à dire, un domaine aux antipodes des usages communs de la langue : le langage scientifique et technique. Ce langage, de par son essence même, cherche la précision, l'exactitude et l'univocité, disons qu'il rejette toute subjectivité. Le langage scientifique et technique se veut dépouillé de toute sorte d'interprétation, de glissement entre eux interprétations, voire de « différance » disait Jacques Derrida.[1]

La monosémie est ainsi le caractère des termes techniques ou scientifiques et elle s'attache ainsi à l'objectivité : ce qui sépare le langage technique et scientifique des autres « départitions », si le terme est permis, de la langue, c'est le côté objectif de ce langage. La monosémie relève donc du vocabulaire de spécialité alors que la polysémie est le domaine du vocabulaire commun.

> *« La monosémie est un phénomène rare. Il peut cependant être atteint dans les*
> *terminologies concertées ou contraintes, comme en chimie. »* (Depecker, 2002 :
> 127)

La polysémie et la monosémie créent également des fréquences d'utilisation différentes ; le nombre de fois que les locuteurs d'une langue font appel aux unités polysémiques est bien plus supérieur en comparaison avec le nombre de fois que les unités monosémiques sont utilisées. De

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[1]Le terme différance provient d'une conférence prononcée par Derrida en 1968 à la Société française de philosophie. Ce terme suggère que la relation directe entre signifiant et signifié ne tient plus,il y donc des glissements de sens infinis d'un signifiant à un autre.

la sorte, par exemple, il y a beaucoup plus de chance d'entendre un terme tel que « curieux » en comparaison avec le mot technique « octane ».

Polysémie et Homonymie

Il ne faut pas confondre l'homonymie et la polysémie. On appelle homonymie la relation entre deux ou plusieurs formes linguistiques qui ont le même signifiant graphique et / ou phonique mais des signifiés différents.

Ainsi, ce qui sépare l'homonymie de la polysémie c'est que deux mots homonymes ne représentent aucun lien entre eux, leur signifié étant différent et venant des étymologies différentes ; c'est la raison pour laquelle les homonymes donnent lieu à des entrées multiples, souvent numérotées, formant des articles séparés dans les dictionnaires, alors que les unités lexicales polysémiques disposent d'une même entrée, avec des subdivisions différentes dans les cadres du même article.

Ambiguïté sémantique

L'ambiguïté est la propriété d'un mot ou d'une suite de mots ayant plusieurs sens ou plusieurs catégories grammaticales possibles. Ainsi cette notion semble-t-elle corrélée à celle de la polysémie car c'est en effet cette dernière qui déclenche l'ambiguïté .La polysémie, parce qu'elle génère des ambigüités où des équivoques, permet de jouer sur le sens des mots. Autrement dit, la polysémie présente une même forme qui peut avoir plusieurs interprétations sémantiques :

Forme

- Interprétation 1
- Interprétation 2
- Interprétation 3
- Interprétation n

Cela entraîne ce que l'on appelle l'ambiguïté sémantique, amenant le traducteur à procéder à la désambiguïsation sémantique qui consiste à *« éliminer les significations non pertinentes des mots*

et des phrases en vue de ne pas retenir que la signification pertinente – tâche immensément complexe. » (Rydning, 1er semestre de 1998 : 11-40)

La question centrale reste donc à savoir comment procéder à la désambiguïsation pour arriver à cette « pertinence ». On parle de **désambiguïsation** sémantique lorsque chaque mot est lié dans « un contexte » donné à une définition unique.

D'après le dictionnaire *Larousse*, le contexte est, en effet, « *ensemble des conditions naturelles, sociales, culturelles dans lesquelles se situe un énoncé, un discours* ».Ne pas faire état du contexte peut s'avérer problématique pour le traducteur, il peut même mener à des erreurs ; car, nous venons de le remarquer, le seul critère aidant à trouver le sens pertinent lorsque le traducteur fait face à un mot à sens multiples est le contexte.

Un exemple d'ambigüité lorsqu'il est considéré hors tout contexte peut être l'adjectif « curieux » ; cet adjectif fait l'objet de quatre entrées dans le dictionnaire *Larousse* :

1. Qui est très désireux de voir ou d'apprendre quelque chose : *Je suis curieux de savoir ce qu'on pense de moi.*
2. Qui témoigne du désir de voir et de savoir : *Elle le regardait d'un œil curieux.*
3. Qui est propre à inspirer ce désir, qui est digne d'intérêt, remarquable : *C'est une curieuse petite ville.*
4. Qui est bizarre, étrange, étonnant, singulier : *Un curieux personnage qu'on ne peut définir.*

Un locuteur expérimenté saurait distinguer la différence entre le sens de cet adjectif polysémique lorsqu'il s'antépose ou postpose le nom.Le dictionnaire *Larousse*, à l'instar de la majorité des dictionnaires monolingues, présente des exemples pour chaque entrée, ce qui aide à la mise en évidence du sens exact, car apporter un exemple, c'est en effet introduire un contexte. De la sorte, il serait difficile pour un locuteur non natif ou un étudiant de repérer ces différents sens à l'aide d'un dictionnaire bilingue ne mettant à sa disposition aucun exemple. Cela pourrait même parfois entraîner plus de perplexité pour un utilisateur non averti.

Utilisation d'un dictionnaire bilingue/monolingue

Le dictionnaire en tant que le premier outil du traducteur semble être au cœur de la traduction d'un texte. Une des grandes difficultés auxquelles font face les utilisateurs des dictionnaires est de retrouver la traduction adéquate d'une unité lexicale polysémique.

Les dictionnaires, selon le fait qu'ils sont bilingues ou monolingues, traitent, entre autres, les unités lexicales, polysémiques ou pas, de différentes façons. Il faut savoir que la différence basique entre le dictionnaire monolingue et le dictionnaire bilingue c'est que le premier fournit des définitions d'une entrée inconnue et le second un équivalent.

Le problème qu'un dictionnaire bilingue doit résoudre c'est en effet celui d'équivalence. Et on sait bien que les mots jugés équivalents ne remplissent pas pleinement cette notion dans le sens où les deux équivalents issus de deux langues différentes ne sont presque jamais superposables.

Si la problématique de la polysémie relève du casse-tête pour les traducteurs- et dans une plus grande mesure pour les étudiants en traduction-, c'est que la plupart des dictionnaires, surtout les bilingues français-persan, ne semblent pas très utiles car, nous venons de le remarquer, l'équivalence y est décontextualisée.

Par ailleurs, lorsque l'on évoque la notion de l'équivalence, la question essentielle qui se pose c'est d'être conscient à quel point on pourra compter sur l'exactitude d'un équivalent.

Pour répondre à cette question, quatre remarques s'imposent :

D'abord, si le signifié renvoie à une réalité culturelle et si le signifiant est représenté par un élément du lexique dans les deux langues en question, on pourrait parler de l'équivalence totale. Par exemple, le mot « chien : سگ », dont le signifié pour un Français est le même qu'un persanophone.

Ensuite, parfois le mot existe dans les deux langues, cible et source mais la réalité culturelle est absente dans la langue cible ; dans ce cas, on devrait parler d'une équivalence lacunaire, le locuteur de cette langue ne connaissant pas ou ayant une connaissance limitée sur le terme. Citons, entre autres, les termes de la botanique, les réalités culinaires, etc. Dans ce cas, l'équivalent fait l'objet d'une entrée monosémique et sans ambiguïté.

En troisième lieu, il faut parler de l'équivalence inexistante, la réalité culturelle et le terme n'existant pas dans la langue cible. A titre d'exemple, la notion du mot « apéritif » n'est pas familière à un locuteur iranien et un étudiant qui se réfère à un dictionnaire français-persan quelconque pourrait trouver « اشتها آور » comme équivalent.

Finalement, certaines unités polysémiques créent un cas d'ambiguïté d'une langue à une autre : dans un dictionnaire français-persan les mots « belle-sœur/beau-frère » et « cousin/cousine » sont des cas d'école.

Polysémie dans un contexte universitaire en Iran

Nous voudrions souligner, encore une fois, le rôle des dictionnaires en tant qu'un outil primordial qui pourraient poser des difficultés pour les étudiants iraniens dans leur recherche pour un équivalent adéquat. Dans la majorité des dictionnaires français-persan –les dictionnaires persan-français ne faisant pas l'objet de notre étude dans cet article-, les équivalents sont présentés les uns après les autres sous une forme non contextualisée. Pour élucider ce problème, nous avons choisi deux exemples tirés des dictionnaires français-persan de *Farhang Moaser* et *Rahnama* utilisés le plus souvent par les étudiants pour leur pratique de traduction.

Pour le même terme, le dictionnaire *Littré* (version électronique) offre 26 équivalents, ce qui corrobore cette idée que les dictionnaires français-persan ne peuvent pas toujours être un outil fiable pour les étudiants.

En effet, selon Gak (1970 :115), « *l'usager d'un dictionnaire bilingue est amené à constater souvent, et malheureusement trop souvent, que les équivalences fournies par le dictionnaire ne peuvent pas s'appliquer aux contextes réels* ».

Avant de présenter notre corpus, il convient également de donner un bref aperçu du parcours universitaire en ce qui concerne la discipline « traduction française/traductologie » au niveau de licence aussi bien qu'en master, le niveau de doctorat n'étant pas encore mis en place.

En général, la licence de traduction française se fait en quatre ans, dont les quatre premiers semestres sont exclusivement consacrés à l'apprentissage de la langue française, la majorité des étudiants étant des purs débutants.

Ainsi, arrivés au cinquième semestre, les étudiants ne possèdent pas le bagage linguistique nécessaire pour une traduction appropriée des textes. Ce problème pourrait même se maintenir jusqu'à la fin de leurs études surtout si, outre les problèmes de structure entre autres, les ambiguïtés sémantiques ne leur sont pas présentés correctement.

Dans les niveaux supérieurs, nous avons repéré le même problème dans les traductions faites par les étudiants. Pour démontrer ce problème, nous avons constitué notre corpus à partir de *Choix de lettres de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, traduction et texte original*, traduit par un groupe d'étudiants des universités iraniennes, dans le cadre du colloque « Rousseau, Aujourd'hui », organisé en 2012 à Téhéran, à l'occasion du tricentenaire de la naissance de Rousseau.

Exemple : *Mais il est difficile de trouver, sur ce point, de la bonne foi chez les hommes et de bons <u>calculs</u> chez les philosophes, parce que ceux-ci, dans la comparaison des biens et des maux, oublient toujours le doux sentiment de l'existence indépendant de toute autre sensation*(…).

اما در این مرحله سخت میتوان نزد انسانها ایمان، ونزد فلاسفه <u>حسابی</u> درست رایافت چرا که اینان در مقایسهٔ خیر و شر، احساسِ لطیفِ بودن را ،فارغ از هرحس دیگری ،فراموش میکنند(...).

Dans cet exemple, le mot « calculs » a été traduit par « **حساب** » en persan, le premier équivalent dans un dictionnaire français-persan (*Farhang Moaser*), tandis que l'équivalent le plus proche nous semble le mot « **حسابگری** » ou bien « **طرح/نقشه** ».

Exemple : *À l'égard de M. de Crousaz, je n'ai point lu son écrit contre Pope, et ne suis peut-être pas en état de <u>l'entendre</u>* (…).

در مورد آقای کروساز، نوشته های ایشان برضد پاپ را نخوانده ام و در شرایطی هم نیستم که آنرا<u>بشنوم</u>(...).

Mot polysémique, « entendre », dans son premier sens, veut dire « شنیدن », mais ici, cet équivalent ne correspond au contexte et l'équivalent exact devrait être « توجه کردن » ou bien « فهمیدن ».

Exemple : (…) *apprenez-nous à les chérir dans nos murs comme dans vos écrits.*

ما را بیاموزید تا این ارزش‌ها ر ا در <u>خانه‌های خود</u> به مانند نوشته های شما گرامی بداریم.

Les murs (au pluriel) signifie « la ville, la partie de la ville circonscrite par des murs » (d'après *Le Robert*) et l'équivalent choisi par le traducteur ne correspond pas au contexte et il faudrait le remplacer par « شهر » au pluriel.

Exemple : *Ma première idée était de vous prier de lui donner asile dans votre maison, ou auprès de l'enfant qui en est l'espoir, jusqu'à ce qu'il sortît des mains des <u>femmes</u> (…).*

تصور نخست ام این بود که از شما استدعا کنم در منزلتان به او سرپناهی دهید یا در جوار کودکی که انتظارش را می کشد
تا آن که کودک از دستان <u>زنان</u> بیرون بیاید.

Dans cet exemple, « زنان » en tant que l'équivalent de « femmes » crée un cas d'ambiguïté et le lecteur se demande quel est le sens exact de ce mot. Se référer au contexte pourrait élucider ce problème et le traducteur devrait faire une analyse interphrastique dans le texte de départ pour proposer l'équivalent le plus proche.

Conclusion

Dans un cas de polysémie lexicale, les rapports entre les mots peuvent être modifiés selon leur contexte. Dans ce cadre, la quête d'un équivalent pour une unité polysémique s'avère difficile, particulièrement pour un apprenti traducteur dont le bagage linguistique ne pourrait être à la hauteur de la tâche. D'autre part, les dictionnaires bilingues français-persan existant sur le marché ne sauraient toujours rendre compte de l'état des unités polysémiques, ce qui s'ajoute aux difficultés auxquelles les traducteurs devraient faire face. Ainsi, l'élucidation de ce problème et la sensibilisation des étudiants à ce phénomène sémantique qui relève de toute langue naturelle semblent nécessaires dans les cours de traduction. De même, la réédition des dictionnaires pour résoudre ce problème et la publication de nouveaux dictionnaires tenant compte de l'ambiguïté sémantique de certains mots en français s'imposent.

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Relationship between Computer Games and Aggression in Junior High School Students in Zabol City in Academic Year 2015 – 2016

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Abstract

Introduction: adolescents are major audience of computer games, harmful effects of which including aggression may be an obstacle for education of students and also cause disorder in educational environment. In addition, it causes self-harm in aggressive people. Thus, current study aims at determining aggression level in adolescents and its related factors.

Materials and Methods: In this cross sectional descriptive study 369 junior high school students in Zabol city took part who were studying during academic year 2015- 2016. Data were collected by demographic, computer games and Buss and Perry aggression questionnaires. Data were statistically analysed using SPSS 22 software.

Findings: Among 369 population in the study, 57.2 percent were female and remaining were males. 73.7 percent of students used computer games, and 51.1 percent of them showed aggression. Mean score of aggression was 79.60 ± 15.87 Findings showed significant relationship between aggression score in male seventh grade students and users of harsh games (P < 0.05). Also, there was significant relationship between physical aspect of aggression and gender, physical aspect and aaggression anger with the type of computer games and between anger and aggression hostility and educational grade of students (P < 0.05).

Conclusion: Considering significant relationship between computer games and aggression, there is need for designing formulated educational programs for increasing awareness and changing attitude and subsequently changing adolescent behaviour for optimal use of modern technology in order to reduce their adverse effects.

Keywords: **Adolescents, computer games, student, aggression.**

Introduction

In the civilized community of today where we live, interpersonal violence is legally considered as crime and aggression with others will be followed by their reaction and may cause the next set of disputes [1, 2]. Adolescence is one of the most critical periods of human life when one is caught by many problems. With puberty arrival, childhood temperament gets stormy, extensive development emerges in their body and psychology, one may be aggressive or calm and quiet. All animal and human aspects which lay in his existence manifest due to puberty hormones [1-3)].

In today world, scientific development not only has influenced human life, space and the environment where he lives, but also it has changed principles governing relationships and interactions among human beings and their attitudes toward each other, others, and the world [2,4].

World of adolescents is not an exception and one of the manifestations of these changes is in the type of hobbies and the way of spending free times by this group of society. Its evident manifestation is in emergence and extension of electric games [5, 6].

Thus, with emergence and development of these games, producers of games offered more and more games, so that always quality of the machines and tools got increased and various games were offered, and each game had higher level of violence and severity compared to the previous ones [7, 8].

With increasing violence in these games, many adolescents tended to these games, so that today impacts of these games in children and adolescents have become one of the major issues in the communities. Hence, psychologists and experts believe that these games, like many other tools, should be used under supervision of parents for children and adolescents, and excessive and unlimited use of them would bring about harmful and dangerous outcomes [9, 10].

Considering industrial changes in the countries, our country is almost among those countries which are transiting from traditional to industrial state. Entrance of industry in the families and change in family behaviour and education system are factors which cause that the transition generation is neither in industrialized culture nor away from traditional state. These factors lead to social disorders. Entrance of video and computer games, which considerably contain harsh and violent appearance, as well as suicides in TV programs, violent programs in animation children programs and series and action films are generalized in behaviour of children in the family, school, and society. Various studies have shown that adolescents immediately after watching violent programs assault their peers in the family or school and show violent behaviour [11, 12].

Findings by the study in 2000 showed that children at ages 2- 7 averagely played computer games 34 minutes per day. Also, sale of computer games in 2004 in USA was about 7-10 milliard dollar and it is growing annually [3].

In the other study which was conducted for investigating relationship between video violent games and emergence of aggression in 397 students at ages 14- 18 showed that violent video games with human gaols were significantly related to emergence of aggression states in students. But the relationship was not significant in relation with other aggression states such as physical,

verbal aggression and anger. Also, findings suggested significance relationship between household economic level and playing these games in adolescents [4].

Findings by a study on prevalence of computer games on 1,500 students in Zanjan showed 53% prevalence among the subjects. 43 percent of these people played more than 3 hours per day. Computer games prevalence was 69% and 39% among boys and girls, respectively [5].

 Findings by different studies reported high influence of these games on adolescents which leads to reduction of physical activities, and ultimately reduction of physical and psychological health, isolation, aggression, depression, computer addition, and anxiety [6].

Considering importance of the topic, i.e. aggression, which can be an obstacle for education of students and cause disorder in educational environment, and ultimately it can cause harassment of students and others, aggressive behaviours of adolescent students should be solved, otherwise it would lead to harms for the school and society. Hence, this issue is investigated in order to solve the problem and identify role of factors affecting this issue. Considering different and sometimes contradictory findings in other places, and given lack of study on this issue in Zabol city's students, current research was conducted aiming at investigation of relationship between computer games and aggression in junior high school students in Zabol city in 2016.

Methodology

It is a descriptive- analytical research work and research population included all junior high school students in Zabol city during academic year 2015- 2016. Sample size was estimated as 369 students based on following formula considering minimum aggression prevalence (P = 0.4) [4] at confidence level as 95 percent and 5 percent error level. Multistage cluster sampling was used. That is, firstly all junior high schools were specified and 20 schools were randomly selected, and questionnaires were given randomly to students.

$$n = \frac{Z^2_{1-\frac{\alpha}{2}}p(1-p)}{d^2}$$

Data collection was done based on the questionnaire which has been used previously in similar plans [3]. In contained three parts. First part included demographic data such as gender, educational level, previous year GPA, parental education, parent job, household income. Second part was related to computer games in which age of beginning playing computer games, place of playing games, hours of playing games daily, name of computer game, type of computer game used by students were asked in closed manner. Third part included standard questionnaire with 29 items proposed by Buss and Perry [4] which measured aggression. It contained five options as follows: minimum score was 1 for option "I don't have this characteristic at all", and maximum score was five for option "I have these characteristics in high level". Of course, it is except for items 9 and 16 which were scored inversely. Thus, highest score was 145 and lowest score was 29. The higher was score it denoted higher aggression.

Following data collection, data were described in the form of frequency, percentage, mean, and standard deviation using SPSS 22 software. Data were analyzed using independent T test and one way variance analysis. P < 0.05 was considered as significance level.

Findings

This study was conducted on 369 students in Zabol city in 2015. They were junior high school students; 211 students were females (57.2%) and 158 ones were male (42.8%). Results showed that 272 (73.7%) considered computer games as their hobbies, while 97 (26.3%) didn't play these games. Mean aggression score in students playing computer games was 97.60 ± 15.87, and accordingly they were classified into subjects with aggression score above average and without aggression below average. 61 (62.9%) ones of students playing computer games did not show aggression, while 139 (51.1%) students playing games showed aggression.

Regarding quality of playing computer games, results indicated that 40.8 percent started playing these games early in elementary school. Regarding place of playing games, 81.6 percent played at home. In terms of duration of playing computer games, 126 (46.3%) played computer games below one hour daily. The mean for playing computer games was cell phone (42.3%), and 28.7 percent of them were interested in playing violent games. 63.6% of students' parents disagreed with playing computer games by them. Demographic information of respondents as well as descriptive information related to computer games are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic information of respondents and descriptive information related to computer games

Characteristics		Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
Academic grade	Seventh	43 (41.3)	61 (58.7)	104 (28.2)
	Eighth	111 (72.5)	42 (27.5)	153 (41.5)
	Ninth	57 (50.9)	55 (49.1)	112 (30.4)
GPA	18 – 20	164 (71.6)	65 (28.4)	229 (62.1)
	16 – 18	39 (39.8)	59 (60.2)	98 (26.6)
	14 – 16	8 (25)	24 (75)	32 (8.7)
	Below 14	0 (0)	10 (100)	10 (2.7)
Household income	Below 0.5 million	98 (47.3)	109 (52.7)	207 (56.1)
	0.5 – 1 million	51 (63)	30 (37)	81 (22)
	1-1.5 million	27 (73)	10 (27)	37 (10)
	1.5 – 2 million	21 (84)	4 (16)	25 (6.8)
	Above 2 million	14 (73.7)	5 (26.3)	19 (5.1)
Hours of playing games	No playing	63 (64.9)	34 (35.1)	97 (26.3)
	Below1 h daily	90 (71.4)	36 (28.6)	126 (34.1)
	1-2 h daily	46 (52.9)	41 (47.1)	87 (23.6)
	Over 2 h daily	12 (20.3)	47 (79.7)	59 (16)
Initiation of playing computer games	Before school	21 (30)	40 (70)	70 (25.7)
	Elementary school	60 (54.1)	51 (45.9)	111 (40.8)
	High school	67 (73.6)	24 (26.4)	91 (33.5)
Location of playing	Game net	3 (30)	7 (70)	10 (3.7)
	Home	128 (57.7)	94 (42.3)	222 (81.6)

computer games	With friends	17 (42.5)	23 (57.5)	40 (14.7)
Means of playing computer games	Laptop	24 (75)	8 (25)	32 (11.8)
	Play station	12 (21.8)	43 (78.2)	55 (20.2)
	Mobile phone	63 (54.8)	52 (45.2)	115 (42.3)
	Tablet	22 (61.1)	14 (38.9)	36 (13.2)
	Other	27 (79.4)	7 (20.6)	34 (12.5)
Type of computer games	Exciting	39 (67.2)	19 (32.8)	58 (21.3)
	Violent	17 (21.8)	61 (78.2)	78 (28.7)
	Intellectual	55 (76.4)	17 (23.6)	72 (26.5)
	Competitive	37 (57.8)	27 (42.2)	64 (23.5)
Parent's opinion	Disagree	87 (50.3)	86 (49.7)	173 (63.6)
	Agree	61 (61.6)	38 (38.4)	99 (36.4)

Table 2. Status of overall aggression and its aspects in respondents in terms of gender, game type and duration of playing game

Variables		Overall aggression	Aggression aspects			
Gender			Physical	Verbal	Anger	Hostility
	Females	77.35 ± 16.17	23.03 ± 5.89	13.35 ±4.15	18.26±5.62	22.72±6.31
	Males	82.08±15.20	27.37±6.45	13.69±4.14	18.79±5.18	22.32±6.02
	Total	79.06±15.87	25.01±6.51	13.60±4.14	18.50±5.42	22.49±6.17
	Sig. level	0.0	0.000	0.742	0.420	0.515
Game type	Exciting	78.60±14.96	23.69±4.67	14.09±4.21	17.87±5.80	23.05±5.83
	Violent & warlike	86.91±13.83	28.95±5.70	14.33±4.54	20.67±4.94	22.96±6.11
	Intellectual & creative	37.75±16.49	22.01±6.38	12.90±4.07	17.54±5.37	21.29±6.72
	competitive	78.19±15.26	24.77±6.79	13.06±3.49	17.59±5.04	22.77±5.86
	Sig. level	0.028	0.000	0.095	0.000	0.288
Educational grade	Seventh	81.23±15.71	25.63±7.15	13.80±4.36	19.62±5.03	22.17±6.00
	Eighth	81.06±16.55	25.03±6.51	13.08±3.91	19.17±5.82	23.78±6.54
	Ninth	76.17±14.83	24.33±5.81	14.02±4.16	16.54±4.80	21.27±5.65
	Sig. level	0.0	0.429	0.263	0.000	0.019

Also, T test results showed relationship between playing computer games or lack of playing games with mean score of overall aggression (sum of four scales of verbal, aggression, anger, and hostility) is significant (P + 0.039). It was so that mean score of aggression was higher in users of computer games. This relationship was significant with physical aggression (P = 0.015) so that physical aggression was observed more in computer game users. But the relationship was not significant regarding subscales of verbal aggression, anger and hostility (P > 0.05).

According to one way variance analysis, there was significant relationship between mean score of aggression and educational grade of students. According to Toki test, mean score in anger sub scale was higher in seventh grade (19.62) compared to eighth (19.17) and ninth (16.54) grades.

Also, mean score in hostility sub scale was higher in eighth grade (23.78) compared to seventh (22.17) and ninth (22.27) grades.

According to one way variance analysis, mean score and aggression and type of computer game used by students showed significant relationship and according to Toki test, mean score in action games (28.95) was higher than intellectual games (22.01), emotional games (23.69), and competitive games (24.77), and it was higher in action games (20.67) than intellectual (17.54), emotional (17.78) and competitive (17.59) games.

In relation with relationship between demographic variables and aggression, results of independent t test showed there is significant relationship between gender and physical aggression, so that mean score of aggression was 27.37 in boys and 23.03 in girls who used computer games.

But no significant relationship was observed regarding relationship between other demographic characteristics and descriptive information of computer games including GPA, educational level and occupation of parents, household income level hours of playing, means of playing, location of playing, and agreement or disagreement of parents with playing games and mean score of aggression in students according to chi square test ($P > 0.05$).

Discussion and Conclusion

Findings showed that 73.7% of played computer games (45.58% girls and 54.42% boys), and aggression was observed in 51.1 percent of them (42.1% girls and 62.9% boys).

In our study, significant relationship was observed in playing computer games and incidence of aggression in students, so that more than half of student users of computer games showed aggression. In the study by Tirgar et al. on 292 students in Kerman city in 2013 and study by Rajabi Gilani et al. on 573 students in Kermanshah in 2012 also similar findings were obtained [6, 7]. In fact, tendency to playing computer games in adolescence period is a kind of escaping by students for discharging their energy, while it influences their psychology and causes incidence of aggression in them.

In the current study, there was significant relationship between four aspects of aggression and computer game playing including physical aggression and anger aggression, so that playing computer games was more effective on incidence of physical aggression and anger in students. In the study by Farmanbar et al. on secondary school students in Rasht in 2013 also showed that incidence of physical aggression in users of computer games was more [3]. Study by Tirgar et al. and Abdolkhaleghi et al. on 333 male secondary school students in Tehran suggested that between violent computer games playing had higher impact on incidence of aggression in students [4, 7]. It can be described in this way that viewing violent scenes in this type of games in these games by adolescents and their interest in power seeking and lack of proper understanding of virtual world in these ages causes modeling and tendency to experiencing these conditions in real world, and it leads to incidence of higher aggression in adolescents.

In this study, mean score of aggression in boys was higher than girls and aggression was significantly associated with physical aspect. The study by Rajabi Gilani et al. also suggested the same finding [6]. In fact, having higher area of activity in different environments in the society for boys has led to higher influence of computer games on them compared to girls.

In this study, there was no significant relationship between playing computer games and hours of playing games, while findings by Rajabi Gilani et al., Abdolkhaleghi et al., and Shojaee et al. on 100 adolescents of computer game users in Ghom showed significant relationship between hours of playing computer games and overall aggression, physical aggression, verbal aggression, and hostility [4, 6, 8]. It can be described in this way that in our study higher number of computer game users spent below 1 hour on playing games, while in the populations under study by the mentioned authors longer hours were spent on playing games, and thus it caused higher impact of these games on the thinking and behavior of adolescents. In this research, no significant relationship was observed between academic achievement of students (GPA) and duration of playing computer games and aggression, while aggression was observed in students with lower GPA and longer hours of playing games in studies by Tirgar et al., Farmanbar et al., and Shojaee et al. [3, 7, 8]. It can be described in this way that hours of playing games in our study is often below 1 hour in the population and over half of the population had high GPA, and considering disagreement of over half of parents with playing computer games in the population under study and considering cultural situation of Zabol city compared to cities with central situation and access to facilities and the gap between parents and children in these cities, this difference is not less expected.

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The Impact of Time in Reshaping the Traits of Woman Character in George Eliot's *Adam Bede*

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Abstract

Literature is and continues to be the weapon through which the artist can fight against all forms of injustice in real life. Thus, the literary work arises out of a particular social context; that affect many facets of the artistic production. As a matter of fact, the portrayal of woman character in fiction depends on the angle of vision from which the writer can see and rewrite its traits mainly in the Victorian Era. Thereby, a feminine reflection may be more truthful to what females really live and feel under the pretext of preserving social hierarchy. Adam Bede represents one of the literary works where the novelist seeks a more egalitarian world. George Eliot was engaged in the project of liberating woman's mind and soul through her pen by rewriting the traits of woman as a fictional character. Her heroines were puppets transmitting multiple messages and morals by criticizing and offending masculine thoughts and manners. Her innovative style employing the game of time in reshaping woman's identity, granted her and her contemporaries a kind of historical recovery. In fact, time came not as a linear entity, but played a significant subjective role .It had its manifestation in every aspect of females' lives and thoughts. In Adam Bede, George Eliot tries to present the protagonist Dinah Morris as a character who stands as a challenge to the whole patriarchal system through her activism and reasonable thinking in spite of the different deceptions she went through in her life. Through the duality of time and gender, George Eliot was able to create a consistent piece of writing were she examines, criticizes and reforms a corrupted social milieu.

Keywords: femininity, time, masculine thought, gender theory, identity, Victorian Period.

The present work explores female's style and mind as presented in Eliot's *Adam Bede*. The main issue to be tackled here is the impact of time in reshaping the traits of woman character. So, the focus is to be concentrated on the Victorian period where many literary trends saw light. George Eliot and many of her contemporaries produced a literature obsessed with the context of war of ideas, in which the female component hardly tried to emancipate her soul and mind from a corrupted social system. The Victorian age chronicles the period from 1837 to 1901. It was a period of great changes, where many ideologies saw light. This had a great impact on the social, political, and economic system.

 In spite of being the age of prosperity and reform; this period had bad echoes because of the unfair social system. It deepened the misery of the muted group; which urged activists to react in various ways seeking reform. The Victorian period was concomitant too to the nineteenth century; a period of high literary prosperity. In fact, the whole former context had its reflection in literary productions, mainly those that were engaged with woman's case. Thus, literature was an efficient tool to echo internal dissatisfaction and frustration and by the way raise collective awareness. George Eliot was one of females' advocates whose fiction was loaded with anti-masculine opinions. As a first step, she decided to break with the old modes of writing and perception that mislead the public opinion, speaking about masculine superiority and feminine submissiveness. So the merit for her was to transmit a positive image of woman through her a pen that is no longer disempowered. She took advantage of being the other, to see what males cannot recognize with their petrified thought and sight, because otherness for man was a sign of inferiority. With an innovative style, Eliot tried to project woman's case in literature by looking for means to reshape feminine identity under the authority of collective norms and identity. Hence, she came with a new conceptualization of feminine gender in a highly stereotypical society.

It is not surprising to see that tightened relationship between literature and general context. Therefore, the duality of social hierarchy and gender has long been a fertile ground for all those who are interested in exploring the impact of gender divisions on social relationships. As a matter of fact, our case study *Adam Bede* can be seen as pro-feminine par excellence. Eliot in her literary productions echoed a permanent interest to value woman's existence. She tried in her manners to create her own space where to establish the legitimacy of females' right in an illegitimate social climate. The present study tends to show Eliot's efforts to redefine the concept of gender employing the game of time.

 As it was stated above, the social context had its implication in *Adam Bede*'s construction, especially if the writer is a woman in a highly patriarchal milieu. As a result, major characters were embodiments of the feminist movement's principles. In fact, the prior aim of feminism was to establish social equality in all domains. It included also the attempt to restore woman's right image in masculine writings. The present novel presents an innovative portrayal of woman as a writer, character and social member. The examination of Eliot's ideas will depart mainly from Butler's famous quotation that "there is no original or primary gender, but gender is a kind of imitation for which there is no original". This statement emphasizes the fact that there is no fixed imposed identity, instead woman is able to draw herself her destiny and identity. The activists of this movement were aware of the masculine strategies to marginalize females' existence, this is why they tried to fight against them within their space of authority; writing. They did also champion their otherness as a source of richness, not that of inferiority; in Lucy Irigaray's *The Sex Witch is Not One*, she affirms:

"…The feminine has never been defined except as the inverse, indeed the underside of the masculine. So for woman it is not a matter of installing herself within this lack , this negative , even by denouncing it , nor for reversing the economy of sameness by turning the feminine into the standard for " sexual difference; it is rather a matter of trying to practice that difference" (159).

Gender and temporality altogether reflected Eliot's conceptualization of intellectuals' role in historical recovery. Therefore, her flexibility in dealing with time had its impact on finalizing the complete portraits of characters and by the way it reflects her alert in redefining gender conception.

George Eliot's contribution in women's history lies in the fact of giving the right picture of the other sex without misleading the public opinion. Her ability to profit from the factor of time allowed her to enter wider horizons. Thomas Mann says "Time is the medium of narration, as it is the medium of life", this emphasizes again the dynamic dimension of time as having multiple interpretations. Hence, the literary depiction of time is far from that understanding of successive minutes and hours. The fictional portrayal of temporality reflected the author's confinement with the characters that she is able to report the minute details of their hidden thought. The treatment of time in the literary text provided the reader with multi-dimensional characters whose consciousness reveals dissatisfaction with their reality. In fact, there is a tight relation between temporality and consciousness, since the former has its manifestation in the individual's internal thought; Sherover argues that " because time permeates every activity of the being of the self , it order the continuity of change in all the complex relations that constitute a self , it permeates the relations each has with others" (107). Through stream of consciousness technique, interior monologue, fragmentation, theory of time…Evans was able to surf in the depths of her heroines and prove that time and consciousness are really interwoven in several instances. It was the past experiences and deceptions that left their scars on human psyche and by the way give birth to a new person with a new identity. In fact, the limitations of time had its impact in every aspect of the characters' lives. It offers a portrait of fictional entities with multiple subjectivity. As a matter of fact, in *Adam Bede* there is an emphasis on the interrelation between "true time" and "time of consciousness". Past experiences were alive in the minds of characters, it resulted in multiple ways of thinking and behaving. Evans tried to control her characters' thoughts in a way to prove the impact of chronological time on their consciousness. For instance, her heroines lose themselves in meditation, recalling past experiences which deepened their frustration with their real lives. Such atmosphere urged them to change and abandon that subordinate, submissive personality. The different modernist elements that Eliot employs (the flow of thoughts, inner side of personality, interior monologue, stream of consciousness, fragmentation…) work hand in hand to portray a female character with a new identity which has nothing to do with patriarchal measures. This is how time factor affects shared conventions and fixed identities.

In *Adam Bede*, the protagonist is Dinah Morris who is portrayed as a challenge to the traditional image of femininity. She is contrasted also to some passive characters like Hetty Sorrel whose existence is characterized by inability to take her personal decisions and being too emotional. As it was stated in a previous section, the novel took place in the Victorian period, an era with high gender discrimination. Eliot concentrated on her characters' internal thought, to reflect the different states of mind they went through while living under such condition, which led them at the end to reshape their own identities. Young argues that

" for Eliot , looking to 'see' the consciousness of another as a means of knowing another means seeing the other through the lens of the self seeing involves negotiation between image and its analysis, an analysis based on the seer's past knowledge or experiences or desires. To see the other means always to know a "negotiated" other, or reflection of the self" (76-77).

She focuses on woman's tendency to break with the old misconceptions, by studying the different experiences she went through. Her heroines were icons of women's revolutionary thought. She resorted to the idea of human's everlasting quest for satisfying her ambition. Thus, mobility and dynamism were two of the major impulses guiding characters , which is characterizing Eliot's style based on the idea of multiplicity and openness. This goes hand in hand with this article's title since the notion of time is one of the impulses drawing the traits of female characters. Having a first look at Dinah Morris's character, we can see the significance of her existence being a Methodist preacher who plays a vital role in the life of thousands of people. She has her particular manners that allowed her to solve thorny issues and compete the masculine discourse. What noteworthy, is that Dinah shares Eliot a lot of traits. The writer devoted her narrative to the study of women characters, who were challenging the whole patriarchal society. Dinah is depicted as destroying woman's typical image of caring mother and devoted housewife. Instead, she was disagreeing the marriage institution and chose a spiritual dimension to her life. She has her own idea about marriage "there's no man could love her better, and leave her freer to follow the Lord's work'" (Eliot, 35). She kept longing for independence and self-fulfillment in spite of being undermined by the public mentality. She is described as a working woman who is able to make sacrifices for others. She is presented as an ideal example of successful women whose actions were appreciated by those who are surrounding her. Her activism defending her opinions and thoughts were offended by the stereotypical other because of her tender manners. From a young age, she started teaching and organizing meetings which placed her on the position of leader not that of the learner. She has a great amount of self-confidence to voice loudly her beliefs despite masculine's attempts to deny the significance of her preaching. She has the magic power to attract people and provide them with internal security (like in the case of Hetty Sorrel). She prioritizes other's benefit over her own, which led her to repress her desires and emotions. This is evidence on how Dinah is a revolutionary female character who is able to control her inner desires. Despite the criticism she faced in her social life, she succeeded to draw her own trajectory. What made her really a successful preacher, is the fact of never prejudging people no matter how their faults were. She did always focus on the good side of human personality. She had even the ability to fascinate the other gender "the stranger, who had been interested in the course of her sermon, as if it had been the development of a drama – for there is this sort of fascination in all sincere unpremeditated eloquence" (Eliot, 34). Moreover, she works in a mill to be financially independent. It was true that the figure of Dinah was unique in many levels, but she was at times defeated by the factor of time which made her abandon many of her principles and submit to the mainstream culture. She lives the kind of inner struggle between her human emotional side and her spiritual commitment. She loses at times herself in past memories "Dinah, seeing that Lisbeth's attention was attracted, told her the story of her early life-how she had been brought up to work hard, and what sort of place Snowfield was, and how many people had a hard life there" (Eliot, 112). She was able to reproduce the whole past in her consciousness. The character of Dinah Morris is contrasted with that of the narcissist Hetty Sorrel, who was misleading by appearances and vanishing beauty. Her unreasonable thought led her to bad consequences. In spite of the fragility of

Hetty's personality, she is also presented as a revolutionary female character who challenged the whole society to defend her own desires.

After studying the major traits of the above mentioned characters, we will see the impact of temporality in rewriting their image. In fact, time and memory are two intertwined entities which guide the performance of character in the course of events. According to Bergson "Memory, as well as time, is forever growing and 'pregnant' memories are not forgotten, only stories and subject to the whims of perception and recall. Consciousness is similar to time , duration and memory». This idea goes hand in hand with the title of this article, since it emphasizes the fact of fictional character's mobility and unfixedness. It cannot be read from only one angle of vision. Instead it bears multiple interpretations. When the reader, lives the written text, he can enter characters' own world. In the case of *Adam Bede*, George Eliot is the kind of all-knowing narrator who offers the reader with a panoramic view of her protagonists. Hence, the various experiences that Dinah Morris and Hetty Sorrel went through in the course of events had the great impact on their personalities. The notion of time keeps being the hidden power which controls people's lives and decisions. Here we are not speaking about objective time where hours and minutes count, whereas we are speaking about the notion of psychological time filled with memories of loss and success. Those moments are responsible for the maturity of fictional entities. It is said that " Bergson's view removes the external standards and replaces it with what the internal sense of time reveals – that real time is that which people live and it is qualitative , not quantitative in nature" (Gillies, 102). In fact, the notion of time has a great transformative power. In the first sections of the story, Dinah Morris was the kind of devoted character who seeks her happiness in the eyes of the others. Later, she comes to give a particular importance to her desires and emotions. The act of marrying Adam at the end and giving up her social activism was the turning point in her career as an effective female character. Even though she preserved her sympathy towards others, she seemed to lose her enthusiasm in voicing woman's thoughts and ideas. The factor of time was worthy enough to reshape the personality of Dinah, she went through different stages having a leading role from an early age as a preacher, to adopting some conventions of the Victorian society about the necessity of marriage while keeping her core values of compassion.

Temporal frame had the ability to reproduce the traits of female protagonist, living the kind of inner struggle in a high stereotypical society. In fact Bergson gives the concept of time a subjective dimension ; his view " removes the external standard and replaces it with what the internal sense of time reveals, that real time is that which people live and it is qualitative , not quantitative in nature" (Gillies,102). The different experiences that fictional characters live in the course of events, destabilize their psyche and consequently recreate another type of character with another mode of thinking and behaving. The same for Hetty Sorrel on whom life experiences left its scars. On an advanced level of the story, she seemed to be the kind of passive character who does not yet know true meaning of life. She was seduced by appearances and physical beauty that led her to face a tragic ending. Being haunted by the memories of her relation with Donnithorne, she showed an unexpected self-confidence to defend her love. She was able to challenge the whole society just to satisfy her desires. The lines describing her in the dark field were echoing the kind of inner struggle that she lived when looking for Donnithorne. She tried by all means to look for a future to her coming baby, but her attempts were fruitless. All the scenes and states of mind she went through proved her uniqueness as a female in a prejudiced society. At the end of the story, her figure witnessed

another kind of transformation. She comes to understand true meaning of life. Hetty who was presented at the beginning as selfish, narcisstic and vain, turned to be responsible and determined. She wasn't able to get rid of Arthur's memories which had damaged her present and even future life "Hetty herself should feel that any pain she had suffered through Arthur in the past was compensated to her a hundredfold" (Eliot,441). Even Adam Bede lost that passion for Hetty Sorrel "when Adam and Hetty looked at each other , she felt the change in him too, and it seemed to strike her with fresh fear . It was the first time she had seen any being whose face seemed to reflect the change in her: Adam was a new image of the dreadful past and dreadful present. She trembled more as she looked at him" (Eliot, 460). In fact, Hetty can be said to be the victim of a whole society; starting from the Poyser family who was discriminating the orphan girl, to social norms which deepened class conflict. Thus, the external forces did undermine her paths towards a better life; she was again the victim of masculine irresponsibility when she found herself alone fighting to preserve her love.

What can be said at the end of this article is that George Eliot, the woman writer with a masculine pen- name was presenting an ambivalent point of view. She was at times portraying a highly revolutionary character but then it turned to be fragile and easily manipulated by the other. The different experiences that female characters went through in the course of events had the great impact on their personalities. The protagonist Dinah Morris was unable to preserve her core values, prioritizing her noble activism over perusing her desires. On the other hand, speaking about Hetty Sorrel, we have two facets; the one of victimized disempowered lady and the other of determined conscious female. Therefore, temporality plays a vital role in the psychological maturity of fictional entity. It can even rewrite the general traits and orientations of the heroines in a way that it present a new model of female character ready to challenge just to defend her femininity.

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Effectiveness of phone follow up discharge program on life style of patients admitted to CCU

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Abstract

Background: There is raft of document which highlights the effectiveness of life style on improvement of diseases. This study aimed to investigate the effectiveness of phone follow up program on life style of patients after discharge from cardiac care of CCU.

Methods: this was a quasi-experimental study included 144 patients admitted to CCU. The data gathered via demographic and life style related questionnaires comprising five subscale i.e. nutrition, physical activity, smoking and alcohol, sleep patterns, stress. Gathered information analyzed through SPSS software.

Results: The results indicated phone follow up program improved nutrition habits ($P<0/05$), sleep pattern ($P<0/05$), physical activity ($P<0/05$), and stress ($P<0/05$), although smoking was not significantly different with control group.

Conclusion: Considering effectiveness of phone follow up with nurses and reduces the health care cost in health centers. Therefore, it is suggested to nurse departments to apply this program after patients discharge.

Keywords: phone follow up, discharge program, life style o, CCU.

Introduction

Today regarding high economic burden of health care programs, safe and cost effective care methods are more emphasized in order to higher health safety in society (WHO, 2013). The hearth diseases are one of the most common couse of mortality in worldwide and Iran which is responsible for main reason of disability also. According WHO report (2005) hearth diseases were responsible for 41/3 percent of mortality in Iran and it is estimated will reach to 44.8% up to 2020. Coronary artery disease is the first cause of death in Iranian over 35 years (Siam et al,2012). Frothy percent of hospital additions also belongs to heart disease (Bethayie et al, 2009).

Recent studies believed that main reason of disease and mortality is related to life style i.e. smoking, inactivity and inadequate dietary habits, inadequate fruit and vegetable consumption are risk factors for cardiovascular disease and cancer (Loprinzi et alT 2015). Life style is included all health related behaviors which is in our control. One comprehensive approach recommended that health protective behaviors (risk reduction and prevention) and health improvement behaviors are considered as two item of healthy life style (Caruana et al ,2016). Health protective behaviors reduces disease risks and boosted self-satisfaction (Davies et al ,2015). Meanwhile Navaneethan et al (2015) in a recent research indicated life style patterns is interrelated with health and life span. Life style improvement is as effective as medication (Naghiyei and Alamdadi , 2011). Some patients are distressed in discharge time (Dudas,2001). They face with daily functions difficulties, low level of knowledge and awareness about medication and nutrition. Therefore, in some studies discharge problem considered to reduce these complications (Mistiaen, 2008). Phone follow up is frequently considered as part of discharge program (Clark et al , 2007). Phone follow up is appropriate tool to contact and deliver educations and health awareness, controlling symptoms, side effects and giving confidence to patients family in order to make warm and confident relationship between patients and nurses (Courtney et al, 2009). This method is efficient and economical which approved in previous studies (Dabirian, 2012).

Considering significance of life style and effectiveness of phone follow up on reduction of mortality, meanwhile no available domestic study in this area, this study aimed to investigate the effectiveness of phone follow up discharge program of life style of patients after discharge from CCU.

Methods

This quasi-experimental study included all patients with cardiovascular diseases referred to the Valiasr Hospital who meet inclusion criteria. The following formula used to calculate the sample size:

$$n = \left(\frac{(z_{\alpha/2} + z_\beta)^2 \times \sigma^2}{\varepsilon^2} \right)$$

$$n = \left(\frac{1.96 + 0.84}{0.33} \right)^2 = 71.99$$

All sample size considered 144 cases administered randomly in two groups of intervention (N=72) and control group (N=72) (Allavi-majd, 20005). The inclusion criteria were as following:

- Native of Mazandaran-Iran
- Literate
- No visual of audial impairment
- Having phone
- Willing to participation

Tools

Life style accessed via a questionnaire developed by Beig-Mohammadi(2012), the first part included 16 items regarding demographic characters and second part included 60 items in five subscales i.e. nutrition and drinking habits (31 questions), physical activity (5item), smoking (7 items), stress (9items) and sleep patterns (8 items). The questionnaire completed through interview with patients and caregivers. Each item considered 1 to 4 options with different values. Some questions scored vice versa. Total score included 100% which divided to four parts week (0-25), average (25-50), good(50-75) and very good (75-100).

Procedure

Patients divided to intervention and control group randomly. The control group received only routine care program. Case group participate in two educational sessions via educational let book. Education stopped when patients received and understand all educational items. The phone follow up administered via contacting by phone in second, forth, sixth day after discharge and continued each week and each month during 9:30am -1pm.
Let book included information about physician visit times, necessary recommendations about medications, symptoms, physical activity and nutrition.
Patients asked about situation, method of using medications (knowledge about medicine and doses), side effects, nutrition (food type, digestive problems), activity (problems due to activity, level of activity), level and quality of sleep, digestive, personal activities, health. The responses recorded in checklist and needed information given to patient.
Analysis
The SPSS -21 used to analysis data via descriptive and mac-nemar test to compare the mean score.
Ethical approve
This study approved with ethics code number: IR.MUI.REC.1395.4.8.
This clinical trial to study the system IRCT2015040713156N11 number has been registered.

Results

Demographic characters of participants

Variable		N	%
gender	Male	82	57
	Female	62	43
Marriage status	Married	125	86/8
	Unmarried	8	7/7
	widow	11	9/7
Education	Literate	14	9/7

	High school	33	22/9
	Diploma	51	36
	academic	48	33
Age	40-49y	14	9/7
	50-59	57	39/5
	60-69	38	26/3
	70-79	26	18
	Above80	9	6/5
Residency	Urban	98	68
	rural	46	32
Chronic disease	Yes	89	61/7
	No	55	38/3
Medication use	Yes	111	76/7
	No	33	23/3

According results presented in the table 57 percent were male, 86 percent married and most of them were educated in diploma level. Most of them aged between 50-59 and resident of urban areas. 89 cases have other chronic disease and of 144 cases 111 use medications.

Table 2. Nutrition after discharge between control and intervention groups

SUBJECTS	Group	N	mean	SD	sig
Liquid oil	Control	72	3/77	0/41	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/83	0/75	
Solid vegetable oil	Control	72	1/72	0/56	0/017
	Intervention	72	1/93	0/42	
Olive oil	Control	72	3/38	0/48	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/62	0/79	
Skinless chicken	Control	72	3/65	0/79	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/81	0/65	
Heart, liver and kidney meat	Control	72	1/75	0/49	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/25	0/64	
Red meat	Control	72	2/04	0/61	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/26	0/67	
Rice	Control	72	2/59	0/62	0/048
	Intervention	72	2/41	0/49	
bread	Control	72	2/79	0/60	0/004
	Intervention	72	2/50	0/50	
Noodles and pasta	Control	72	2/26	0/62	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/00	0/00	
High-fat dairy	Control	72	1/79	0/40	0/007
	Intervention	72	1/94	0/23	
Fresh vegetables	Control	72	3/79	0/16	0/0001
	Intervention	72	3/34	0/99	
Fresh fruits	Control	72	4/00	0/00	0/001
	Intervention	72	3/63	0/48	

beans	Control	72	2/06	0/65	0/001
	Intervention	72	3/04	0/77	
Spices, pickles and condiments	Control	72	1/72	0/65	0/001
	Intervention	72	1/95	0/77	
Walnuts, hazelnuts, almonds and dried fruit	Control	72	2/48	0/78	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/81	0/48	
Ketchup	Control	72	1/38	0/78	0/001
	Intervention	72	1/70	0/48	
Tea& coffee	Control	72	1/95	0/49	0/001
	Intervention	72	2/94	0/46	
Salt with foods	Control	72	1/29	0/49	0/001
	Intervention	72	1/76	0/49	

As it is obvious in the table two intervention and control group are significantly different after discharge in case of nurtrittun ($P < 0/05$).

Table 3. Physical activity and smoking after discharge in control and intervention groups

Groups	Variable	N	Macnemar	sig
Control	Physical activity	72	3/13	0/077
Intervention		72	10/50	0/001
Control	Smoking	72	0/664	0/056
Intervention		72	0/092	0/90

The table 3 shows two intervention and control group are significantly different after discharge in physical activity ($P < 0/05$) although there was no significant difference in smoking.

Conclusion

The results showed there was not significant difference between nutrition habits of control and intervention groups while after intervention group indicted significant improvement. They showed lower usage of oil, red meat, rice, bread consumption, consumption of nuts, tea. Kamrani et al (2014) also showed intervention group improved after education among patients with Acute Coronary Syndrome. This finding are supported in other studies i.e. Sadeghi et al (2011); Kamalifard et al (2015) and Sneed(2003).

Abedi et al (2013) reported average life style for most of patients with heart disease (41/1%). They were average in case of nurtritun habits (54/4%), physical activity (35/9%); sleep pattern (52%); stress (33%)and 52 percent were in high level in case of smoking. Vahedian-azimi et al (2009) showed effectiveness of educational programs on nutrition habits, physical activity, sleep pattern, smoking and stress. In another study Shojayee et al (2012) boosted life hope among patients with heart disease through phone follow up program.

Kaur et al (2015) and Nesari et al (2008) also revealed effectiveness of phone follow up on life style of patients with diabetes. .Astin et al (2014) reported same results. Phone follow up even was reported as effective method on depression, anxiety and stress in hymodialysis patients. Harrison et al (2011) showed interesting results wich indicated phone follow up is

effective in reduction of readmission. This means this method help to reduction of health care costs. This finding is confirmed in the study of Dudas (2001).

Considering positive results of phone follow up after patients discharge as a cost effective method. Therefore it is suggested to health care professionals to develop official programs to follow up the patients.

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Futures studies and long-term perspective in Iran's technology policy white papers

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Abstract

Futures studies as strategic knowledge in the current era in addition to create sensitivity to new technologies, has been capable of creating long-term and efficient perspective in technology policy white papers. Presently, equipped with the tools and scientific decision-making skills and based on futures studies, it is possible to play a role as an actor and active character in the world full of uncertainty ahead. The main issue in this study is the lack of Futures studies approach in order to create long-term perspective in the country's technology policy white papers. So, the background of the research is considered technology policy white papers. Due to many reasons such as the number and variety of the written documents in the policy of ICT, long age of the researches carried out in this area and great number of acceptable studies and surveys on the ICT documents, we chose this area as the territory of the research. This research is among the qualitative and practical researches and it is benefited from three methods with the approach of mix methods research in futures studies. Analysis and studies on the technology policy white papers in ICT in the country is considered as a case study in this research. Since the question of research is how to create a long-term perspective on the country's technology policy white papers, using the grounded theory method, in addition to developing concepts in the field of developing documents, various responses in the context of assumption are analyzed. Earning the tacit knowledge of experts in developing documents in ICT via the unstructured interviews is taken into account as a complement of the research methodology so that the recommendations and final proposals of the research to be extracted both accurate and practical as much as possible. Each of the presented assumptions in the context of the final recommendations of the study may be the basis of the next studies. Indeed, each of the presented assumptions should be examined and evaluated in a suitable context and its implementation and effectiveness in creating long-term perspective in developing technology policy white papers should be evaluated.

Keywords: Futures studies, long-term perspective, technology policy white papers.

Introduction

One of the characteristics of today's turbulent world is the advent of new, numerous and diverse technologies. New and efficient technologies have such an important role and high value in human societies which their beneficial are considered as strategic advantage in the hands of governments. Currently, policy in the field of technology is one the important issues and priority topics in developed and developing countries which is a supervisor in effective use of technology as a factor of economic and social development in different countries. That is why developing micro and macro documents in the field of technology, is important. Meanwhile, the emergence of new technologies, in the long-term perspective or even medium-term perspective is dependent on the policies that will be taken in this area. If the country's technology policy white papers are developed aided by futures studies approaches and long-term perspective, they will provide a basis for developing correct and reasonable policies in the field of technology (Montazer, 1390, 23).

Futures studies as a strategic knowledge in addition to creating sensitivity to the new technologies is capable of creating long-term and efficient perspective in technology policy white papers. Being equipped with the tools and scientific decision-making skills based on Futures studies makes it possible to play a role as an active actor in a world full of uncertainties ahead as well as understanding and interaction with the future driving.

In this respect the main objective of the Futures studies is anticipated discovering the signs of variation, identification and analyzing effective trends and drawing alternative futures in the field of new technologies and related industries. Despite many problems in developing long-term policies in the field of advanced technologies, because of diversity and comprehensiveness of information and dependence of knowledge base economy to the field of new technologies, developing more policy white papers of advanced technologies regarding long-term perspective is unavoidable (Nabi pour, 1390, 47).

Nowadays, technology foresight is considered as the most important tool for decision-making which commonly specifies the key strategies related to the technology and society in a long-term perspective (Khazayee, 1392, 147).

Country's technology policy precedency and explaining the legal approaches in order to focusing on it regarding current and future essential needs caused that in a specific period of time, various documents to be developed that unfortunately the long-term perspectives are less noticed in them due to lack of proper implementation futures studies considerations. So, many of these documents, at the best situation, have just temporary daily use and they will be expired in the future. Many of these documents may expire even in the foreseeable future.

In this study, in order to correct use of futures approaches and long-term perspective arrival in developing technology policy white papers it is tried to study and analyze the developed technology policy white papers so that the challenges in these documents and the reasons for their present and future ineffectiveness to be considered. At the end, a series of recommendations in the context of acceptable assumptions will be proposed that their application will result in

fixing the damages and the challenges of technology policy white papers and as the most important, they will lead to creating the long-term perspective in these documents. However, each of these assumptions will provide a basis for a separate investigation during which each hypothesis is tested and ultimately a coherent and robust theory will achieve.

Futures study is inherently problem-based and focusing on the future in that, is a better approach to addressing the problem and checking its status in the future in order to make the best decision in the present. So our main problem in this research is the lack of futures studies approaches in order to creating long-term perspective in technology policy white papers.

Futures studies and planning

Events and rapid changes due to extensive, varied and intense modifications, is the main feature of our world today. If we do not have enough efforts in the sense of future architecture in the political, economic, social and cultural fields we will be the witness of being surprised in the face of events, in other words, we will be the witness of strategic surprise in all aspects of life. So, merry go to future in a complex world full of uncertainties is better than merely being an observer (Khazayee, 1392, 28).

An expertise of Futures studies is a person who relates his thoughts of planning to the future so he would be able to peak the preferable future for himself and aided by his past assets, he signs his future path and he takes the required policies in order to have a preferable future. If our plans to be developed aided by future approach, they will increase our ability to dominate the future world. That is why most successful countries planning are not only in the sense of understanding current challenges, but also to identify the challenges ahead in order to contribute in building the future and sharing its benefits (Pedram, 1392,32).

Futures studies by its holistic view caused that planning for future to be adhered to its own principles. With this new approach, we are capable of analyzing the past and in addition to recognize possible and probable future, we would be successful in building desirable and preferable futures. The futures that will bring the most benefits for us as well as have the greatest alignment with our social norms and values (Taghavai & Tabatbayee, 1387, 42).

Currently, planning like other sciences has passed the corridor of evolutions and obeys new concepts. Planning approach based on anticipation and identifying trends is entered to the planning approach based on the foresight and exploring the future and finally, in its new planning approach based on futures studies. The latter approach says about future and efforts to build it that once seemed to be so difficult and perhaps impossible (Schwartz, 1387, 122).

Lack of the correct and intelligent understanding about the future and the revolutionary changes in the field of emerging new technologies are two main problems of our society that is made the understanding of future evolutions aided by Futures studies as an essential and imperative issue.

Attention to the future, responding to future problems, prediction and hope for the future are four human desires that planning can achieve them (Fuladi, 1970). In the terms of planning, there

are two approaches or two exploratory and normative ideas toward the future (Twiss, 1992). In exploratory idea, future comes from cause and effect relationship that algebra in accepting the possible future is one of its features. Here, the capability of an observer man is limited to discovering extensive and solids futures which will be reached with the help of forecasting trends. In normative or values-based idea, human is involved in the construction of his future and he is faced with a series of possible and plausible futures. Achieving desirable future is depended on the values and norms that person considers for himself. Given the diversity of the coming futures, three questions raises in this approach about the occurrence of different futures: What are the possible futures? Which futures are more likely? Occurrence which of futures would be desirable? (Nazemi, 1385, 12).

In the past, the use of new tools both in development process and implementation of planning was in a way that, it has not provided grounds for smartness of future (Myer, 1970). The consequence of this forfeiture causes numerous problems in the target communities. On the other hand, they knew executors as what caused the failure of the programs and not the experts who had not Futures studies perspective in the process of planning development. While the latter group has the largest share in the success or decline of a plan in a society and generally are exempt from criticizing the plans and they have no responsibility for the failure of programs.

Richard Slaughter believes that futurist is someone who knows that how to study alternative futures (possible, probable and desirable). Studies of such a person can be used so that others can know different options and choices in the present time thus they will be able to choose the best option as much as possible to build the future. That is how the Futures studies can be directly utilized in management and planning and it can play an important role in decision-making and policy (Slaughter, 2008, 140).

Futures studies, foresight, planning and policy

Michael Kinan believes that Futures studies are referred as foresight in the field of science, technology and innovation. At the beginning of the 70s in some countries, especially in Japan, Futures studies used as an instrument for policy and after the 90s, it used as a means of empowerment for the governments, however currently the Futures studies is being used widely in most developed countries (Nazemi, 1385, 123).

In Iran, aside from PAMFA research project which is carried out at the national level by country's science policy research center, perhaps the most obvious use of this tool is Iran's 1404 vision document but what is important is, in general, long-term planning has been implemented in the framework of the documents development in the country.

According to the definition, planning is a conscious process in order to resolve basic problems of the communities and creating fundamental modifications in the society, thus a series of the actions in the present time is determined according to the priorities for us in the future (Masoumi, Eshkevari, 1387, 15). The process of being, conscious, concentration on the resolving problem, priorities, determination of the objectives and policies are six features of a successful planning. The new planning process is based on normative approach that identifying current

status is the basis for it. By this approach, first the key issues including the strengths, weaknesses, capabilities and limitations are extracted, thereafter they deal with the foresight which is include visioning creation, target areas determination, designing scenarios, selection of the desirable scenarios, quantitative and qualitative targets, policy, operational planning development, implementation and receiving feedback.

The difference between the long-term planning and planning based on futures studies

After World Wars I and II, a new step in planning as long-term was performed while before it budgeting approach was more common. Thereafter, strategic planning, strategic management in the 60s and strategic thinking in the last decade formed. The history of long-term planning from the perspective of the Futures studies goes back to the past decade. In the long-term planning, the time horizon became longer. Holistic and focusing on the generalities and main objectives were also considered. But it should be noted that the long-term planning in the face of the future has a reaction recommendation and it considers the human merely reactive when is encountered with future. This is despite the fact that futures studies considers an active and optional role for human in constructing his desirable future and it considers the human proactive when is faced with future.

   The purpose of the planning is to determine the goals and targets but communities in the light of Futures studies will be successful to create vision and they choose their desirable future and they carry out actions from now to achieve it. On the other hand, in long-term planning, community is considered stable and the view will focus on the environment instead of the community while Futures studies considers a dynamic role for society and evaluates that in its own environment or the same international community. In this state, the view forms from the environment toward the target i.e. society. Long-term planning by rational view is based on goals, plans, actions and required resources and the role of change and the influence of the environmental factors is less considered while the Futures studies considers the political, cultural, social and economic factors and an important factor named "communities technological changes" among the environmental factors with special attention.

   For instance, if we want to arrange a long-term planning with Futures studies approach in the area of health in a given society, subjects including distribution of the age, life expectancy, literacy rate, the process of urbanization, lifestyle, marriage, population growth rate, public participation, suburbs settling, empowerment of women, employment, social activities, discrimination, labor, the per capita income, financial aid of health costs, the share of health care in the government's budget, the net share of the health budget in the health and treatment budget, the rate of medical knowledge and medical equipment development, the share of drug subsidy in the budget, drug price index and so on should be evaluated certainly as environmental factors affecting the target society while long-term planning ignores many of these factors.

Research background

Futurology wave is become so pervasive in the world of science and technology so that today we are witnessing its arrival in all fields. In our country, it happened with a slight delay and

currently many researches and documents are developed by Futures studies approach. The initial activities of Futures studies in Iran date back to more than 60 years ago. This history dates back to 1948 AD which was an activity in the Iranian radio and television via the Delphi method which carried out by Dr. Majid Tehranian. He was helped by different experts to identify Iran's upcoming social. Also, in 1968 AD, Dr. Jahanbagloo published a valuable work named "A few articles about vision" at Tehran University Press (Paya and coworkers, 1386).

Anyway continuous efforts in the field of futurology have been not made in our country so that the discontinuity of Futures studies is quite evident. Relatively acceptable history of activities in this area is less than ten years. The first national experience in the field of foresight is the technology of "Pamfa1404" project which performed from the beginning of 2006 AD up to the January 2010 during two steps. This research called "foresight of the best technologies in 1404 pilot" dealt with the determination of the appropriate technologies during 20-year time horizon in five main fields.

In education, great research and not enough, in the field of policy documents have been made. For instance, Mr. Saeed Ghorbani, the first educated PH. D student from Imam Khomeyni international University defended his thesis entitled "designing the model of foresight impact on the science policy, technology and innovation at the national level" in 2013 and up to this time the number of the persons who have PH. D degree in Futures studies increased to five people that regarding the current PH. D students, this statics will increase to several times during next years. Also, the title of the Dr. Leyla Namdarian's thesis from Tarbiat Modares University was "developing a model for evaluation of foresight on policy science, technology and innovation". Also, the title of the second author of the presented paper, Dr. Heydari in his PH. D degree was "designing the Futures studies model of development technology policy documents in Iran".

Also important documents in macro level of the technology policies have been developed based on Futures studies which as time go on, their numbers and diversity increase. On the other hand, scientific community desire toward the Futures studies approach arrival in all aspects and areas of the knowledge is increased. Unfortunately, sometimes the sweetness and gravity of the Futures studies causes that many research to be performed but have only the name of futurology in their titles and in an optimistic estimate, only a few numbers of futurology methods regardless what is needed in the research and whether the method can eliminate the need.

In this research, country's technology policy white papers are considered as literature. Also because of the multiplicity and variety of the developed technology policy documents in the field of ICT, long age of the carried out researches in this area and performed studies and surveys on the ICT policy documents in the country, this area is considered as research scope. Also, research and analytical investigations which is performed on the policy documents in the field of ICT and it is composed of five major studies, is considered as a case study in this research.

- Thesis of content analysis of national documents of ICT, Ms. Falahati and Miss Karani, 2011.

- Research project analyzing of upstream ICT national documents, Mr. Gholamali Montazer, 2011.

- Research project strategic policy document of country's elite affairs, Tarbiat Modares University, 2011.

- Thesis of analysis of documents in the field of ICT, Mr. Bagheri Asl, 2012.

- Research project understanding of possible damages of current situation of ICT policy documents in Iran, Seyed Sepehr Ghazi Noori, 2013.

Research Methodology

   As mentioned before, the main issue in this study is the lack of Futures studies approach in order to create long-term perspective in the country's technology policy white papers. Literature covers technology policy documents. However, in this study we will discuss the question that how we can consider long-term perspective in the country's technology policy? This research is among the qualitative and practical researches and it is benefited from three methods with the approach of mix methods research in futures studies. Investigations analysis and surveys on the policy documents in the field of "ICT" is considered as a "case study" in this research. In order to answer to the question of the research via the "grounded theory", in addition to developing concepts in the field of developing documents, various responses in the context of assumption are analyzed. Induction – analysis approach forms the basis of the research (Glaser & Stratus, 1967).

Definition of the concepts

Science: Understanding of the nature and describing its phenomena based on observation and experience, explaining and understand the relationships between them and also prediction of the phenomena based on general laws and theories are three main tasks of the science.

Technology: According to the definition found in the country's document of the strategic evolution of science and technology, technology is a set of information, tools and techniques that is originated from science and practical experience and it is used in development, design, production, products application, processes, systems and services.

Technology Policy: It is a plan that which is responsible for guidance, encourage, creation, business development and propagation of technology and increasing innovation is a feature of new technology (Ghazi Noori, 1381, 7).

Futures studies: It is art and science of discovering future and to shape our desired world. This knowledge includes the efforts that using resources analyzing, models and change or stability factors, imagines potential futures and it plans in order to put them in truth.

From the 1970s and with the advent of foresight, participatory approach in discovering alternative futures aided by all stakeholders and collective wisdom attracted special attention of the futures studies. Another especial feature of the Futures studies is that it believes in active and optional role of the human in constructing his desirable futures. Futures studies reflect that how from the heart of today, tomorrow is born. Conscious confrontation with alternative futures to

reduce the damage caused by surprise, correction current trends by looking at the future and trying to build a better future are three duties of the futures studies.

Briefly speaking, Futures studies are the knowledge of shaping the future idealistic, realistic, conscious, active and preemptive. Futures studies have unique implicit performance. This knowledge in order to be faced with the future and to create a collective belief to achieve the desirable future in the society requires participation and interaction of a wide range of organizations and individuals in a future-oriented social dialogue. This has led the future to be examined in various aspects of economic, social, cultural and so on and a national consensus to be created to achieve the social goals.

Futures studies or strategic management: These two new knowledge have grown in scientific and educational environments especially in recent decades such as two wings to fly to the same destination and parallel to each other and they talk about identifying complexities and dynamics of the organizational and social environments. That is why they are raised in the field of management such that Futures studies may be named as future knowledge of management.

Policy: A set of principles that determine the overall method or methods for operation in specific areas (Ghazi Noori, 1391, 8).

Scientific policy: A set of principles that determine overall strategies for action in the field of scientific life of a society or nation (Barzegar, 1371, 27).

Technology policy: A process aimed at using limited resources to achieve the desired goal, which facilitates reaching to the targets by determining measures. A policy will be powerful enough if it is obtained in an appropriate way.

Public policy making: A solution and decision in response to a general problem that government intervention is inevitable in order to regulate society.

Planning definition: Planning is consisted of a series of regular, organized and connected operations that are implemented in order to achieve certain goals by an institution, organization or government for a certain period of time.

Different types of Technology policy: There are three types of policies in the policy making process. The first type is vertical, selective or optional that cares about certain technologies. The second type of policies is horizontal or infrastructure that is not focused on a specific sector and they are common. It should be noted that these types of policies are specific activities such as research and development. Existence of the first and second policies together is necessary because both are complementary. The third type is functional policies that care about the market conditions. In fact, these policies are intermediate of the vertical and horizontal policies and they consider one branch and chain to improve its situation (Tabatabayian and coworkers, 1391, 52).

Orgas also defines two types of policies for the classification of the national innovation systems. Mission-oriented policy that focuses on a few of the technologies and large organizations and a specific target is defined for it. Also funding is provided to reach specific

objectives. The other policy is diffusion-oriented policy which is made with the aim of enhancing innovation capacity of an economy with a focus on scientific infrastructure, technology transfer and official and unofficial collaboration among different actors (Serkesian, 1384, 27).

Information and communication technology (ICT): Consists of collection, organizing, storing and publishing information by audio, video, text or digits using the computer tools and telecommunications. Regardless of the various definitions and wide range applications of the ICT in different aspects of human life, quick access to the information and performing tasks regardless of geographical distances and regardless of time constraints is the most important achievement of this technology. It should be noted that communications and IT is not only an infrastructure services for notification but its development will manifest in the terms of performance of firms, increasing human capital, reducing waste of resources and development of new technologies in an economy (Report No.121, Economic research department of strategic research center).

Technology scenarios: According to the definition found in the document of strategic development of science and technology, science and technology scenarios shows the possible situations and alternative futures in technology that their occurrence is associated with uncertainty.

According to the Grigs, emphasis approach and endorsing strategic planning against the strategic planning entered from the strategic management area to the public policy making area. At the beginning, this approach was created by rational and linear approaches changing to the cumulative or evolutionary approach in planning.

In national and linear approaches which are often considered identical, we have the frame similar to the problem solution. In this kind of models, policy process was considered linear that policy making begins from a point and finishes in a point. Identifying and definition of the problem, identifying viable options, advantages and disadvantages of each option assessing, choosing the option of the best solution, policy implementation and assessment of the output feasibility are the steps of these models (Nazemi, 1393, 62).

Because of complexity of the society, identifying all options and reviewing their compatibility with the objectives of the policy is not possible. So, Lind Blom in the face of rational approach introduced the evolutionary or accumulated approach that gradual correction and modification of the current policy is a better and more practical solution compared to the development a suddenly and radical policy. Accordingly, policy making is not a suddenly process but it is a continuous and iterative process and in each iteration policies evolve. So, learning is important in policy making (The same). Parsons is considered setting the agenda of the policy making, decision-making, policy implementation and policy evaluation as the steps of this approach.

There is another approach which is called participatory approach. In each area of policy making there are a set of stakeholders and actors that influence policy and they are also affected by policies and they have influence on the policy-making process. Futures studies approach in

the policy-making area is based on the maximum participation of the stakeholders (Nazemi, 1393, 81).

Meier introduces prediction and prescription, policy maker, beginning activity of the policy maker and policy-making as the five stages of policymaking in order to development policies to respond the problem, the choice of policy, implementation and output of the policy.

Creation a state of balance and stability in the system is in fact, the ideal situation is the rational approach and its basic default. In this situation, the changes are minimal. Therefore, changes in this approach are considered undesirable. However, in the evolutionary approach, system can have different stability points that in each point some actors are in complete satisfaction and changes in their balance is inconvenient for them. Change in each balance state may lead to another balance which may be desirable for many other actors. Majone states that, policy-makers especially in the social systems, instead of finding a definite answer for the problems, more are trying to create a relative balance point that convinces most actors, establishes communication between them and forms the norms.

Approaches in long-term and short-term planning are totally different that is created a new concept. In the country's long-term technology documents, policies should cover beyond the time dimension and they should specify measures with high precision and more important considering the feasibility of the policies. So, the short-term and long-term goals may be different. "Rolling planning" was designed to compensate these shortcomings so that on the one hand, policies to be made regarding considerations in the long-term time dimension and on the other hand, the short-term policies to be made according to the action, operational and administrative plans. Therefore, the long-term documents in the field of technology are created in the form of vision and scenarios and thereafter, short-term documents such as action plans are developed, so in the light of them, measures to be determined.

Futures studies believes that tacit knowledge of experts in a field is important as coded knowledge of experts in that field and it recommended to apply this knowledge in the field of developing of country's technology policy white papers through the survey methods such as Delphi, interview with experts and panel meetings.

Consideration of the past documents and focusing on the documents of other areas of the policy-making is very important because several programs that have been developed in different time periods generally have a logical trend and different programs can be successive steps of a long-term departure. Separation of policies is also significant. Policies such as the commercialization that covers different processes of different areas of technology, entitled functional policies are developed by the highest level of the policy-making i.e. sovereignty. Thereafter, it is thematic policies that cover one or many fields of technology like ICT that in comparison with the other fields may have a thematic priority and executive organizations are in charge of it. The third is mission-oriented policy which is employed in response to a specific need, such as a trip to Mars and organizations like aerospace organization is in charge of it (Eliasson, 1994).

Structural changes in the economy and gradual boundary disappearance between the areas of agriculture, industry and services due to knowledge based economy emergence, decision-making processes development due to lack of each individual identity independency from others in network society and profound infrastructure changes of knowledge by items like the emergence of knowledge based economy, increasing investment in science, disappearance the border between knowledge and its use, knowledge based services emergence, social distribution of knowledge production and the emergence of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary sciences are three main reasons use of strategic policy intelligence in the field of technology policy-making (Silverman, 67, 1381).

Arrival of values, ideals, norms and favorites of a community into the policy-making process is very important and policy-making without any attention to them would be impossible, because policies are value based (Dror, 2006).

In policy-making there should be institutional attitude. This means that the concept of technology policy-making is located in an institutional set. Institutions are a set of common habits, procedures, codified practices, rules or laws that regulate the relation between individuals, groups and organizations. In other words, institutions are the rules of the game while organizations are formal structures that are created consciously and they have specified goal (Edquist et al. 1977). Stimie believes that the institution term refers to the two general concepts: organizations which are groups of individuals, such as government agencies or firms which are gathered to achieve a common goal. The second concept is sets of rules which refer to the rules such as social morality, customs, ownership laws, norms and values.

Surveying current situation in policy-making is very important and policy development must be done by analyzing the current situation. Achieving the desired future is not possible without the understanding of the current time. Proper understanding of the current situation makes it possible by taking right policies, desirable future to be achieved.

Government authorities who are involved in development of policy process need to know features like the laws, the views of key stakeholders and the ability to design implementation systems. In addition, understanding the context of the communities in which they and designed policies should operate, is important.

Conclusion

As noted in details in the research methodology section, in this study, to achieve the desirable results, at first the case study method was used so that technology policy-making documents in the field of ICT to be studied and analyzed. ICT is highly raised in the field of social science. Since there were not enough ideas and noteworthy and exact theories in the field of technology policy-making in the country, grounded theory method was chosen so that by Futures studies approach, in addition to creation and development of more concepts we dealt with how to create long-term view. However, earning the tacit knowledge of the experts in developing documents in ICT via the unstructured interviews was taken into account as a complement of the research methodology till the assumptions provide the basis for next researches and each assumption to be

tested in an independent research area and its implementation and effectiveness to be evaluated and prioritized. In the following, we deal with some recommendations in order to answer the question of the research that indeed each recommendation is an assumption from the set of assumptions of the research:

1. Long-term planning utilizes from rational, linear, evolutionary and participatory approaches and Futures studies with a new approach, has special attention to the participation in technology policy-making documents. This means that in Futures studies programs are planned by a small group of planners in partnership with a great range of stakeholders. But in long-term planning programs are developed aided by experts which are to different approaches.

2. Futures studies tries that consider values and social norms in the process of policy-making as much as possible while long-term planning many of values are not cared in process of planning.

3. In long-term planning changes and environmental impact are considered underestimated. In this way, the planner's vision is from community toward the environment while in Futures studies changes have significant impact and vision is from environment toward the community.

4. Futures studies in order to create a variety of long-term perspectives about the future develop various scenarios. In the long-term planning future is rigid, extensive and possible, but achievable while in futures studies, the future is diverse and it is possible to be built.

5. In Futures studies human versus future has an active role such that he can optionally select his desirable future while long-term planning considers mere reaction role for human that is a completely involuntary element in building his future.

6. Futures studies consider the society open and changing, this means that societies are constantly evolving and changing while the logic of long-term planning is compatible with a closed society. Thus, Futures studies consider the conditions that their realization is associated with the uncertainty and ambiguity so it makes the policies compatible and robust for a variety of production conditions.

7. Long-term planning is carried out based on the present and past information while Futures studies carry out this work based on interests, ideals, social beliefs and Futures studies methods such as analyzing trends in order to obtain information from the future and engage them in planning.

8. Futures studies have divers point of views that is in the realistic atmosphere, they consider all optimistic and pessimistic views while long-term planning develops documents more in optimistic atmosphere.

9. In futures studies, in parallel to policy-making, some resources are allocated to create a common inter-subjective understanding through workshops, conferences, criticism meetings and publication. This issue indicates Futures studies belief to the necessity of the documents developing process propagation in the community.

10. Futures studies believe it is necessary to create an atmosphere of freedom for different parts that the policy-making is focused toward them.

11. Belief in the existence uncertainty in Futures studies caused those policies to have the ability of ex ante and ex post evaluations.

12. The helping of expert's tacit knowledge of an area is important as coded knowledge of that area and applying this knowledge to policy-making of country's technology policy white papers by surveying methods such as Delphi, interviews and holding panel meetings will be highly efficient.

13. Futures studies in addition to experts who are directly or indirectly are influenced or have impact on the field of technology policy white papers, utilizes from facilitator or mediator individuals who have policy-making knowledge but they do not have necessarily specialized knowledge in the specified field of policy-making. The latter group have neutral characteristic in the face of problems of areas of study which is a unique feature. According to Forester, analysis of issues related to the specified policy, learning the facts and similar experiences, conveying them to beneficiaries of the target field and finally proposing solutions that have been agreed upon by the other actors are four roles of facilitators and mediators.

14. Futures studies approach is very important in the assessment and surveying the policy-making and encompasses items such as: identifying uncertainties ahead, identifying different aspects of the problem, identifying main solutions, identifying influential or impressionable stakeholders, from the problem and understanding actor's capabilities and incapability.

15. Increasing the impact and impression among phenomena caused the world to be more complex. Each policy even in a particular area is affected by other policy areas and mutually influencing on the policies of other areas. In other words, made policy in other areas and the severity of the impact and impression of the policies taken in different fields on each other, is a part of policy-making process which leads to taking mix policy. This approach is called holistic of Futures studies in taking policy which will be attained by upstream documents examining or by the aid of environmental scanning tools. Anyway, taking mix policies which will be analyzed by surveying the impact of other public policies upon taken policies is a valuable work in the field of technology policy-making documents.

16. Development of long-term documents by rolling planning causes that in addition to taking into account the time dimension of the long-term, simultaneously short-term planning in order to analyzing current action to be possible. In this state, we will not be unaware of the short-term plans during planning for country's technology white papers by long-term time dimension.

17. Various programs that have been developed in different periods of time generally have a logical trend and they can be consecutive steps of a long-term departure. Understand this logic in developing long-term documents is necessary and worthy.

18. Systematic attitude in policy-making should be considered by policy makers of the country's technology documents. According to this attitude, it should be noted that the policy-making is not a sudden case and it has begging and finishing.

19. Government authorities who are involved in the development of policy process need to know features such as the laws, the views of key stakeholders and the ability to design

implementation systems. In addition, understanding the context of the communities in which they and designed policies should operate, is important.

20. Creation of conceptual understanding of policy-making models, will help to policy-making design process this means that the designed process must include the courses and historical learning.

21. It is necessary the process of documents policy-making is not extracted from top-down approach or merely vertical so the policy-making would not be just the selection of options by an elite group and to come out of the elite-driving status during which activists and influential or impressionable identities from policy are used in a systematic way.

22. Policy development process means that development of the policy-making process which is necessary in the field of technology policy-making.

23. Social legitimacy of policies is obtained during the democratic policy-making process and if this important issue is not respected, policy-makers will not have the social support for their own made policies.

24. Policy-making requires wide knowledge from various areas. So, in the policy-making process identities, experts, institutions and in general, distributed intelligence in the community should be used.

25. Requirement of the appropriate implementation of policies are existence of a common understanding, relations among the various components, actors and stakeholders. Therefore it seems necessary to design institutions in order to strengthen these items.

26. Due to lack of resources, especially time for redoing the policy-making process, it seems necessary to designing processes in order to completing and reforming policies. So, getting feedback and learning are two important factors in policy-making process.

27. The policy-making process should be reproducible so it would be possible to review and correct any policy at specified time. So, policies flexibility is considered as an important principle in the process of developing technology policy-making documents.

28. Documents development in the sense of different organizations consortium will increase the success of documents. This partnership will create the possibility of using policy-making process outputs at least for an organization among the set of partner organizations.

29. Having long-term perspective in developing documents is not necessarily a good thing but the time horizon should be considered proportional to the required time to the documents output. The long-term time horizon sometimes will cause that outputs do not be analyzed in specified time.

30. Application of influential political people and governmental and nongovernmental officials who in addition to being involved in developing technology policy white papers, are also the executive of these documents, is very important in terms of improving the enforcement of documents.

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The Mediating Role of Organizational Commitment on the relationship between Psychological Empowerment and turnover intention

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Abstract

Purpose: Little is known about the mediating role of organizational commitment in relationship between psychological empowerment and turnover intention among nurses.
This study aims to investigate the mediating role of organizational commitment between psychological empowerment and turnover intention among nurses in teaching hospitals in Zahedan city in I.R. of Iran.
Methods: A correlational study was conducted in 2015 with 286 nurses were selected with simple random sampling method. The data collection instruments included the psychological empowerment scale, organizational commitment scale, turnover intention questionnaire and a demographic inventory. Validity and reliability of the scales were confirmed. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data. Baron and Kenny's analysis technique was used to test the mediating effect of organizational commitment in the relation between the two other variables.
Results: nurses reported high psychological empowerment, high organizational commitment and low turnover intention. Nurses' empowerment significantly and positively correlated with their organizational commitment and negatively correlated with their turnover intention. Organizational commitment mediated the relationship between psychological empowerment and turnover intention.
Conclusions: The relationship between nurses' empowerment and turnover intention was mediated by organizational commitment. This provides another tool by which nursing management can work to minimize turnover intention through enhancing the commitment level of nurses.

Keywords: Psychological Empowerment, Organizational Commitment, Turnover Intention, Nursing.

Introduction

Role of nurses in taking care of patients in hospitals is vital. They are the staff who have the diverse tasks to perform and need to deal with many duties in many places in hospitals (1). High organizational demands along with a climate of uncertainty put nurses under considerable stress (2). This condition could leads to some consequences especially nurse turnover intention (3). It has been defined as the tendency of employees to leave or transfer within the organization that they are currently working for (4).

A recent review of the literature indicates that turnover can have harmful effects on organizations, including higher personnel administration costs, lower performance, and declining morale (5-7). In short, nurse turnover represent a major difficulty for nursing and hospital in the light of the ability to care for patients, the quality of care and costs (8, 9).

So, turnover is an expensive, difficult, and pervasive challenge that healthcare managers constantly faced at work (10, 11).

According these deleterious impacts, recognizing what factors need to be present to retain employees is vital in addressing the issue of nurse turnover. Thus, researchers have devoted time to the study of ways to reduce turnover (12). A range of effective managerial practices have been found at reducing turnover (6, 7, 13). Out of them psychological empowerment is one of the most useful and successful methods to lessen turnover intention (14) as in recent years, more than 70% of organizations have implemented some kind of empowerment plans for their workforce (15).

Psychological empowerment refers to a set of psychological states that are necessary for individuals to feel a sense of control in relation to their work role. It is revealed in the four feelings of meaning, competence, self- determination and impact (15). This psychological perspective views empowerment as organic or bottom-up processing in which empowerment is achieved only when psychological states produce a perception of empowerment within the employee. It is not the conditions of the work context but the reactions of the employee to these conditions that in turn, influence their organizational behavior (16).

On the other hand, organizational commitment correlated with both empowerment and turnover. Organizational commitment is a psychological state that describes the relationship of employees with the organization for which they work and that has deductions for their decision to continue with the organization (17). Organizational commitment is affected by Psychological empowerment and is considered as a key determinant of organizational outcomes such as turnover (6, 18, 19).

Thus, recognizing interactions between these variables could let for addressing the core variable and therefore lessening nurse turnover, increasing quality of care, and satisfaction of both patients and nurses (20).

Only a handful of studies have examined the relation of nurses' empowerment, organizational commitment and turnover intention. Ali found a significant positive impact of employees' empowerment on employees' organizational commitment and a negative impact on their turnover intention. He also revealed a significant negative relationship between employees' organizational commitment and their turnover intention (21). Zurmehly et al. confirmed a direct relationship between perceived empowerment intent to leave of nurses (22). Cai & Zhou concluded that empowerment correlate with decreased turnover in Chinese clinical nurses (23). Pitts et al.'s study results indicated that employee empowerment had a small negative influence on turnover intention (24). Nedd (20), and Spence Laschinger & Finegan

(25), reported that poor perceptions of empowerment led to decreased organizational commitment and poor rates of nurse retention. Martin et al. on their study of staff nurses found that empowerment has been significantly associated with lower levels of voluntary turnover (26). Tourangeau and Cranley (27), and Lu et al. (28) reported that commitment was a significant determinant of intent to leave.

Despite the large number of studies on psychological empowerment, very little research has been conducted on the influence of psychological empowerment and organizational commitment on nurses' turnover intention. Moreover, up to now and to our knowledge, no studies have explored the mediating role of organizational commitment between psychological empowerment and turnover intention in Iran. Based on this rationale, this study, as the first attempt, aims to investigate the relationship between both psychological empowerment and turnover intention, with organizational commitment as a mediator variable among nurses in teaching hospitals affiliated with Zahedan University of medical sciences in I.R. of Iran.

Therefore, for the purpose of this research the following hypothesis has developed

H1. Nurses' empowerment, organizational commitment and turnover intention differ by demographics.

H2. Nurses' empowerment has a negative effect on turnover intention.

H3. Nurses' empowerment has a positive effect on organizational commitment.

H4. Nurses' organizational commitment has a negative effect on turnover intention.

H5. Organizational commitment mediates the relationship between nurses' empowerment and their turnover intention.

Methods

Study design

This study applied a cross-sectional and correlational design to examine the mediating role of organizational commitment in relationship between psychological empowerment and turnover intention among nurses in five teaching hospitals affiliated with Zahedan University of medical sciences located in southeast Iran.

Setting and samples

Out of 998 nurses a sample of 286 nurses was selected using simple random sampling method. The 286 nurses were chosen from a list of nursing staff provided by university nursing office. Finally, 235 questionnaires (82.2%) that were correctly filled out were considered for analysis.

Instruments

The questionnaire consists of a selective personal and occupational characteristics, psychological empowerment scale, organizational commitment scale, and turnover intention questionnaire. Psychological empowerment (PE) was measured with the Psychological Empowerment Scale (PES) (29). It consists of 12 items with three items assessing each of the four dimensions of psychological empowerment. Four dimensions underlie the construct of PES includes: meaningfulness (or meaning), competence, self-determination (or selection) and impact. Meaning refers to work value of a work objective, judged in connection with individuals' own ideals or standards. Competence or self-efficacy reflects an individual's belief in his or her capability to do activities with skills. Self-determination or selection is an

individual's sense of having an option in starting and regulating procedures. Finally, Impact reflects the feeling that a person thinks they can influence the outcomes of an assignment (29).

Nurses' organizational commitment (OC) was measured by using, the 15-item organizational commitment questionnaire (OCQ) developed by Mowday et al. (1979) (30). Turnover intentions (TI) was measured using three items, were adapted from Lam et al. (2009) (31).

Participants responded to items of the questionnaire using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The total possible score ranges from 12 to 84 for psychological empowerment items, from 15 to 105 for organizational commitment items and from 3 to 21 for turnover intentions items. For each scale, the scores were then summed and divided by the number of items to attain an item mean. A higher score (mean) means a higher degree of psychological empowerment, organizational commitment and turnover intentions.

To determine the validity of questions, we used content validity. To measure questionnaire's content validity, three experts in the field inspected the questionnaire to ascertain its consensual validity. According to their view essential corrections were made to ensure that questionnaires measure what authors seek.

Reliability analysis for the questionnaires yielded a Cronbach's alpha of 0.76 for psychological empowerment questionnaire (meaning = 0.80, competence = 0.73, self-determination = 0.82, and impact = 0.75), 0.92 for organizational commitment scale and 0.74 for turnover intention questionnaire.

Data collection

For the current study, data were collected from March to April 2015 using a structured questionnaire survey. The participants completed the questionnaires anonymously and they were allowed to decline if he/she did not want to participate.

The questionnaire survey was conducted by one of the researchers and two trained anesthesiology students.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed using SPSS for Windows (version16.0). Descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) were used to review demographic characteristics and level of measured variables (i.e. PE, OC and TI). To compare differences of measured variables amongst various demographical groups, one-way ANOVA and t-test were used to ascertain how variables are related to demographic features. Pearson correlation was used to measure how variables are related. Psychological empowerment was modeled as independent (predictor) variable, with turnover intention as the dependent one, and organizational commitment as a mediator (as shown in Figure 1). Baron and Kenny's analysis technique (32) was used to test the hypothesis concerning the mediating effect of organizational commitment in the relation between psychological empowerment and turnover intention. According to Baron and Kenny, in order to conclude that mediation may be present, involves meeting four conditions: (1) the independent variable (PE) is significantly related to the dependent variable (TI) (i.e., a significant path *c* Fig. 1.); (2) the independent variable is significantly related to the mediator (OC) (path *a*); and (3) the mediator is significantly related to the dependent variable (path *b*). A method to assess the significance of mediation is to examine the product of the a×b (ab) coefficients using the Sobel (1982) test. The null hypothesis, in this case, is H_0: ab=0. The ab product is judged to be statistically significant if z is greater than +1.96 or less than −1.96.

 (4) the strength of the relationship between independent variable and dependent variable is reduced when the mediator is added to the model (path $c'=c-(a\times b)$). If c' is not statistically significant (or too small to be of any practical importance), a possible inference is that the effect of independent variable on dependent variable is completely mediated by mediator. If c' is statistically significant and large enough to be of practical importance, a possible inference is that the influence of independent variable on dependent variable is only partially mediated by mediator (32).

In order to examine the hypotheses H2 to H5 Initially the following criteria were tested and are met: Criterion of independent residuals (Durbin-Watson all: $1.62 < \text{criterion} < 1.82$). Criterion of no multicollinearity (no VIF values above 10 and average close to 1). Criteria of homoscedasticity and normality were met. P values less than 0.05 were considered statistically significant.

Figure 1. Theoretical model of the mediation of organizational commitment on the association between psychological empowerment and turnover intention.
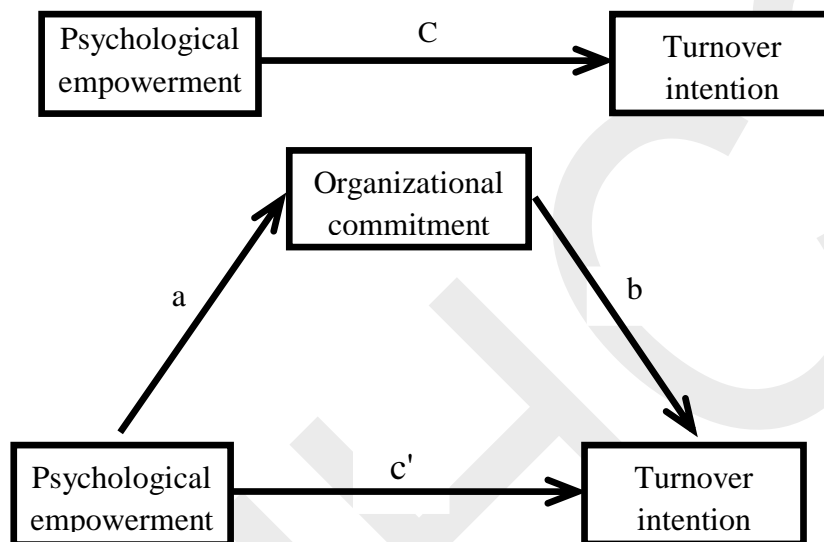
Results
Demographic characteristics

A total of 235 nurses responded to the questionnaire, yielding a response rate of 82.2%. 86.8% of the nurses were females, the majority of the respondents were below 30 years old (45.1%), 76.2% were married, 79.1% had a nursing bachelor degree, 11.5% had executive positions, and 41.7% had been working at their hospital for 1–5 years.

Level of PE, OC and IT

Table 1 shows that the mean of psychological empowerment (and its four dimensions), organizational commitment and turnover intention. Nurses' psychological empowerment mean scores were obviously more than midpoint of the scale. The highest and the lowest mean were in competence and impact dimensions of psychological empowerment, respectively. The participants claimed high commitment to their hospitals and their turnover intention was slightly below midpoint of the scale (Table 1).

Correlations between variables

The correlation matrix (Table 1) indicates that nurses' psychological empowerment was statistically and positively correlated with their commitment to their hospitals; whereas, nurses' psychological empowerment was negatively associated with turnover intention. Further, nurses' organizational commitment was negatively correlated to their turnover intention. Also, all four dimensions of the psychological empowerment were significantly positively correlated with organizational commitment, with impact most strongly and competence least strongly correlated. These dimensions were significantly negatively correlated with turnover intention, with impact most strongly and competence least strongly correlated.

Table 1: Descriptive results and Correlation of psychological empowerment and its dimensions with organizational commitment and turnover intention.

	Item mean $\pm$ SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1-Meaning	6.04 $\pm$ 0.97	-					
2-Competence	6.12 $\pm$ 0.67	.408[**]	-				
3-Self-determination	5.26 $\pm$ 1.09	.415[**]	.356[**]	-			
4-Impact	5.02 $\pm$ 1.14	.522[**]	.418[**]	.539[**]	-		
5-Psychological empowerment	4.57 $\pm$ 1.18	.766[**]	.646[**]	.785[**]	.840[**]	-	
6-Organizational commitment	4.57 $\pm$ 1.18	.424[**]	.256[**]	.362[**]	.509[**]	.521[**]	-
7- turnover intention	3.26 $\pm$ 1.45	-.357[**]	-.241[**]	-.309[**]	-.370[**]	-.424[**]	-.768[**]
Valid N		235					

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Differences in PE, OC and IT according to demographic characteristics

Different demographic attributes revealed differences in the participants' levels of PE, OC and TI (Table 2). It was found that nurses PE, OC, and TI were significantly differ among the four presented age groups. In this case, H1 is supported. Post hoc tests recorded that nurses aging between 40 and 49 years old significantly perceived a better PE as compared to the nurses younger than 30 years (p=0.01). Also, nurses aging between 40 and 49 years old significantly perceived committed to their hospital as compared to the nurses younger than 30 years (p=0.04). nurses younger than 30 years significantly showed more TI as compared to the nurses aging between 40 and 49 years old (p=0.003) and nurses older than 49 years (p=0.03). this was true for second age group (30-39) as compared to nurses aging between 40 and 49 years old (p=0.028).

There were no significant differences between male and female, and between education groups in perceived PE, OC, and TI. H1 isn't supported in these cases.

Compared to married nurses, single nurses perceived a significantly better OC (p=0.03). In this case, H1 is supported.

PE, OC, and TI were significantly differ among the three groups of work experience. Post hoc tests showed that nurses whose years of experience ranged between 11-20 years perceived higher PE as compared to the nurses working less than 11 years (p=0.04). Nurses working for longer than 20 years showed more commitment than nurses who worked for less than 11 years (p=0.04). nurses working at their hospital for less than 11 years perceived higher TI as compared to the nurses working for longer than 20 years (p=0.000).

Compared to staff nurses, Nurses who were in managerial posts perceived a higher PE (p=0.03) and OC (p=0.000), and a lower TI (p=0.008). In this case, H1 is supported.

Table 2. Comparisons of psychological empowerment (PE), organizational commitment (OC) and turnover intention (TI) by demographics.

Variable		PE			OC			TI		
	n	Mean ± SD	F/t	p	Mean ± SD	F/t	P	Mean ± SD	F/t	P
Age ≤29 30-39 40-49 ≥50	106 83 40 6	5.48±0.75 5.59±0.71 5.93±0.68 6.08±1.01	4.57	0.004	4.44±1.23 4.45±1.17 5.05±0.91 6.53±0.81	4.51 (0.04)	0.004	3.54±1.49 3.36±1.34 2.55±1.31 1.78±0.58	7.34	0.000
Sex Male Female	34 201	5.61±0.77 5.61±0.75	009	0.99	4.54±1.15 4.79±1.34	-1.10	0.27	3.27±1.45 3.26±1.45	0.03	0.98
Marriage Married Single	179 56	5.63±0.72 5.55±0.83	-0.729	0.47	4.27±1.26 4.67±1.14	-2.18	0.03	3.57±1.50 3.17±1.42	1.82	0.07
Education Diploma Bachelor MSc	46 186 3	5.64±0.67 5.61±0.77 5.28±0.34	0.33	0.72	4.67±0.95 4.54±1.24 4.97±0.87	0.39	0.68	3.09±1.31 3.30±1.49 3.78±0.51	0.56	0.57
Years of working ≤10 11-20 ≥21	167 43 25	5.51±0.74 5.83±0.72 5.86±0.77	4.89	0.008	4.44±1.21 4.81±1.14 5.06±0.84	4.19	0.01	3.49±1.42 2.97±1.43 2.27±1.19	9.53	0.000
executive position Yes No	27 208	5.91±0.84 5.57±0.73	2.247	0.03	5.36±0.88 4.47±1.17	3.81	000	2.57±1.35 3.36±1.44	-2.70	0.008

Examine the mediating role

In order to examine the hypotheses H2 to H5 according Baron and Kenny, four regression models were applied.

First, a regression was run (Table 3) to predict turnover intention from psychological empowerment.

Table 3. Regression coefficient to predict turnover intention from psychological empowerment.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
constant	23.567	1.947		12.105	<0.001
PE	-0.205	0.029	-0.424	-7.136	<0.001

Table 3 shows the regression coefficients part of the SPSS output. The unstandardized regression coefficient for the prediction of turnover intention from psychological empowerment is -0.205 *(*path *c* in Figure 1*)*; this is statistically significant, that show the overall effect of psychological empowerment on turnover intention is statistically significant. Thus, this lends support to H2.

Next a regression was performed to predict the mediating variable (OC) from psychological empowerment (Table 4). From this table, H3 is supported.

The results of this regression provide the path coefficient for the path denoted *a* (1.027) in Figure 1.

Table 4. Regression coefficient to predict organizational commitment from psychological empowerment.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 constant	-0.560	7.486		-0.075	0.940
PE	1.027	0.110	0.521	9.320	<0.001

Third, a regression was performed to predict turnover intention from organizational commitment (Table 5). This regression provides estimates of the unstandardized coefficients for path *b* (-0.188). This table support H4. In order to examine the significance of mediation, the Sobel test was performed and is judged to be statistically significant (z=8.31, p<0.001).

Table 5. Regression Coefficient to predict turnover intention from organizational commitment.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 constant	22.711	0.728		31.209	<0.001
OC	-0.188	0.010	-0.768	-18.328	<0.001

Finally*,* a regression was performed to predict turnover intention from both psychological empowerment and organizational commitment. This regression provides estimates of the unstandardized coefficients for path *c'* (-0.015) (the direct or remaining effect of psychological empowerment on turnover intention when the mediating variable has been included in the analysis). The strength of the relationship between independent variable (PE) and dependent variable (TI) was reduced and turn out to be nonsigniificant when the mediator (OC) was added to the model. Thus, H5 was confirmed that is to say OC completely (*c'* Close to zero, P=0.520) mediate the relationship between PE and TI.

Table 6. Regression Coefficient to predict turnover intention from psychological empowerment and mediating variable (organizational commitment).

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 constant	23.464	1.377		17.039	<0.001
PE	-0.015	0.024	-0.032	-0.644	0.520
OC	-0.184	0.012	-.752	-15.287	<0.001

Discussion

The main objective of this study was to determine the mediating role of organizational commitment between psychological empowerment and turnover intention. The results indicated that nurses reported high psychological empowerment, high organizational commitment and low turnover intention. Organizational commitment mediated the relationship between psychological empowerment and turnover intention.

In line with some other studies (33-35) and inconsistent with other ones (36, 37), in our study nurses' psychological empowerment was higher than average. This is beneficial for organizational success and quality care (38) because empowered employees, usually, will tend to retaliate by exhibiting more commitment to their organization (39).

Of course, nurses' high perception of psychological empowerment was apparent for meaning and competence, indicating that there is a fit between nurses' values, believes and behaviors and their work goals and between nurses' capabilities and requirement of work. Yet, management could endeavor to improve all dimensions of empowerment (especially self-determination and impact dimensions as being at a lower level). This will also lead to increased commitment and decreased turnover intention. Because empowerment is not an enduring personality trait generalizable across all situations, but rather a set of cognitions shaped and changed by a work environment (40), the management can help to build an atmosphere and organizational culture of open communication that permit personnel to express their views, take in to account others' opinions, and support questioning and feedback that increase employee empowerment. In this regard, also designing and implementing programs for the nursing managers to take on new roles as coaches and facilitators, can also improve the level of nurses' psychological empowerment. In turn, such a culture and arrangement contributes to nurturing organizational commitment and reducing turnover intention.

The least mean was recorded for nurses' perception of impact. This finding is consistent with to Bartram et al (41) findings, who reported that nurses do not agree as strongly about impact and their self-determination as they do about their competence to carry out their tasks and the meaningfulness of their works to them. This finding is inconsistent with Kuokkanen et al (42) and Upenieks (43) that noticed self-determination as a fundamental factor in the nurses' empowerment. Some initiatives such as decentralized decision making on unit level, nurses' participation in organizing patient care (e.g., staff utilization and scheduling activities) being conducted at the unit level, as well as maintaining administrative structures that support nurses' decisions about patient care can enhance nurses' feeling of self-determination and impact.

Perception of organizational commitment in the present study was relatively high. This finding reflects that nurses loyalty to their hospitals is fairly strong, which gives enough belief to say that if they find a good offer elsewhere they will not leave their hospitals. Moreover, this finding is good for organizational success, since that commitment has many positive consequences for the organization. It has been found to be positively related to job satisfaction, job involvement, job performance, and organizational citizenship behavior (44).

Similar to other researches (20, 21, 23, 39, 45) the results of the study ($\beta = 0.524$, $p < .001$) clarified that the psychological empowerment as a whole positively affect on organizational commitment. It can be concluded that the more psychologically empowered nurses, the more likely they will be committed to the organization.

The total effect of nurses' empowerment on their turnover intention is negatively significant (Table 3) indicating when nurses' empowerment increases by one unit; their turnover intention goes down by 0.424 (β coefficient) units. In other words, the greater the nurses are empowered, the less intention they will have to quit their organization. This finding is similar to some other studies (21, 23, 24).

The relationship between nurses' empowerment and turnover intention was mediated by organizational commitment. In other words, Psychological empowerment also includes an indirect effect on turnover intention via the mediating role of organizational commitment. This provides another tool by which nursing management can work to minimize turnover intention through enhancing the commitment level of nurses.

Overall, the two predictors could explain 58.8 percent of the variance in nurses' turnover intention. In other words, for a one−standard deviation increase in empowerment and commitment, we predict a .588 increase in turnover intention. The greater the nurses are empowered and committed, the less intention they will have to quit their hospital. Moreover, it can be concluded that other variables besides empowerment and organizational commitment, influence turnover intention.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the current study provides insight into the interaction of empowerment, commitment and turnover intention of nurses in hospitals. It seems clear from the results of this study that psychological empowerment is an important element to foster nurses' commitment to their organizations and improving their retention. It is also plausible that nurses with enhanced feelings of organizational commitment would more likely stay in their jobs. It is important that management focus on empowering nurses in the workplace and increasing their organizational commitment in order to decrease their turnover intention. To do so, hospital and nurse administrators should consider factors that positively affect nurses' perception of empowerment as well as commitment for successful planning and implementation. In essence, a more facilitative management that can identify and carry on innovative policies is crucial in order to raise nurses' empowerment and commitment and in turn reduce their turnover intention so that the hospital can improve its ability to provide safe, effective and high quality care for the patients.

The study contributes to the literature on employee empowerment and turnover so that unlike many previous studies of nursing turnover, it examines how organizational commitment mediates the relationship between nurses' psychological empowerment and turnover intention.

Limitations and recommendation for future research

There are a few limitations in the study. Study data were collected from teaching hospitals. Therefore, findings may not be generalized to other healthcare settings without caution. Therefore, replication of this research in other hospitals and healthcare setting can help to validate the current results. This study was only in one staff group (nurses) and it would be interesting to see whether findings were consistent across different staff groups within a hospital (e.g. medical, administrative, support staff). Future research should aim to explore the predictive ability of other variables to nurses' turnover intention.

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Abdulrazak Gurnah's *By the Sea:* Unbelonging and the Trauma of Imprisonment

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Abstract

Abdulrazak Gurnah's novel By the Sea (2001) is a compelling narrative of the trauma of displacement in postcolonial Africa. Set mainly between Zanzibar and Britain, it brings into focus the trauma of imprisonment as a defining feature of dislocation and unbelonging in postcolonial African cultures. The work critiques the forces of separation bred by racism in nationalist discourse, forces that act as the legacies of colonialism that limits the freedom of the oppressed colonial Other. This article supplements Michael Rothberg's notion of "traumatic realism" with Paul Gilroy's concept of "camp mentality". I argue that the novel's underlying purpose is to bear responsible witness to nationalist racism in Zanzibar and Britain as a holdover of the same ideological structures that made colonialism and slavery possible. As a bystander of the trauma of postcolonial displacement, the diasporic Zanzibari writer's narrative seeks to break free from the discursive and literal restrictions of a world marked by the racial division of subjectivities into "units of camps".

Keywords: trauma-colonialism-nationalism-freedom-geography-unbelonging.

Quite a raft of critical work in postcolonial studies has focused on the posttraumatic aftereffects of colonialism and slavery (Craps and Buelens 2008; Visser 2008-2014; Craps 2013). The contributions bring into light the need to unmoor trauma studies from their Eurocentric harbors. However, not enough consideration has been given to displacement as a bequest of a painful past in postcolonial African cultures. Under the assumption that the same ideological structures that made colonialism possible still exist, this article argues that writing displacement breaks the boundaries between past and present, making the anxieties of unbelonging expressed in postcolonial literature intimately link the *post*colonial to the *post*traumatic. In Gurnah's exilic experience, a rereading of the past first and foremost attests to the lack of freedom imposed by racial politics as a legacy of colonial hegemony. As he is determined by the critical imperative to free writing from the shackles of racial politics, his novel *By the Sea* (2001) (hereafter referred to as *BTS*) can be read as one example of the redemptive narrative for which "historical responsibility" (Rothberg 2013) is of paramount significance. It is thus crucial to refer to writing as one way of "bearing witness" even if the writer is spatiotemporally at a distance from the events of the past. Living in England, Gurnah may have spoken from a relative safety vis-à-vis the terrorizing events that have marred the history of Zanzibar since the colonial encounter. However, his belonging to the *post*traumatic, or *post*colonial, culture implicates him post-generationally to bear responsible witness.

Using Zanzibar's postcolonial culture as an example, I seek to argue that when writing African diasporic subjectivity is confronted with the repercussions of displacement as a *post*traumatic effect of colonialism, it links traumatic realism with morally engaging demands. Such claims entail "the survivor, who attempts to document an undocumentable experience; the bystander, who feels impelled to bear an impossible witness to the extreme from a place of relative safety; and the latecomer or representative of the 'postmemory' generation, who […] inherits the detritus" of a violence culturally writ large (Rothberg 2000, 13).

I thus deploy a trauma-based reading to argue that the novel solicits responsible witnessing through the overarching notion of the "implicated subject" (Rothberg 2000, 2013). This subject needs to bear witness to events s/he is spatiotemporally distant from. The first section of this article refers to Gurnah's biography to illustrate the way in which he identifies in fictional terms with those left behind during the eruption of racial violence in post-independence Zanzibar. A theoretical investigation is employed to discuss the *literal* and *discursive* "encampment" that locates Gurnah in the restraining space between Zanzibar and Britain. Second, I will discuss how, by relating the micro-politics of dwelling to the macro-politics of home and belonging, the text breaks the boundaries between the extreme and the everyday in order to illustrate the insidiousness of trauma on a daily basis (cf. Craps 2013). The stories of the two refugee narrators take further dimensions as their everydayness runs parallel to the broader documentation of the extreme, violent history of post- independence Zanzibar. Third, I read Saleh's story of imprisonment as a redemptive narrative that seeks to break the victim/perpetrator and inside/outside binaries. This transgressive act of telling aims to bear witness beyond the boundaries inflicted by nationalism's gate-keeping industry.

3.1. Writing Exile, Writing the "Camp World"

A closer scrutiny of Gurnah's writing offers insights into the quasi-fictive spatiotemporal identification that marks his writings. Based on the notion of "responsibility-in-complicity" which may be enabling, Mark Sanders, for instance, foregrounds the role of the imaginative writing represented by fictive works and the different forms that autobiography can take. I stress the different forms that are covertly assumed since the work under analysis is an indirect representation of the people, either fictional or real, with whom the writer identifies spatiotemporally. His responsibility "assumes a sympathetic identification that can be realized through narrative and through the projection of the 'little perpetrator' into quasi-fictive situations" (Sanders 2002, 2).

Such a subject-position draws attention to Gurnah's experience of exile. At the age of 18 in 1969, five years after Zanzibar's post-independence revolution, he left the terrorizing upheaval that marred the tranquility of the small island where "Thousands were slaughtered, whole communities were expelled and many others imprisoned" (Gurnah 2001, n.p.). The racism directed especially at Arabs was to be featured later in Gurnah's novel *Memory of Departure* (1987) dealing with the period of Zanzibar's independence; it testifies to the hatred instigated by nationalism especially toward the people of Arab descent. Hostility was then "unleashed by the removal of the common enemy, the British" and led to "persecutions, imprisonments, murders, and regime of terror that followed" (Hand 2010, 75). As a colonial legacy, the divide-and-rule policy of the British colonial system in turn contributed to the extreme events with its accentuation of the division of the Zanzibari society on racial grounds, hence mobilizing ethno-racial conflicts with its race politics (Killian 2008, 106).

Gurnah's sense of entrapment in spatial and discursive terms lends complexity to his writing as it often realigns the free/unfree dichotomy when exploring displacement. In fact, it is not uncommon to his fiction to express the sense of entrapment between the colonial and nationalist "dystopic politics of exclusion" (Steiner 2010, 124) that leave deep scars when representing his sense of unbelonging. As Tina Steiner points out,

> From psychological character study to family dynamics, national politics of postindependence East Africa and stories of empire and diaspora, his work investigates the intersections of micro-and macro-level constructions bearing down on his characters […] Offering counternarratives to myths of nation, land and language, Gurnah's fiction points out precisely the lack of freedom such discourses and politics produce. (Steiner 2010, 124-125)

Gurnah's fiction on exile is therefore caught between discourses inextricably haunted by racial divides. In fact, the loss of freedom constitutes the binding theme in Gurnah's writing about the forces of separation that afflict one's identity as an exile. Leaving for England was first associated with the promising prospect of freedom from an imminent persecution and the severe penalties against those who tried to escape (cf. *BTS*, 208). Worse still, the young Gurnah came to face a resentful political landscape: Enoch Powell's language of incitement gave vent to "fear and loathing" as the "influx" of East African Asians into Heathrow and Gatwick airports solicited every English citizen to act as a gate-keeper when "London dockers, the shock troops of the trade union movement, marched in support of Powell"

(Gurnah 2001). His controversial speech insisted on nurturing the forces of forgetting and separation between Britain and its ex-colonies out of the underlying necessity to deny its historical responsibility for colonialism. Powell "was predictably no supporter of overseas aid, and he was adamant in rejecting the idea that collective historical guilt for colonialism imposed on Britain any obligation to maintain 'open door' policy" (Murphy 2014, 368).

Within the spatial articulations that were legitimated by race and nationhood, military metaphors seemed to prevail as a national arena dividing ethnicities into separated "units of camps" was in the making. Paul Gilroy offers a glimpse of the British racial politics centered on immigration and nationality. He points to the debates that "have regularly presented the illegitimate presence of blacks as an *invasion*" (1999, 190; emphasis added). Within such a fraught context, he offers insight into the discursive mechanisms that define the "camp world" whose bounded space creates isolating geographical and ethnic boundaries. Such a reading helps illustrate how Gurnah is confined by the politics of race as an African diasporic writer of Arab descent. In such a subject-position, silence may be produced by what Gilroy refers to as "camp thinking" whose "distinctive rules and codes" (Gilroy 1999, 189) permeate the discursive sphere of statecraft and its promotion of "race" politics in the 20th century. Gilroy's words below explain the concept at length:

> I want to call the national and racial formations […] 'camps', a name that emphasizes their hierarchical and regimented qualities rather than any organic features. The organic dimension has been widely commented upon as an antidote it supplied to mechanized modernity and its dehumanizing effects. In some cases, the final stages in the transformation of the nation into an embattled confluence of 'race' and nation in the service of authoritarian ends. It should be immediately apparent that nation states have often comprised camps in this straightforward descriptive sense. They are involutionary complexes in which the utterly fantastic idea of transmuting heterogeneity into homogeneity can be organized and amplified outwards and inwards. (Gilroy 1999, 188)

The restraints enforced by "raciology", which consists in the discursive invention by modernity of separation through "de-natured" race, have therefore constituted "units" of camps that have fostered the forces of exclusion and the incrimination of difference in the public sphere (Gilroy 1999, 185). The lamentable "camp mentality" thus tends to pervade the public arena in which the coalition of "race" and "nationality" in the discourse of modernity tends to prelude the violence limiting the freedom of both the incarcerated and the seemingly free. Gilroy's interrogation is aligned with Graeme Harper's unsettling the inside/outside dichotomy. In his inquiry of the state of unfreedom permeating the post-colonial subjects' space, especially with regard to such writers as Gurnah, Harper ascertains that "Although 'who is really free? And 'who is *truly* imprisoned?' are hardly new calls, they do reflect our expectations […] as to the true nature of colonial incarceration" especially as the (ex)-colonized subject epitomizes those who write from within the modern West (Harper 2001, 3; emphasis original). This inquiry illustrates the anxieties of home and unbelonging with regard to Gurnah's concerns with his diasporic subject-position, especially the relative freedom offered by using the language of the oppressor.

The pressing need to document the silenced history of Zanzibar situates Gurnah's expression of displacement in the oppressive space between homogenizing exclusion and confinement. Sensing the perilous prospect of being incarcerated by the racist regime in his country and the unavoidable hostility of the "white" English society, Gurnah occupies "a space between camps" and is "in danger of getting hostility from both sides, of being caught in the pincers of camp thinking" (Gilroy 1999, 191).

This reading thus opens inroads into intersecting histories of displacement and violence that situate such an overlap at the crossroads of cultures. It reflects a new remapping of the race politics that solicits the historicity of the African pasts as, in traumatic situations, these camps also translate physically for African diasporic subjects into "refugee camps, labour camps, punishment camps, even death camps, as providing opportunities for moral and political reflection" (Gilroy 1999, 193). More importantly, the latent aftereffects characterizing everyday trauma need to be recast in terms of a "social death" (Orlando Patterson's term) which "is common to inmates in regimes of unfreedom, coercion and systematic brutality" even if they may not be inmates in the strictest sense (Gilroy 1999, 193). Following Laura Brown's theorization of "insidious trauma", which takes the daily trauma into account, Stef Craps concurs that the culture-specific and the invisible everyday trauma of the oppressed and the disadvantaged is intimately related to how the institutions in the public sphere promulgate stereotypes about the Other (2013, 24). At a broader scale then, and tied to the exclusionist politics of modernity, the spatial manifestation of "camp thinking" is first and foremost produced by the re-conceptualization of "History" with the capital letter "in geographical and geo-political design" of the superior/inferior dichotomy (Gilroy 1999, 188). On that account, the "camp mentality" of racial separation can also take place at the level of geography and the creation of boundaries within the framework of a modern/pre-modern binary.

3.2. Re-territorializing the Camp World:

In *By the Sea*, attention to being "between camps" literally and rhetorically ramifies quite strongly in Omar Saleh's story of coming of age. Of significance is the focus on how his narrative of encampment nourishes the need to explore the micro- and macro-politics of home and belonging in view of the feuds between his as well as the second narrator's families over the ownership of the disputed house. Such a debate realigns the dichotomy between the extreme and the everyday by mixing the quotidian of family feuds over dwelling with the extreme violence of imprisonment given the exclusionist politics of nationalism.

The memory work of the two narratives of the past foregrounds the testimonial importance of experience which serves as a platform for a *responsible* negotiation of a Zanzibari future that promises forgiveness and reconciliation with the past. In broader spatiotemporal terms, they are of great significance in that they render the past in generally intertwined historical and geographical underpinnings. Their role is to draw attention to the colonial discourse and its legacy within the post-independence conditions of confinement and racial exclusion. Central to the discussion of the "camp world" is the need to realign the victim/perpetrator dichotomy. Hence, responsibility is emphasized as the family feuds reveal that both Zanzibari diasporic narrators inadvertently contribute to each other's demise.

Against an impoverished understanding of history, the conception of the "concentrationary universe" as a borderland separating the extreme and the everyday has been

the bone of contention among a number of Holocaust theorists (Rothberg 2000). As this bounded universe is generally construed as the setting where the unfit are to be encamped by the forces of separation and racial divide, its re-conceptualization crystallizes through a traumatic realism that seeks to transcend the frontiers of the overly particular without affecting the singularity of the camps' context. It aims to blast open the restrictions imposed between the extreme and the everyday as a demand for testimony. The inevitably multidisciplinary analysis of the colonial enterprise and its race politics entails the use of this camp world as a concept metaphor for unsettling the forces of separation affecting other traumatic pasts than those centered in the West. As such, there is need for a rethinking of

> the concentrationary universe as a complex object—at once extreme and everyday, historically produced and reproduced, experienced from a multitude of subject-positions, and accessible through discursive practices […] there are multiple and crisscrossing lines that divide the world of the concentrationary, both within and without. The concentrationary universe is a specific version of the "borderland" […]—a space not merely divided between inside and outside, but consisting precisely of the coexistence of that which the border seeks to keep separate […] Preserving the conceptual openness of that universe means revealing the constant redrawing of boundaries that takes place as that world is produced, experienced, represented, and maintained as an object of memory, discourse and political struggle. (Rothberg 2000, 128-129)

Likewise, *By the Sea* as a narrative can testify to the need to supplement the "real" in history with the critical representation of the past. The novel subscribes to exploring the world of crisscrossing histories as it pinpoints the constant struggle with breaking the restrictive boundaries of race. The question that arises in the process is not merely contingent on providing the "real" of the extreme, but rather deals with the meaning of the past through profound explorations of the dynamics of the "concentrationary universe". The centrality of the sea which figures prominently in Gurnah's fiction points to the theoretical exploration of re-territorialized space of the colonial and post-independence race politics in Zanzibar. His works especially align with Isabel Hofmeyr's reference to the Indian Ocean as part of the "transnational forms of analysis" in the academy which are becoming gradually "prominent" in the studies of current cultures in that it "attracts attention, especially as a domain that offers possibilities for working rich possibilities beyond the templates of the nation-state" (2012, 585).

In the space between the structures of the state, between England and Zanzibar, center and periphery, the interwoven narratives of Saleh Omar and Latif Mahmoud exemplify the differing subject-positions whose aim is to enrich and document the narrative of the past seeing that their versions lay the groundwork for a multidisciplinary exploration revolving around Omar Saleh's imprisonment. The two men's conflict over family houses opens avenues into the issue of imposed silence which combines slavery, colonialism and genocide as overlapping legacies.

In the opening pages of the novel, Saleh grapples with the intricacies of memory narrative, a fragmented account whose chronology is supposed to start in 1960. As anti-linearity traumatically affects the course of the storyline, the two narratives of the past can only be spatiotemporally entangled in the metropolis. The persistence of the memory of

incarceration back home drives Saleh to construe the refugee camps offered to him in England as enclaves of "detention". He ends up living in a small and isolated flat in an English seaside town after having escaped a second imprisonment in his island of birth. The posttraumatic aftereffects of incarceration and isolation thereby constitute the guiding force for the exploration of race and space.

When first arriving at the airport in England, Saleh Omar pretends that he cannot speak English and mentions instead the words "refugee" and "asylum-seeker" to alter the customs officer's alarming decision to proceed in deporting him back to his country lest he would be confined again (*BTS* 9). Motivated by the narrative imperative to protect segments hidden in the story of the luggage exposed to the immigration officer (*BTS* 8), Saleh Omar protects himself from possible incarceration. As asylum seekers are a category of displaced subjects that "becomes a liability which must be scrupulously policed" and potentially "captured", they "must […] not betray any information that could be used against them in the asylum process" (Newns 2015, 512). Of significance is also his assuming of a bogus identity. His passport has been confiscated and, as such, he uses that of Rajab Shaaban Mahmud's, a deceased man and a distant relative whose wife Asha orchestrated Omar Saleh's confinement for eleven years. Saleh has been deceived by the double-dealing of Hussein, a Persian merchant who visits his successful furniture shop and to whom he lends a sum of money for which he will obtain the house of Rajab Shaaban as security. The merchant never returns from his voyages and Saleh claims the repayment of the loan, the act for which he is accused of duplicity. Such an indictment is rationalized by his allegedly "underserved" inheritance of another house belonging to his stepmother, Shaaban's widowed aunt.

The second Zanzibari narrator, who belongs to the next generation, is Latif Mahmud, the son of Rajab Shaaban Mahmud, who, together with Saleh, struggles to piece together some of the missing fragments of each other's versions of the past. His tranquility as a poet and professor at the University of London has been interrupted by the second encounter with Saleh, the man he accuses of having stolen their house and property in the period before Zanzibar's independence. Latif's departure from home to study in socialist Eastern Germany in the 1970s culminated in his escape to Western Germany and eventually settles as a refugee in England. Living in exile, he expresses mixed feelings of deep discontent with family feuds towards the society he has left behind. The Zanzibari men's conflicting perspectives of the painful past bear witness to the novel's insistence on blurring the lines between victim and perpetrator as both their families have somehow contributed to each other's agonizing conditions back home.

So, in addition to his experience of incarceration in Zanzibar, Saleh dwells in refugee or—what he insists on calling with a touch of melodrama—"detention" camps before moving to an isolated and small flat by the sea. He is constantly intrigued by maps which constitute the driving force that charts his narrative, thereby struggling to re-draw the terms of the imposed territories of his experience from the colonial to the post-colonial times. His obsession with maps foregrounds the colonial and post-colonial underpinnings of modernity which has remapped the world to revolve around Europe as the center (cf. Ashcroft 2001, 132). In refusing the epistemology offered by the single story of colonial cartography, the anti-linearity of the plot seeks to bring together a constellation of factors that have contributed to the conditions of exile in the two narrators' versions of the past. Responding to the demands of extremity, the salient approach to the representation of a traumatic event is not

premised on pure mimetic representation. Rather, it can be compared to that of traumatic realism "because it seeks both to construct access to a previously unknowable object and to instruct an audience on how to approach that object" (Rothberg 2000, 103). Constantly in need of filling the gaps of each other's accounts in order to grasp the complexity of the "real" in representation, the narrators' crisscrossing stories span the generations between the colonial and the post-colonial in rigorous fashions. The meeting of the two characters in exile underlies the attempt at spatiotemporally exploring the past/present historical mechanisms that govern the camp world in order to bear witness at the crossroads of cultures.

Of significance is the exploration of the dynamics of space and dwelling as they entail the coexistence of the everyday and the extreme with regard to incarceration. The anti-linear narrative emplotment covers the wider ground of the geo-political dimensions that parallel the narratives' thread to contribute to enriching the investigation of the past. The blending of the real and the fictional shows that the everyday and the extreme inextricably interact, as trauma narratives both insist on mimetic representation and reflect its fraught nature through fictional experimentation. Hence, "while the traumatic combination of the extreme and the everyday blocks traditional claims to synthetic knowledge, attentiveness to its structure can also lead to new forms of knowledge beyond the realist and antirealist positions and outside of traditional disciplines" (Rothberg 2000, 6-7). In multidisciplinary terms, such a demand to historicize bears close relation to the historical documentation by the novel of the Indian Ocean's context registered in *Periplus of the Erythraean* which "records Indian merchants and seamen trading on the coast of East Africa as far back as the first century of the Christian Era and subsequently charts events onto a chronological road map" (Hand 2010, 78). The novel's traumatic realism, however, preserves the contradictory real and anti-real in representation as

> Gurnah combines both chronological history (dates and facts) and lived sensations (feelings and memories) in order to comment on the narratives of Zanzibari history […] Apart from the two oral narratives of Omar and Mahmud, the author constructs a third narrative thread, a kind of parallel history, based on easily proved data. (Hand 2010, 78)

The real and anti-real tendencies in the emplotment of trauma narratives, therefore, maintain two paradoxical but tantamount roles. One is ethical and accounts for the poignancy of the human implications of trauma, and the other is documentary in that it seeks justice and public recognition. In order to be in line with the narrator's indirect encounter with the events, the issue of documentation and identification with the victims becomes all the more pressing. Emblematic of being inflicted by the traumatic event, there is a pressing demand for literary experimentation and anti-linearity. Specific to the trauma narratives that reflect on the Lacanian notion of the "missed encounter" (Rothberg 2000, 138) with some of the harrowing events whose scars persist, Saleh's story of exile brings the issue of distance and proximity to the forefront of his interrogation of the past. In his case as a displaced subject, he does not reflect upon the past in order to provide a full account of the "real" events, but rather acknowledges the rupture imposed by incarceration and exile. As such, he comments on the traumatic telling of the past,

> So then these are the events that befell. Many of them are difficult to speak of without drama, and some of them fill me with anguish, but I crave to utter them, to display them as

judgements of my time and of the puniness of our duplicitous lives. I will tell them briefly, for many of them are events I have tried hard not to dwell on, for fear of diminishing what little I have left with bitterness and helplessness. I have had many years to think about them and to weigh them in the scale of things, and in that respect I have learnt that it is as well to live quietly with my grazes and sprains when others have to bear intolerable cruelties. (*BTS* 112)

As others have to "bear" the "cruelties" of nationalism, Saleh's traumatic realism is defined by his narrative's holding a morally vexed subject-position as a witnessing bystander from the "relative safety" (Rothberg 2000, 13) of exile. In the situations of extremity, there may be a persistence to bear witness to the "real" events, but the need to document reveals the fact that there is also a necessity to propel the narrative forward in order to provide a sound judgment of the history of his time. The traumatic realism of the novel is reflected in selecting fragments that fit into the framework of telling the past so that it "does not ignore the demand to confront the unfounded nature of writing, but it nevertheless attempts to develop new forms of 'documentary' and 'referential' discourse out of that very traumatic void" (Rothberg 2000, 96). In addition to allowing room within the fragmented narrative to grapple mainly with the "real" through historical and geographical underpinnings of the past, the benefit of leaving some segments of the story untold serves also to surmount the insurmountable in the details that tend to weigh on his telling. Saleh therefore does not tell all the events in their literality, but rather reveals the racial frameworks that lie in the background of their occurrence. The interruption inflicted on Saleh's experience by unjustified atrocity has thus created a "hole" in his meaning making processes when representing the "real" past; his as well as Latif's "stories" stand "alongside each other" to constantly attempt to fill their narratives' gaps (*BTS*, 207). Ironically enough, the continuity of their narratives relies heavily on the discontinuity that allows access to a multidisciplinary exploration of extremity in order to hopefully fill in these voids.

3. Saleh's encampment: Rethinking the Gate-keeping Industry

The "real" in Saleh's grim tale of the atrocities committed in the post-independence period, for instance, does not mirror the past in a chronological fashion; rather, it is focused on the events' effect on the mix of the extreme and the everyday. As mentioned earlier, Saleh's experience of the political context impinging on the extreme in the prison is filtered through the repercussions of the latent trauma of the everyday as signified in the novel's family feuds. The struggle over the inheritance rationalized by blood relations opens up new perspectives on the debate concerning discursive indexing of violence through the politics of space and race. The case of the loss of Shaaban's family house to Saleh synchronizes the climax of the general plundering and chaos taking place in the country after independence. With an atmosphere fraught with the time's tensions in the backdrop, the overwhelmingly ominous conditions preparing the ground for Saleh's incarceration seem to reach their peak. The politics of race have come to be tied to the problems of the house and, as a result, have given vent to the justification to incriminate Saleh who is thought to have "preyed" on women. Given that the self-righteous Shaaban laments the loss of ownership of the house out of a closer blood connection to his aunt (Saleh's stepmother), it is deemed appropriate to claim that the nephew be the legitimate heir.

The wider canvas surrounding the feuds attests to the corrupt post-independence system of law that has taken an active part by legitimating Shaaban's allegations against an "outsider's" ownership on racial grounds. Although the imprisonment of Saleh has been orchestrated by Shaaban's wife Asha, the mistress of the Minister of Development and Resources, the event has been made to take broader dimensions that run parallel to the everyday squabbles over the quotidian matters of dwelling. In view of the violence that got out of control to affect the culture at large, Saleh mentions in passing that "Whatever it was she had in mind for me, matters were out of everyone's hands once the machinery of terror began to grind" (*BTS* 211). Justified in general economic terms, the pretext for forcing him to pay back the loan for which he has used the disputed house as a guarantee is the nationalization of the banks in 1967 (*BTS* 212). He is then unable to repay the loan which, to his surprise, has to be returned in full before its due period. The only resort for him to avoid imprisonment is therefore to hand over the house to the bank.

As is mentioned in the quotation above about Saleh's attempt at weighing the events "in the scale of things" (*BTS* 112) about the posttraumatic effect of a painful past, a more thorough grasp of the question of space and race needs to take broader dimensions which lie behind Saleh's poor and displaced condition in exile. Both the economic and the geographical are therefore brought to bear on the cultural effect of "camp mentality" and its role in the politics of the Zanzibari society. The involvement of history is nonetheless unavoidable through allusions to the place/time intersection when exploring the disastrous effects of nationalism. Drawing the two stories to form a diasporic community through responsible witnessing implies the necessity to historicize their painful pasts out of their being implicated in each other's traumas (Caruth 1991, 188) in postmemorial terms. In tandem with Hirsch's notion of "points of memory" (2011)—or those of "identification" (Hall 1990)—the "family space" most potently addresses inheritance seen as "symptomatology" since children want to "affirm their victimhood along that of parents" (2008, 112). In this light, out of the persistence of the traumatic event to be documented and yet defies understanding, Latif wonders why he has come to meet Saleh again in a small flat by the sea after having met him in his other house by the sea back home. In the past, the young Latif tries to retrieve their table upon his mother's insistence. He reluctantly runs the errand to fetch it as it is part of their property when they have lost the house case. It is particularly important as it reminds his mother of his elder brother Hassan. It was a gift from the Persian merchant who sexually seduced the young Hassan who fled the country with the latter. As Latif wonders why it is in exile that he has come to meet the "culprit" who took their house and property, he reflects on the last time Saleh refused to give him the table,

> Saleh Omar called Faru and I was escorted out […] it's as if I went on from Saleh Omar's house and right out of the country, and through the years I have been finding my way to his other house by the sea. It was only a fancy, a momentary despondency that the heaving and straining had been pointless exertion, only to arrive at what was mapped out from the beginning. (*BTS* 104)

The pull of the past seems thus to raise the pressing need to negotiate its significance beyond the contours of national boundaries in a dialogical and responsible fashion. As Saleh's houses are located by the sea, Mahmoud's invoking the feuds underscores the unavoidable encounter

with the traces of the past which has been "mapped out" from the very beginning. Between Zanzibar and England, the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans, the spatiotemporal perspective of the question of family feuds has now come to be construed in terms larger than the loss of one's safe abode. Within a broader context marked by the door-keeping industry, there emerges a porous boundary in today's "multiplying […] home and the accessibility of home [where] the profound homogeneity between the devices of the private, clandestine, non-state network, and those of the police network of surveillance" (Derrida 2000, 61) is called into question. This encounter that redraws the topographies of memory brings to light what "opens" the nation-state's "controlled and circumscribed space to intrusion," seeing that "in order to constitute the space of a habitable house and a home, you also need an opening, a door and windows, you have to give up a passage to the outside world" (Derrida 2000, 61).

Both narrators seek reconciliation by recounting their pasts whose persistence seems to be tracking their experiences of exile in order to lay bare the ideological structures instigated by door-keeping surveillance. The race-related feuds are thus mapped onto the domain of geography in order to be more largely re-traced through the dimensions of nationalism and its "camp thinking" of which their narratives want to be redeemed. After all, the question that pertains to a spatiotemporal rethinking of racial boundaries through ethical hospitality is that, "the crossing of the threshold always remains a transgressive step" (Derrida 2000, 75). Such a rereading of the topographies of division construes Faru as an important element in the narrative of promoting exclusion and separation. Latif Mahmoud refers to him in the most antagonistic terms such as the "bawab" (doorkeeper) as he was at the door of Saleh's home and felt humiliated by the latter's refusal to return the table (*BTS* 153). By worsening Mahmoud's feeling of hostility toward Saleh that has increased all these years before meeting him in exile, the "doorkeeper" comes to stand for the forces of racial separation within both the places of dwelling and the national boundaries, especially as, like the customs officer at the airport who closes the gates of Europe in the face of immigrants, Faru loves "uniforms" and becomes an "officer in the Customs Police" who stands out "at the harbor gates" in order to "keep unauthorized people out" (*BTS* 207-208). Therefore, in remapping the "camp world" that has led to the "gate-keeping" and its close association with the "colonization" of the public sphere, it becomes overwhelmed by the "unforgiving" "civil religion of nationalism: uniforms, flags and mass spectacles [whose] camps are armed and protected spaces" (Gilroy 1999, 190).

The mention of "Faru" thus invokes the micro-and macro-politics of home which underpin the posttraumatic effects of "camp thinking". The oppression of a new order has started to take the place of colonialism in post-independence Zanzibar and its race politics. It seems that the more the reader is made to probe into the etiology of primal trauma, the more s/he is transported to the rich and manifold cultural fabric of the Indian Ocean. It evokes the growing loss of the geographical freedom in the re-territorialized Zanzibar caused by the new directions of the Marxist politics of revolution in 1964 after one year of independence. As Meg Samuelson asserts about the loss of the trading activity, Zanzibar ceded its position as the epicenter of the "musim" trade to the United Republic of Tanzania and lost contact with its hybrid past: the Arab dhows have now "been displaced by cargo ships from Russia, China and the GDR" (Samuelson 2013, 86). Following a description of the maps remade by the

colonial enterprise, Saleh captures the geo-political tenor of the history of revolution in order to remember the lost period of trading Somalis, Suri Arabs or Sindhis who brought "gaiety" to Stone Town and were soon to be forgotten as, in Saleh's words, "they became unimaginable to the new lives we led in those early years of independence" (*BTS* 16). The streets of the town that have become silent reflect, as such, a new era forced to redefine the once "open spaces" (*BTS* 16) into bordered ones. The race politics were translated into the institutionalized creation of space under new terms of national unity of people of African descent. Addressing the question of the Self/Other divide related to territorial divisions and the harbinger of imminent violence, Homi K. Bhabha delineates the potential perils of carving out such an involutionary nationalist space caused by "feuds" that can produce "paranoid projections 'outwards'" because "so long as a firm boundary is maintained between the territories […] the aggressivity will be projected onto the Other or the Outside" (1990, 300).

The nationalist project of "camp thinking" thus comes to take shape in the institutions built to nourish the forces of exclusion and incarceration. In *By the Sea*, institutionalized gate-keeping, or warding, is shown to result in Saleh Omar's loss of the right of home and belonging when he leaves the safety of the place of dwelling to that of different camps where he has come to live and meet many other victims. Most importantly, the "open air" prison represented by the island where he is incarcerated stands for more than it may literally mean. Beyond the "brick-and-mortar" space of incarceration, the fact that the guards and prisoners on the island eat together in spite of the latter's sporadic brutalities (*BTS* 227), implies that colonial incarceration holds sway. This fact unsettles "the sometimes ill-defined boundaries between 'warders' and 'prisoners'" as it is "one way of recognizing that some general aspects of incarceration have been integral to the making of colonized societies" (Harper 2001, 1). As it is set by the sea, the island's uncannily administered prison underlines a vibrant setting of boats/ships moving into and outside it, thus fostering a rethinking of the logic that has laid the groundwork for the borderland of race thinking by the nationalist regime. After having been locked away and tortured in a private cell where he was isolated, Saleh is moved to another isolating context which is the island used by the government as

> a detention center since independence. They rounded up whole families of people of Omani descent, especially those who lived in the country or wore beards and turbans or were related to the ousted sultan, and transported them to the small island some distance off shore. There they were detained under guard, until eventually, several months later, ships chartered by the Omani government took them away in their thousands. There were so many of them that the ships stopped coming. It was known that there were still some people detained there. (*BTS*, 222)

It is therefore on the island that the processes of isolation, exclusion, and incarceration have come to intersect as manifestations of the "camp world" which incriminates racial difference as an endeavor to produce the dynamics of separation. A strong feeling of entrapment is shared by the Omanis as they are forced to migrate to escape torture. They have committed no crime except "the ignoble history of Oman in these parts" (*BTS* 225). As it has stranded them between states, the door-keeping enterprise of nationalism comes to assume its torturing disciplinary dimensions as the commanding officer and his troops devote their special attention to "tormenting them, ordering them to do endless menial tasks, abusing them, and at

times beating them" (*BTS* 225). The oversimplification of the binary of victim/perpetrator is the logic most closely associated with the forces of separation in this respect. The Africans, once slaves of the Omanis, are unaware of their use of the victim's role to assume the other role of perpetrator in post-generational terms.

The reductive understanding of the descendants of African slaves of identity formation is also represented by using geographical terms. Saleh decries the insignificance of geographical and cultural division which uncompromisingly settles the question of home and belonging. For him, the victims of severe torture "were no more Omanis than I was except that they had an ancestor who was born there. They did not even look different from the rest of us" (*BTS* 225). Saleh's blurring of the bloodlines of race separation as a bystander narrator is predicated on the fact of being set between the "them" (the Omani victims) and the "rest of us" (among whom many act as perpetrators). The colonial legacy of the Omani history shifts the terrain of Saleh's investigation of the past toward a broader re-drawing of the cartography of race as his subject-position is that of a witness assuming the stance of an "implicated subject". Having experienced the repercussions of race politics himself, Saleh's witnessing solidarity seeks to call race politics into question through the spatial unsettling of the boundaries between inside and outside, the everyday and the extreme. The memory of his first moments of unjust imprisonment is told in the most ambiguous terms between opposites. As he is shoved off "in front of everybody", he laments the fact that

> There were *witnesses*, and I am not sure who is worse in such moments, the criminal or the innocents who stand by and watch and act as if nothing evil is taking place. There were witnesses outside, people walking by as if nothing was happening, strolling to their favorite cafés for a chat or to call on family or friends. (*BTS* 216; emphasis added)

Dismantling the boundaries between the victim and the perpetrator, the extreme and the everyday, inside and outside, Saleh seeks to bring in justice by implicating the bystanders in the public sphere to bear witness to the atrocities committed in the name of race. Uncertainty about who is criminal or innocent highlights the "unfreedom" that permeates the public sphere without many people's awareness about the perils of the traps of totalitarianism; all the more so because "The punishments were administered in the open yard by people who still walk the streets of that town today, as do some of their victims" (*BTS* 218). The novel's posttraumatic witnessing and its blurring of the victim/perpetrator boundary, aims in this instance to devote much of its energy to shaking more witnesses out of passivity through a traumatic realism that

> is not turned only toward the past and its tendency to reappear in haunting repetition. By virtue of its performative access to a posttraumatic context, this kind of writing possesses a future orientation. The traumatic realist project is an attempt not to reflect the traumatic event mimetically but to *produce* it as an object of knowledge and to *transform* its readers so that they are forced to acknowledge their relationship to posttraumatic culture. (Rothberg 2000, 140; emphasis original)

In the intra- and inter-camp relations, for instance, the witnessing of heterogeneous experiences of incarceration takes place beyond and within the prison cells. As various means of punishment and chaos permeate the nation, Saleh recounts the witnessing tales by other inmates, "in their time" in other camps, of "incidents" and "consequences" of torture in

"detail" as they have come to take place between camps as particular experiences of imprisonment (*BTS* 218). Not to mention the fact that as "the whole island was out of bounds to visitors", a picture of the detained Omanis is printed in a newspaper in Kenya; it shows the victims "looking at the cameras with tired melting eyes, some with cautious interest, bearded men capless and worn out" (*BTS* 222). Another Omani too keeps a diary of "all the persecutions that befell them" (*BTS* 223). The import of this witnessing beyond bars and geographical boundaries aims at a circulation that seeks to further its reach in the public sphere. As the meaning of the past constitutes the struggle between the Zanzibaris even today, Saleh and Mahmud embody the post-generational struggle to bring about a dialogue that does not "catch the crook", but is rather based on breaching the victim/perpetrator boundaries in terms that implicate everybody in the national reconciliation.

So, in addition to erasing the line between the concentrationary and the everyday that solicits others to bear witness, "another line" should be drawn to portray the different trajectories of the prisoners "through the concentrationary that differentiates extreme from ordinary experiences" (Rothberg 2000, 124). The individual stories of the prisoners, and those between the prisoners and the seemingly unfree, have different beginnings and no closure (Rothberg 2000, 138). Saleh's witnessing of other tortures worse than his, especially those of the Omanis based on racial separation, aims to countervail the homogenization that marks the boundaries between self and other. The heterogeneous histories of experience feed the need to avoid over-particularizing or over-homogenizing histories as there are ways in which they can crisscross in the camp world "from within and without". To allow a thorough investigation that remaps the "camp world" in terms that account for the particular while seeking to homogenize, trauma studies "can seek to pursue an approach between homogenizing universalism and nominalist particularism" (Rothberg 2008, 230).

The boundaries of separation in the camp world have therefore been unsettled by both Saleh's and Latif's spatiotemporally directed narratives of the past. If the "units" of camps have invested their energy in the gate-keeping enterprise, a task undertaken by the prison warders, then the mechanisms that govern such thinking have been resisted by the solidarity of those afflicted by the forces of incarceration. The focus of this article on intertwined narratives and the constellation of mainly the geographical and historical analyses of camp mentality has sought to bring together the micro-and macro-level dimensions of race that have created the constrictive conditions leading to Saleh's imprisonment. The presence of the imprisoned dissenters reveals the political affiliations that Saleh's witnessing aims to build against the insignificance of the race politics fermenting the violence against the so-called "non-Africans". This witnessing is carried out through rigorously documented testimony where dates and facts constitute the "real" in representation. However, out of the human implications of the conflict, a closer scrutiny may be able to show that the extreme events of trauma transcend the walls of prisons and implicate more people who might act as warders at the service of a camp mentality writ large.

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Style in Jamaica Kincaid's "The Letter from Home:"Between Adoption and Adaptation

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Abstract

It is the aim of this paper to examine the way in which the adopted style and the implied symbols in Jamaica Kincaid's "The Letter from Home" are adapted not only for the purpose of subversion, but also for the aim of reflecting the politics of resistance to external powers, eminent in the text. In her one-sentence short story, Kincaid amalgamates between two different writing styles that are governed by the utilization of distinct syntactic structures and a peculiar use of punctuation, which reflect the divergent speaking voices as filtered through the protagonist's consciousness. Primarily a stream-of-consciousness narrative, "The Letter from Home" communicates two disparate worlds that are marked by the stylistic differentiation of voices. Countering her mother's simplistic sentences, a cryptic recitation of rustic women's daily chores, which is basically a mundane description of the limitations of the female reductionist world; the daughter's more complex sentences in terms of both structure and content are a rejection of everydayness and domesticity and an attempt to overthrow and subvert hierarchical gendered roles that obliterate women's intellectual potential. A celebration of individuality, Kincaid's short story centralizes the power of thought which grants the protagonist resistance to given and monolithic institutions, namely religion and colonialism.

Keywords: Adopted, adapted, resistance, stylistic differentiation, subvert, individuality.

Introduction:

Historically speaking, the concept of 'fiction' has undergone fundamental changes, which –together– mark its evolution. With "the ensuing establishment of periodical literature, the tradition of short stories [that are] produced in collections of linked episodes ultimately evolved" (Gelfant and Graver 9). The conventional practice consists in independently publishing self-sufficient constituents which still collectively "serve as a part of a volume unified by a continuing setting, or ongoing characters, or developing themes, or coalescent patterns of imagery" (Gelfant and Graver 9). It is within such writing tradition that Jamaica Kincaid produced her 1983 collection of short stories, *At the Bottom of the River*. Her work reflects not only a subtle experimentation with, but also a resonant celebration of a confluence of styles, as it epitomizes the correlation between the adoption of a given style and its adaptation to fulfill a certain agenda. Indeed, in the sixth short story in this collection, "The Letter from Home," Kincaid seems to strategically combine the how and the what. Its "allusive narrative structure and 'mythopoetic language'" (Gelfant and Graver 315) posits it as an exemplar of stylistic variation that is deployed to signal the divergent speaking voices as filtered through the protagonist's consciousness. "The Letter from Home" thus underscores Kincaid's dissention with the limitations of the female world and her subsequent attempt to subvert hierarchical gendered roles that obliterate women's intellectual potential. A celebration of individuality, Kincaid's short story centralizes the power of thought which grants the protagonist resistance to given and monolithic institutions, namely religion and colonialism.

1) "The Letter from Home" as an Unconventional Writing: Stylistic Deviation:

At first glance, "The Letter from Home," which is basically a one-sentence, an almost three-page long piece of writing could be mistaken not to be a short story. A highly polyphonic single periodic sentence, it communicates one long thought that is occasionally fragmented –yet, uninterrupted– by punctuation, with the sole full stop placed at the very end. Essentially "a series of dependent and independent clauses separated by semicolons" (Werlock 280), the piece of writing is deemed to "exemplif[y] Kincaid's preference to articulate concerns through a polyphonic speaker, often in dialogue" (Ferguson 20). It is for this reason that critics like Jane Wong emphasize the labyrinthine aspect of a Kincaid sentence, as it implies a conspicuously measured refusal of breakage. Such resistance to dissection can be related to the question of perspective, for the entire narrative is filtered through a single character's consciousness. Accordingly, the consistency of the narrative emanates from imagistic successions, as "one image transforms into another, just as one feeling sparks other emotions" (Edwards 30) –which accounts for the non-traditional punctuation. Kincaid's disregard of conventions in relation to questions of length, size, punctuation, and lack of capitalization and paragraphing is a marker of the work's strategic deviational aspect, which elucidates the author's optional self-effacement (Golden11).

As the work's title insinuates, the text is believed to be "constructed around a series of epistles from home" (Edwards 29). Dubbed "an epistolary monologue" (Ferguson 20), the first-person narrative initiates with a series of simple declarative statements that introduce the gist of a letter sent by a mother from home to her migrant daughter. Implicitly introduced, the question of geographical distance is presented through *allusions* to dissimilar components of two divergent milieus. A simplistic rural setting where "the cat meowed, the dog barked, the horse neighed, the mouse squeaked, the fly buzzed" (Kincaid 37) is set in opposition to a more complicated urban location. Facets of modernity are embodied in a second, more

luxurious lifestyle, characterized by the availability of fridges, gas, cars, in addition to a more sophisticated architecture.

Kincaid's use of various *imageries* to emphasize the notion of "disparateness" is further consolidated through the image of "the tree branches heavy with snow crash[ing] against the roof" (Kincaid 37). Snow, an indicator of a cold climate as experienced by the daughter, is antagonized with the mother's account of the buzzing fly image, which is a sign of a milder and warmer climate. It is this kind of "play with […] references [that] redirects attention from the level of semantics to the level of rhetoric and in this way creates a space of new meanings" (Purk 2) for Kincaid.

However, "play with references" is not the only stylistic stratagem adopted by Kincaid to distinguish between the two speakers, for with the same intention; she also experiments with the syntactic norms of the English language. The short story's opening telegraphic sentences introduce a litany of actions that range from milking the cows to dressing the children, a kind of checklist of a typical day for a rustic woman. This survey of the mundane, embodied in "the incantatory recitation of a woman's daily chores" (Paravisini-Gebert 68), creates a rhythm through the four-syllabic sentence structure, a rhythm that resonates with monotony –which reflects the menacing aspect of such reductive gendered role division on female subjectivity. The jeopardizing hegemony of such lifestyle is highlighted through the sentences' failure to transcend the superficiality of the communicated content, as they imply intentional obliteration of the speaker's emotions and thoughts. Yet, what is alarming is the mother's inability to perceive the hazardous implications of acquiescing to such "everydayness and domesticity" (Paravisini-Gebert 68). Instead, it is the daughter who entertains a level of awareness about similar pervasive phenomena.

The daughter's discomfort with familiarity is reflected in her feelings of anxiety resultant from the recollection of the mother's hegemonic epistles, since the opening passage is a representation of "the mother's litany [as] filtered through the daughter's consciousness" (Werlock 280). Although the pace of "The Letter from Home" starts "softly with milking cows and churning butter, [its] prose moves rapidly to a greater order of intensity, antinomies and surreal elements," (Ferguson 20) in accordance with the daughter's psychological state and mental activity. The mere reminiscence of the contents of her mother's letters causes the daughter feelings of utter discomfort as they "inevitably spark memories and emotions that [she] is trying to forget" (Edwards 29). Her much-sought forgetfulness about a home she has left behind is constantly aborted by her mother's letters which serve as a connective link with her homeland. However, upon remembering her mother's unappealing account of her daily life, "[the daughter's] heart beat loudly *thud*! *thud*! tiny beads of water gathered on [her] nose" (Kincaid 37): signs of panic and the byproduct of her displeasure with the haunting motherly presence .

However, despite her failure to assert her self at the beginning of the short story under the weight of the mother's suppressive and oppressive authoritative "I," the daughter manages to voice her dissatisfaction with the limitations imposed on female existence. It is in those instances where there is a sudden shift as sentences become more complex, foregrounding a surreal depiction of the environment that a second speaking voice –that is, the daughter's– is distinguished. Indeed, the first speaking voice's statements "can be readily distinguished from those sentences focusing on the receiver of the letter, which are longer and more complex in structure and describe her as engaging with her surroundings in a more vital way" (Paravisini-Gebert 68). Unlike the mother, the daughter amalgamates between not only various sentence structures –whether short, telegraphic, or long, – but also different sentence

patterns –namely declarative, exclamative, and interrogative. Such conglomeration is employed by Kincaid to emphasize the daughter's active interaction with her surroundings, for she totally disregards the mundane and focuses on actively observing her environment.

The principle of sensory impression, expressed in imagistic forms, governs the daughter's surveillance of her milieu. Such principle relates "to those processes and structures within an organism that receive stimuli from the environment and convey them to the brain" (Reverso Dictionary). The daughter's act of monitoring her surroundings–whether a cat licking its coat or a drawer that refuses to close –stimulates her thoughts. In her account of the daughter's observations, Kincaid employs what Jane Wong terms the zoom-focus technique which signals change of perspective from familiarity to unfamiliarity, from the mundane to the surreal; for "the constant zooming always felt metaphysical which is another way in which Kincaid measures the mundane with the extraordinary" (Wong, "Art of the Sentence: Jamaica Kincaid").

The sudden zoom-ins and zoom-outs relate to questions of movement and pace. "The external objects or inner thoughts," as presented in the short story, then "follow the principles of cinematic presentation of panoramic views, slow-ups, close-ups and a series of views in rapid succession" or simply the principle of montage (Golden 12). Useful in "showing physical movement of a character and the quality and rate of psychic activity," (Golden 14) the principle of montage –as employed by Kincaid– suggests the accelerated pace at which the daughter's thoughts unfold.

As delineated, the narrator's mental activity is bound by the principle of free association which is basically "the psychological process by which a character's consciousness simply drifts from one thing to another because of some random connection between them" (Golden 13-4). The daughter's consciousness seems to jump uncontrollably from filtering the contents of her mother's letters, to observing her surroundings, to concentrating on minute details in a closed spatial setting, to finally brood on existential and historical matters. In the case of "The Letter from Home," the principle of free association not only unravels the implicit "movement of the psyche in response to a particular thought," but "also indicate[s] physical movement of the character [of the daughter], responding to external stimuli" (Golden 14).

The rapid succession of images that disregards questions of logicality, which is conditioned by the principle of free association, is presented in a way that negates any forms of mediation. In other words, the way in which the contents of "The Letter from Home" are disclosed does not suggest the existence of a narrative voice that is responsible for introducing the story world. It rather unfolds in a manner that insinuates an *imitation* of a not-yet voiced thought, considering its disregard of "both formal syntax and logical thought progression" (Macauley 88). Consequently, a piece of writing with such characteristics "captures thought units as they seem to originate within the character's consciousness rather than as they would be *deliberately* expressed" (Humphrey 23) (emphasis added). It is for the purpose of providing "a direct quotation of the [human] mind not merely of the language area but of the whole consciousness" (Kumar & McKean 346) that Kincaid chooses to disfavor logicality and selectivity. Instead, she adheres to the afore-mentioned principle of free association to evidence her concern with the prespeech, preconscious level in an attempt "to capture for the reader the atmosphere of the mind" (Edel 7).

2) Symbolism and the Question of Narrative Unity:

In her *Stream of Consciousness Technique: The most Impressive Innovation in Modern Literature*, Mirjana Lončar-Vujnović sets three factors shaping free association, namely memory as its basis; senses which is its guide; and imagination –embodied in the use of symbolism– as that which determines its elasticity. Similarly, while Dorothy O. Golden centralizes the paramount importance of symbols with regard to free association since they substitute for rationally formulated ideas and, thus, "form patterns of cross-references as a structural framework" (Golden 14); Melvin Friedman stresses their role in establishing the narrative's unity through constant referencing. Accordingly, the sections of literary texts that are molded in a similar fashion to "The Letter from Home" are "knit together mainly by such methods of continual cross reference of symbol and image" (Friedman 24), rather than "by the process of action" (Golden 9).

In "The Letter from Home," Kincaid often refers to symbols which, in one way or another, relate back to the daughter as she represents the primary consciousness through which the entire narrative is filtered. The text's narrative skeleton not only has the mother's letter from home as its axis, but also unravels the daughter's subsequent feelings of anxiety and agitation as well as her sense of disorientation to be its driving force. The psychological disturbance that she experiences is conveyed through the use of imagery and onomatopoeia to provide detailed accounts of both the visual and aural pictures. This helps the reader peek into the internal workings of the daughter's psychological and emotional processes, foreshadowing the looming state of panic. Recalling her discontent with a fate that is similar to her mother's and to that of all the women she has left behind to struggle under the weight of a patriarchal society, she opts for "shed[ding her] skin" (Kincaid 37). The text's opening examination of everyday activities then quickly "presses toward shape-shifting as the speaker envisions herself shedding her skin" (Paravisini-Gebert 46).

There appears to be a great deal of controversy concerning the implications as well as the historical roots of skin-shedding. For instance, in her 1995 *Haiti, History and the Gods*, Joan Dayan describes skin-shedding to be traditionally perceived as "the trait of monstrous being" (265). She asserts that folktales which foreground mythical creatures, whose very existence is conditioned by the act of shedding their skin, are abstracted revivals of a history of enslavement, during the times when slaves had their skins excoriated and applied "with pepper, salt, lemon and ashes" (Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* 265). Despite emphasizing the interconnectedness between culture and skin-shedding, Moira Ferguson holds a dissimilar conception of the significance of the act, since she avers that "a woman who removes her skin is an enactment of a voodoo priestess's spiritual ritual" (11). In other words, unlike Dayan, Ferguson proposes a positive understanding of the act of shedding one's skin, as it is reminiscent of the powerful spirituality of female voodoo practitioners. She, therefore, emphasizes skin-shedding inasmuch as it has its origins in African spiritual practices such as voodoo and Obeah.

In their examination of the symbolic employment of skin-shedding in Kincaid's fiction, Moira Ferguson and Jana Evans Braziel claim that it is suggestive of the figure of "the jablesse," a *positive* symbol that often disseminates the author's works. However, as a folkloric mythical creature, the jablesse does not entertain the ability to shed her skin, as she is "[t]raditionally speaking […] a beautiful woman with one goat's hoof who lures the unsuspecting to their death" (Gelfant and Graver 318). Her power does not exceed the mere act of luring men to their own demise using her deceitfully-beautiful face. It is rather the

Soucouyant, another equally fundamental symbol from the Caribbean folkloric tradition of storytelling that Kincaid deploys, who is strongly associated with shape-shifting.

Indeed, "the soucouyant, a vampire, also called 'Ol' Higue,' can change into different forms, shedding human skin at night […]" (Murray 4). Ivette Romero-Cesareo contends that "soucouyant" is a word of African origins which literally means "human beings transformed into balls of fire" (265). Within the African and Caribbean oral traditions, the term designates an old woman who "suck[s] people's blood […]" and whose peculiar power is "either inherited or acquired through a pact with the devil" (Romero-Cesareo 265). Caribbean folktales, generally addressed to little children for the purpose of entertainment that is mixed with education, tell about this elderly woman who often isolates herself from other members of the community. She is depicted as either "chasing people from her yard or sleeping the day away," only to "emerge from her skin at night, become a ball of flame, and plague her community by drinking people's blood –sometimes straight from the hearts" (Anatol 1).

As folk stories get often reworked, some of their core elements are open to alterations. A new interpretation of the soucouyant "that goes beyond the 'monstrous' demon who merely 'confounds the natural order of things' (Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* 265) for instance arose in this manner. In her book, *The Things that Fly in the Night: Female Vampires in the Literature of the Circum-Caribbean and African Diaspora*, Giselle Liza Anatol explains that since the soucouyant tales are passed down on a generational basis, its implications altered to a considerable extent due to the question of gradual temporal distance from the times of slavery. In other words, although "the fright associated with the peeling of the skin as well as the drawing of blood from another person remains," (Anatol 9) the perception by which skin-shedding has been long perceived as "evil" and negative has drastically transformed. Consequently, the soucouyant's act of shedding her skin now translates into an *action* that conjures notions such as agency and power, rather than submissiveness and powerlessness. Anatol argues that the Soucouyant is, therefore, no longer frightful as a reified monstrous being that is skinned alive by an external force, whose vicious whip drains her blood. Instead, she is dreadful "because she can strip off her own skin and penetrate the skins of others; she is also the one who draws blood, not leaks it. She is a powerful actor, not acted upon" (Anatol 9).

In "The Letter from Home," the figure of the soucouyant is representative of the daughter's willful abandonment of an identity that had been readily given, an identity that had been tainted with the Father's teachings and the Mother's ideologized advice. It is a marker of resistance to the mother's implied assumption that "the girl's destiny, like hers, is to become part of the discourse of provisional domestic independence within patriarchal domination" (MacDonald-Smythe 116). The daughter's outspoken dissent with an analogous fate compels her to give up her old self. She, therefore, sheds her skin, which allows her the "free[dom] to go anywhere" (MacDonald-Smythe 36) and so, "the boat sailed, the waves broke, the horizon tipped, the jetty grew small, the air stung, some heads bobbed, some handkerchiefs fluttered" (Kincaid 37-8).

The inexplicit reference to the actual departure for another land echoes the daughter's quest for a *constructed* identity. The concept of "the journey" with the purpose of seeking a new identity, along with the idea of geographical displacement as offering the ultimate opportunity "to see the world" with its implied educational outcomes; bear references to the Bildungsroman writing tradition. Indeed, with the German word "bildung" meaning "formation" (Dictionary.com) and the tradition's centralization of the process of emotional

and psychological growth, "The Letter from Home" epitomizes such concerns through the character of the soucouyant daughter.

The daughter's destination offers her a fertile ground for learning which is reflected in her lively interaction with her surroundings. What is characteristic of Kincaid's stylized writing is the lack of explicit references to questions of temporality when it comes to the narrative account of the daughter's learning process. The narrative account of the daughter's gradual growth seems to obey the principle of "variable chronology" which is basically founded on a temporal deviation from chronological sequence –as conditioned by the *filtering* consciousness. Accordingly, depending on the consciousness being presented, "this variation may involve compression or expansion or one time may be superimposed upon another, or there may be side digression, forward movement into the future, or memory within memory" (Golden 14). As Dorothy O. Golden asserts, such disregard of temporal chronology is only made possible in the case of inner time which "contrasts sharply with external or temporal time" –with "the contrast [being] a valuable means of depicting the flow of consciousness activity" (14).

The process of identity construction is delineated inasmuch as it is filtered through the daughter's consciousness. Consequently, its textual encoding is inferred through the abundant use of successive imageries, reflecting the instantaneous accumulative recollection of a considerable time period in the life of an auto-didact. The daughter's journey is reminiscent of that of the soucouyant. Indeed, upon shedding her skin, she departs for a new place, in an attempt to escape a restrictive environment. In the new setting, she broods over how "there was a *night*, it was *dark*, there was a *moon*, it was *full*, there was a bed, it held sleep; there was *movement*, it was quick, there was a being, it stood still, there was a space" (Kincaid 38) (emphasis added). The associative link between "night," "darkness" and the full "moon" finds legitimacy inasmuch as the distinct elements collectively relate back to the figure of "the soucouyant". A creature that belongs to the night, the soucouyant usually roams in the darkness to pursue its preys. Unlike the actual soucouyant, however, the daughter's endeavor transcends the instinctive thirst for blood, as it rather revolves around establishing an independent sense of self. It is, therefore, only strategic that the soucouyant daughter stands still instead of sucking the sleeper's blood –something the traditional vampiric soucouyant would have done.

What is problematic in this pictorial passage, however, is the sense of fullness that is soon to be juxtaposed with a sense of nothingness, for "there was space, it was full" and "then there was nothing" (Kincaid 38). The two antagonistic mental images are symbolic of the way in which displacement triggered the daughter's subsequent feelings of loss upon realizing the invalidity of her repertoire in her new environment, which stimulated her interest in total self-redefinition. In other words, the cultural specificities of the daughter's homeland have proven to be inoperative in the new dissimilar milieu. Her epiphanic moment is portrayed through the act of "light[ing] a candle" (Kincaid 38), with both elements bearing references to illumination, thus knowledge. After the total dissolution of her skin (Kincaid 38) which is representative of absolute rejection of the old self, "[she] saw something move, [she] recognized the shadow to be [her] own hand," to ultimately feel herself "to be one thing" (Kincaid 38). This gradual progression from seeing an unidentified shape in motion, to distinguishing a hand, to reaching ultimate completion is reminiscent of an individual in the making. The final outcome of this process is the daughter's successful construction of her own identity, independently from her domineering mother.

It is in that passage where change from one consciousness to another is detected that the reader is able to distinguish a different portrayal of the daughter's self. The shift in the "level of consciousness [and] quality of thought" (Golden 15) is signaled by mechanical aids, namely the use of parentheses and presence –rather than lack– of standard capitalization and conventional punctuation. The rhetorical questions that are provided in the form of interrogative statements, engulfed between parentheses, represent a series of metaphysical and religious enquiries, which, in turn, mirror the daughter's intellectual growth. Entertaining a mind of her own, she wonders: "Is the Heaven to be above? Is the Hell below? Does the Lamb still lie meek? Does the Lion roar?" (Kincaid 38). Although these concepts find legitimacy in the Christian canon, for they are intertextual instances with the Bible, Kincaid employs them as symbols to denote the hierarchical relationship between colonizer and colonized. Indeed, the expressions "Lamb of God" and "Lion-like Lamb" are used in the afore-mentioned biblical books as allusions to Jesus. However, in "The Letter from Home," the Lamb who lies meek suggests the image of the scapegoat who is subject to punishment for the sins of others without their knowledge and beyond their will, thus the vanquished. In contrast, bearing in mind that the Messiah was dubbed the Lion-like lamb in reference to his rising to deliver victory, the roaring Lion symbol translates into an embodiment of the vanquisher. Yet, the interrogative form of the statements conveys the speaker's questioning of the persistence of these supposedly sacred colonial hierarchies.

However, the girl acknowledges that colonialism still lurks, for "in the peninsula some ancient ships are still anchored" (Kincaid 38). The contradictory aspect of the sentence which is manifest in the allusion to a *distant* historical event, namely Christopher Columbus' arrival in 1493 through the image of "the ancient ships" using the present tense implies the timelessness of the occurrence. Nonetheless, the presented conception of the still-ongoing colonialism is not to be acquainted with direct imperialist rule, but rather with the hegemonic infiltration of the European cultural and religious codes into the national culture.

The image of the leopard stalking its prey in the village, which is recalling of an African milieu, is set in opposition with an entirely disparate setting defined by the European etiquette and the Christian divine order of things. A tribal milieu, devoid of any facets of modernity, is juxtaposed with a metropolitan setting, where "the buildings are to be tall, the structures are to be sound, the stairs are to be winding" (Kincaid 39). The structure of the sentences foregrounds change in process which is introduced by a foreign agent that sought to impose its own cultural codes and ways. Colonialism is not only alluded to through the "ancient ships" (Kincaid 38); it is also referred to through the symbolic mention of "the hyacinths [that] look as if they will bloom" (Kincaid 39). As a Mediterranean flower whose bulbs are poisonous, the hyacinth is considered alien to the Caribbean –being the geographical area of concern to Kincaid. It is, therefore, considered to be an allusion to the European intruder whose poisonous presence in the Caribbean as well as Africa is frowned upon.

The girl's "rebellion against Eurocentric culture and the authority figures, who impose its standards on the vanquished," (Snodgrass 64) is reflected in her subversion of the very foundation of the myth of genesis as portrayed in the Christian religious canon. In her *Caribbean Genesis: Jamaica Kincaid and the Writing of New Worlds*, Jana Evans Braziel expounds on the biblical creation story as chronicled in the Book of Genesis. The biblical account of the origins of creation foregrounds three axiomatic sacred separations, namely the primary segregation between light and darkness; the secondary distinction between heavens and waters; and the tertiary division of land from sea. Yet, in her text, Kincaid rejects these revered separations and rather proposes a conception of the world that centers a level of

correspondence between its various elements, a correspondence that contradicts with the contents of the Book of Genesis. "The valleys [then] correspond to the mountains, the mountains correspond to the sea, the sea corresponds to the dry land, [and] the dry land corresponds to the snake whose limbs are now reduced" (Kincaid 39).

Her disapproval of such separateness as the natural order of things in the universe echoes her rejection of "the divisions as acts of (divine and human and ideological and mythic and historical) power" (Braziel 21). It also implies subversion of power hierarchies through the assertion that the entire chain of beings corresponds not to God, but "to the snake whose limbs are now reduced" (Kincaid 39), which contradicts the Christian theological beliefs. In other words, it belongs to the Fallen Angel. The textually-strategic empowerment of Lucifer implies the consolidation of the soucouyant's powerfulness as well, since she is traditionally associated with the 'devil.' Yet, this God/ Devil dichotomy as a linguistic distinction that respectively references good and evil is established on the basis of the Christian religious diction. Indeed, in her "Vodoun, or the Voice of Gods," Joan Dayan asserts that, in Caribbean spirituality, "the devotee refers to his *loa* [god or spirit] not only as *anges*, mysteries or saints, or *les invisibles*, but also as *diables* [devils]. [….]The practitioner has internalized the language of Christian denomination taught to him by the priest or pastor in order to wean his belief […]" (26). Dayan foregrounds the way in which language interferes in self-expression and world representation. The Caribbean practitioners of West African spirituality employ terms like "angels" and "devils" to refer to their "loa" not out of genuine desire to communicate their perception of the world to an Other who holds a different tongue, but rather due to the linguistic dissemination imposed by colonialism –whether religious or institutional. The soucouyant is, therefore, present in the text as "a spirit in Obeah who metamorphoses, seduces, and traverses the boundaries of matter-spirit, animal-human, evil-good" (Braziel 54).

The empowerment of the 'she-devil' is further evidenced through the daughter's act of rowing away from "a man [who] was in a shroud," pretending "[she] didn't know what [she] was doing" (Kincaid 39). The employment of the capitalized third-person pronoun "He" to refer to this man and the peculiar physical depiction that centralizes "the shroud" suggests the image to be an allusion to Christ. Upon beckoning to the girl in the boat to accompany him, she narrowed her eyes, in suspicion and decided to row away, thus further distancing herself from him. Consequently, her self-alienation then, far from being an arbitrary act, translates into a strategic occurrence. Indeed, the girl's pretence of ignorance implies residual knowledge, for in her choice of rejecting a land where she saw Christ, she renounces a conception of the motherland as impregnated with the legacies of colonialism. With the mother's *letter* from home being representative of the bond or connection with the motherland, the daughter's previously-highlighted discontent with the epistle epitomizes her alienation from a land that feels less like home due to its inability to overcome a traumatic history of imperialism.

Conclusion:

Through her adoption of the stream of consciousness technique, manifest not only in the unconventionally transgressive use of punctuation and sentence structure, but also in the lack of paragraph indentation, logicality and temporality or chronology; Kincaid gives life to a narrative that is marked by fragmentariness and yet displays a conspicuous level of unity thanks to the constant referencing to symbols and imageries. Kincaid's preference of *postmodern narration* echoes her rebellion as a postcolonial writer "against precise British

genre parameters" (Paravisini-Gebert 44). The stylistic deviation that is reflected at the level of form posits this piece of writing as a test of the boundaries of the short story, as it is an examination not only of the shape, but also of the limits of its power. The strategic lack of physical action in "The Letter from Home," which is conventionally perceived to be a characteristic of the traditional novelistic writing, brings to the fore mental and psychic activity. Kincaid, thus, offers the reader "a sense of direct participation in a character's mental processes" (Macauley 88). The resultant narrative incoherence, which is conditioned by fragmentariness and illogicality as indivisible aspects of prespeech level, is contained through continuous allusions to symbols that are derived from the Caribbean folk tradition of storytelling. Engaging in an act of artistic or "aesthetic projection" rather than simply re-inscribing the folkloric (Carvalho-Neto 35), the author adapts these symbols –with the primary symbol being that of the soucouyant– as modes of resistance and criticism. Kincaid ultimately proffers a critique of a multitude of hierarchical systems of power –whether parental, colonial or even literary.

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Comparative Legal Analysis of the Objects of Corpus Delicti
In The Legislation of Russia and Some Other Countries

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Abstract

 The purpose of the article *is to substantiate the similarity of the objects of criminal and legal safeguard in the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation and other countries demonstrating their conditionality by the need to safeguard the most important social relations.*

Methodology. *The method of comparative legal studies was applied to compare the objects of criminal legal safeguard in Russia with those in other countries. The formal legal method, the systematic and dialectical methods, and the method of structural analysis were applied.*

The author comes to conclusion *that the criminal legislation of different countries of the global community, including the Russian Federation, provides for similar objects as the objects of crimes. The reason for this is that there are similar social relations that require criminal legal safeguard and a certain priority of values in democratic states.*

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Keywords: crime; corpus delicti; objects of corpus delicti; social relations as objects; objects of safeguard.

1.   Introduction to the problem.

It has become axiomatic in the legal science that along with the concepts "offence" and "crime" there is such concept as "corpus delicti". For the purposes of the research the concept of "corpus delicti" needs to be considered along with the concept of the "object of offence".

The term "corpus delicti" goes back to as early as Roman law from which it was adopted by continental legal systems. The phrase "corpus delicti" initially had a procedural meaning. In the 16th and the 17th centuries it meant all the traces of a crime in the external world. Only starting from the end of the 18th century the concept of corpus delicti was transferred to criminal law in the works of German scientists. However, its procedural origin reveals itself in the definition of this concept (Tagantsev, 1998, p. 145).

The concept of corpus delicti was adopted by Russian criminal law from the German criminal law doctrine that emphasized the fact that "corpus delicti is a pure notion without independent meaning; corpus delicti belongs only to the law and not the real life. Therefore, corpus delicti should be considered to be a product of legal consciousness, an abstraction of a real phenomenon but not the phenomenon itself. Nowadays such understanding is still intrinsic to the German criminal law doctrine. For example, the commentary to the Criminal Code of the Federative Republic of German says that "corpus delicti is a mental scheme that is a description of a human act in its abstract concept. A specific act corresponds to corpus delicti if it corresponds to the abstract concept" (Drehez/Trondle, 1985, p. 57). This allows to conclude that initially criminal law understood corpus delicti as the sum of characteristics that are divided by a subject's consciousness into four blocks – the elements of corpus delicti which presence in a certain act allowed to consider it a crime.

Thus, the foundation for the study of corpus delicti was laid in the criminal law science and was further adopted by the theory of state and other sectors of legal science. It should be noted that the theory of state did not blindly copy the statements developed by criminal law. It explored the essential characteristics applicable to all sectors of legal science and provided arguments that any behavior of a subject which has a legal nature is characterized by certain constitutive elements (corpus delicti). The works of Kudryavtsev (1981) contain detailed elaboration of these statements. Nowadays it is axiomatic to claim that corpus delicti is a sum of objective and subjective characteristics provided for by the law. These characteristics qualify an act as a crime and are sufficient to impose criminal liability on the subject. Corpus delicti is made of four elements: an object and objective side of crime; a subject and subjunctive side of crime.

As it was mentioned earlier, a concept of an object of a crime needs to be defined. According to philosophical literature, the term "object" originates from Late Latin objectum, from Latin objicio – throw forward (oppose). Nowadays an object is defined as something that is opposed to a subject in his practical and cognitive activity. There are two main approaches to the concept of an object in philosophical studies. The first one considers an object via activity of a subject that is expressed in his interaction with other people in social relations. In this case, an object is a "part of objective reality which a subject is interacting with" (Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary, 2001, p. 397), it is "what exists beyond us regardless of our consciousness, phenomena of external world, material reality" (Ozhegov, 1983, p. 387). The second approach sees an object as a certain material or non-material welfare which causes subjects to enter social relations. In this case, an object functions as the object of interest of the subjects and therefore the object of their direct activity, a broadly understood activity. The legal category of the object of corpus delicti is a specific interpretation of philosophical definition of this concept.

2.   Analysis and discussion

The legal literature defines an object of a crime as social relations to which harm is inflicted or which are put at threat of inflicting harm. The term "social" is defined as related to society, happening in society, connected to people's activity in society (Ozhegov, 1983, p. 427). Social relations in this meaning could be defined as mutual communication, a connection between people (participants of the relations) based on certain interests (economic, political, cultural) and connected with people's activity in society. It is worth mentioning that this definition is not the only one and is far from indisputable. Some scientists base their definition of society on Kant's concept that all possible phenomena can be perceived as a result of human activity (Akhiezer &Yakovenko, 1997, p.47). However, a supposition that society also shapes a man is rather logical (Akhiezer &Yakovenko, 1997, p.71). "A man is a world of a man that is an object, the product of all social relations and a subject, the creator of personal deeds and objictified connections at the same time" (Akhiezer &Yakovenko, 1997, p.73).

If we look at the structure of the Special part of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (2016), we will see that it is composed depending on the peculiarities of a generic and specific object of crime. Legal criminal studies point that a generic object lies in the bases of separation into parts while the chapters are separated based on a specific object A generalized list of objects of criminal legal safeguard are determined in Article 2 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (2016).

A legislator identifies the following objects: rights and freedoms of man and citizen; property; public order and public security; the environment; the constitutional system of the Russian Federation; maintenance of the peace and security of mankind. The content of an objects of a crime shows that a legislator classifies the most dangerous and significant social relations as objects of crimes.

The application of the comparative legal method allows to see that similar objects of criminal safeguard are fixed in the criminal legislation of other countries. This is particularly true regarding the criminal codes of the former Soviet Union countries. The Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan (2001) identifies the following objects of crimes: the individual, his rights and freedoms, interests of society and the state, property, the environment, the peace and security of mankind (Art. 2). The Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2001) lists the following objects of criminal legal safeguard: rights and freedoms man and citizen; property; public safety; the environment; constitutional order; the interests of society and the state; peace and security of mankind (Art. 2). Varying slightly in terminology, Criminal Codes of the Republic of Tajikistan (Art. 2) (2001), Ukraine (Art. 1) (2001), the Republic of Moldova (Art. 2) (2001), the Republic of Belarus (Art. 2) (2001) and the Kyrgyz Republic (Art. 2) (2001) provide for similar objects.

Criminal codes of many countries do not contain a special article determining a generalized list of objects of crimes. However, it is possible to make judgments about their variety based on the titles of the sections, parts or chapters.

The Penal Code of Norway (2001) has the following objects of offences: the relations that safeguard independence and security of the state (Chapter 8); the constitutional system (Chapter 9); civil rights (Chapter 10); relations connected with public service (Chapter 11); relations connected with public authority (Chapter 12); the general order and peace (Chapter 13); public security (Chapter 14); judicial relations (Chapters 15, 16); counterfeiting of money (Chapter 17), forging of documents (Chapter 18), sexual relations (Chapter 19); family relations (Chapter 20), and etc.

The Criminal Code of the Republic San Marino (2002) starts with chapters about crimes against the person (Chapters 1 and 2). The further analysis of the content shows that a legislator provided for the following objects of crimes: property relations; family relations; public safety; social order; the relations of morality; state relations; the relations of power; work-related relations.

According to the Criminal Code of Australia (2001), objects of crimes are: the relations of security of the international community and foreign countries; state relations; property relations; human security; the relations of national infrastructure.

The Criminal Code of Denmark (2001) contains the following objects of crimes: the relations of independence and safety of the state; constitutional relations; the relations of state authority; public order; work-related relations; procedural relations; sexual relations; property relations, and etc.

According to the Criminal Code of the Swiss Confederation (2002), the following objects are recognized as objects of crimes: the relations of the life and health; the relations ensuring freedom; family relations; public safety; interests of the international community.

The analysis of the Criminal Codes of Germany (2002), Poland (2001), France (2002), Argentina (2003) shows that approximately similar social relations lie in the basis of objects of crimes.. There are certainly some differences in terminology, succession and position of the crimes in chapters and sections of the codes.

3.   Comparison

The Special Part of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation passed in 1996 is well structured. It contains the following sections: crimes against the person (Section VII); crimes in the sphere of economics (Section VIII); crimes against public security and public order (Section IX); crimes against state power (Section X); crimes against military service (Section XI); crimes against the peace and security of mankind (Section XII). Generic objects of crimes can be determined in accordance with the sections: the social relations that ensure normal functioning and development of the person; social relations in the sphere of economics; the relations of public security and public order; the relations of state power; military relations; the relations that ensure the peace and security of mankind. Therefore, the separation into sections is made based on enlarged generic objects that include several specific objects. Thus, inside the generic object – the relations that ensure normal functioning and development of the person (Section VII) – the following specific objects of crimes can be singled out: the elations that ensure human life and health (Chapter 16); the relations of the freedom, honor, and dignity of the person (Chapter 17); the relations of the sexual inviolability and sexual freedom (Chapter 18), the relations that ensure normal functioning of the family and development of minors (Chapter 20).

The generic object of economic relations can be subdivided into the following specific objects: property relations (Chapter 21); relations in the sphere of economic activity (Chapter 22); the relations that ensure normal functioning of profit-making and other organizations (Chapter 23).

The relations of public security and public order (Section IX) can be classified into the following specific objects: the relations of general security (Chapter 24); the security of the population's health and public morality (Chapter 25); environmental relations (Chapter 26); the relations of traffic safety and the operation of transport vehicles (Chapter 27); information security relations (Chapter 28).

The generic object of crimes against state power contains the following specific objects: the relations of the fundamentals of the constitutional system and state security (Chapter 29); the relations of civil service and the service in local self-government bodies (Chapter 30); the relations in the sphere of the administration of justice; the relations in the sphere of administration procedures (Chapters 31, 32).

There is a number of specific objects that can be classified as independent ones. They are the relations of military service (Chapter 33) and the relations ensuring the peace and security of mankind (Chapter 34). As it follows from the analysis of generic and specific objects of crimes listed in the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (2016), they are mostly similar to those provided for in the criminal codes of the countries mentioned above. This is due to the fact that there are groups of relations that require criminal safeguard in any state and society. And a distinctive feature of many criminal codes is that they contain crimes against the peace and security of mankind.

4. Conclusion

The criminal legislation of different countries of the global community, including the Russian Federation, provide for similar objects as the objects of crimes: the relations that ensure normal functioning and development of the person; economic relations; the relations of constitutional system; public security; the relations of state power; the relations that ensure national security, the integrity and sovereignty of the state. It can be explained by the fact that there is a certain priority of values and similar social relations in democratic states that require criminal legal safeguard.

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Women in-between the Place: A Pilot Study of Two Military-Related Women

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Abstract

This paper intends to re-examine the sense of place of Anping, a tourist historical site of Taiwan, by the case studies of two local women, in order to argue for the notion of the progressive sense of place as proposed by Doreen Massey. A harbor district whose history can be traced back to the 12th century, Anping has developed over various Chinese dynasties and western imperial powers. Demographically, it was multi-ethnic; geographically, its boundaries have changed, moving always more inland and including more people. However, past researches tended to take Anping as a fixed inhabited location—a given—and explore its uniqueness through seeking common patterns. To describe Anping as a progressive place, this paper examines two women's migratory routes in terms of their social relations and indicates that Anping as a place is not defined by stability and rootedness but by flows and movements.

Keywords: nation-state, migration, women's studies, cultural studies.

In "A Global Sense of Place," Doreen Massey coins the term, "a progressive sense of place" to indicate that with "time-space compression" (1991, p. 24), place can no longer be regarded as one of a single and homogenized identity, but rather as a manifestation of flows and movements. For Massey, the "reactionary sense of place" that holds on to the "introverted, inward-looking history . . . for internalized origins" (1991, p. 27) can hardly address how a place is related to other parts of the world because of the dynamic mobility of people. Observing the Kilburn High Street in north London where she lives and where she sees its connections to other parts of the world, Massey argues that place should not be viewed as an "authentic" history of a single, inevitably fictionalized and homogenized local community, but rather as a manifestation of dynamic "local and global social, economic, and communications relations" (1991, p. 25).

However, while Massey looks at the positive effect of the flows of commodities, idea, and people, she also points out how "time-space compression" involves

> a politics of mobility and access. For it does seem that mobility, and control over mobility, both reflects and reinforces power. It is not simply a question of unequal distribution, that some people move more than others, and that some have more control than others. It is that the mobility can weaken the leverage of the already weak. The time-space compression of some groups can undermine the power of others. (1991, p. 26)

Take women travelers for example. In the 19th and 20th centuries, "it was far more demanding for a woman to wander now than ever before . . . . for a complex mix of colonialism, ex-colonialism, racism, changing gender relations and relative wealth" (1991, p. 25). This means that, how these women travelers experienced space is affected not only by where they moved from and to but also by what entitled/enabled them to move to what places. Moreover, how women as the subject experience the place has to be considered to make the sense of place.

A harbor district whose history can be traced back to the 12th century, Anping has developed over various Chinese dynasties and western imperial powers. Demographically, it was multi-ethnic; geographically, its boundaries have changed, moving always more inland and including more people. However, most past researches tended to rely on what Massey calls the "introverted obsession with 'heritage'" (1991, p. 27) to emphasize the importance of Anping as a place, which is why it's being claimed and reclaimed as a "historical site." Then, is it possible to explore Anping as a "meeting place" (Massey, 1991, p. 28) where its linkage to the "outside" reproduces its sense of place?

To describe Anping as a progressive place, this paper examines two women's migratory

routes in terms of their social relations. The migration of both women is either directly or indirectly related to the Chinese Civil War, which caused men's and women's migration from mainland China to Taiwan in the late-1940s and has thus changed the local social landscape of Taiwan. The first woman, Mama Niu, came from a distant county to be married to a mainlander veteran. She and her husband and children lived with the mainlander community whose village was forced to move twice but remained in the outskirts of Anping. Mama Niu has done various paid jobs to support her family. The other woman, Lieutenant Liu, was a mainlander officer in charge of medical inspection who moved to Anping when the military hospital where she worked was ordered to retreat from Shanghai to re-station there. Later, she was married and retired from the work post and moved to the downtown area. Their movements reproduce the sense of Anping.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the social political landscape of Anping changed significantly. In 1858, the Treaty of Tianjin entitled foreigners the rights of movement in the internal regions of China, including Taiwan, for the purposes of travel, trade or missionary activities (Ming-yong Wu, 1998, p. 148). Anping then became an entry point where foreign firms were set up to trade goods such as opium, camphor and sugar (Shui-ping Zheng, 1998a, p. 692-695). Domestic immigrants flooded in to do fishery and manual work (Shui-ping Zheng, 1998a, p. 695). After Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Treaty of Maguan as a result of the first Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese government monopolized all international trades. In the meanwhile, Anping harbor gradually got silted up so that eventually all western firms in Anping closed in 1911. Under the rule of Japan, in addition to sugar, salt industry became so dominant that many Anping residents became workers in salt related professions and indentured household servants (Shui-ping Zheng, 1998a, p. 740). In 1945, following the end of World War II, the Republic of China led by the Kuomintang (KMT) became the governing polity of Taiwan and thus began migrations of the mainlanders.

Migrations of the mainlanders brought enormous effect on the demography and the social landscape of Taiwan. Although this mass migration started in 1946, it was in 1949 when the number of Mainland migrants reached its peak—600,000 in total in one year, taking up 9.9% of the entire population of Taiwan (Jen-hui Hsieh 2008, p. 1& 6). These people included KMT officials, soldiers, businessmen, and various other intellectuals. With KMT's retreat from mainland China to Taiwan in the Chinese Civil War, the government of KMT built villages to settle the military and its family dependents down, which are called Military Dependants' Villages (hereafter referred to as the Mainlander Village).

For most first-generation mainlanders, the Mailander Village is a cohesive community

where they found a sense of belonging. According to Association of Mainlander Taiwanese, in the early years, the KMT government aimed to use Taiwan as a military base for a quick restoration of their power in China. With this national policy and the belief that they would soon return to their home land, early mainlanders hardly bothered themselves much with getting along with local Taiwanese (Prequel to the Military Dependents' Village, 2014). Furthermore, the Mainlander Village was administered and substantially supplied by the Ministry of National Defense of ROC so that it was relatively self-contained and enclosed (Prequel to the Military Dependents' Village, 2014). In this enclosure, residents became more identified with one another because they were more like each other in comparison with the "outsiders" in terms of the mainlander dialects and life styles (Xin-yi Wu, 1996). As a result, it was common that most second-generation mainlanders in the village were blind to Taiwanese experiences unless their mothers were Taiwanese (Xuan-fan Huang, 1993, p. 100-101).

While earlier studies of the Mainlander village focused more on the identity issue of men mostly, a few studies on women were related to this study. While Antonia Chao (2001) examines the bio-political mechanisms that the first-generation women mainlanders (women exiles in her terms) and holds that they developed discursive devices for survival strategies, she points out that these women lived under the patriarchal domination. Nevertheless, according to Yuan-ping Kuo (2002), in comparison with Taiwanese women who came to live in the Mainlander village after their marriage with mainlanders, the first-generation mainlander women were more privileged. These Taiwanese women had to re-orientate themselves into the village culture in terms of language and national identity before they could be recognized as "insiders." Research also showed that Taiwanese women in the Mainlander Village could develop their social networks which better connected the Mainlander Village with local communities (Ku-ping Chen, 2006, p. 77).

When the KMT government started their governance, Anping changed, too. In 1895 (during the Japanese rule of Taiwan), there were 6,067 permanent residents in Anping; in 1936 (still during the Japanese rule), there were 6,175 permanent residents in Anping; in 1947, two years after the mass migration of mainlanders, there were 8,222 permanent residents; in 1949 when the mass migration reached its peak, there were 9,890 permanent residents in Anping (Shui-ping Zheng, 1998b, p. 134 &136). As the summary above indicates, in the first four years of the mainlander migration, the population of Anping increased almost half of the Anping population in the last decade of the Japanese rule.

The mainlander migrants brought about not only the demographical change but also

economical change in Anping. To settle these mainlanders, two villages were established, the Vanguard and the Righteous. Given that the space for housing was very limited in the main area of Anping, both villages were built in the outskirts of the area, most of whose residents were the staff and workers of the Combined Logistics, a manufacture factory of the daily production of 6,000 rubber shoes for the use of armies. Supplies for these workers' daily life, including meals and necessities prompted the local market (Shui-ping Zheng, 1998a, p. 786). Also, the factory hired local people, too, so that the number of employees of this industry ranked the 6th between 1954 and 1966; even it remained an important industry in the 1980s (Jung-yi Kuo, 2004, p. 83).

Even though the newly settled mainlanders contributed to the economical growth of Anping, they were unwelcome in the early years. As an elder remembered, Anping locals prepared themselves to receive the KMT army when they came to take over the harbor town. But they were disillusioned by the shabby appearance of the KMT soldiers who were so much unlike the disciplined Japanese ones (Shi-zhong Ho, 2009, p. 84). Worse still, some of these newly arrived soldiers robbed civilians of their goods and treasures (Shi-zhong Ho, 2009, p. 84). As a result, Anping locals forbad women from getting married with these mainlanders.

To a certain extent, the marriage of Mama and Papa Niu was a typical one where a much older mainlander married a young Taiwanese woman. As Mama Niu revealed in her personal communications with the researcher, Papa Niu, at the age of 22 in 1950, came from the Honan province of China to Taiwan as a janitor rather than an enlisted soldier. He left the army after he landed in Taipei. A fellow Honanese in Taipei referred him to another Honanese in Tainan who helped secure him a menial   job in the Combined Logistics in Anping. Since he was not a soldier and he was single, he was not provided housing. As a common practice among mainlanders like him, he built himself a cabin in the beach area apart from the mainlander village. As a single poor mainlander man in a place where local people held stereotypical views of mainlanders, it was difficult for him to get married with an Anping woman. When he was 40 years old, through match-making he finally came to marry Mama Niu, a young woman from a rural Hakka place in the farther south of Taiwan.

For Mama Niu, whose poor family wished to marry her off to a mainlander in the hope that she might have a better chance for a better future since they believed that mainlanders were better taken care of by the KMT government. After she married to Papa Niu at the age of 19, Mama Niu started a journey of reorientation. These Taiwanese women had to re-orientate themselves into the village culture in terms of language and national identity before they could be recognized as "insiders."

Later, Mama Niu started to work in the Combined Logistics in 1970 until she retired in 1991. The gendered division of the domestic/private and the public spheres has been an issue of gender studies. As Linda McDowell points out, "industrial capitalism" developed in the West "had a huge impact on women's lives and status. . . . For women, who were encouraged (and forced in some circumstances) to identify with and restrict themselves to the home, the home 'is alternatively a site of disenfranchisement, abuse and fulfillment." (1999, p. 73). But the division of the space here involves a complicated intersection of factors. First of all, even though the Mainlander Village is male-dominated (the fact that almost all housewives are addressed by their husbands' last name is one of the proofs), it took both the husband and the wife to work to support the livelihood of the family (Yuan-ping Kuo, 77-82). Since she worked for the Army, she was able to send her children to the daycare in the factory. This means that her work not only helped her financially but also better orientated her into being a mainlander.

However, we have to notice that even though wives had to work to support the family (Ching-hua Guan, 2008, p. 207; Jing-wen Yang, 2008, p. 213), there were just "a few" wives who were married to mainlanders in Anping (Ching-hua Guan, 2008, p. 207). It means it was even more difficult for Mama Niu to get adapted to this stranger culture. To sum up, as a first-generation mainlander dependant who identified herself as a mainlander, she felt herself different from the Taiwanese (this sense of difference is also felt by male mainlanders, Jing-wen Yang, 2008, p. 213; by Anping locals Ani, 2009 and Ren-wen Zheng, 2009). In the mainlander community, Mama Niu was emotionally trapped between two worlds.

In the interview, more than once, Mama Niu distinguished herself as a mainlander and thus was not a Taiwanese. She said, "Ye, ye, ye, [I] seldom [got along with the locals]. [I] went straight to work in the factory and after work returned straight home, [the Village]. Whatever happened, all villagers stayed together, all were mainlanders. But there were locals, too, and wives who came from Mainland" (Niu, personal communications, 2009). Furthermore, she said, "in the old days they Taiwanese went to [see the doctor] Tainan Hospital and Feng-Chia Hospital. But we mainlanders went to the 804 Army Hospital or the Air Force Hospital. All mainlanders here went there [to see the doctor]" (Niu personal communications, 2009). Even though Mama Niu hardly considers herself an Anping local she moved (with her family) in the Anping district. Nevertheless, her sense of Anping is embedded in her sense of home, which is bound with the community of the Mainlander Village. Still, she as well as Papa Niu are outsiders of Anping.

The Tainan Air-Force Hospital authority took over the Japanese Tuberculosis Treatment

and Prevention Station, which was situated at the conjunction between the City of Tainan and Anping in 1949. It attracted patients of serious sickness because of its state-of-the-art facilities, but Anping locals would prefer not to go there for medical treatment unless they had to. This was due to poor language communication (Taiwanese vs Mandarin). To accommodate with the dependants' needs, a huge complex of the air-force village was constructed.

Lieutenant Liu's migration is quite a different story from Mama Niu's. As her elder daughter remembered (Kai-kuen Liu, 2009, personal communications), she said she was an adopted daughter-in-law. But it remained a mystery because she didn't mention it in her autobiographies written for job applications. Anyway, she graduated from a nurse school which was affiliated to the Medical College of the Honan University in 1939. Then, she went to work in various places in the provinces of Gansu, Anhui, and Jiangsu. Later, she became an enlisted warrant officer in the Shanghai Air-Force Hospital in 1947. When the unit was ordered to re-station in Anping, Taiwan, she came, too. In eight years (1954), she was promoted three times from warrant officer, second lieutenant, first lieutenant, to captain, with a specialty in epidemic prevention lab work.

Lieutenant Liu was proud with her capability and work status, both of which brought her social status and self-identity as a nationalist (mainlander) military officer. This can be seen in an autobiography manuscript probably written before she married Papa Liu (1954); in her elder daughter's interview where she mentioned that years after she retired and moved to a public housing complex apart from the Air-force mainlander village, neighbors liked to come ask for her opinions whenever they had health problem. Mama Niu, being a young friend of Lieutenant Liu's, also confirmed that Lieutenant Liu always liked to tell her about her work in the hospital.

Nevertheless, things got changed after her marriage. But we have to say something about Papa Liu. He was a major general before he made his way to leave China two years after the KMT lost its battle with the Communist party (1951). In 1958 he became a staff in the KMT Tainan office and later became the director of that office. Between 1964 and 1968, he served one term as a Tainan City Councilor. As his career developed, he requested that Lieutenant Liu retire so that she could fully support him as a housewife (Kai-kuen Liu, 2009, personal communications). Though reluctant, Lieutenant Liu retired in 1960 and became fully dependent on her husband financially and emotionally because they moved the family out of the mainlander village of the air-force. In other words, while she was independent and free of movements because of her access of power to the national mechanism, she became subjected to the traditional patriarchal family structure when she lost that access. She stayed in one of

the mainlander community outside of Anping. She didn't live in a mainlander village but stayed in contact with her old colleagues who lived in the air-force mainlander village.

Concerning women's migration, Raghuram argues that "[m]igrant women are caught between an undervaluing of their maternal and other familial roles because of the overprivileging of the public sphere . . . and a reinscription of their paid work in the private realm because of the private nature of the workplaces in which many of them are employed" (2004, p. 196). The use of social relations helps us understand Mama Niu and Lieutenant Liu's sense of place. The sense of place we see here is even more progressive than what Massey proposed because it's more than a hybrid juxtaposition of diversity. It's a "meeting place" where people's sense of place is constructed by the "politics of mobility and access" in varied scales. The two cases indicate that Anping as a place is not defined by stability and rootedness but by flows and movements.

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Impact of Organizational Culture on Productivity: A Study among Employees of Ministry of Youth and Sports, Iran

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Abstract

Organizational culture and productivity are the most popular topics in the domain of organizational behavior. This study seeks to explore the influence of organizational culture on the productivity in the Ministry of Youth and Sports *in Iran. The population of the study was 1600 employees in the* Ministry of Youth and Sports*, Iran. By simple random sampling method 320 employees were selected. Analysis was applied on 289 questionnaires (90.3%) that were correctly filled out. Organizational culture was assessed using Alvani's scale. Productivity was measured using ACHIEVE model of Hersey& Goldsmith. Questionnaires were confirmed in terms of content and face validity and reliability. Analysis was carried out using SPSS 16. For analyzing, correlation, simple regression and multiple regressions were used (α = 0.05).*

Finding showed organizational culture and its dimensions positively correlate with productivity. Organizational culture was a significant predictor of productivity (β = .675, F = 240.436, p= .000). Stepwise multiple regressions revealed that only the four dimensions of organizational culture (Coping with Conflict, Solidarity, Creativity, and Goal Clarity) are significant predictors of productivity. In conclusion, this study would help to fill the literature gaps on organizational culture and productivity in public organizations in Iran. It also gives new indication to earlier researches about the importance of organizational culture in improving productivity. The findings of the study would help the management of the organization to raise employees' productivity.

Keywords: Organizational Culture, Productivity, Employee, Iran.

Introduction

Organizational culture is one of the most popular topics in the domain of organizational behavior (1). It refers to a particular pool of shared beliefs, values and norms among people and groups in an organization that differentiates the organization from others (2). Organization's solidity mainly depends on organizational culture (3) and success of any organization deeply depends on its culture (4). Organizational culture not only helps to shape the employees' behavior patterns, but it also influences the way in which an organization manufactures its products and gives services to its customers (4-5). In addition, by understanding its organization culture, management can overcome the probable cultural defects of the organization (6).

It is supposed that each organization has its own unique culture which cannot be easily wiped out (7). All people who are involved in the organization strongly were affected by organizational norms. These norms are invisible but if management wishes to improve employees' performance and productivity, norms take place in the first (8).

Scholars have identified direct influence of organizational culture on some business performance related issues, including staff satisfaction and commitment (9), employee motivation (6), customer retention and revenue growth (10), and productivity (1, 11).

Productivity on the other hand refers to the ratio of output to input in the production process (2). Productivity is one of the crucial elements for communities to achieve progress and ultimately comprehensive development (12).

Abundant studies have explored correlation between organizational culture and productivity. For example, Akbari et al. (13), and Uddin et al. (1) found a significant positive correlation between organizational culture and productivity. In another studies conducted by Ahiabor (2), Gallagher et al. (10), and Ojo (11) it was revealed that organizational culture did impact on productivity.

However, despite the numerous worldwide researches, on the one hand the results of other countries cannot be applied in Iranian organizations due to cultural, social and economic diversities and on the other hand, there is little research on the linkage between these two variables in Iran. Therefore, doing research on these issues in public organizations in Iran seems to be still valuable. This study seeks to explore the influence of organizational culture on the productivity in the Ministry of Youth and Sports in Iran.

Materials and methods

The current cross sectional survey was carried out in 2014. The population of the study was 1600 employees in the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Iran. Sample size was calculated with Cochran formula for finite populations. By simple random sampling method 320 employees were selected. They were chosen from a list of staff provided by public relations office. Questionnaires were completed anonymously. Lastly, analysis was applied on 289 questionnaires (90.3%) that were correctly filled out.

Respondents recorded their demographic data, in the first part of the questionnaire. Organizational culture was assessed using Alvani's scale (14). This scale includes 30 items, which are divided into ten aspects: risk-taking, creativity, goal clarity, solidarity, control, identity, management support, reward system, coping with conflict, and communication pattern. Each of the ten dimensions contains three items.

Productivity was measured using ACHIEVE model of Hersey& Goldsmith (15). This scale consists of 26 items, which are grouped in seven dimensions including: Ability (3 items),

Clarity (4 items), Help (3 items), Incentive (4 items), Evaluation (4 items), Validity (4 items) and Environment (4 items).

Questionnaires were confirmed in terms of content and face validity. In order to assess questionnaires' reliability, Cronbach's Alpha was used. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for organizational culture questionnaire was 0.899 and for productivity questionnaire was 0.788. According to Hair et al. Cronbach's alpha coefficients equal to or more than .7 has adequate reliability (16).

Organizational culture questionnaire and productivity questionnaire were rated based on a 5-point (very little to very much) Likert scale. Therefore the possible minimum and maximum scores range from 30 to 150 for the organizational culture scale and 26 to 130 for the productivity scale. For each of the two scales, once, the scores of all items were summed and divided by the number of items in that scale to attain a scale mean. For the organizational culture scale, once again, the scores of items (each three items) of each dimension were summed and divided by three to attain a dimension mean.

Analysis was carried out using SPSS 16. To describe the data, mean and standard deviation were applied. For analyzing, correlation, simple regression and then multiple regressions were used ($\alpha = 0.05$). In regression analysis, organizational culture and its ten dimensions were regarded as independent and productivity as dependent variables. Data were checked for normality and multicollinearity.

Results

The findings of the study show 26.3% of the respondents fall into age group fewer than 30 years, 40.5% in between 30 − 39 and the rest in age group more than 40 years old. 71.6 percent of them were males and the rest were females. 83.7% of the participants were married and 16.7% were single. 29.1% of them had executive positions. 67.8% of the respondents hold bachelor degrees. 54.3% had been working for 1–10 years.

The mean of organizational culture, productivity and the ten dimensions of organizational culture are presented in the table 1. Communication pattern and reward system dimensions include the highest and the lowest means respectively (Table 1).

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of independent variables and dependent variable.

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation
Creativity	3	14	2.94	.79
Risk-taking	3	13	2.50	.82
Goal clarity	3	14	3.01	.59
Solidarity	3	14	3.04	.77
Management support	3	15	2.72	.84
Control	3	15	3.09	.73
Identity	3	15	3.07	.81
Reward system	3	15	2.48	.88
Coping with conflict	3	15	2.60	.91
Communication pattern	3	15	3.33	.84
Organizational culture *	42	132	2.89	.59
Productivity **	43	115	3.19	.46
Valid N	289			

* Independent variable   ** Dependent variable

Table 2 shows internal correlation of the research variables. Coping with conflict and risk-taking dimensions showed the highest and the lowest correlations with productivity respectively.

Table 2: Correlation of organizational culture and its dimensions with productivity.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Creativity	-										
2.Risk-taking	.629 **	-									
3.Goal clarity	.519 **	.482 **	-								
4.Solidarity	.497 **	.400 **	.517 **	-							
5.Management support	.526 **	.546 **	.459 **	.525 **	-						
6.Control	.570 **	.497 **	.466 **	.497 **	.582 **	-					
7.Identity	.440 **	.403 **	.432 **	.389 **	.315 **	.471 **	-				
8.Reward system	.489 **	.560 **	.436 **	.503 **	.666 **	.429 **	.390 **	-			
9.Coping with conflict	.475 **	.485 **	.391 **	.493 **	.569 **	.557 **	.409 **	.618 **	-		
10.Communication pattern	.428 **	.331 **	.327 **	.371 **	.451 **	.466 **	.433 **	.382 **	.591 **	-	
11.Organizational culture	.752 **	.713 **	.660 **	.692 **	.776 **	.735 **	.625 **	.756 **	.766 **	.647 **	-
12.Productivity	.546 **	.436 **	.510 **	.560 **	.486 **	.499 **	.449 **	.518 **	.568 **	.456 **	.675 **
Valid N	289										

*p<0.05 **p<0.01

Organizational culture and its dimensions positively correlate with productivity (Table 2). These correlations can be precisely assessed in a regression model. Therefore simple and stepwise multiple regression were applied to explore the strength of the relationship between productivity (dependent variable) and organizational culture and its dimensions (independent variables or predictors).

According to the results of simple regression organizational culture was a significant predictor of productivity ($\beta = .675$, F = 240.436, p= .000).

After that stepwise multiple regressions revealed that the four dimensions of organizational culture (Coping with Conflict, Solidarity, Creativity, and Goal Clarity) are significant predictors of productivity and all the four entered dimensions in the model together explain 51% of the variance in productivity (tables 3 and 4).

Table 3: Multiple linear regressions for predictors: Model summary and ANOVA.

Model Summary					
	Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
		.714	.510	.492	8.458
ANOVA					
	Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	20667.492	10	2066.749	28.888	.000
Residual	19889.228	278	71.544		
Total	40556.720	288			

Predictors: Coping with Conflict, Solidarity, Creativity, and Goal Clarity. Dependent Variable: Productivity.

Meanwhile, coping with conflict has the strongest influence (β=.272, P=0.000) on productivity (table 4). Other six dimensions of organizational culture were found not to be a significant predictor of productivity.

Table 4: Multiple Linear Regressions for Predictors: Coefficients

Independent Variables	Unstandardised Coefficient		Standardised Coefficient		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	40.303	2.790		14.931	.000
Coping with conflict	1.187	.226	.272	5.254	.000
Solidarity	1.095	.276	.215	3.964	.000
Creativity	.921	.272	.185	3.390	.001
Goal clarity	.998	.356	.151	2.808	.005

Dependent variable: Productivity

Discussion

In this study the impact of organizational culture on productivity were examined. Four dimensions of organizational culture significantly predicted productivity. Coping with conflict was determined to be the strongest predictor of productivity.

In similarity with work of Mohammadi et al. (6) and according to respondents' viewpoint this study showed organizational culture and its dimensions, except reward system and risk-taking dimensions, were higher than the midpoint of the questionnaire. However, the respondents' perception of organizational culture can be raised through strengthening correct behavior patterns, beliefs and attitudes through appropriate educational programs. Such educational programs can be contained issues about the organization's goals, the importance of the role of staffs' participation in the organization's success, risk-taking, coping with conflict and management support. All of these actions, in turn, lead to increased respondents' productivity. Positive impact of organizational culture on productivity in this study is consistent with the results of the studies in this area such as work of Ahiabor (2), Ebadollah (17), Joseph & Dai (18), Chegini (19), and Eskandari & Nazem (20). This finding suggests that productivity can be increased by improving the cultural infrastructure of the ministry.

Also, in congruent with other studies (1, 10, 21) that found only some of the ten dimensions of organizational culture predicted productivity, in our study four of the ten dimensions namely coping with conflict, solidarity, creativity, and goal clarity predicted productivity. Therefore, in order to improve productivity principals should mostly consider these four dimensions.

The most powerful predictor of productivity was coping with conflict. It means that any attempt by management to enable employees to cope with conflicts in the workplace lastly more than other three dimensions lead to improvements in their productivity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study would help to fill the literature gaps on organizational culture and productivity in public organizations in Iran. It also gives new indication to earlier researches about the importance of organizational culture in improving productivity. The findings of the study would help the management of the organization to raise employees' productivity. To do so, the administrators should think about factors that positively shape respondents' perception of organizational culture for supportive arrangements.

This study was a questionnaire based one and depended on participants' understanding. Data were only collected from one single ministry. Therefore, generalizability of the findings to other ministries and organizations may be limited.

Replication of such research in other ministries can help to validate the current results. In addition future studies can examine effects of other factors than organizational culture that influence productivity.

Acknowledgements

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The supply modeling of transport and logistics cluster

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Abstract

The preconditions of cluster creation are considered in the article. The necessity of formation transport and logistics cluster is presented as one of the priority directions of the country development. The methodical approach to the cluster creation has been offered. Research has been conducted and mathematical model of supply management transportation and logistics cluster has been shown. It allows determining the optimal parameters and influencing on the efficiency of transport and logistics cluster.

Keywords: innovation, transport and logistics cluster, strategy, efficiency, supply modeling.

Introduction

World practice has shown that clustering, contributing to the growth of labor productivity, reduces transaction costs, expands the domestic market, achieves of specific economic effect, and it is an important direction of improving the socio-economic situation in the country. At the same time, the creation of transport and logistics cluster contributes to the development of competitive advantages which provides the leadership position in global market with the purpose of socio-economic growth and increases investment attractiveness of the region on whose territory it operates. The main task of the effective functioning of the cluster is to determine the optimal parameters of delivery. The research in the field of mathematical statistics and simulation modelling of transport systems were done by such scholars as George. Box, D. L., Wadlow, Goldsby, D. P. Womak, G. Jenkins, M. Kendall, P. Cary, and M. Rother, E. Siegel, A. Stewart, O., Taiichi, R. B. Handfield, etc. However, the creation of transport and logistics clusters requires new approaches to modeling supplies.

Main part

1 Background of cluster creation

The beginning of the XXI century is characterized by a transition to a postindustrial society is based on innovation, knowledge economy, high-precision and high-performance industry with a dominant share of innovative and high quality services in GDP. Formation of post-industrial paradigm is closely associated with the development of the theory and methodology of Economics, as the creation of a favourable environment for the commercialization of ideas and innovations promotes the transition of national economy to innovative type of development. As a result the research of innovation systems conducted in Europe has revealed that there is a close positive link between successful clusters and the level of socio-economic development of the country. This research explains the attention to ideas and theories, covering the cluster approach to the territorial organization of the economic system, focusing on the integration of various forms of partnership and competition between economic entities which is concentrated on establishing the positive effects from the strategic interaction of enterprises [1-3].

As for the most typical prerequisites for the cluster creation, reflecting both the common external and internal barriers of socio-economic development, they are the following:

- global competition on all markets, including labour markets, products, goods, capital, technology, management systems, maintenance of innovation, human capital development, etc.;

- a new wave of technological changes, the increasing role of transport and logistics cluster in the economic development of the country providing many traditional growth factors;

- lack of sources of export—raw material development, based on the rapid increasing in fuel and raw material component in the cost of production factors.

- reducing expenses, increasing productivity by the growth of production efficiency [4-6].

2. The development of transport and logistics cluster

Transport and logistics cluster contributes to the growth of transport corridors competitiveness, reduces the part of transport expenses in the GDP, provides cooperation and integration of transport, forwarding, storage and other organizations into a single logistics

system, helps to adapt the internal structure and external business processes to the conditions of the environment uncertainty. In other words, the transport and logistics cluster can provide connection between economic entities due to movement of traffic in space and time.

However, it should be taken into account that transport and logistics cluster is formed on the basis of available socio-economic situation in conditions of specific territory, with an allowance for its potential development, therefore, it requires detailed study of the existing possibilities and limitations in the elaboration period of this cluster function mechanisms [7-10].

According to the opinion of leading scientists the transport and logistics cluster has several distinctive features from other clusters, namely:

1. The services in the production sphere (shipping, transportation and customer service) are the products.

2. The interaction system between the subjects of cluster. Here, the organization of transport and logistics cluster is structurally more simplified (horizontally integrated). It consists of: transport-forwarding companies, port infrastructure, logistics terminals engaged in the storage and cargo handling, and companies specializing in road, rail, air and sea (river) transportation.

3. The formation principle of the cluster structure. The lack of "anchor resident" in the form of a large enterprise engaged in the manufacture of final products in cooperation with other companies within the cluster.

The result of the research was to identify the basic characteristics of the transport and logistics cluster:

- stable position in the regional/Russian/international branch markets;

- high market share of resident companies;

- high revenue growth and profitability of the residents, and also dynamic job growth;

- the presence of large number of residents and potential participants of the cluster, interacting with each other;

- high development potential of cluster members, growth in market share and competitiveness;

- modern IT is the base of information and marketing connections between cluster residents;

- creation of the common operating and management standards [11].

Figure 1 shows the methodological approach to the creation of transport logistics cluster.

The methodical approach to creation of transport and logistics cluster

Analytical stage

- Assessment of the socio-economic situation of the territory
- **Analysis of transport development of** the territory
- Factor analysis of the transport activity of the territory

Assessment of transport potential of the territory

- Economic background
- Organizational background
- Social background
- Technological background

Assessment of potential transport-logistics cluster

- Potential of human capital
- Investment potential
- Economic potential
- Organizational potential
- Transport potential

Design stage

Design of transport and logistics cluster

Construction of "objectives

Concept development of transport and logistics cluster

Design a strategic architecture for the transport cluster

- Development cluster effective interaction between participants in the transport cluster
- Development of control algorithm for the transport cluster

Feasibility study of creating a transport cluster

Regulation stage

Transport and logistics cluster development

Calculation of economic efficiency indicators

Deviation estimation of the transport cluster development

Development corrective actions for reducing the deviation factor on the strategy for transport development

Acceptance of normative-legal documents for creating cluster

Development of an action plan for the implementation of cluster initiatives

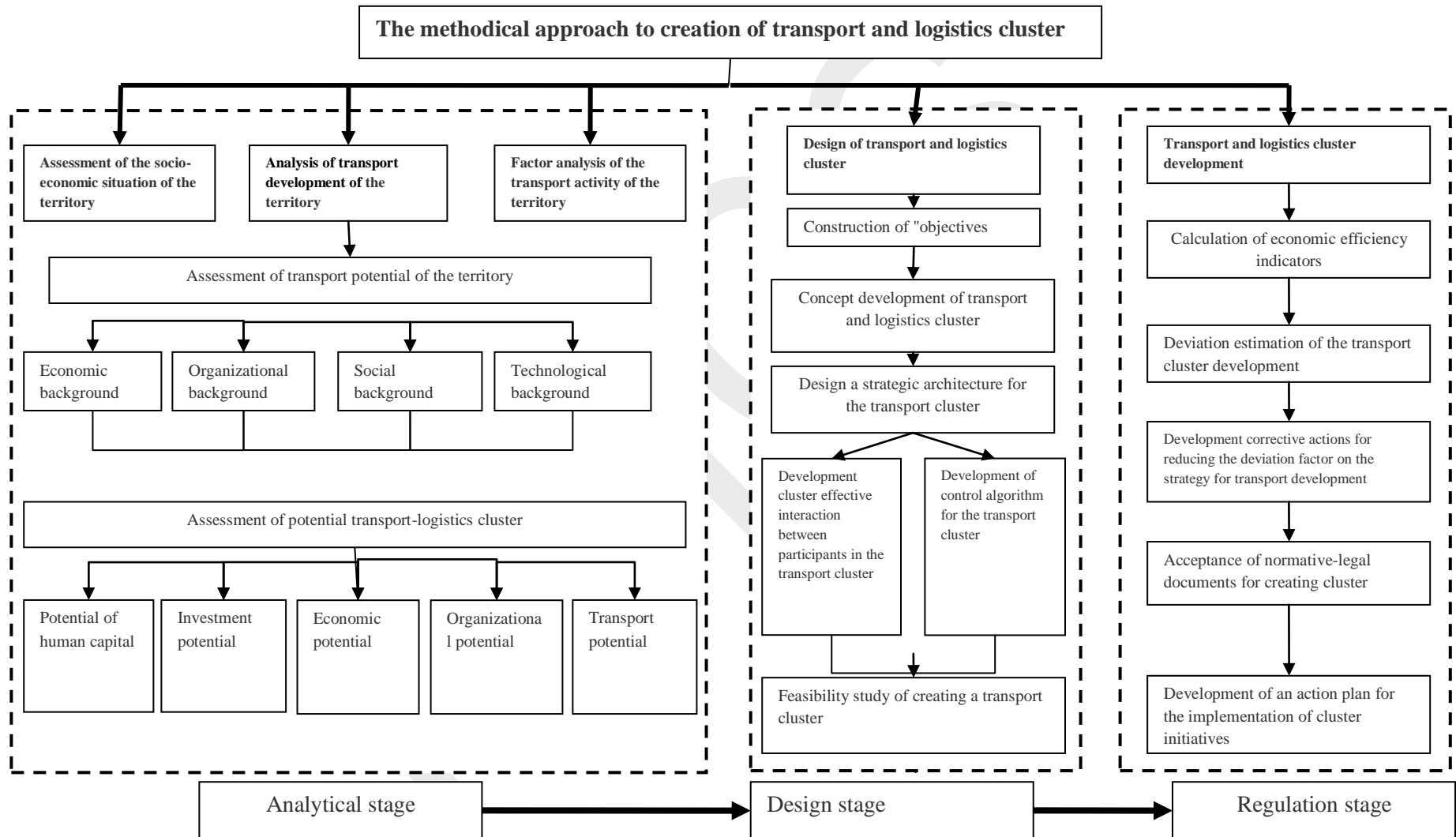Analytical stage → Design stage → Regulation stage

Figure 1 – Methodological approach for the creation of transport and logistics cluster

The main tasks of development of transport and logistics cluster are:

- development of transit transportation, international transport corridors;

- provision of large industrial organizations in the region by required high quality transport services in the necessary volume;

- providing small and medium businesses, national retail chains high-quality transport and logistics services [12].

3. Modeling the supply of transport and logistics cluster

Three groups of key parameters had been allocated for creating a mathematical model of supply management transportation and logistics cluster, which are:

1. Managed parameters: product shipment schedule, the time of documents registration (waybills, customs declarations), standard for the storage of finished products in warehouse, quantity of terminals, logistics centers, involved in shipping, cargo handling;

2. Measured parameters: the number of requests from consumers per day, the amount of products, which is required for transportation, the production time, the service vehicle time, the loading time;

3. The output parameters of our model are: the delivery time and the number of transportation types involved in the delivery process of final products, as the satisfaction of customers preferences in the organization of the transport process is a quality criterion for the transport and logistics cluster, and in the final analysis it influences the socio-economic development of the region as a whole.

For effective management system, it is necessary to define the parameters (factors) that influence its change. The following parameters (factors) were established during the research (table 1).

The acquired data represents multidimensional time series.

It is necessary to investigate the statistical dependence of output parameters Y1, Y2 from managed and measured parameters.

The research of the process includes the following steps.

1) Correlation between Y1 and Y2.

2) Regression analysis of the relationship between controlled variables and Y1.

(Multiple linear and nonlinear regression)

3) Regression analysis of the relationship between controlled variables and Y2.

(Multiple linear and nonlinear regression)

4) Investigation of multi-dimensional time series Y1(t) and statistically significant predictors

Table 1 – Parameters of the studied process

Xi	managed parameters	X1	the shipping schedule of products	in days
		X2	time of documents registration (waybills, customs Declaration)	in days
		X3	standard of the storage of final products in warehouse	in days
		X4	the number of people involved in the loading process	pieces
Hi	only	H1	the number of requests	pieces

	measured parameters		from consumers in a day	
		H2	quantity of products	pieces
		H3	time of production (manufacturing) of production	days
		H4	time of vehicle service (weighing, washing, flow units of rolling stock for loading)	days
		H5	the time spent on loading	days
Yi	output parameters	Y1	delivery time	CONV.ed.
		Y2	the number of vehicles involved in the delivery process of finished products	pieces

Let us calculate the correlation between Y1 and Y2 (according to initial data "given time"). Information "given time" represents the values Y1 and Y2 measured with a given time interval on the system response when changing parameters. The time interval between the observations of the parameters Δt is (2 days), as the shift is not multiple. [13-15].

The primary analysis of the correlation of output variables is carried out by two columns of the original data Y1 and Y2 to establish the degree of relationship between them. The main task at this stage is to establish whether there is statistically significant correlation between Y1 and Y2, and if so, to specify whether it is positive or negative. The answer is important because the output parameters depend on the same input parameters, and if the correlation is negative or zero, then to control output parameters will only be possible individually.

Figure 2 presents the diagram of the parameters Y1 and Y2 and the linear regression of Y1 on Y2. The diagram is based on all data, i.e., for 230 observations.
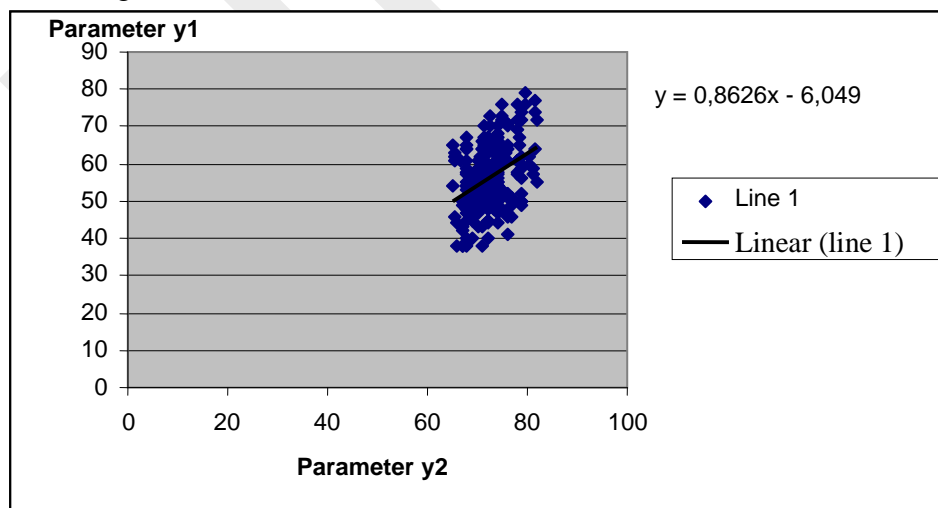

Figure 2 – Correlation between Y1 and Y2 according to 230 observations

Usage of the function "LINEST" gives more meaningful statistic. This function returns not only the parameters of the linear regression of the selected parameters, but also evaluates the statistical significance of the estimates.

The function can be used to build multiple linear regression.

The parameters returned by the function presented in table 1.

Figure 3 showsthe structure of the layout pattern data obtained in Excel.

Figure 3 – Placement structure of the function results array "LINEST"

The obtained application results of this function are presented in table 2.

Table 2 – Simulation Results

m_1	b	0,862577	-6,04899
se_1	se_b	0,137597	10,01399
r^2	se_Y	0,147022	7,855989
F	d_f	39,29886	228
ss_{perp}	$ss_{oc\ тат}$	2425,39	14071,37

The coefficient of determination $r^2 = 0.147$, that is the correlation coefficient r=0,3834.

Although the correlation coefficient is not very high, but on the criterion of r^2 the relation between the variables Y1 and Y2 is important.

Factual critical value at 230 observations is

$3,84/230+2,15/(230\times230)=0.0167$ (the level 5%)

$6,63/230 – 5,81/(230\times230)=0.0287$ (level 1%)

$10,83/230 – 31,57/(230\times230)=0.0465$ (level 0.1%)

R2 = 0.147 > 0.0465 =>the relationship is significant "highest degree"

Thus, there is a positive statistically significant correlation between the output variables Y1 and Y2, which allows managing their simultaneous increase or simultaneous decrease (in the statistical sense).

It is necessary to conduct regression analysis:

Y1 = - 46,5836•X2 + 0,692005•X4 + 1,413927•X1

The highest values of the correlation coefficient with the output variable Y1 is received for the variables X3 (r = 0.37), X2 (r = 0.34).

The equation of linear multiple regression has the form

Y1=b0+b1 • X3+b2 • X2+b3 • X3+b4 •.

The next step is the exclusion of statistically insignificant predictors from the expression for multiple linear regression.

We received multiple linear regression Y1:

Y1 = 75,737 - 1,4747 • X3+ 0,5436 •X2 - 486,127.

Table 3 – Calculating the square deviation

The sum of square deviation	6081 ,408	6,213 795	The average modulus deviation
		16,42 525	Maximum deviation

The low value of the determination coefficient received during constructing a linear model requires improvement of the multiple regression due to the introduction of nonlinearity.

$$Y1 = 75,737 - 1,4747 \cdot X3 + 0,5436 \cdot X2 - 486,127$$

According to the result of research, the qualitative nature of the influence of each predictor on the output value Y1 gives the possibility to use the method of Brandon [2-6] for constructing non-linear regression:

$$\hat{y} = \lambda \cdot f_1(x_1) \cdot f_2(x_2) \cdot ... \cdot f_n(x_n),$$

where λ - constant; n - the number of used predictors.

So, the following functions were obtained:

$$\lambda = 57,10476$$

$$f1(X2) = 204,77 \cdot X2^2 - 29,391 \cdot X2 + 2,0167$$

$$f2(H4) = 0,0072 \cdot H4 + 0,5936$$

$$f3(X3) = - 0,0052 \cdot X63 + 1,038$$

$$f4(X1) = - 0,0166 \cdot X51 + 1,0757$$

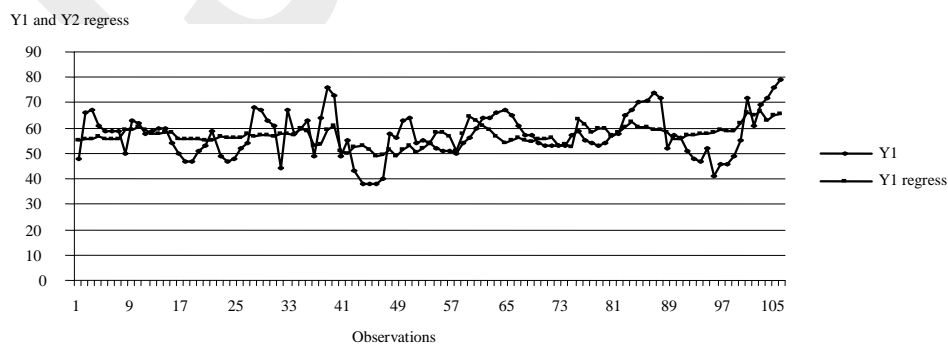Figure 4 presents a comparison of the observed and regression values.

Figure 4 – Comparison of observed and regression values

The contrast can be enhanced by using the ratio:

$$C = (Y1 \, / \overline{Y1} \,)^{\alpha},$$

where index α will be chosen on the criterion of minimizing the total squared deviations [16].

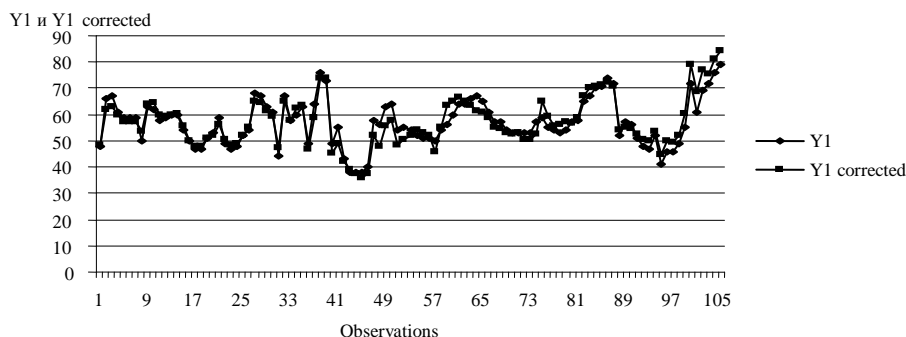Note that the average deviation in both cases is close to zero (Fig.5)

Figure 5 – Comparison of the observed and corrected values

Thus, it turns out that dependence of Y1 with $\alpha = 0,775$ is even "more nonlinear"

Therefore, from all available observations has to be limited to only sequences that meet these requirements [14-16] (Fig. 6).
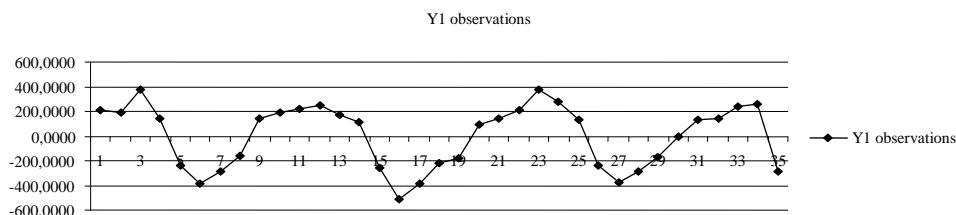
Figure 6 - Statistical data

Using this data, you can create various models according to the methods of Box-Jenkins [14-16].

The models in accordance with the methods of Box-Jenkins enable to draw a conclusion about the autoregressive nature of the time series Y1 and give the opportunity to control the parameter with the given factors.

Predictive value:

Yt= 0,5313 • Yt-1 - - 5,678 • X3t - 1,4836 • X1t - 3,641 • H4t - 66,7564 • H1t-8,4082 • H5t

Thus, we obtain a model which will allow you to control the parameters Y1.

Conclusion

Transport and logistics cluster is the key driver of economic growth and an effective instrument of interaction between a large number of residents participating in it. In conditions of transition economy to an innovative way of development, this cluster will provide the unity of economic space of the country; to arrange the economic relations rationally; to improve the

efficiency of use of natural resources and expand international cooperation. The proposed mathematical model will allow controlling the parameters of delivery.

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Khortha or Khotta: An Endangered Language of India and the Urgency to Retain its Pure Variety

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Abstract

Based on a descriptive analytical approach, this paper seeks to scrutinize the various dangers and challenges that the language of India faces. Thus there is a need, the authors suggest, to restore the purity an variety of Indian language.

Keywords: Indian language, urgency, pure variety.

Introduction

The state of Jharkhand is situated on Santhal Parganas and Chhota Nagpur Plateau. Most of Jharkhand comes under the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Jharkhand is encircled by the Indian states of West Bengal (East), Uttar Pradesh (West), Chhattisgarh (West), Bihar (North) and Odisha (South).

- **Population**: The current population of the state is 32.96 million (males: 16.93 million; females: 16.03 million). The state comprises 24 districts and 32,620 villages. Merely 8,484 villages have connectivity. Out of this number, 28% of the people consist of tribes and 12% of the population is from scheduled caste. Due to increased Urbanization and encroachment of the Industries[1] these regions have been affected adversely.
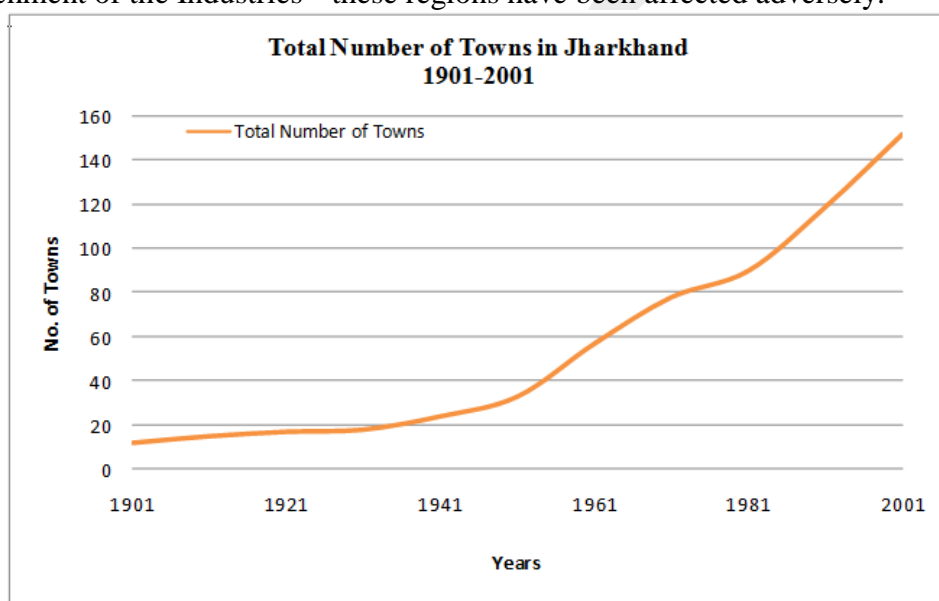
Figure 1: Total Number of Towns in Jharkhand, 1901-2001 marking Urbanization

(Source: Urban Continuum in Jharkhand by Niteen Kr, IJRANSS,Vol I Issue Jan, 2015)

- **Religion**: Around 68.5% people follow Hinduism, 13.8% follow Islam, 13% people follow Animisitic Sarna, and 4.1% follow Christianity. The remaining population follows Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism.
- **Communities:** The state has many tribal communities like Asur, Binjhia, Gond, Ho, Kharia, Kharwar, Banjara, Bathundi, Mal Paharia, Chik Baraik, Korba, Birhor, Mahli, Khond, Sauriya Paharia, Kisan, Korwa, Mal Paharia, Munda, Oraon, Santhal, Sauria

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[1] The urbanization level in Jharkhand has risen to 1.81 % between 2001-11; moving from 22.24% in 2001 to 24.05% in 2011. The total number of towns in 2001 was 119 which rose to 152 in 2011 and even though the urbanization levels in the region falls short below the national average, the state has made a significant progress by adding a net urban population of 1.9 million. See Niteen Kr. (2015).

Paharia, Savar, Sabar, Parahiya, Birajia, Hill Kharia, etc.[2] Some of the major communities are:

a. **Asur:** It ranks 21st among all the tribal groups of the state. It is one of the most ancient etnic group in the state of Jharkhand.

b. **Baiga:** People belonging to this tribe are less civilized. They inhabit in the Garwa district of Jharkhandand constitute a Kolerian ethnic community.

c. **Chero:** This tribe inhabits in Ranchi, Latehar, Palamu, Rohtas and such places of Jharkhand. They are said to be the martial arts group and descendents of Khstriyas.

d. **Kaharia:** The tribe is centered on hills or the nearby areas of the places in Jharkhand and depends largely on the resources available from the forests of the territory.

e. **Kharwar:** The tribe is found in Latehar, Hazaribagh and such areas of Jharkhand. They are groups of traditional people who use Khair grasses for various purposes and hence got their name.

f. **Munda:** They are found in Jharkhand and Odisha and are more famous for their conspicuous dialect and unique life style. They belong to Austro-Asiatic family of language and lingo restricted to them is called Mundari.

I.   The languages of Jharkhand

The state of Jharkhand is one of the linguistically most diverse regions of the subcontinent and is home to languages from three families: Indo-Aryan (Indo-European), Munda (Austro-Asiatic) and Dravidian.[3]

Santali, Mundari and Ho are the three major North Munda languages. Kharia is the only South Munda language spoken in Jharkhand and Sadri is the representative of IA, due to its special status as the traditional *lingua franca* in central and western Jharkhand. Thus the major languages of Jharkhand are:

a. South Munda: Kharia

b. North Munda: Mundari, Santali and Ho

c. Indo-Aryan: Sadri

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[2] The tribes of Jharkhand consist of 32 tribes inhabiting the Jharkhand state in India. The tribes in Jharkhand were originally classified on the basis of their cultural types by the Indian anthropologist, Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi who classified the tribes thus:

Hunter-gatherer type: Birhor, Korwa, Hill Kharia

Shifting Agriculture: Sauria Paharia

Simple artisans: Mahli, Lohra, Karmali, Chik Baraik

Settled agriculturists: Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho, Bhumij, etc., See, *The Neglected Tribes of Jharkhand* (PK Singh).

[3] See, S. Gajrani. History, Culture and Religion of Eastern India (2004) and Shankar C. Bhatt. *Language and Literature* (2006).

II.   Multilingualism in Jharkhand

The level of bi- and multilingualism is relatively high in Jharkhand, at least in southwestern Jharkhand. In this region most speakers of Munda languages are fluent in their native language as well as Sadri and Hindi. Speakers of Sadri, on the other hand, are generally fluent in Hindi as well but seldom have active knowledge of a Munda language, although this is not entirely unknown. Finally, speakers of Santhali, which is spoken further to the east, are often more familiar with Bengali than with Hindi or Sadri, and Bengali has had an enormous impact on Santhali, comparable to that of Sadri on the Munda languages of western Jharkhand. Thus, although individual levels of multilingualism certainly vary greatly, there is a relatively high level of multilingualism in Jharkhand, so that convergences between many languages of this region are to be expected.

III.   Tribal languages in Jharkhand

 According to "Concise Encyclopedia" by Kulwant Raj Gupta (2000) there are 32 scheduled tribes in Jharkhand which comprise 26.2% of the state population. Most tribal groups in the state have their own language. Besides the tribes there are many ethnic groups such as Kurmis.[4] Other than Jharkhand, the Kurmis are also found in West Bengal and Odisha and speak a language called Kurmali, which is widely spoken in the region. Out of the 32 scheduled tribes in Jharkhand eight are classified under primitive tribal groups.[5]

a. The Primitive Tribal Groups in Jharkhand

They comprise the hunter-gatherer and shifting cultivator groups. These primitive tribal groups in Jharkhand constitute 3.42 percent of total tribal population in the state. These tribes are genuinely "primitive", dependent as they are on hunting, food collecting, fishing, shifting cultivation, collection of minor forest produce etc. For ages they have been living in, rather living on, the forests.

Name of Tribe	Population (1991)		Literacy (1981)	
	Total Population	Percent of Total Tribal Population	Literacy Percent	Percent of total tribal literacy
Asur	9623	0.14%	10.37%	0.08
Binjhia	13090	0.19%	14.52%	0.15
Birhor	8159	0.12%	5.74%	0.03
Birjia	5191	0.07%	10.50%	0.04
Korwa	23748	0.35%	6.14%	0.14

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[4] Kurmis: are ethnic groups and Hindu agricultural caste. They constitute around 10-12% population of Jharkhand. They are said to be derived from Indian Tribal language or may be from the Sanskrit word Krishi Karmi.

[5] See, *The Neglected Tribes of Jharkhand.* PK Singh (2006).

Mal Paharia	86790	1.31%		7.38%	0.61
Parhaiya	30421	0.45%		15.30%	0.37
Sauria Paharia	48761	0.73%		6.87%	0.28
Savar	4264	0.06%		9.55%	0.03
Total	**2,30,047**	**3.42%**		**86.37%**	**1.73**
Average per tribe	**25,561**	**0.38%**			

Figure 2: Primitive tribal Group in Jharkhand (PK Singh 2006)

The language or dialects of these groups are the most vulnerable and would perish if the effort to save them is not made in time.

Almost all tribes have their own language, and often it is the language that differentiates one tribe from the other. Despite the impact of other cultures over the years, the tribal languages of Jharkhand have survived. According to Kulwant Raj Gupta (2000) tribal languages in Jharkhand belong to two language families- Austro- Asiatic and Dravidian. Kurukh and Malto belong to the Dravidian family and the rest to the Austro-Asiatic family. Languages such as Nagpuri, Khortha and Panch Paragna have become lingua franca to facilitate communication between tribal groups as well as between tribals and non-tribals. Khortha or Khotta is spoken by the tribals as well as non-tribals of Hazaribagh and Giridih districts in Jharkhand. It is related to Magahi. In *Language and Literature* Shankarlal C. Bhatt (2006) has stated that Khortha is not a pure form, rather it a mixed form of language. In day-to-day affairs people use this form but in official communication they make use of Hindi. While the official language of Jharkhand is Hindi many tribal languages are spoken in different parts of the state. Scholars believe that the tribal dialects are similar to what was spoken in the ancient Harappan era.[6] They are trying to decipher the rock paintings in Hazaribagh, Koderma and Giridih districts, which they believe will prove the similarity.

b. Distribution of Khortha in Jharkhand

	Persons	Males	Females
Khortha/Khotta: **Total**	974,761	506,940	467,821
Urban	851,406	440,418	410,988
Rural	123,355	66, 522	56,833

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[6] The tribes that went north settled around the Mediterranean Sea near present day Turkey and Israel (Mithen, 2003, page20). They split into two around 12,000 to 10,000 BC, one going West and eventually reaching Europe and America while another group travelling through north and central parts of West Asia, created a major cultural development in Mesopotamia starting around 11,000 BC. They then moved through Mehrgarh around 8,000 to 5,000 BC on to Afghanistan and then entered the Indian subcontinent through northern Indus valley around 3,000 BC (Roper, 2004; see also Mithen 2003, page 407).

(Source: *Language & Literature,* Land and People of Indian States & Union Territories, Vol.II. Jharkhand; 2006 Shankarlal C. Bhatt and Gopal K. Bhargave)

IV.   Present Study

Amidst all the tribal languages the present study is centrally focused on Khortha language being spoken in and around Dhanbad, a state of Jharkhand that has a landed history of growth, urbanization and migration of people. Hindi is the major language of the place. However, several other languages such as Kurmali, Santhali, Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Bengali are also widely spoken presenting a picture of severe language contact. Khortha is being spoken by a majority of inhabitants in Dhanbad. Though the language is greatly influenced by the other languages being spoken in the state, still there are some groups residing in the outskirts of Dhanbad, where one can find the untouched, pure variety of Khortha.

The language has seen a variety of changes in itself.[7] The reasons can be many which also include Language in Contact, Language Convergence, literacy rate and the high rate of migration of the people from one place to another.

The study aims to show Language Contact, Code Mixing and Code Switching phenomenon which is prevalent in the speakers of Khortha. The language is being mixed with Hindi, Maithali and Bengali. The data has been collected from the respondents residing in the communities located in and around Dhanbad namely, Chaudhary Bandh, Sadhobaad, Kharni, Babudih, Manjhaladih, Saambalpur. The respondents were interviewed individually and in groups. The sentences of various categories and the word list were used as the tool for the data collection. The responses were noted and taped for future analysis.

The data presented below has been collected from the random samples of around 150 respondents, which were brought down to the selected samples based on the following variables:

   a. Gender
   b. Age
   c. Education or rate of Literacy
   d. Area (Rural or Urban)

Gender: Gender can be considered as an important factor in the language change, hence to highlight the difference the data was collected from the female and male members of the speech community. A special attention was made that all the selected female respondents were illiterate and housewives. Around 25 females and male members were interviewed. The collected data collected is presented below in Table Nos. 1 & 2:

Sentences	Males	Females
Jis ladke ne kaanch toda usko bulao *(Call that boy who has broken the glass)*	/je/ /gId3rta:/ /ka:nch/ /pho:d^lkau/ /se/ /gId3ta:/ /ke/ /bula:/	/ je/ /gId3rta:/ /ka:nch/ /pho:rh3u/ /sei/ /gId3ta:/ /ke/ /daik/
Kaanch toot gayi *(The glass has been broken)*	/ka:nch/ /tu:t/ /gel3i/	/ka:nchta:/ /tu:it/ /gel3i/
Bachha ye khana nahi kahyega	/i:/ /kha:na:/ /gid3rta:/	/i:/ /kha:yek/ /gid3rta:/

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[7] See, Language and Literature, Shankar C. Bhatt (2006).

(The boy will not eat this food)	/n3hi:/ /khaeto/	/n3ye/ /khaeto:/
Kal main chor se bahut maar khaya *(Yesterday I was beaten brutally by the thief)*	/ka:l/ /hum/ /chor/ /se/ /b3hUt/ /ma:r/ /kha:ye/	/ka:ilh/ /h3me//chor/ /se/ /b3di://ma:r/ /khaelho:/
Ye topi safed rang ki hai *(This cap is white in colour)*	/i:/ /topi:/ /s3fed/ /hel3i	/i:/ /topi:/ /sa:da:/ /h3l3i

Table 1: Response Sheet of Males and Females marking Gender Differences

Words	*Males*	*Females*
Masoom(Innocent)	/ma:su:m/	/ch3ua:/
Dulha (groom)	/dUlha:/	/bo:r/
Jala diya (have got burnt)	/j3laI/ /del3i/	/j3ra:I / /del3i/
Sabji "(cooked vegetables)	/s3bji/	/ti:m3n/

Table 2: Response Sheet of males and Females marking Gender Differences

From the above data it can be observed that the female respondents being less exposed to outer world make use of the words and expressions which are pure in form. The responses that they gave were more close to the original form of Khortha. In contrast the male members used words that are influenced from Hindi: **/s3bji:/** for cooked vegetables as compared to **/ti:m3n/** used by female respondents. The reason for the distinction in the language of female respondents could be the lack of exposure and very little or no interaction with the people of other speech communities.

Age: Age can also be considered as a significant factor in the change of the language. During the study a remarkable difference was noticed in language spoken by the youngsters and the elder generation. The probable reason for change in language mainly is that for their studies the young generation moves out and comes in contact with the people of other speech communities. Also they are more prone to the technical advancements in the forms of smart phones and other gazettes which ultimately affect their speech. It can also be said that the pure variety of the language is getting lost because it is just the people of the older age who have retained the original and pure variety of the language. After interacting with the youngsters falling between 16-25 years of age a considerable change in their language can be observed. They make use of Hindi and English language more as compared to the original Khortha. A brief analysis of the speech being spoken by a boy of 21 years and an old person of 65 years of age (represents the variable age in their speech community) is presented below in Table No. 3:

Words	*Old*	*Young*
Jhanda(flag)	/jhaanda/	./jh^nda/
Barish (rain)	/b^rsa	/pa:ni
Rasta (path)	/d3h3r/	rasta:/
Ghar (house)	/kh^nd	/ru:m/
Turant (immediately)	/ekh3ni:/	/tUr3te/
Mitaana / saaf karna (to clean)	/mita:e/	/sa:f/
Kapda(cloth)	/ pi:dh3na:/	/k^p3da:/

Chehra (face)	/thoth3na/	/s3k3l/
Ungali(fingers)	/a:ngUr/	/Ungri:/
Chabhi(keys)	/ka:thi:/	/cha:bhi:/
Sach(truth)	/nIshto/	/s^cche/
Gilas(glass)	/gIlsa:/	/gila:s/-
Lamba(tall)	/da:nga:/	/l^mba:/
Chipchipa (sticky)	/la:tha:/-	/ch^t3k/
Ek jaisa(same to same)	/oh3te/	/eke r^k3m

Table 3: Response Sheet of Old and Young respondents

Thus the presented data reveals that the speech of the boy is more close to Hindi language. The young boys and girls have much contact with the people outside their communities as compared to the elder generation and being more exposed socially and technically affects the language in some way or the other. The speech of the boy (representing the young generation of the speech community) can be considered as a perfect example of Language Change and Code Mixing showing a mix of Hindi- Khortha- Hindi. On the other hand the speech of the older person (representing the age group of the community) is more close to the pure variety because of the age and the occupation and less exposure to the other languages. We can say that the pure form of Khortha is losing its grip in the younger generation.

Education: Education plays a significant role in Language Change. Though many villages have got their own schools, but for higher education the students have to move out of their villages. Because of increased awareness about the importance of education parents send their children to Dhanbad for higher education. Resultantly the children (between 11years-18years) are being exposed to other languages like Hindi and English displaying Code Mixing and Code Switching phenomena. The distinction in the speech can be observed from the examples presented in Table 4:

Words/ Sentences	Educated	Semi-educated/ no education
Sari(traditional wear for females in India)	/sa:ri/	/lUgga:/
Dhul (dust)	/dhu:l/ dust	/dhu:ra:/
Dhoop	/dhu:p/	/r3uda:/
Kanghi(comb)	/k3nghi:/	/k3k3ba:/
Anda(egg)	/3nda:/	/di:m/
Bael(ox)	/bael/	/b3r3d/
Wah baithe baithe thak gaya(he is tired of sitting)	/u://b3ith3le/- /b3ith3le/ /th3k/ /gele/	/u:/ /b3is3le/ /b3is3le// thai:k/ /gel3i/-
Wah kabhi na kabhi jarur aayega(He will definitely come back some day)	/u://k3kh3no/ /n3/ /k3kh3no/ /z3ru:r/ /aeto/	/u:/ /k3kh3no/ /nae/ /k3kh3no/ /ghu:r/ /ke/ /aeto/

Table 4: Response sheet of literates and illiterates

The above data clearly shows the influence of Hindi on the speech of the children We can observe Code Mixing of Khortha- Hindi where the illiterate villagers speak Khortha in pure form but the children use mix varieties which is close to Hindi like: /z3ru:r/ return),/bael/ ox), /k3nghi:/ (comb ,/ b3chha:/(small kid).

Area (Rural and Urban): The other thing which is a matter of consideration is the difference in the language of the urban and the rural areas. The rural areas are the one which are the carrier of the pure variety of the language. There is no doubt that the language is transmitted from one generation to the other but in the younger generation Khortha language is losing its identity.

V.   Status of Tribal Languages in Jharkhand

The Ranchi University set up a department of tribal and regional languages in 1981 for postgraduate course and research. Initially seven languages: Mundari, Santhali, Kurukh, Ho, Kharia, Kurmali and Nagpuri were taught in this department. Later on, two more languages, Khortha and Panch Pargana, which were basically lingua franca of the Jharkhand region, were included. The Bihar government also published textbooks for elementary level in tribal and regional languages in 1986, but these books were never distributed in schools.

In Jharkhand, bilingualism prevails between intra-tribal and inter-tribal communities. Hence different languages are being used for the communication purpose. Danger signs of languages attrition are visible in the loss of basic vocabulary, borrowings of Indo-Aryan lexicons and morphological processes as well as in the change of word order. Interestingly, despite the fact that these tribal languages of Jharkhand seem to be linguistically converged, they do serve as the identity markers of their respective speech communities. Jharkhand government is taking many effective measures to safeguard[8] these tribal languages but only a few tribal languages are getting facilities from the state government and others are not.[9] The language policy of the state is responsible for this predicament. Speakers of some languages claim that their language is spoken in a larger area in comparison to others and thus more attention should be given to that language. Every group claims that its language is superior and that is why it should get a higher status, and more facilities.

According to a study of UNESCO, in the Himalayan states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Uttarakhand, about 44 languages or dialects are withering away. In Jharkhand, Odisha and Bengal, about 42 languages are endangered (Pankaj 2010).

The people and the Government should realize that cultural and linguistic diversity does not threaten national integrity but adds to the beauty of the nation. However, the tussle between the major and minor languages will remain and the latter will have to struggle hard to survive. For documentation and revitalization of the languages of the indigenous, nomadic and

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[8] Various endangered and marginalized languages have been identified and academicians, linguist and others have started working to document these languages and preserve their vocabularies. Tribal languages have also been introduced in Schools and Universities and textbooks are also getting published. See *Nurturing Linguistic Diversity in Jharkahnd,* PK Singh(2011)

[9] In 2011 Jharkhand Government officially gave the status of second state official language to nine tribal and regional languages: Sathali, Oraon,Mundari, Ho, Kurukh,Sadri, Khortha, Panch Pargana and Kurmali. In a recent advancement, to give due recognition to the tribal languages in Jharkhand, the government officials are made compulsory to learn any of the four tribal languages including: Santhali, Mundari, Ho and Kurukh. *See the official website of Jharkhand government: www.jharkhand.gov.in/about*

marginalised people, Bhasha Research and Publication Centre, Baroda has undertaken People's Linguistic Survey of India, a nationwide survey. In Jharkhand, 18 endangered and marginalised languages have been identified. However, some of these languages such as Asuri, Birhori, Korwa, Sabari, Malto, Angika, etc, including Santhali, are being taught in universities. This is a good initiative, and has given hope that at least these endangered languages will be documented and their vocabularies will be preserved.

VI.   Conclusion

Khortha has been termed as an Enigmatic language mainly because of its varied varieties and features, which distinguishes it from other tribal languages. The features include Ergativity, language contact leading to pidgins and creoles, Code Switching, Code Mixing and Relexification. These features are been observed in the languages being spoken in a multilingual society. Khortha because of the above features is more vulnerable to change and more prone to lose its identity. Also through the presented study it can be well observed that due to various factors, the inhabitants, young generation and people working outside community have easily allowed the mixing of other languages like Hindi, English, Maithili Magahi and Bengali with Khortha. Allowing these languages has put Khortha on the verge of extinction. Timely intervention and preventive measures can safeguard this language from getting extinct and history.

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The Relationship between Methods of Coping with Stress with Personality Types "A" and "B" and Fear of Dental Treatment in Women and Men

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Abstract

*The present paper aims at studying the relationship between the dental phobia treatments and styles of facing with the (*stress-coping*, problem-oriented, Avoidant) stress and personality types (A and B) among women and men.*

This research plan is of correlation type and is carried out through sampling from the clustering model (two-staged) selected among all individuals referred to the dental clinics of Tehran including two group of 60 peoples of men and women.

The method of data gathering in this research was standard questionnaires of Calsbeek stress coping styles and the koel, burg and Nilson questionnaire of dental treatment phobia and questionnaire of personality types (A and B) of Rathus and Spencer. And the final coefficient of the aforementioned questionnaires is set to be 91 percent and the internal correlation of items to be 0.04 to 0.65. The Multi Variable Regression Test in the form of hierarchical and Pierson and ANOVA Tests was the deductive method in the present study.

The results revealed that there is relation between the dental phobia and personal types of men and women, there is relation between the stress coping styles and personal types of men and women, and there is difference between dental phobia among men and women and stress coping styles and personality types and there is difference between dental phobia based on stress coping styles among men and women.

Keywords: Dental Phobia, Personality Types, Stress Coping Styles.

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Introduction

Due to its side effects on patients, dentists and the community, dental phobia is an issue that has been seriously studied by researchers in recent years. Several studies confirm the existence of dental fear as it is common among people (Milgram 1, 1998). An important point of every dentist's job is controlling patients' fear and anxiety. Dealing with patients' fear and anxiety during dental procedures is of primary concern in dental practice so that it has led to less follow-up visits for dental treatment (Haddadi, 2011).

Sources of dentistry anxiety and fear have been reported to be different, the most common being fears provoked due to painful experiences caused in the past. the existence of anxiety in the family and friends and experiences of the patient in previous dental works, may all have been effective in their fear of the treatment (Ramezanianneek, 2009)

Dental researchers have for years been trying different strategies to reduce patients' pain and stress because stress and fear of dental treatment is one of the first and most important challenges for people to visit the dentist. Dental fear has different intensity levels and the results of these researches are made available in scientific conferences to medical science activists (Shayan Amin, 2010).

Armfield (2011) examined dental tension in 6-7 year-old children and found out non-drug therapies should be used to control the stress and fear of dental treatment and argued later that those who have issue related stress, can cooperate better with the dentist. Theoretically, anxiety can be stimulated without the patient being aware of it. A major factor in dental fear and anxiety is the negative perception of the involved stimuli. Elements like anesthetic injection, the unit, radiography, dental medications and having bad experiences are all factors that cause fear, anxiety and stress in people when visiting the dentist (Vahabzadeh, 2008).

Today, almost all people are familiar with the term stress as and it has become an integral part of human life; man faces with stressful situations since early childhood. Today, the development of stress situations, the deterioration of mans' response to stress and also lifestyle changes have made stress a large and complex phenomenon in people's lives (Khodayarifard, 2011).

Stress syndrome is the answer of the organism to a stressful factor. Kernik believes stress syndrome is the individual's response to events or changes which are opposite to their social status. These reactions entail one or more cognitive, emotional, behavioral and physical reactions along. Stress is rooted in engineering concepts and refer to the amount of pressure applied from outside. Lazarus and Volkman (1984) have offered a definition of stress. They say stress is a specific relationship between the individual and the environment in which the assessed stress exceeds the limits and puts the individual at risk. This definition asserts that stress is a stressful relationship between the individual and the environment and when the individual is incapable of coping with this situation, mental and physical problems infect them. In recent decades the term stress refers to stimulations that can trigger changes in people's cognition, emotion, behavior and physiology (Davidson and Neil in1990, quoting Khodayarifard, 2011).

Adler and Cohen believe stress is any natural or mental situation considered as a real or mental threat by the organism. Kemni believes that human beings respond physiologically differently to the same stressful events based on how they evaluate it. He believes that the body responds to what is happening in the mind not in the position or the environment (Powell and Henriette, quoting Hajebi, 2006) Also coping has several definitions like stress.

Some consider it as the ways of tackling problems and some thin; of coping strategies as logical and conscious methods to face with life anxieties. Lazarus defines coping as a process in which an individual undertakes to manage demands beyond their resources and abilities and are even threatening. Anyway, coping means when someone deals with stressors in situations and find an answer when their current balance is disturbed. Do we escape, stand or take the disturbing problem as unseen? Everyone reacts somehow differently to stressors. So, it does not matter what we "should do" in stressful situations finally, everyone will have a response any way. What is important is why, how and what reaction we perpetrate in these situations (Aghayousefi, 1999).

Volkman and Moskovitz have defined the process of coping as thinking and behaviors used to manage internal and external demands in stressful situations (Khodayarifard and Parand, 2011).

Research findings have shown that positive emotion-focused coping styles strengthen an individual's feature of attract "social and emotional support" for coping and is almost always associated with better physical and mental health (Jean-Paul, 1999).

"The ability to interpret and comment again and positively" is a feature of emotion-focused coping style. According to some cognitive theorists' views, compatibility is a conscious process in which an individual undertakes first to assess the problem on the basis of their past experiences. Then they decide how to deal with the problem lying head. So it depends on how they deal with the problem and assess the current situation (Volkman, Lazarus 1986) People who are capable of taking positive connotations from traumatic events, such as spiritual growth or finding the value of life, have given more adaptive responses to test stresses (Davison, 2004). Optimism too, increases the level of individual psychological coping with the disease. Using problem-focused coping style is associated with more self-control and self-efficacy feeling (Folkman, Lazarus., 1986).

Character is perhaps the most fundamental issue in the science of psychology because the basic axis of discussion is various areas such as learning, motivation, perception, thinking, emotions and cases such as intelligence. Therefore, a sustainable concept throughout human history has been the concept of personality. The word personality comes from the Latin persona meaning character or frame. So the original and primary concept of personality is a social image and character, based on which Jung believes personality has separate but related systems. The most important of these systems include: ego, personal unconscious and its complexes, collective unconscious and its archetypes, persona, anima, animus and shadow. he believes there are two types of attitudes in human character, extraversion and introversion. Extroversion attitude designs the society role man plays and leads them to the objective world, while the introspective attitude leads them to their inner world (Gholizdeh, 2009).

Also Kerchmer considers three character types or physical types for personality. First type thin and bony body type people with low body fat that he called anesthetic type. The second type is sporty and dynamic with muscular organs that he called athletic. The third type is a fat body type with a lot of fat in their organs that he called picnics. Kerchmer also mentions a fourth type named shapeless, including physically abnormal and unusual people (Shamloo, 2011).

Studying the role of personality variables in coping strategies has a long history. Character styles are important because they are indicators of methods of confronting with life challenges . In fact character style is directly related with reactions to stressful events and people's ideology. In this one may say flexible personality styles, cope more successfully with issues

than do the inflexible, because the latter cannot adapt their responses with the demands of the situation (ibid.).

Many researchers have found that that characters and coping are linked together, including the research by Grant and Lagan, which examines the relationship between personality and stress the role of five major personality factors. The sample of the above reproach was 211 engineers and the research aimed to answer these questions: Are big five major personality factors directly and independently related to job stress? This study assessed personality, stress analysis and coping and the following results were obtained: neuroticism is indirectly related to the perception of job roles conflicts, psychological neuroticism is directly associated with perceiving stress, extraversion is directly related to psychological and physical pressures, and responsibility is related with perceiving the level of stress and preliminary supports. Other researches done by Cohen, Stein and Campbell the relationship between personality resilience, coping and psychiatric symptoms in young adults were investigated. Research results showed that there is a negative relationship between flexibility and neuroticism and a positive relationship between extraversion and accountability, and emotion-focused coping style is associated with low flexibility. Finally it was made clear that flexibility is in a middle relationship with inappropriate treatment of childhood and psychiatric symptoms. (Jafarizadeh, 2013).

Kardam and Kerapik in a study examined the relationship between personality traits, stress situations of life and coping styles among adolescents. Findings showed that extraversion has positive direct effects on avoidance coping styles. Indirect effects of personality traits on coping styles through mental stress are low for all coping style. Accountability is in high correlation with problem-focused coping style, and people with high accountability grades participate actively in planning and problem solving and avoid inappropriate and passive coping. (Ibid)

This study discussed the predictability of the fear of dental treatments and styles of coping with stress and personality types A and B in women and men. dental phobia is an element that can create unfavorable conditions for both patients and dentists. This study aimed to determine the intensity of patients' fear of dental treatment according to personality types and ways of responding to the anxiety including emotion-oriented, problem-oriented and avoidance oriented so that we make a good step to decrease fear and direct people towards problem-oriented stress coping strategies. Hypotheses examined in this study include:

Fear of dental treatments and stress coping styles is associated with personality types in men and women.

There is a relationship between the fear of dental treatments with personality types in men and women.

There is a relationship between stress coping styles with personality types in men and women.

There is a difference between fear of dental treatment in men and women, coping styles and personality types. There is a relationship between the fear of dental treatments and stress coping styles in men and women.

Analysis Method

The present study is of a correlation type because it fundamentally aims to investigate the criterion variable, fear of dental treatments due to predictable variables of coping styles and personality types. The population of the study includes all the patients coming to dental clinics in Tehran in the solar Persian year 1394. To determine the sample size we had to evaluate and determine the number of subscales of three variables of fear of dental treatment,

stress coping styles and personality types. Then based on Julie Plant's formulas we multiply the number of subscales by 8 and add the obtained number with 50. The sample size will be calculated as such. To calculate the sample size, we use the following formula.

$$n > 50 + 8m$$
$$n > 50 + (8 * 3) = 74 \approx 75$$

(Tabakitg and Fidel, 2007) quoting (Julie Plant, 2000, translated by Kakavand, 2010)
So given the above formula and given that in this study the total number of subscales is 7, so the number of samples will be 120 people.

$$n > 50 + 8(3+2+3) = 114$$

For sampling, a multistage (two-stage) cluster model will be used. Two out of eighteen Tehran neighborhoods were randomly selected and two dental clinics in those areas were randomly selected, and its patients were evaluated in a 2-month period.

Research Tools

1. Stress coping styles questionnaire: This questionnaire has 21 questions designed in 2002 by Kalzbik. Kalzbik produced the short form of this questionnaire composed of 21 items, based on the original Endler and Parker's questionnaire of coping with stressful situations that has 48 items. This form investigates three main coping styles, i.e. problem focused coping strategies, which means controlling emotions and step by step planning to solve the problem (7 expressions), emotion-focused coping in which instead of focusing on the problem they focus on the excitement and instead of solving the problem they focus on reducing negative emotions (7 expressions) and avoidance coping style in which individuals avoid facing with the problem (7 expressions). Avoidance coping style subscales includes the two dimensions of social entertainment (3 expressions) and attention handling (4 expressions). Stressful situations coping questionnaire is a self administered questionnaire and participants should decide in a Likert's five degrees range (many out of 10 = 5) to what extent they use each strategy. (Kalzbik, 2002).

Reliability: Boysan has reported alpha subscale in 2012 as follows: problem-oriented coping = 0.72 emotion-focused and avoidance-oriented coping= 0.74. Also reliability of the retest method in 2 weeks was as follows: problem-oriented coping = 0.79, emotion-focused coping = 0.75 and avoidance coping = 0.66

Credibility: Kalzbik's confirmatory factor analysis (2002) confirmed the stressful situations coping questionnaire short form three-factor structure which implies the validity of this test. Also Boysan's research results showed a significant positive correlation with positive affect with problem-oriented coping subscale and a significant positive correlation with negative affect with emotion-focused coping, which represents the concurrent validity of stressful situations coping questionnaire short form.

2. Dental treatments fear questionnair (SFD): This questionnaire has 21 questions designed by Koal, Berg, Nilsson (1997). This questionnaire is developed with five option questions in which the respondent determines the severity of their fear for dental treatment. The questionnaire evaluates the diseired parameters on a continuum of 1 to 5 grades in each question.

Validity and reliability: Koal, Berg and Nilsson (1997) have reported the reliability of the questionnaire to be 91% and the internal consistency of the items to be between 0.04 to 0.65.

The questionnaire has two parts. The first part includes questions about demographic variables (age, sex and whether they have visited the dentist before). The second part consists of 21 different stages of dentistry (such as seeing the syringe, hearing of the dental drill, etc.)

ate mentioned and the patient specifies their fear in each of the cases on a continuum of 1 to 5 grades. The questionnaire has been prepared in three parts of avoiding the treatment, physical symptoms of anxiety and anxiety created by dentistry provocations. Score between 0 and 30 indicate low to moderate fear, a score of 30 to 70 indicates moderate to severe fear and scores between 70 and 100 indicate a very intense fear or horror.

3. personality types questionnaire: This questionnaire has been prepared by Rattus and Spansara with 25 questions. In this questionnaire two personality types are studied and the average score gained in this questionnaire is 13; the obtained score over the average tends to be type A and less than that tends to be type B; scores less than 5 tend are intensely B and over 20 is intensely type A.

Credibility: Credibility of the above test in most studies has been reported to be over 0.70 and 0.80. Answers in this questionnaire are designed as yes and no. To collect the data, all the questionnaire items and procedures have been well explained for the interviewers and they are familiar with the concepts of the subject.

Evaluation

Evaluation in this research was so that after completing the standard questionnaire and measuring dental anxiety and fear scoring took place according to the scoring instructions and people were graded in terms of fear and anxiety in levels of mild, moderate and intense. There were 20 questions about dental fear with five points for each question and the full score to be one hundred. Mild fear had a score of less than 33 and moderate fear had a score of 34 and intense fear had a score of 58. The questionnaire was completed and prepared within two weeks by interviewers.

Methods

First a list of private dental offices in Tehran was prepared, and then an office was randomly selected. Then interviewers went to the office on even weekdays to evaluate the attendance of qualified patients to the office and systematically interviewed them to fill out the questionnaire with their answers until there were 60 male and 60 female patients. After getting the necessary permits and establishing coordination with the clinic, participants were made familiar with research objectives and invited to cooperate. After their sex-bound random selection they were tested for a session with inclusion and exclusion criteria of the participants being: 1. lack of dental history 2. Ages between 15-45 years 3 Education level

Data analysis

In order to analyze study data, for expressing descriptive indicators, descriptive statistics methods (mean, standard deviation) were used and to express differences of groups, inferential statistics methods were used (covariance and correlation) inferential statistics. Data was analyzed using SPSS software version 20.

Table 1. Descriptive investigation of samples in terms of dental fear

Fear			Very intense		intense		Moderate		mild	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Woman	6	10	8	13/34	12	20	18	30	16	26/67
Man	4	3/34	6	10	10	16/67	28	46/67	12	20
Total	10	8/34	14	11/67	22	18/34	46	38/34	28	23/34

Table 1 shows that most items are moderate in terms of dental fear and as compared with men, slightly more women have extreme fear of dental treatment.

<div align="center">Evaluation of personality types in the samples</div>

	#	%
Type a	72	%60
Type b	48	%40

As can be seen some 60% of the samples are of the personality type a and some 40% of the type b.

Studying the normality of the data

Before inferential statistics we undertake to assess data normality through Kolmogorov-Smirnov's method.

Number		120
Normal parameters	Mean	49/266
	Standard deviation	19/63
Z Kolmogorov-Smirnov		1/216
significance		0/104

As the data normality test in the above table shows, sig> 0.5 which indicates that data have a good normality in terms of dental fear and that we can use parametric tests.

Hypotheses

1. One may forecast fear of dental treatments based on personality types in men and women. (Or there is a relationship between the fear of dental treatment and personality types in men and women).

	Correlation	Significance
Dental fear	0.734	0.000
Personality type		

As can be seen in the chart above samples with type A personality have a higher dental fear than type B personality samples. So according to samples' personality types their fear of dental treatment can be predicted.

2. There I a relationship between stress coping styles and personality types in men and women.

	#	Stress coping styles		%
Personality type A	72	Problem oriented	30	%41/67
		Avoidance oriented	12	%16/66
		Emotion oriented	30	%41/67
Personality type B	48	Problem oriented	44	%91/66

	Avoidance oriented	4	%8/34
	Emotion oriented	0	0

As can be seen in the above table in personality type A there are just as many problem-focused coping styles as there are and emotion-based personality types. But in personality type B there are 91.66 % problem-focused and emotion-based personalities types do not even exist. So it can be concluded that people with problem-focused coping styles mostly have B type personality and those with emotion-based styles are rather personality type A. Now we examine the hypothesis step by step using multivariate regression models:

Model	R	Square R	Determination coefficient	Error
1	0/502	0/252	0/246	17/046
2	0/559	0/313	0/301	16/41

Model 1: emotion-based coping style
Model 2: problem-focused and emotion-focused coping style
In the above example, step by step model linear regression test results show that R square is larger than 0.05, meaning the software permits the use of linear regression so the equation regression would be:

$Y = a+bx$

Model	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean of Squares	F	Significance
1 Regression	11567/100	1	11567/100	39/807	0/000
Remainder	34288/366	118	290/579		
Total	45855/467	119			
2 Regression	14332/525	2	7166/262	26/598	0/000
Remainder	31522/942	117	269/427		
Total	45855/467	119			

The amount of significance (0.000 = sig) shows the hypothesis is accepted, which means at least one of the coping styles is related with personality types in men and women.

Regression Coefficients

Model			Beta	t	Significance
	B	standard error			
1 Constant	22/693	4/490		5/054	0/000
Emotion focused	1/225	0/194	0/502	6/309	0/000
2 Constant	47/383	8/837		5/362	0/000
Emotion	1/048	0/195	0/430	5/378	0/000

focused Problem focused	0/846	0/264	0/256	3/204	0/002

Also in the above table stepwise model linear regression test results can be seen. The software has preferred one of the options and entered it in the test and selects the variable that has the greatest impact on the dependent variable.

In this test first the variable of the emotion-focused coping style entered the test and is thus the best predictor of personality type. After that, two components of emotion-focused and problem-focused coping styles were tested simultaneously, and after the first one they had the greatest impact, and this model after the first model is the best predictor.

Other Remaining Models

Model	Standardized coefficients for the prediction	T	Significance	Partial correlation	Tolerance Statistics
Problem oriented Avoidance	0/256 0/043	-3/204 0/507	0/002 0/613	-0/284 0/047	0/920 0/884
Avoidance	0/087	1/052	0/295	0/097	0/861

The rest of the variables and their correlation are given in the above table, to select the best variable, to add to the model, to the partial correlation where there is a linear correlation between the suggestive prediction and the dependent variable after removing the effect of the current model.

Pearson's correlation test results are as follows:

Relationship between personality type and the style of coping

	Correlation	Significance
Problem focused	-0/378	0/000
Avoidance	0/209	0/022
Emotion focused	0/502	0/000

In the Pearson correlation test table to investigate the relationship between personality types with each coping style we see that the strongest relationship is with emotion -oriented coping style and after that there are problem focused and finally avoidance.

Hypothesis 3. There is a difference in fear of dental treatment among men and women and stress coping styles.

ANOVA test table

Model	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean of Squares	F	Significance
Dental fear Between groups In the group Total	18849/800 27005/667 45855/467	1 118 119	18849/800 228/862	82/363	0/000
Problem focused style Between groups In the group Total	490/050 3709/250 4199/300	1 118 119	490/050 31/434	15/590	0/000
Avoidance style Between groups In the group Total	204/800 4004/000 4208/800	1 118 119	204/800 33/932	6/036	0/015
Emotion focused style Between groups In the group Total	1993/339 5719/861 77713/200	1 118 119	1993/339 48/473	41/122	0/000

In the above table can be seen that significance in all cases is smaller than 05/0 and the F of the table is greater than the critical F. So the hypothesis is accepted and the fear of dental treatment, coping styles and personality types are different in men and women. And according to the F amount observed this difference is larger and more specific in emotional styles.
4. There is a difference in the fear of dental treatments based on stress coping styles in men and women.

	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean of Squares	F	Significance
Corrected model	[a]68/533	41	1/672	6/744	0/000
Retrieval	305/116	1	305/116	1230/983	0/000
Coping styles	68/533	41	1/672	6/744	0/000
Error	19/333	78	0/248		
Total	408/000	120	1/672		
Corrected total	87/867	119			

a. R squared = 0.780 (Adjusted R squared = 0.664)

In the above table, given the zero sums for the significance, the 199 F for the freedom grade and square R, the hypothesis is confirmed and there is a difference in dental fears based on coping styles among men and women.

Discussion and Conclusion

Studying the first hypothesis of this study showed that there is a relationship between the fear of dental treatment and types of personality. As already expected this hypothesis was confirmed. Styling the literature of the research in this field shows that the results of Narimani and Abulqasemi (2013) in their descriptive research state that the personality type (A) is significantly related with stress and fear of dental treatment and skills for coping with stress $(P = 0.05)$.

Studying the first hypothesis of this study showed that there is a relationship between stress coping styles and types of personality in men and women. According to previous research findings, the results of the present research are in line Jabari far oven and Ahmadi Roozbehani (2014) who in their research on stress coping styles and types of personality found a positive and significant relationship between introversion with the problem focused coping style (p <0.05), a negative and significant relationship exists between the extroversion and avoidance coping style and a significant relationship exists between three coping styles (problem focused, emotion focused, avoidance) in girls and boys.

Studying the third hypothesis of this study showed that there is a relationship between the fear of dental treatment and stress coping styles and types of personality in men and women. Qaemi also agrees with this finding where in Fear and anxiety he points to the fact that there is more fear in girls (because they are more emotional) than boys and in women more than men, and that this reduces with increasing age. Amani and emami (2014) in their research on direct effects of personality traits on perceived stress coping styles found that positive and negative emotions and positive perception of stress, has a direct and significant effect (p <0.05) on problem-focused coping style, and this is consistent with our results and this study confirms that.

Studying the fourth hypothesis suggests that there is a prediction possibility between the fear of dental treatments and coping styles with stress in men and women. During their research Bergo Oyz and Aspin and Taylor found that emotion-focused coping can increase stress in people and the fear of dental treatments (p <0.05). In what concerns the role of gender in the use of coping styles, one may say the use of problem focused style has had no significant difference between girls and boys (p <0.05) and this study indicates the significance of this assumption.

Research in the field of psychology and the humanities always has limitations, and they become reliable over time with other experts' researches. Also this study has limitations as follows:

The research sample was limited and in further generalization of the results one should be cautious. If this research takes place with a quasi-experimental method, it acquires more credible results. Also acquired data was limited to questionnaires and not other means of gathering information such as interviews, observations, etc. It is also recommended to use results obtained in clinics and in medical centers. Doctors must pay more attention to coping styles and personality types in their treatments to facilitate treatment. This study found that women show more fear than men, it is suggested for further researches to study the causes of this difference.

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Metaphorical Spatialization of Economic Issues as a persuasive Strategy in the 2008 American presidential electoral campaign

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Abstract

In the context of the classical political conflict between the American democratic and republican parties embodied in the electoral campaigns, this article discursively investigates Obama's and McCain's manoeuvering of metaphors of space in the 2008 electoral campaign's economic issues leanig on Critical Metaphor Analysi. The candidates spatially invite what serves in the play of framing and instantiation of vital economic issues to highlight the potential journey from negative to positive spaces (e.g. from back to front and vice versa, from low to high and vice versa, out of threat to peace and vice versa ... etc) in order to either metaphorically aggravate the economic status quo and hence accentuate the need for the "proper" president savior (the present candidate), or to open up horizons of potential positive economic change if elected president.

Keywords: American electoral campaign, Metaphors, economics.

1.Introduction

If we study the speeches of the two American candidates we touch particular conceptual structuring of sets of target abstract issues. The instantiation of given abstract target domains by concrete spatial frames generates a set of metaphors with a power of making those abstract concepts marked and coherent in the addressee's conceptual system. The speakers know well the function of spatial imagery that nears the picture of abstract concepts to the mind of their audiences. Obama and McCain tend to inculcate the delicacy and graveness of the status quo and the urgency of interventions to 'improve' the situation in the minds of the American people.

The corpus of this research is composed of two speeches retrieved as electronic texts from the Internet. The speech of McCain is retrieved from an Internet site at the URL: http: //rncnyc2004.blogspot.com/2008/06/remarks-by-john-mccain-at-nfib-and-ebay.html.   The speech of Obama is obtained from an electronic site at the URL: http://www.speechwars.com.

Lakoff and Johnsonn (1980, p. 19) called a particular type of metaphor "coherence metaphor," because they are more in line with the cognitive function they perform. By coherence they mean that certain target concepts tend to be metaphorically represented in a uniform manner. For example, in Obama's chosen speech of study, various social and economic concepts are characterized by journey features (path, track, facing obstacles, meeting, relief…etc). This article argues that Obama's speech is metaphorically structured within a generic journey frame. The place of departure is a fence which must be overcome by the promised hard work of the future president of the U.S.A - Barack Obama. If Obama is elected president, he will lead his people beyond this wall of problems to the beach of salvation. The African American candidate invites his audience to a common shared space full of thorns and he positions himself in the center as the person who will flatten this ground in front of his people to lead them to the dreamland. On the other hand, he tries to represent his opponent McCain as the man who will lead the American economy to the ditch.

Senator McCain was not far from his contender in his instantiation of the urgent economic and social issues. In order to create tangible, containable and movable meanings in the minds of voters, McCain resorts to spatial metaphorization of critical social and economic issues. In his speech, delivered in Arlington,VA--U.S on June 10, 2008, John McCain situates the spatial metaphors in the context of electoral contest to win voters voice. He showed an attentive selection of the issues which are of major interests to the American people of different identities and shaped them within witty spatial metaphors.

This article focuses on the spatial language as a strategy of self promotion in the electoral speeches of the American 2008 general electoral campaign. The use of spatial metaphors by the two candidates translates their conceptualization of the economic states of affairs of the American people to strategically represent the Self in relation to the Other. The first considered speech was delivered by John McCain at the NFIB (National Federation of Independent Business) and eBay 2008 National Small Business Summit on the tenth of June, 2008, and the second delivered by Barack Obama in Lansing (capital of Michigan), MI in August 04, 2008.

2.Theoretical Background

Metaphor has become a popular interdisciplinary topic of study and research in almost all disciplines comprising the "cognitive science" paradigm, namely linguistics, philosophy,

psychology and literary theory. This new interest in metaphoricality as a central cognitive mechanism and not a classical figure of speech has resulted in a striking rise in the number of publications on metaphor during the past twenty five years (Ortony 1993; sacks 1979; Honeck and Hoffman 1980; Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and 2003; Kovecses 2000 and 2008…etc).

On the basis of linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) insists that most of our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. Metaphor was typically viewed as a characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have found that metaphor is pervasive in everyday language not as a mere superficial decorative device or a matter of rhetorical flourish but as a comprehensive system of conceptualization. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) argues that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (p. 4).The concepts governing our thought are not exclusively mental, they also structure our perception of the world and frame our experience of life. But as our conceptual system is by no means perceptible, one way to find out is by looking at language. Language remains the most important source of evidence of our thinking and acting since human communication shares the same conceptual system used in thought and action.

Metaphor can be characterized with the formula A is B, where the target domain (A) is comprehended through a source domain (B). This comprehension is based on a set of mappings that exist between elements of A and elements of B. In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor means primarily conceptual metaphor, as opposed to linguistic metaphor; "metaphor is pervasive in everyday language and thought -evidence that did not fit any contemporary Anglo-American theory of meaning within either linguistics or philosophy" (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003, p. ix). That is, with the form A is B, we distinguish between a conceptual metaphor and its metaphoric linguistic expressions. But there are different types of conceptual metaphors (Kovecses 2008). These include classifications according to the conventionality, function, nature, and level of generality of metaphor. My focus in this study is on the spatial dimension of the ontological and structural metaphors. For example, in the ontological conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNY, the task will be on the metaphorical spatialization of abstract target concepts, such as economic hardships, unemployment, healthcare, energy, taxes…etc. In their 2008 electoral campaign, Barack Obama and John McCain represented the problems of the American economy and their promised change agenda in different linguistic, rhetorical and cognitive shapes.

3. McCain and Metaphorical Spatialization

Social and economic concepts are well-woven into spatial representations in McCain's speech. McCain's promises to overcome the American society's hardships are circumscribed with placeness, boundaries and borders and measured in terms of the distance from the "centre" and "periphery". For these reasons, the spatial construction of delicate socioeconomic issues is frequently interwoven with witty self situational adaptation.

3.1. Spatial Metaphor and the American Enterprise

John McCain has started his speech by constructing a space of self-inclusiveness. He created a Self strategic belonging space to connect himself with his audiences. He said he was "honored to be **in** the company of so many men and women who represent the best of American enterprise." McCain is trying to subtly perform a cognitive operation on his audience in order to produce an instantiated inclusion through the preposition "in". His created spatial container is the representatives of the best of American enterprise. The

cognitive construal of his relation to his direct audience could be compacted in a conceptual spatial metaphor REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BEST AMERICAN ENTERPRISE ARE A CONTAINER.

3.2. Spatial Metaphor and Small Businesses

On the other side, McCain has settled for another shape of spatial metaphor to situate another important cell of his voters' hive - small businesses. Small businesses for McCain are "what make the American economy run". Hereby, economy is metaphorically on a racetrack; ECONOMY IS A RACER. He describes small businesses as the ones who always take the risks "often with little start-up money and nothing to fall back on". Small businesses' space is a boxing ring in which they show dare and courage though they have no support to back them up. It would be safe to say that McCain has chosen to hold small businesses within a space of fighting. THE ECONOMY OF SMALL BUSINESSES IS A BOXING RING would be the suitable metaphor to interpret McCain's cognitive construal of this segment of his aspired voters.

3.3. Minorities and Small Business

As far as minorities are concerned, spatial metaphors transfer schema from economy area to journey area. These metaphors filter and define social and economic issues submitting them to a projection from simple fashion source domain schemata. McCain tries to describe the most important features of complex variables in a simple form embodied in an experiential spatial world. McCain shows that he possesses linguistic faculties with deeply embedded spatial metaphorical structures that are influential in the construction of the reality of minorities. "For women," says he "for immigrants and for people of every background, small businesses are the path to success and to the American dream":
THE AMERICAN DREAM IS A JOURNEY and THE ARRIVAL POINT OF THE DREAM JOURNEY IS SUCCESS and the road of this journey is small businesses. The metaphor SMALL BUSINESSES ARE THE PATH OF THE JOURNEY TO SUCCESS is directed first to minorities, and McCain is their guide in the journey to success.

3.4. McCain: Economy and Minorities

McCain continues saying that "The African-American and the Hispanic-American small business communities are one of the fastest growing segments of our economy." The convenient spatial metaphor will be here: ECONOMY IS A GEOMETRICAL FIGURE. Economy is instantiated by a spatial metaphor represented by an image of a geometrical figure and one of its fastest growing segments are the African American and the Hispanic-American small business communities. In the journey to success, McCain has created himself a position of a guide: McCAIN IS A JOURNEY GUIDE of the minorities and the destination is economic success. And he created himself a metaphorical position of a coach in the overall economy racetrack "As president, my goal will be to get our economy running at full strength again" said he.

Hereby, THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IS A RUNNER and McCAIN IS A COACH who will get the economy run at full strength. These spatial metaphors are an instance of a sport spatial schema projected on an economy schema image. McCain uses spatial metaphors depicting economy in an image of a runner who lost vigor. These metaphors are employed as a catalyst for change and a signal for an urgent need for a changer. The other participants in the economy race are the wage-earners and job creators whose function will be on the right

and left sides of the racetrack "And I will pursue tax reform that supports the wage-earners and job creators who make this economy run." These wage-earners and job creators are on the racetrack sides providing "logistic requirements" to racers or runners, and help them to win in the global economy race. This mass is shown to be guided to a much larger business space which is the global market.

3.5. McCain: Foreign Trade, and workers

In the speech at hand, spatial metaphors are systematically deployed and structured in parallel with thematic scheming. Their shapes change in parallel with the theme treated by the speaker. Foreign trade, for instance, is differently represented; "I want to break down foreign trade barriers" McCain said. Having placed himself on the ground of power, McCain alludes to the fact that he is the right person to break down the barriers and open up new territories (out-of-placeness: a switch from one space (bad) to another (good) for small businesses to compete abroad. He, then, opts for the spatial metaphor FOREIGN TRADE IS A SIEGED TERRITORY and it is only him who will break down the barriers. He has placed himself on the frontiers of the foreign trade as the appropriate man who will break down the barriers and liberate small businesses. McCain, on the other side, promised to help "workers at every turn on a tough road, so that they are not just spectators on the opportunities of others."

McCain promises to find a better place for displaced workers "at every turn on a tough road, so that they are not just spectators on the opportunities of others." He promised "to help millions of workers who have lost a job, that won't come back, to find a new one that won't go away". The function of American workers will no longer be restricted to logistic support on the sides of the tough road but to a promised place in the middle of the racetrack. The space of Workers is a crammed market in which they lost their jobs which will never come back again but thanks to McCain, who will have a solid control on the market, these millions of workers will find new jobs that won't go away. McCain will help them get a new one in the crowded market of service but this time from good sellers. They are now promised sound trade mark jobs not counterfeited ones. The Government should be on your side, not in your way (one of the last sentences of McCain). McCain draws on the metaphor of a covered building to refer to his opponent's (Obama's) tax plan: OBAMA'S TAX PLAN IS A BUILDING. Americans of every background (seniors, parents, small business owners, and everyone having even a modest investment in the market) would see their taxes rise.

Obama, in his turn, has worked with spatial metaphors in presenting the American society's issues, himself and his audience. In his speech delivered in Lansing, MI/ August 04, 2008 entitled New Energy for America, Obama draws on metaphorical spatialization of high priority issues. This helped him establish links to the audience.

4.Obama and Metaphorical Spatialization

The spatial structure of his speech is confined between facing difficult realities and meeting rosy prospects. The text is framed between two verbs: to face (problems) and to meet (the American dream). The American nation is in front of walls of hardships and they have to overcome it to meet an open area of welfare and comfort. The spatial metaphor structuring the speech is overcoming high economic hurdles and meeting a promising 21st century flat economy. The speech is framed within a spatial metaphorical system of facing hardships and aspiring to meet a bright future. Obama is represented to be the person who will make the ends meet.

4.1. The American Country

Obama opened his speech delivered in Lansing, MI, in August 4, 2008 and entitled "Remarks of Senator Barak Obama: New Energy for America" with a sentence containing the verbs to "meet" and to "face" which are two pervasive verbs throughout the text. If we consider Obama's utterance "We meet at a moment when this country is facing a set of challenges greater than any we've seen in generations," we touch a drawing on the conceptual metaphor CHALLENGES ARE CONCRETE OBSTACLES. From the very start, Obama introduced the critical space of the American country. This country is before an unpreceded set of hurdles and the primal one is terrorism "This is the central front in the war on terrorism." The second hurdle is the danger of the changing climate "Our changing climate is placing our planet in peril". Obama spatially instantiated the second danger in the linguistic metaphor: "Our changing climate is placing our planet in peril," and in the conceptual metaphor: DANGER IS THE CONTAINER OF THE CHANGING CLIMATE. Our planet is, herein, metaphorically placed in the middle of peril. PERIL IS THE CONTAINER OF OUR PLANET.

4.2. The American Families

Highly effective communication practices enable him to put the American families, who lost faith in the American Dream in a spatial image of striving. "Our families are struggling with rising costs and falling incomes" said Obama. In this speech, Obama roots himself firmly as a part of the "We" through the use of the adjective pronoun "our". Here, his family is included in the battlefield facing rising costs and falling incomes together with the other American families. The warriors whom the American families are struggling against are rising costs and falling incomes: RISING COSTS AND FALLING INCOMES ARE WARRIORS; THE AMERICAN FAMILIES ARE STRUGGLERS AGAINST RISING COSTS AND FALLING INCOMES, and Obama will be the savior who will take them out to victory.

4.3 Energy

Addiction to foreign oil is depicted by Obama as a threat which may dwell in the heart of the American identity: "And central to all of these major challenges is the question of what we will do about our addiction to foreign oil," "It's also a threat that goes to the very heart of who we are as a nation, and who we will be" said Obama. The American identity, then, is mapped on a human's body whose heart will be the harbour of the addiction to foreign oil: THE AMERICAN IDENTITY IS A BODY whose heart will be the harbour of the addiction to foreign oil. The importance of the issue of energy led Obama to build up a structure of spatial metaphors which defined possibilities for action and movement within those metaphorical spaces.

The public frustration caused by rising gas prices is spatially metaphorised as a facing barrier which must be overcome and this barrier cannot be dented by McCain's offshore program. Within the major spatial metaphor ECONOMY IS A JOURNEY there exist other descendant spatial metaphors characterising the difficulties and challenges confronting the travelers. For instance the conceptual metaphor HIGH GAS PRICES ARE A FENCE BEFORE THE AMERICANS cognitively represents current gas prices as a wall, but McCain cannot be the man who can lead his people beyond that obstacle by his plan of offshore drilling: "and in the face of public frustration over rising gas prices, the only energy proposal he's really promoting is more offshore drilling…that will not make a real dent in current gas

prices. Obama conceives of gas prices as a fence and McCain's program cannot make a dent through it to lead his people out to the area of cheap pumps.

Obama has created a spatial image in which he personified the aspired challenge of energy independence and spatialised the procedure to realise independence. As you see here the challenge of energy independence is waiting somewhere in a place of appointment and the best guide is the president who will lead his people to the land of meeting. The American people are promised a date of meeting energy independence. But the awaited question here is who is the reliable guide who knows more about the natural features of the journey to the land of appointment. Each candidate tries to expose his topographic plan to meet energy independence and voters will judge the reliability of each plan.

On the Other side, McCain's energy program, based on more offshore drilling, is bitterly criticised by Obama through another spatial conceptual metaphor which is JEOPERDY IS A CONTAINER. Obama said that the oil companies have placed their bet on Senator McCain and added that "if he wins, they will continue to cash and our economy suffers and our future is put in jeopardy." Obama has metaphorically represented the track leading to the aimed destination of energy independence. To ascribe the notion of a collective journey to the planned procedure of energy independence, he urged his people to think about the next four years, and even the next ten years and he added saying "We can continue down the path we've been traveling…investments in renewable energy…" Obama refers back again to the verb "face" by saying "We can decide that we will face the realities of the 21st century economy. We observe again that Obama's spatial play is between the two verbs "face" and "meet": "This is the choice that we face in the months ahead. This is the challenge we must meet. This is the opportunity we must seize - and this may be our last chance to seize it. "

Obama has made recourse to conceptual metaphors to represent the track leading to the aimed destination of energy independence. To ascribe the notion of a collective journey to the planned procedure of energy independence, he urged his people to think about the next four years, and even the next ten years and he added saying "We can continue down the path we've been traveling…investments in renewable energy…" Accordingly, Obama has suggested the American people following one well conducive path to enjoy a good economic journey; this path is investment in renewable energy: INVESTMENTS IN RENEWABLE ENERGY ARE A PATH IN THE JOURNEY OF ECONOMY.

Once again, Obama refers to the verb to "face" by saying "We can decide that we will <u>face</u> the realities of the 21st century economy. We observe once and again that Obama's metaphorical spatial play is between the two verbs "face" and "meet": "This is the choice that we <u>face</u> in the months ahead. This is the challenge we must <u>meet</u>. This is the opportunity we must seize - and this may be our last chance to seize it."   Obama has confined his audience in a space limited with the verb "to face" on the one side and the verb "to meet" on the other side. He wants to conceptually inform his audience that they are faced by dangerous obstacles and they have to overcome them and meet their ends on the dreamland, and this will come true if they elect him president: CURRENT ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE BARRIERS and BETTER ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE THE LAND OF MEETING.

4.4. Metaphorical Spatial Orientation of Economy

For Obama the orientation of challenge is bottom-up; it is either following steps or climbing out of a metaphorical ditch. To incite his people, Obama has referred his audience back to history playing again on the spatialisation of hardships; he addresses them saying: "think about how World War II forced us to transform a peacetime economy still climbing out

of depression into an Arsenal of Democracy that could wage war across three continents." He metaphorically conceives of the American economy as a climber out of depression: DEPRESSION IS A DEEP DITCH and THE AMERICAN ECONOMY IS A CLIMBER. Obama has, then, banked on the verb to meet to construct a metaphorical space of a promised land of meeting in the mind of his audience relying, interalia, on historical references such as president Roosevelt when his advisors informed him that his goals for wartime production were impossible **to meet**, he waved them off and said "believe me, the production people can do it if they really try. And they did." Obama concluded saying: "I ask you to draw hope from the improbable progress this nation has made and look to the future with confidence that we too can **meet** the great test of our time."

5. Conclusion

This research has described how metaphorical spatial thoughts are pervasive in the political discourse and how they go without being noticed. The work has demonstrated how conventional conceptual metaphors can concretely structure profound economic concepts needed to be introduced to a vital audience in a concise and comprehensive way with an efficient economical language. The wonderful capacity of compacting huge amount of abstract economic conceptions within concretized spatial containers is what exclusively characterizes metaphors. Spatial metaphors, as an instance, could be reliable to compactly contain broad mental and abstract concepts and instantiate them in a form of common and experienced spatial frames. Spatial metaphoric language needs much more careful attention, especially after the great work of the cognitive linguists on conceptual metaphors in general and the ideological associations of space metaphors as a descendant.

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Two Facets of Afro-Brazilian Neo-Traditionalism: New Yorubaness and African Islam[1]

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is a comparative description of different trajectories in the formation of neo-traditional communities within the frames of trans-oceanic societies with the example of the Afro-Brazilian population. It focuses on the development of new identities on the base of re-invention of ethnic and/or ethno-confessional "roots" in the New World before and after the abolition of slavery. The increased focus on Africa in the history and culture of the Afro-Latin communities led to the re-interpretation of a homogenized African ethnicity, as well as of various ethnic and/or pseudo-ethnic identities, modern yorubanness being one of the most persistent. Yorubanness implies a religious and cultural entity at a transcontinental scale combining a local ethnic base with the pan-African and trans-Atlantic dimensions. The "re-invention" of Afro-Brazilian Islam as another facet of Afro-Brazilian neo-traditionalism may be looked upon on its own and as a part of the Yoruba narrative.

Keywords: Afro-Brazilians, Yoruba, Islam, neo-traditional communities, Trans-oceanic societies.

The formation of neo-traditional communities has been a typical feature of many trans-oceanic societies. Such societies began to develop since the fifteenth century in the overseas colonies of the European states. Their economy and demography were connected with slave trade. Despite natural and violent assimilation, linguistic and cultural creolization, the centrifugal movements directed against cultural homogenization persisted. Social and legal inequality contributed to the development of neo-traditionalism as a form of protest, based on reinterpreted or re-invented ethnic or ethno-confessional origins of the slaves. A tendency to go back to the alleged roots (cf. the famous "Roots" of Alex Haley, with a fictional story of the writer's ancestry) grew stronger since the end of slavery and became particularly visible due to the development of the African-American and Afro-Latin movement in the New World. The increased focus on Africa in the history and culture of the Afro-Latin communities led to the re-invention of a homogenized African ethnicity.

Being "African" rather than Wolof, Fulbe or Zulu should not be seen as an entirely new phenomenon. Well before Leopold Senghor wrote about "Negritude", many people had been considered African, either because they were brought directly from the African shores or due to the fact that they could not explain where exactly they were born. One such example is that of Nicholas Said. He was born in Borno, near the Lake Chad, then enslaved and brought to the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Afterwards he went to Britain, Canada and the United States of America, where he joined one of the "color" regiments of the federal army in 1863 (Said 1873). In his military documents, Nicholas Said indicated his birthplace as "Africa" without any more specific details. When the slaves were baptized in Brazil, they were listed as Nago (Yoruba), Gege (Dahomeyans, Fon), Tapa (Nupe) and more rarely "Africans" or "Creoles". The ethno-cultural creolization went quickly, and by the end of the nineteenth century many black Brazilians could only be sure that their ancestors had come to America from Africa. The only indisputable exception was connected with religion. Some of the slaves were Muslims or frequented different houses of Candomblé.

Since the end of slavery there was a need to include the history of Africans in Brazil into the national historical narrative. With a few exceptions, the knowledge about the ancestry of the former slaves was then restricted to a list of pseudo-ethnic groups such as Gege, Ketu or Congo-Angola. This list became the cornerstone of ethno-confessional divisions within the Candomblé. The study of Afro-Brazilian history and culture was influenced by the contemporary European science and value system. It was in this context that the Afro-Brazilian religions were reinterpreted as polytheism, an intermediate link between "primitive pantheism and cults of ancestors" and monotheism (in its Christian Catholic version). The Yoruba worship of orishas was now seen as a standard polytheist religion. As a result, the Candomblé was reconstructed and became closer to the scholarly interpretation of the religions of Ancient Greece or Ancient Egypt. Until the mid-twentieth century, the Brazilian authorities and the press regularly condemned "the barbarous cult", but nowadays this criticism is mostly confined to the Protestant circles.

Among those who played an important role in the reinterpretation of Afro-Brazilian heritage, a special place belongs to Gilberto Freire (1900-1987), a famous Brazilian anthropologist, sociologist, historian and journalist. Freire advanced the concepts of racial democracy (democracia racial) and Luso-Tropicalism (lusotropicalismo). He stressed the role of the civilization mission of the Portuguese in Asia, Africa and America, the interaction of various peoples within the plantation society, primarily in his work "Casa-grande e Senzala", in English translation, "Masters and Slaves" (Freire 1986). In this and other books, Freire wrote

about the joint African-Portuguese colonization of Brazil. He also paid special attention to the Brazilian cuisine created on the basis of the European and African recipes and a unique combination of local and imported ingredients. In this way, a particular "Brazilian race" was created, according to Freire (on the influence and work of Freire see e.g. Bastos etc., 2008). This approach has been criticized by more recent researchers and political activists.

Under the influence of Christianity, the worship of ancestral spirits and forces of nature brought by the slaves from Africa to the New World became less pragmatic in its character. The growing elements of mysticism and magic were then converted into an element of national heritage and a spiritual value. Nowadays, the Afro-Brazilian cultural and historical heritage is usually understood in close connection with the mystical outlook which is typical of the syncretic cults (Candomblé, Umbanda, etc.). These cults have developed into a range of Afro-Brazilian religions. They have also become popular among Brazilians of the European origin, as some houses of Candomblé welcomed the outsiders who would be interested in their rituals. At the same time, a few houses opted for the Africanization of their tradition and pantheon, rejecting any elements of syncretism with Christianity (for more details see e.g. Tall 202, Capone 2010). Successful integration of various African traditions into Brazilian religious culture can also be regarded as a result of the policy of racial democracy. The need to accept the Afro-Brazilian religions as a component of national heritage does not always suit certain circles of the Brazilian society, e.g. in the rich Southern states where relatively recent immigration from Europe prevails.

Not all the African peoples were remembered in the process of Afro-Brazilian history re-invention. Among the real and imaginary groups which supplied slaves to Brazil, only few have been studied in detail and popularized by "their" houses of Candomblé. The leading position here belongs to the Yoruba. It is the spiritual heritage of the Yoruba people that is cherished in Brazil. The concept of Yorubaness, which historically referred only to the region of Oyo in today's Nigeria, spread over a much larger territory, involving a great number of peoples and languages in West Africa. Nowadays, being Yoruba implies a religious and cultural entity at a transcontinental scale, an ideology spreading under the plea of preserving the cultural heritage. The Yoruba language has become a symbol of the so-called Yoruba Atlantic complex uniting the Anglophones in Nigeria, Lusophones in Brasil, Francophones in Benin and Hispanophones in Cuba and Uruguay, together with a set of spiritual practices centered on the worship of the Orishas. Yoruba is thus a rare African language which has been taught and studied abroad far beyond the university language departments. Several textbooks of the Yoruba language have been published in Brazil (Almeida 2001, Omidire 2004, etc.).

The Yoruba culture and its multiple facets have become one of the most studied themes in the field of African studies. A great deal of research has been carried out by indigenous scholars, including those Nigerian historians and archaeologists of Yoruba origin who became main opponents of the "Negritude" generalization. "Yoruba", or 'Yorubaness", has grown into a scientific and ideological concept which attracting historians, ethnologists, demographers and specialists in culture and religion studies in Europe and America. To study Yoruba also means to study African religions and syncretic cults of African origin in America, especially the Afro-Brazilian tradition of Candomblé. At a closer sight, it becomes clear that Candomblé is not equal to the "Yoruba religion", even though the Yoruba houses have "eaten", using a local expressions, the tradition of the Gege and are now in the process of "eating" the Congo-Angolan cults of African origin. The latter seem more introvert and thus cannot compete with the reconstructed Yoruba Candomblé.

The visible prevalence of the Yoruba elements in modern Candomblé and in Afro-Brizilian culture as a whole cannot be explained in demographic terms. Historically, the Nago (Yoruba) did not represent a majority among the slaves with the exception of Bahia in the nineteenth century (see e.g. Lovejoy 1994). Therefore, all claims to the Yoruba substrate in Afro-Brazilian ethnic and confessional history lack substance. These claims hide another story, that of systematization and integration of various cults under the pressure of new Yorubaness. This pressure, in its turn, has grown out of voluntary cooperation between scholars and priestly elites in Africa, North and South America. The former have been fascinated by the prospective future of Yoruba studies, while the latter saw the advantages of the "restored" religious tradition. Besides common enthusiasm at the sight of the newly discovered pantheon, there was a certain element of profit-seeking as well. Since 1930s, the new Yorubaness has also attracted some Brazilian politicians who were eager to promote this concept within the framework of "racial democracy". Nowadays, the Yoruba names are common not only in the public spaces connected with Afro-Brazilian history and culture. These names also reflect new trends in sub-national patriotism, first of all in Bahia.

The success of new Yorubaness was not confined to Brazil. Driven by the model and sometimes common denominator of "Yoruba", various African-American and Afro-Latin religions (Haitian Voduism, Cuban Santeria, etc.) have attracted new adepts. All these religions have claimed a venerable African ancestry. The concept of "Yoruba" has also reached African-American intellectual elites in USA as well as a growing number of followers in Europe (Falola 2004, Omidire 2004, Olupona 2008, Hucks 2012). There are numerous websites dedicated to Ifa-Orisha cults, which are often called "Yoruba religion". The Internet resources contain a large amount of data on Yoruba ethnic history, the Yoruba language, annual divinations of the oracle from Ile-Ife (the sacred city of all Yoruba) and the Ife calendar.

Modern Yorubaness in Brazil and elsewhere could be treated as a religious tradition or an exotic subculture inspired by occultism and modern New Age movements, another attempt to overcome the spiritual vacuum compared to the earlier interest in Yoga, Shamanism or Wicca. One could suppose that after a random search of various new religious practices not yet experienced finally came the turn of African cults. However, these cults do not only lead their adepts to the African roots and ancestral homeland. It is important that transnational Yorubaness has a specific ethnic base in South Western Nigeria. This region of Nigeria is the home of the Ifa-Orisha cults, sending priests and receiving followers from the overseas "houses". Brazilian Bahia has become a "second Nigeria", another place where the adepts of Candomblé go searching for the most authentic rituals. The worship of the Orishas has thus developed into a large trans-Atlantic network which united West Africa, North and South America and Europe. Other African-American religions have followed, creating their own transnational communities. One example is that of modern Haitian Voduism, also known as Vodun or Voodoo. Thus religion has obtained recognition in Benin and Haiti. In North America and Europe, the Vodun deities are often identified with the Orishas. However, the attempts to reconstruct one more African pantheon have been limited by the already mentioned success of new "Yoruba religion" (Nicolau 2013, 2016).

Most Afro-Brazilian neo-traditionalists are quite tolerant and open to the adepts of other religions. At the same time, the spiritual leaders of modern Candomblé claim superiority of their religion as well as its great antiquity. Its origins are said to go back to the most ancient of African civilizations, that of Ile-Ife, and in more radical versions to that of the Ancient Egypt. In order to support the "genealogy" of Candomblé and Umbanda, the similarities between

Yoruba and Egyptian civilization have been popularized; oral tradition and archaeology have been widely used to this objective. The Yoruba spiritual heritage, and especially that of Bahia, has also found a literary representation in the novels of Jorge Amado as well as Umberto Eco's "Foucault's Pendulum", where Candomblé and Umbanda are described as a system of preservation and transmission of secret mystical knowledge. An excellent example of new Yorubaness may be found in de Almeida's "Moiyalé Amkhara" (de Almeida 2005). The main character of this novel is an Ethiopian prince- turned-slave in Bahia of the seventeenth century, then becoming the ambassador of Abyssinia in Spain It is characteristic that the first name of the prince is taken from the Yoruba language. For most readers in Brazil, Yoruba is the most known language of Africa, so it doesn't matter that it is not spoken in Ethiopia. For the Ethiopian Christians of the seventeenth century, the Yoruba pagan name of the prince would be absolutely inconceivable.

New Yorubaness as a facet of Afro-Brazilian neo-traditionalism is an interesting phenomenon, as it combines a local ethnic base with the pan-African and trans-Atlantic dimensions. The "Yoruba religion" has entered the sphere of New Age spiritual practices in Europe. However, "Blackness" and "Yoruba" are still strongly inter-related. In the "white" South of Brazil, both concepts remain foreign, dangerous and, in the best case, exotic.

The concept of "Yoruba" is not restricted to the worship of the Orishas. In Nigeria, there the "traditional" religion coexists with Christianity and Islam (Ryan 1977); the latter may be seen as another facet of Afro-Brazilian neo-traditionalism. Islam has been a minority religion in Latin America and the Caribbean for several centuries. If the hypothetical pre-Columbian presence of Muslim Arabs and West Africans is not taken into consideration, one can surely describe the arrival of Islam in the New World as a post-1492 phenomenon (Gomez 2005). The role of Muslims on the early stages of the Spanish and Portuguese conquista is again far from clear, even though this topic has become rather popular among Latin American Muslims of late. While the impossibility of overt adherence to Islam was evident in the colonies of the Catholic kings of Spain and Portugal, to speak about a Muslim majority among the slaves would be an exaggeration not confirmed by any historical evidence. However, some so called African "nations" (Mandinga, Hausa, Fula, Tapa, Bornu, as they were registered in the acts of baptism and in other official documents) were known as to be originally "Moor" ("Mahometan", "Turk") or at least influenced by Islam, as were e.g. the Nago (Yoruba) in Brazil. With a few exceptions, the representatives of all such "nations" were brought from West Africa. This means they were undoubtedly Sunni and Malikites. The mazhab of imam Malik was not the first form of Islam to penetrate into Bilad al-Sudan, but it was by large the strongest one, shaping the development of the Muslim umma in Western and Central Sudanic Africa during the whole period of Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

In 1835, the famous "Nago war", also known as the "rebellion of the Malês (Muslims)", in Bahia resulted in a large-scale persecution of Afro-Brazilian Muslim population (Reis 1993, 2003). Many of them were sent back to West Africa, where the "Brazilian" communities still exist nowadays. The criminalization of Arabic script contributed to the decline of local written tradition (Dobronravin 2014). Many documents written in this "subversive" script, including books and wooden boards used by local Muslims, were confiscated by the police and then burnt. Emigration to Africa, either forced or voluntary, resulted in a drastic reduction of the Muslim communities in Brazil. Afro-Brazilian Muslims still retained some of their rituals, such as the Islamic salutations, but the number of those who could read and write Arabic was now minimal. Most became practically monolingual, speaking Portuguese and a

little Yoruba. By the middle of the twentieth century, the old Afro-Brazilian Islam had completely disappeared.

Only at the turn of the twenty-first century did the country once see the numbers of Muslims growing rapidly. This new surge partly resulted from the African immigration. More and more Africans are now coming to study or teach in Brazilian universities, and quite a few are Muslims. Besides, various forms of trans-Atlantic communication have been re-established between Brazil and West Africa, especially with Nigeria. A Nigerian cultural centre was opened in Salvador. An Islamic centre (with a mosque) in the city is now attended by local Muslims regardless of their origin. The imam of the mosque came from Nigeria, thus renewing the Yoruba tradition of Islamic scholarship in Brazil. The 1835 uprising is now being studied in Brazilian schools and universities as part of the national history curriculum. This is especially visible in Bahia. The reinterpretation of the events that took place in 1835 has resulted in a certain "re-invention" of Afro-Brazilian Islam. The uprising has become one of the themes of the carnival in Salvador, there exists even a local rap, which praises the fight of the "Malês" and promotes the conversion of the Afro-Brazilians into Islam as a religion of struggle against injustice and inequality. Most participants of the 1835 rebellion were Nago (Yoruba), so their story is often seen as an element of the Yoruba narrative, not opposed to the worship of the Orishas. This tolerance, close to syncretism, does not significantly differ from that found in the ancestral homeland of the Yoruba people in Nigeria.

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Non-compliance with Fishery Regulations in Sakhalin Island: Contested Discourses of Illegal Fishery[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the practice of illegal fishery in Sakhalin Island as well as modes of its interpretations by different categories of fishermen. It is also discuss ways Sakhalin society is organized via illegal fishery within the context of informal economy and new changes in traditions of fishing morals. By analyzing the ethnography of poaching, its materiality and social regulative standards, subsistent significance and household economy, this paper demonstrates the totality of non-compliance with fishery regulations and its dominant role in everyday life of the islanders.

Keywords: noncompliant behavior, fishery regulations, neotraditionalism, indigenous people, informal economy, Sakhalin Island.

Introduction

The fieldwork in Smirnykhovskii and Noglikskii districts of the Sakhalin Island was conducted in July 2013 and September 2014. The empirical data was gathered in 2013 and 2014 due to financial support of Wild Salmon Center and supervised by Dr. Dmitry Laius. The main research methods were in-depth interviews with fishermen, representatives of administration and fishery officers and participant observation. The interviews included the representatives of the local indigenous fishermen from Nanai, Nivkh, Uillta, Orochen and Evenki groups.

The work in Smirnykhovskii region (*raion*) took place in Smirnykh, Pobedino, Orlovo, Buiukly and Pil'vo settlements. In the Noglikskii raion interviews were conducted in Nogliki, Val and Katangli. We paid a special attention to illegal fishery in the context of informal economy. One of the main purposes of our research was detailed description of each category of illegal fishermen and the reasons for noncompliant behavior in different category of fishermen. Totally in 2014 we interviewed 50 persons (25 in each district).

Poaching is often perceived in the official discourse as something that seriously damages local ecosystem. At the same time it can be connected with a 'sense of aesthetics, fairness, and identity' (Hampshire et al. 2004: 306). It is often discussed in the scientific literature as intersection point of different disciplines such as criminology, economy, economy, legal studies, and anthropology (Charles, Mazany & Cross 1999). Poaching is also interpreted as models of behaviour subordinated to various conditions that influence people's choices to follow or not to follow official rules (Sumalia, Alder & Keith 2006). As Gerkey (2011: 81) has shown in his research in Kamchatka, feelings of entitlement to fish among local fishermen, as well as the cultural norms and values that form fishing practices, may establish a very complex interpretations of the term 'poacher.'

The involvement into poaching emerged as a biographical fact for many informants. Many representatives of administration and fishing control authorities declared that they themselves previously were poachers. They admitted that this was especially the case of the 1990s when '*all local people were involved in illegal fishery*', because after the collapse of the Soviet system, the majority of population became unemployed. Many informants emphasized that 'there was no caviar before the breakup of the Soviet Union, we did not know it and did not see it'. In a similar way, in Kamchatka and other regions the organised criminal poaching appeared just after the collapse of the soviet system (Shevliakov 2013; Shevliakov et al. 2013).

For many people fishery remains the main food source and gives people an opportunity to increase income and survive. People in Smirnykh complained that local fish appears in local shops rather rarely. '*Fish is survival for us; we were forced to become poachers*' – an informant concluded.

The official unemployment rate is not very big in Smirnykhovskii region; however, according to the representatives of the local administration, there is a high rate of hidden unemployment. For instance, in September 2014 in Buiukly only 6 unemployed registered at employment agency. Most low income people earn additional money by selling fish.

There are yearly fluctuations in the quantity of fish in the region. According to local fishermen from Smirnykhovskii raion, the quantity of fish in 2014 was especially small compared to previous years. They admitted that there is always difference in quantity of fish; however, they do not remember such a bad year.

According to fishery officers from Smirnykh, in 2014 the decrease in noncompliant behavior took place. The rate of officially registered violations of the fishery law became very low. The officers said that by the 10th of September 2014 they registered only one criminal case in the current year. Comparatively, in 2013 they registered ten cases. A case becomes criminal if the penalty exceeds 10000 rubles that is around 200 US dollars.

Fishery officers classify violations into two categories: violations of nature conservation law and violations of fishery rules (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Poster in Fishery Police depicting illegal fishermen. Smirnykh, Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (photo made by V. Davydov).

Domestic poaching

Many informants emphasized that fishery officers usually do not consider as violations the cases when they use fishing rods. Local people's practices are oriented on 2 sectors of economy: they catch fish for own consumption and for commercial sale. Fishery officers often do not register the cases linked with fishing for own consumption. They call these cases domestic poaching (Rus. *bytovoe brakon'erstvo*). One family usually gets four sacks one hundred kilo each of fish per winter season, or better to say 'from fish to fish period'. For instance, an informant from Pobedino emphasized that sometimes he even catches Sakhalin taimen, but fishery officers do not pay attention to him because he uses a rod. At the same time fishery officers used to catch people who use nets and confiscate their fishing tools (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. Confiscated tools, Smirnykh, Sakhalin Island. September 2014. (photo made by V. Davydov).

We have observed that local people keep a lot of tools at their homes, sheds and garages. Most tools people use are self-made and produced from remains of old things. Fishery officers classify some of them as illegal and they are prohibited to use and can be confiscated. The main self-made fishing gears are:

- *koshki* (grapplers – rus.) or *iakor'* (anchor – rus.) which are produced from aluminum tube and 3-4 sharpened and declinate pieces of wire and a string (Fig. 3). The other names of these tools are *sekukha* and *troinik*. Fishery officers consider this tool to be illegal and usually confiscate it;
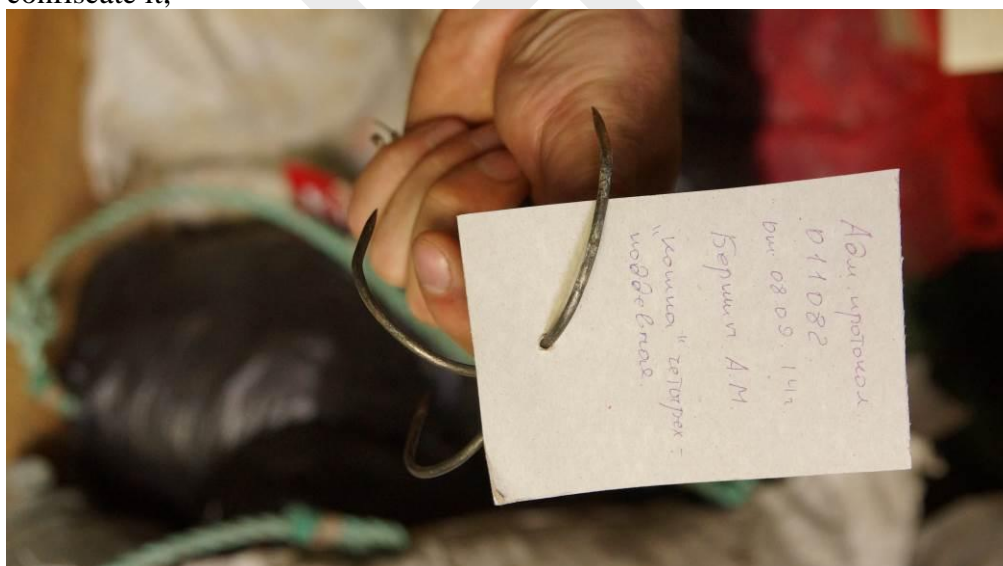

Fig. 3. Grapplers. Smirnykh, Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (photo made by V. Davydov).

- *kriuchok* (hook) – a tool made from iron wire which is usually attached to a wooden stick. This tool is illegal for fishing as well;
- *gruzilo* (sinker) is usually smelted from lead extracted from old accumulators (Fig. 4);

Figure 4. Sinker. Pobedino, Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (photo made by V. Davydov).

- *shumovka* – a tool used during winter fishery for cleaning an ice-hole from ice (Fig. 5);

Figure 5. A tool used during winter fishery for cleaning an ice-hole from ice. Pobedino, Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (photo made by V. Davydov).

- *zakidushka* – a self-made small winter fishing rod;
- *kolokol'chik* (bell) may be produced from old cans, rope and a screw (Fig. 6).

Figure 6. Fishing Bell. Pobedino, Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (photo made by V. Davydov).

According to informants from Orlovka, in 2014 the quantity of fish in the Poronai River significantly declined. They emphasized this happens every five years despite natural dynamics of pink salmon varies every even year. The decrease of fish quantity leaded to a conflict situation between officially recognized indigenous people and other dwellers became more poignant. Fishery officers called these indigenous quotas 'veiled poaching' (Rus. *zavualirovannoe brakon'erstvo*). Even though official quota for an indigenous person is 100 kg of fish per year, one may easily exceed it many times. Other local people who were born in Sakhalin consider that other people have special rights to fish for their needs as they were born in the island. At the same time there are only 2 Nanai families in Orlovo and the amount of such quotas is limited.

Fishery during the spawning period is oriented on black market. Local people sale fish at several illegal 'points' (Rus. *tochki*), functioning as distribution points. In many cases 'points' purchase mostly illegally produced caviar (Fig. 7). For instance, in autumn 2014 people mentioned 4 'points' in Pobedino and 10 'points' in Buiukly. It means, compared to the northern part of the raion, level of poaching would be much higher in the settlements located to the south from Smirnykh compared to the northern villages. The number of these points did not changed compared to 2013. Even though the quantity of fish decreased, the tendency of illegal dealers was to earn the same quantity of money: some dealers tried to secure their income by selling salted fish which costs more than fresh fish. Accordingly, poachers invested more time in fishery than in the previous years in order to secure the income from selling fish. Some poachers from Pobedino started to live in the forest in order to get more fish. Some people tried to save their income by picking up and selling berries as well as cutting trees and selling firewood.

Figure 7. Salmon caviar. Pobedino village. September 2014 (photo made by V. Simonova).

The informants emphasized, that they prefer to sell fish to these reliable 'points' because this is more secure than selling to unknown dealers from outside. Moreover, informants from Pobedino emphasized that in 2014 there were no dealers from outside and people used to sell fish to well-known 3-4 'points' who work in this illegal business for more than 10 years. Therefore, there is a relative stability in fish selling strategies. People said that the concurrence among these fish buying up 'points' has increased.

Estimation of amount of illegally harvested fish

The number of these points may help us to estimate an approximate number of fish poachers took out of a river. According to informants from Pobedino, each point purchases $1,5 - 2$ tons of caviar each spawning season. The rough calculating gives the approximate quantity of fish which is illegally taken from the river near Pobedino (Fig. 8). According to informants, who participated many times in poaching brigades, each female chum salmon gives approximately 80 grams of caviar. Informants admitted that the number of male chum salmon near Pobedino is triple amount compared to female fish. Several independently asked informants confirmed this numbers. Poachers often through male fish away. It means that each point becomes a reason for taking 18750-2500 female chum salmon that would be $56250 - 100000$ female chum salmon per year and the number would be at least 3 times bigger if we add male chum salmon. However, this numbers does not include the number of fishes used in private sector. People admitted that roughly one third of men in Pobedino are fishermen. The price for one liter of chum salmon was 700 rubles in September that means 7000-8000 for one bucket of fresh chum salmon caviar.

Figure 8. Salmon. Sakhalin Island. September 2014 (Photo made by V. Simonova).

According to informants, even though the quantity of fish in the river became much smaller, the total catch for own consumption did not suffer significantly. The quantity they take for own consumption remained almost the same. '*You will catch the same quantity for own consumption in any case'* – emphasized an informant from Pobedino. In Pobedino and Buiukly people catch fish both for own consumption and for sale on black market. They usually stock 1-2 barrels of salted fish (100-200 liters totally) and take 2 fishes per day to make a soup and fry. The local dealers purchase the rest. According to informants, dealers tried to attract more sellers by suggesting purchasing smaller amounts of caviar and fish. In 2013 they preferred to deal with large parties. In 2014 they purchased any amount of fish and caviar.

Thus the quantity of fish which local people use for own consumption remains almost the same from year to year and does not depend on the quantity of fish in the river. Illegal dealers try to secure their income by attracting more sellers. Poachers tried to secure their income through the intensification of fishing. Therefore this all means that in 2014 the percent of fish which is taken out of the river (in relation to the whole amount of fish) would be bigger than in previous years.

There is a difference in the quantity of illegal fishermen between the western and eastern coasts of the island. Pil'vo is rather remote from the center settlement and is located on the western coast. The distance between Pil'vo and Smirnykh is eighty six kilometers. Local authorities discussed the project of resettlement of local people to Smirnykh. Most people moved to other places themselves. According to local people only about thirty dwellers only stay in Pil'vo nowadays. Local people declared that the quantity of fish decreased in Pil'vo last years. They linked this with the growth of poaching in the 1990s.

The informants in all settlements said the main reason for the decrease fish was 'the desire of people to earn more money' and that 'people did not think about the possible consequences'. Informants in Pil'vo estimated that one poacher can easily extract 100 kg caviar per day. According to informants the peak of poaching in Pil'vo was in the 1990s. Later the quantity of fish became smaller and the level of poaching on the west coast gradually decreased. According to local people, poaching brigades in the 1990s usually consisted of 10 persons. People remember that the quantity of female fish was previously

bigger than males. Now they see more males. For the people who used to visit Pil'vo for short periods of time in order to fish and spend holidays, local people use the term '*otdykhaiushchie brakon'ery*' ('leisure time poachers'). However, they do not take large amount of fish as it was in poachers brigades in the 1990s when they took the quantity compared to taken by the legal fishery industry. All informants said that the degree of poaching would be much higher on the east coast rather than on the west coast of the Sakhalin Island. An informant from Orlovo which is closer to the eastern coast, confirmed that in good years poachers managed to extract up to 300 kg of caviar per person per day.

The other reason for fish decline which appeared almost in all interviews of local people was the officially permitted coastal fishery (Rus. *pribrezhnyi lov*). Fishery officers (Rus. *rybinspektsyia*) in Smirnykh share the same opinion. One of them concluded 'The level of poaching is relatively small compared to legal coastal fishery' and emphasized that 'people are restricted in the amount of fish; at the same time the representatives of the fish industry are not restricted'.

In the Noglikskii raion people also mentioned the problem of grinding dust (Rus. *shlam*) conservation which they connect with the gradual decrease of fish in the Tym' River. People assume that there much illegal storages for grinding dust exist in the region. One of the informants, employed in the Rosneft' company emphasized that grinding dust is storage near Tymovsk and pollutes the water of the Tym' River.

Social niches of informal fish economies

In order to understand the correspondence between human activity and bio-resources' dynamics here fish in North-Eastern Sakhalin, we need to invest a great portion of attention to ways informal fish economy is socially determined and how local specific features of that determinism intersect with fishing activity as a strategy of survival and as a result unavoidably interferes into fish life and intricacies.

Local visions of poaching as not a process but as an organized society linked directly to the market economy demands and trends are placing different categories of poachers to a particular niche. Every niche is under a control of another one and every poacher belonging to a particular niche has his relations with water places and fish. As a result, this niche is a product of networking between economic process, social groups and consensus between social groups which are allowed to engage with informal fish business in Sakhalin. Moreover, the amount of fish taken out of the sea is directly related to this consensus. Thus it is needed to unpack the meaning of social niches and all the above stated processes.

Entrepreneurs
Entrepreneurs are well organized groups which try to employ every possibility to maximize their income and minimize their risks. They are active part of informal market and mainly their leaders introduce and regulate standards in fish and caviar prices as well as modes of rules and morals of fishing business. Entrepreneurs trace fish migration and will follow fish in different parts of the island. They, typically, do not stay at one place if the amount of fish diminishes. Entrepreneurs can be migrants from another parts of the Island, Siberia, and even western parts of Russia and abroad. For instance, one brigade was from the South Korea. They constitute the core of poaching norms and affect local trends.

Small undertakers

Almost entire male (could be female also) population belongs to this social niche. They earn around 5000 rubles that are equal to 110 US dollars a day and their income for a fishing season typically does not exceed the amount of 100 thousands rubles or 2200 US dollars. Small undertakers are not allowed to earn more per season that is pre-conditioned by informal and strict consensus. As we were explained 'if someone earns more, that means he takes more fish and you see, the market is in danger of over saturation. Bigger entrepreneurs are very sensitive to this escalation. Of course, every man might fish more than he usually does; however, due to this rule, he is obliged to take as much as he can earn in order not to disturb the market and not to evoke suspicion of business people'. Earning less does not cause any problem. It is strictly prohibited for the poachers constituting this niche to sell fish less than 160 rubles or approximately 3 US dollars per kilogram. The price of the caviar in 2014 was 1500-2000 rubles that is around 35-40 US dollars in shops. The established price for local customers is little less 1300 rubles, around 30 US dollars and the price for buyer-ups engaged to a networking and consensus is 700 rubles that is little less than 15 US dollars. The general market price of the fish is 300 rubles which is about 6 US dollars per item. Thus if a poacher sells to his private clients pink salmon for a price which is established for local buyer-ups, he will most likely face a problem.

In a reverse flow, those who buy fish have to know the price very well and if a violation of the rule takes place a penalty will inescapably pass onto a violator's head. Thus typical punishment for this sort of informal regulations abuse is spoiling a boat motor by pouring sand directly into engine or deliberate arson a fishing house (Rus. *budka*).

Small entrepreneurs usually sell fish to their own networks (*svoi liudi*) and do not spend time and efforts to spread their network of clients since they are anyway limited by informal consensus of income appropriate for their social niche. Apart from informal fishing activity, small undertakers are employed as unskilled laborers (Rus. *shabashki*) during a fishing spawning season.

Small undertakers never persuade fish migration but stay with what emerges at their locality. For example, the year of 2014 was regarded to be far from being rich in fish. However, richness of the year appeared to be locally and contextually dependent. In Smyrnykh raion people complained about lack of fish and mentioned in particular that the year was the worst they ever encountered. However in Nogliki settlement people think that the year is not very poor but more or less ordinary due to fish migration went to the North and therefore local fishermen are quite happy with their catch. Small undertakers usually fish where they live and do not follow fish in different places of the island: "for our needs and income nature always have fish even though a year is counted as a bad one". Furthermore, they follow certain ethical principles of place use and will never, for example, take the fish out of nets belonging to other people.

'Fish is our bread': Indigenous communities and individuals

Indigenous groups of Sakhalin Island who are Nanai, Nivkhs (Giliaks), Uilta (Oroks), and Evenki enjoy having special quotas for fish (Fig. 9, 10). People belonging to these groups have to register annually in order to obtain or renew fishing licenses which starting from 2002 had allowed fishing salmon for an individual consumption of 100 kilograms per person (Missonova 2009: 78). All representatives of indigenous groups in Sakhalin perceive the official fishing norms understated (Ibid.: 79). In many cases indigenous fishermen do not

possess their own boats and nets as well as other fishing equipment and have to cooperate with newcomers who often take greater amounts of fish (Ibid.).

According to Wilson, who did her fieldwork in North-East Sakhalin in the 1990s, despite the increased influence and presence of law, 'local people continue to be governed by their moral norms than by formal legislation' and they 'are not considered to be poaching if they catch one or two salmon for the dinner table' (Wilson 2002: 149, 161) and we can employ this statement to describe the present situation as well. Similarly, the research of M. Nakhshina (2012a; 2012b) among the fishermen from the Kola Peninsula has demonstrated that informal moral economy of fishing exists parallel to state legislation.

At the same time members of local communities can consider fish as a valued species with its own world, behaviour, character and motivation (Muth & Bowe 1998). Therefore, fishery produces cultural value and embodies practices, and social relations that help to express and maintain community obligations and cultural identities (Gerkey 2011: 78).

Figure 9. Nanai women in Orlovka. Pobedino, Sakhalin Island, September 2014 (photo made by V. Simonova).

Figure 10. Orochen fisherman, Val, Sakhalin Island, September 2014 (photo made by V. Simonova).

During this expedition we found one more features of distinctiveness of this category of fishermen of Sakhalin Island. They are very sensitive to the quality of fish. Indigenous fishermen observe the way fish look and tastes and keep their observations in family memory. Thus in Venskoe village we were told that that year fish was unbelievably colorful. However, people was expected their habitual silver fish. '*This fish is alien, not ours, we are waiting for ours! This one is probably artificial or it rambled somewhere and reached us…chum salmon is black in the south. Colorful fish is bigger than silver one; it stayed somewhere for a time and not so many pink salmon*'.

They are sensitive to their elaborated mode of behavior in fishing and possess some 'secret' local knowledge about fish reactions to people. For example, they know that fish reacts on the flavor of a shaving cream and therefore they do not shave before fishing. Also fish does not like the smell of plastic which is typical for new nets and therefore, they keep nets in water before putting them into the business. Cleaning powders distract fish as well and indigenous fishermen are very careful about their mimetic tactics which similarly to sympathetic magic work for the prosperity of their survival: '*like begets like, and people are surprised why you caught a lot and they did not*'.

Moreover, they respect taimen (Nivkh. *khoi, goi, khoiso*) in a special way similarly to what we discussed in the paper draft. However, this year we gathered more narratives related to taimen. Thus, Nivkhs call taimen 'ghost fish' (*ryba prizrak*). Furthermore, they respect taimen in legends. Thus Lidia, an aged Nivkhi woman, told a story that happened in the past (late Soviet times). According to the story, a Nivkhi man, her father in law caught taimen and

did not kill the fish by the way as it is normally regulated by Nivkhi cultural norm: cutting head off. The man however, cut the fish in the middle. In three days he felt a pain in his back. His grandfather asked him how he dealt with taimen and once he knew about the violation of a traditional norm, he warned his grandson to be prepared to something bad and in several days the poor fisherman got a humpback. Thus people are very accurate with taimen and do not cut it more than one centimeter after its head.

Taimen is a water bear and must be treated and respected accordingly. Taken into consideration the traditional cult of bear worshiping relevant for Nivkhs' society, taimen is a very special fish for them if they do such a comparison. Earlier, their ancestors took its chew and kept it as they believed that the taimen jaw attracts others of the same kind. The average size of taimen is 3-4 kilograms.

Their relations with animals are also differentiating in comparison to other categories of fishermen. Hence they accept the rights of other animals for fish. For example, bears, foxes, sables, seagulls and some other birds. According to local fishermen, animals catch a lot and hence they also are very influential in fish population.

Some bears are regarded to be poachers. They trace human fishing nets and take fish out of it: '*They behave like poachers. They sneezes the fish in our nets and they pull it out and eat fish heads and leave the rest to rot like poachers do. Once I saw a bear, dogs felt it. The bear was near my nets sneezing. It sneezed no fish and moved forward to another net and it did it next day too. When pink salmon goes, bears are always around our nets, they do not like another type of fish*'. Bears thus violate human poaching ethics since poachers never take the nets of the others.

Conclusion

Indigenous fishermen and small undertakers might intersect and both are foremost interested in fish as a resource of household supply (some of our indigenous informants rejected selling fish). They earn a limited income that is dependent on highly elaborated standards and morals introduced by more powerful and organized groups and networks.

Entrepreneurs constitute an active part of market regulations and poaching. They are responsible for the biggest part of illegally taken fish. They are dependent on fish migration and are very mobile. Rich-poor-year rhetoric is the space of their discourse.

Small undertakers as well as indigenous undertakers are conservative and stable in fishing and modes of their relations with the latter. They do not follow fish and stay at one location that is namely the location where they live regularly. They have delicate and sensitive relationships with the environment, for example, an informant stated: '*We fish by hooks and therefore see what we get; we get only females, so it is less damaging for entire population*'. The rhetoric of 'household fish basket' is foremost for them.

The last 'group of poachers' is symbolic but should be also considered: animals. The amount of total fish taken out of waters is also dependent on the data on animals' consumption and behaviour toward humans.

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Concept *TÖrÖ* as Supreme Law of the Universe
In The Political Culture of the Mingols in Xvii Centure[1]

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Abstract

This article deals with the polysemantics of the term resulting from syncretic medieval minding. The manuscripts of the XVII century could not but reflect the process of conceptual development in the linguistic means of the Mongolian language in the field of political culture. On the one hand the former meanings of the terms were kept and on the other hand the old terms were given new sense. The texts of XVII centuries contain the data, which give evidence for concrete profane meanings of the term törö. Most often the term törö contains a desacralized sense and means "power" that is an object, which the rulers manipulate with. In this paper, I would like to pay attention to other meaning of törö – namely that, which implies the Supreme Law of the Universe in the political culture of medieval Mongols. The main function of törö – harmonizing of space and society (to live in peace, to enjoy happiness) allows interpreting it as Supreme sacral law or the Law of the Universe, which is conducted by a ruler.

Keywords: profane and sacral meanings of the term törö, Mongolia, the Supreme Law of the Universe, traditional political culture.

Concept *törö* is one of the basic ideas in the political culture of the period under review. Despite of big interest on the side of researchers, they haven't yet come to common terms how to interpret the concept *törö* in the early works written by Mongolian authors. Complexity in solving the problem consists in polysemantics of the term resulting from syncretic medieval minding. Moreover, this complexity is becoming ever more evident as for the present day researcher the term contains all the connotations that have been by now formed about the state as a regulative apparatus, which is separated from a ruler. For example C. Bawden while translating *Altan tobci* understands the term *törö* as 'rule' [AT 1955: 142-145, etc.] or 'government' [ibid.: 113, 154, etc.].

I think that in XVII century the term had often the meanings that were different from those used in the present-day translations into European languages. The manuscripts of the XVII century could not but reflect the process of conceptual development in the linguistic means of the Mongolian language in the field of political culture. Thus on the one hand the former meanings of the terms were kept and on the other hand the old terms were given new sense.

That's true that the texts of XVII centuries contain the data, which give evidence for concrete profane meanings of the term *törö*. Most often the term törö contains a desacralized sense and means "power" that is an object, which the rulers manipulate with. Power can **be lost** "qaγan törö-ben aldaqu" [ET 1990: 91], "qas törö-ben aldaγsan ajuu" [ibid.: 97], "yeke törö-ben aldabai" [ibid.: 97]. As a rule, power is lost in a case when **it is seized** by another: "törö-yi inu abcu ..erke-dür-iyen oroγuluγad" [ibid.: 68], "törö-yi abubai" [ibid.: 146], "Mongγol-un qaγan-u törö-yi abuγad" [ibid.: 183], "tayisi-yin törö-yi abuγad" [ibid.: 182], "Kitad-un qaγan-u törö-yi abubai" [ibid.: 185], "qaγan-u törö-yi anu abubai" [ibid.: 188], "Mongγol-un törö-yi abuγsan" [ibid.: 116]). Having got power, the ruler **holds** it (rules): "ekilen törö-yi bariju: …qaγan-u törö-yi barin" [ibid.: 88]; as well as Kulug-khagan who "qaγan-u törö-yi barin" [ibid.: 89]; "Mongγol-un arban tabun qad törö-yi barijuqui" [ibid.: 97]; "ulus-un törö-yi bariγad" [ibid.: 186]; "qaγan-u törö-yi baribai/bariγad" [ibid.: 188, 190]. Existence of commonality directly depends on power (*törö*), which is in all cases attributed to the supreme ruler (his/own) and is called the great, i.e. connected with the whole community.

The term törö is often used together with the verbs that mean *creation*: "**to establish, found, form, organize** (bayiulqu, toγtaγaqu); "**to do**" (bolγaqu): "yeke ulus-un törö-yi ci toγtaγaluγai: edüge ci qaγan saγu" [ibid.: 117], "narbai yeke ulus-un törö-yi esen tayibing bolγaγad" [ibid.: 133], "tübsin-e bayiγuluγsan törö cinu: duralan jokiyaγsan jasa cinu …ariγun toγtaγsan törö cinu" [ibid.: 81], "qas yeke törö-yi esen tayibing bolγabai" [ibid.: 189], "boγdas-un törö-yi asuru tübsidken bayiγulju? [ibid.: 189]. In the given examples two meanings of *törö* are not divided precisely: law and power, which are established and ordered. Törö could definitely mean law when it is adjoined with a synonym *jasay*: "jasaγ törö-yi qatangγadqan yekede qayiralabai" [ibid.: 171], "narmai ulus-un törö-yi jasaqui" [ibid.: 73]. Sometimes a pair term comes across: "törö jasaγ-i yabuulqui-dur" [ibid.: 82], "qas yeke törö jasaγ" [ibid.: 60], "jasaγ törö" [ibid.: 171], "törö jasaγ" [ibid.: 82]. Sometimes the term *törö* is replaced with the term *jasaγ* – "qoyar jasaγ" [ibid.: 88], which corresponds to *qoyar törö* and allows to speak with full confidence that one of meanings of the term *törö* in the text is law. We can assume that in the given cases a word-combination *törö jasaγ* represents a pair word and not homogeneous sentence parts because there is no copulative conjunction *and* (qoyar). *Yosun* can also be a synonym of *törö*: "qoyar yosun …sajin törö" [ibid.: 90].

Törö can **be destroyed**: "tayibing boluγsan qas yeke törö-yi yakin ebdemüi" [ibid.: 132], "qas erdeni metü törö cinu samaγuram j-e" [ibid.: 81], "bütügsen törö-yi bürelgegsen" [ibid.: 118], this bringing to disintegration of the community. Therefore it is necessary to store and protect *törö*: "Dotoγadu qas yeke törö-yi minu qadaγalan" [ibid.: 75], "bürin törö-yi anu qasilcaju" [ibid.: 73], "edüge qaγan-u törö-yi qasiγci: …bi yeke törö-yi cinu qasisuγai" [ibid.: 133]).

All these examples show a significant anthropomorphization of political power, when there is no precise border between a ruler and his possession: *törö* is ascribed both to the ruler (qaγan, qad/qan, tayisi) and commonality (Mongol, ulus). As we could see, *törö* in the texts is positioned as something (power, law) connected with the ruler and defining his power and stability of his rule. Törö does not term an object, which is independent from a ruler or commonality headed by him (törö of ulus).

In this paper, I would like to pay attention to other meaning of törö – namely that, which implies the Supreme Law of the Universe in the political culture of medieval Mongols. This aspect has not yet become an object of researches on Mongolian history and culture.

Törü in the Secret History of the Mongols

In the available sources, the term was first used in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (further: SHM). In different contexts, researchers propose various interpretations of the term. As all the translations can not be given in the paper, I will refer to some interpretations only, which were given by those who researched the text of SHM. Hereon I quote all the cases when the term was used in SHM together with the Mongolian text as the translation needs commenting:

1) [Qorči said,] 'What kind of happiness is it for me, the man who *fore*told so many great affairs, *merely* to become the leader of thousand?' [Rachewiltz 2004: 48 § 121] (ele edü *törö-yi ji'aqsan* gü'ün-ni nimayi tümen-ü noyan bolu'asu ya'un jirgalang bui [Rachewiltz 1972: 51]). I. de Rachewiltz's descriptive translation of the term *törö* as 'many great affairs' has unfortunately an obscurant meaning while the question is that Qorči predicted Temüjin's eminence at the first enthronization of 1189 being among the first of those who joined him. "Then Qorči Old Üsün (Qorči Üsün-ebügen. – *Author*) and Kökö Čos of Ba'arin together with their Menen Ba'arin *followers* also came as one camp. When Qorči came he said: "…then a hornless and fallow ox lifted up the great shaft under the tent, harnessed it on to himself and pulled it after him. As he proceeded following Temüjin on the wide road, he kept bellowing, 'Together Heaven and Earth have agreed: Temüjin shall be lord of the people (ulus-un ejen. – *author*)!' and 'I am drawing near carrying *the people* and bringing it to him'. These *heavenly* signs appeared before my eyes (ja'arit nidün-tür üje'ü[l]jü nadur ji'amui [Rachewiltz 1972: 50]) [Rachewiltz 2004: 47-48 § 120-121][2].

Prediction (ja'arit) in this fragment is shown through the image of a bull – a heavenly animal that brought a message about supreme deities' will – together Heaven and Earth. I think, this testifies to connection between *törö* and Heaven: Qorči names himself a person "who *indicated the Supreme law*" (törö) to Chinggis-khan, i.e. handed the predestination of the Universe law or Supreme law[3]. This is confirmed in the following passage of SHM.

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[2] F.W. Cleaves was probably closer to the Mongolian text when translated like this: "[Qorči] said, 'Even if I, a man which hath [fore]told [unto thee] many principles, become a captain of ten thousand, what happiness will [that] be?'" [Cleaves 1982: 53]. E. Haenisch proposed the following meanings of the term *törö* for the given context: "so viel wichtige Zusammenhänge (Mittel)" [Haenisch 1962: 151].

[3] We know that in the Uigur religious texts the term törö conveys the idea of dharma as a universal law. It seems necessary to say in brief about this archetype of traditional consciousness.

Notions about the universal law in the Indian Buddhism resulted from the previous development of this idea. At first in the Vedic Brahmanism a special role was given to Varuna as "an embodiment of the world order (rta) or truth… He is the keeper of supreme law and a guarantee of law-conformity in the world" [Toporov 1980a: 217]. This was because rta is a universal principle, which defines the status of Vedic Universe and is equally applicable to gods and people, physical and spiritual matters. The doctrine about rta anticipated later concepts of Karma and Dharma" [Toporov 1980b: 223]. Subsequently "the place of Varuna – The Almighty of the world order – was occupied by Brahma who

2) "In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a senior ranking personage to become a *beki*"[4] [Rachewiltz 2004: 148, § 216]. (mongqol-un *törö* noyan mör beki bolqui *yosun aju'ui*) [Rachewiltz 1972: 125]. At the first sight, *törö* and *yosun* are the synonyms; this (tradition и custom) found its place in the I. de Rachewiltz's translation also. In Mongolian political culture, 'beki' is not only the head of a certain community but also, alike in the given case, the performer of ritual functions. And I propose the following translation of the fragment: "There is a law/custom (*yosun*): *according to the Mongols' Universal Law* (*törö*), the way of a noyon is to become a   'beki'. Further the text explicitly points at the sacral function of Qorči-Usun in the Mongol Ulus: The "You are descendant of Elderst Brother the Ba'arin. As to the rank of a *beki*, you Old Usun, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a *beki*. When one has been raised to the *rank of beki*, / He shall wear a white dress / And ride a white gelding; / He shall sit on a *high* seat (sa'uri) / And be waited upon. Furthemore, early and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*" [Rachewiltz 2004: 148, § 216].

I. de Rachewiltz proposes to translate the verb *sata-* as "to discuss; to consult (with), deliberate" [Rachewiltz 2004: 777]. According to his interpretation, the expression hon sara sataju[5] means lit. "Year*ly* and month*ly* discussing" [Rachewiltz 2004: 808]. But simultaneously he writes about interchangeability of t ~ d and recognizes that the proposed by other researches interpretation of the verb as sada is also possible. - "to bestow alms, present offerings" [Rachewiltz 2004: 777], which I regard to be semantically more adequate to the common context of the fragment. Thus the expression "hon sara sataju (sadaju) / hon-tur sara-tur sataju (sadaju)" should be translated as "to bestow alms, present offerings [in the certain days] of a year and month", which points at Qorči Üsün-ebügen's ritual function. The question can be about calendar rites performed on certain days of month or year by the heads of clans. This text shows the high sacral status of the senior of a conic clan because, first, his position is defined by the supreme law of Universe, secondly, white clothes and a white horse absolutely definitely points at his ritual function, and thirdly, he is seated on a honorable high place. And what finally confirms the actuality of the conic clan is its designation as *ebügen* – an old man, i.e. an ancestor. Sacral function – a performance of socially significant rituals of the community – was assigned to him as a senior in the clan of sacred ancestor Bodonchar.

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established the Dharma - the sacred law, religious rituals and traditions and estate division – … and became the personification of the supreme objective origin – the Brahman" [Erman 1980: 535].
Despite indisputable authority of brahmans, even in the Vedic period "though superiority of priests was commonly emphasized, still there were mentions that kshatrias are higher then brahmans…. raja could be named as " the best among the equal", "the best among the own people" [Bongard-Levin, Il'in 1985: 168]. Such words are accribed to the Buddha: "And as the kshatria varna is now the highest, I will be born again as a representative of this varna" [ibid.: 217]. The ideas existed that the king was also drawn to Dharma: "The king headed management personnel; god Varuna made him "the lord of Dharma" (dharmaraja – T.S.), the defender of justice and order" [ibid.: 156]. The Ashoka's edicts, which contain mainly not the Buddhist principles but principles of Dharma and ways of its spreading, allow to understand the meaning of the term: "This is a rule – managing by means of Dharma, bringing of happiness by means of Dharma, and protection [of the empire] by means of Dharma" – the first big column edict says [ibid.: 242].

[4] F.W. Cleaves supports the meaning of the term *törö* that he proposed earlier – the principles: "[After] the principles of the Mongol, [as to] the way of chief, there is a custom whereby one may become a *beki*" [Cleaves 1965: 157].

[5] I. de Rachewiltz translates the same expression in § 204: "'Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you' (hon-tur sara-tur sataju), i.e. 'I shall consult with you (*or* seek advice from you) at all times'" [Rachewiltz 2004: 777].

3) «I present to Jürčedei in deference to the great principle *whereby services are duty rewarded*… He united the people who had scattered. I have given you (one of Chinggis-khan's wife named Ibaqa. – *Author*) to him being mindful of the principle *of rewarding these* services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle *regarding* services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words»[6] [Rachewiltz 2004: 141 § 208] «cimayi jürcedei-ye soyurqarun *yeke törö setkijü*... qaqacaqsan ulus qamtutqaqsan-u butaraqsan ulus bügütgeldüksen tusas-u inu *törö setkijü* cimayi ökba mono qoyina minu uruq bidan-u oro sa'uju ene metü tusa kiksen *törö setkijü* minu üge busi ülü bolqan» [Rachewiltz 1972: 119–120].

One could think, alike the researchers do, that the question is about necessity to remember what contribution Jürčedei made to uniting of peoples under aegis of Chinggis-khan and what reward he deserves. Here S.A. Kozin translates the term *törö* as "law of duty", "great duty of gratitude" [Kozin 1941:161]. But let us pay attention to description of Jürčedei's actions as possessing cosmogonic sense/direction: "You (Jürčedei. – *author*) shot an učumaq arrow into one of Senggüm'a bright red cheeks. Because of this, 'the door was opened and the reins were loosened' for me by Eternal Heaven. …That was indeed Jürčedei's greatest and most important service" [Rachewiltz 2004: 139-140, § 208].

In my opinion, this paragraph confirms my interpretation of the term *törö* as Supreme or universal law (Supreme Law of the Universe). First, *törö* it is mentioned as *yeke törö*, second, its civilization function is marked (thanks to it all the dissipated peoples were united) that is peculiar to the sacral centre. Jürčedei always remember the universal law of the Universe, and this helps him in his activity on uniting the dissipated peoples. *Törö* is positioned as "what brings (literally: makes) the help" (tusa kiksen *törö*). Connection between *yeke törö* with Heaven is marked[7] "Jürčedei being mindful of *törö* shot an arrow into one of Senggüm'a bright red cheeks. Because of this, the door was opened to Eternal Heaven (möngke tenggeri) for Chinggis-khan". The Mongolian text does not mention "the reins were loosened [I. de Rachewiltz] or "the reins were opened". S.A. Kozin's translation seems to be the most exact: "That is why the Eternal Heaven opened the doors and way to us" [Kozin 1941: 161] ("möngke tenggeri-de e'üden jilo'a negeldeba-je"o). Thus *yeke törö setkijü* should be translated as "*I think of the Supreme law*".

4) The plot that deals with Naya'a seems to be an indicative one. He said: "We laid hands on our rightful lord (tus qan) Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were coming *here*, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our service to Činggis Qa'an" [Rachewiltz 2004: 151, § 220]. Chinggis-khan answered: "Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful lord was the fact that *he had been mindful of the great principle*. …Now, Naya'a will be on charge of the ten thousand of the centre" [Rachewiltz 2004: 151, § 220][8] (tende tus qan-iyan tebcin yadaqsan yosu *yeke törö-yi setkijü'üi* [Rachewiltz 1972: 127]).

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[6] F.W. Cleaves: "I present unto Jürčedei …being mindful of the great principle… I have given thee [unto him], being mindful of the principle [of recompence] of his services whereby [46v] Jürčedei …united [for Us] the people which had separated themselves [from Us]; gathered the people which had dispersed themselves. Long [here]after, when my seed shall sit on Our [47r] throne, being mindful of the principle [of recompense unto him who] did service like this, not violating my words" [Cleaves 1965: 149-150]. E. Haenisch translated the expression "tusas-u inu *törö setkijü*" as "der Norm der Wohltaten (der Dankespflicht) eingedenk sein" [Haenisch 1962: 151].

[7] Explicitly this is expressed in the ritual texts – see below.

[8] F.W. Cleaves: "[As to] the reason for which he hath not be able to forsake his proper qan, [it is that] he hath been mindful of the great principle" [Cleaves 1965: 161]. E. Haenisch выражение *yeke törö* интерпретировал как "höchstes Recht, höchste Tugend" [Haenisch 1962: 151].

This phrase in the Mongolian text expresses the basic idea of the Mongolian political culture, according to which the khan is a conductor of Supreme Law of the Universe (yeke törö); Supreme Law is been realized through him. Any negative actions against the khan destroy harmony in the nature and socium: in the given case, capture of khan Tarqutai Kiriltuq does not correspond to Supreme Sacral Law. Thus the Mongolian expression should be translated as "The custom, which does not permit to destroy the khan [assumes that a person] thinks about Supreme Law".

5) My interpretation of the term *törö* is proved correct with Van-khan's words also: "kö'ün-ece'en qaqacaqu-ju *törö-dece qaqacaba*" [Rachewiltz 1972: 90], which I. de Rachewiltz translated as "To abandon my son? So I did, and thereby I abandoned the norm"[9] [Rachewiltz 2004: 643, § 178]. Though SHM doesn't express an idea about Chingis-khan's function as an executor of törö explicitly, the above sentence gives the fullest idea that the ruler realizes Supreme Sacral Law. According to norms of traditional political culture, the relations of Van-khan and Chinggis-khan were marked by consanguinity terms 'father – son', which underlined the lower status of the latter in social hierarchy in 1202 during the conflict between Chinggis-khan and Van-khan with Jamuha. Simultaneously, recognition of his being chosen by Heaven and, accordingly, his connection with Heaven and Supreme Sacral Law defined the character of attitude to Chinggis-khan. When the estimation is ascribed to Van-khan that his separation from Chinggis-khan was a non-observance of *törö*, this retrospectively points at Chingis-khan's functions of the world-wide monarch – executor of Supreme Sacral Law.

6) [Ugedei said:] «Because to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful lord, my father the Qan, was a fault and mistake. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? Therefore, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle *of loyality* in the service of my father the Qa'an and in the service of all [Rachewiltz 2004: 218, § 281][10] (qan ecige-yin minu tus-u'an emüne ölümlegü doqolqu-yi kegesülegü buru'u alji'as edö'e minu emüne ken teyin ölümlejü ökgü qahan ecige-yin minu burin-ü emüne dörö[11] kiciyegü gü'ün-i ülü öysüledüksen-iyen ö'er-iyen buru'usiyeba [Rachewiltz 1972: 173-174]). This is a question of Doqolqu-cherbi who as early as in 1189 received from Chinggis-khan a post of the quiverbearers and thereby following the Universe supreme law,

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[9] "Shall I separate myself from my son? …I have separated myself from the principle" [Cleaves 1965: 106]. "I have not only separated from my son [Chinggis], I have separated myself from the principle (törü)" [Humphrey, Hürelbaatar 2005: 35].

[10] E. Haenisch proposes the following meaning of "dörö kiciyegü" – "sich um d. Recht bemühen, s. Pflicht tun" [Haenisch 1965: 37]. "Another of my wrongs was secretly to harm Doqolqu. Why was it wrong? Because he had striven fiercely in the service of his rightful ruler, my father the *qan*, and to harm him was a fault. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? Therefore, I acknowledge the fault in having secretly injured a person who diligently adhered to principle (törü) in the service of my father and of all [Mongols] and of failing to appreciate him" [Humphrey, Hürelbaatar 2005: 31]

[11] This spelling is conformable to spelling of sacral spear (dōro jida), Chinggis-khan's attribute (= analogue of arbor mundi) that is preserved together with other sacral attributes. "The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels arranged beneath them" [Rachewiltz 2004: 210]) ("kebte'ül tuq ke'ürge dōro jida ayaqa saba asaratuqai" [Rachewiltz 1972: 168]). The personal possession of this attribute is evidence that charisma enables one person to fulfill simultaneously both sacral (priest) and profane (ruler) functions. Besides fortune-telling, the performance of religious rites was the duty of the chiefs – from the khan down to the head of the family – who were thought capable of making contact with the other world by means of the charisma of an ancestor embodied in spear/flag.

protected a ruler – its conductor. On the one hand, indissoluble communication of the Supreme law as universal principle with the Supreme governor, in the given case with Chinggis-khan, is marked, on the other hand the ruler who followed *törü* brought blessing to all. Therefore punishment of Doqolqu was accordingly considered as breaking of Supreme law, which guaranteed harmony in the nature and society.

7) "From among the Sartaq people, Yalawaci and Masqut were adept in laws and customs of cities [Rachewiltz 2004: 194] (Balaqasun-u yosu dörö [Rachewiltz 1972: 157]. Certainly, here a pair word is laws as "city laws" of Yalawaci and Masqut are meant, and *törö* (*dörö*) makes pare with *yosu*.

We could say in general that when translating, F.W. Cleaves always understood the term *törö* as "*the principles*". E. Haenisch, just as I. de Rachewiltz in English, situationally used different German terms, having generalized them in the beginning of the paper about toro – Regel, Norm, Sitte, Umstände [Haenisch 1962: 151].

Except for the reference to city laws, we can see that the term *törö* conveys a certain concept of rather general character. This allows me to propose its interpretation as a term designating Supreme law. To compare, we could recall the terms jasaγ and jarliγ that were used in concrete cases to designate decree, order, instructions, and administration (management, control) [Skrynnikova 1997: 43-44]. Summarizing the data of the Mongolian source, we can say that *törö* is that what can be known, felt, perceived, and possessed in oneself – setkikü (§ 208, 220); it can be shown for others, i.e. to manifest Supreme law (Will) – jiqaqu (§ 121) and to try to execute Supreme law – kiciyegü (§ 281). But in his activity one can depart from the Law – qaqacaqu (§ 178), i.e. törö is what a person can follow in his activity but what exists beyond man's will and is created not by a man but is given to him from above; a man only becomes aware of it. Even the khan doesn't create *törö* but only follows it that allows to designate this phenomenon as "Supreme law". In my opinion, this allows us to assume that in the Chingis-khan's times this term designated the universal law established by the Heaven[12]. In this connection we can't but remember that during the ancient-Turkic period the term *törö* conveyed the idea of "Dharma" in the ancient Turkic language [DTS 1969: 581].

The above mentioned function of törö – harmonizing of space and society (to live in peace, to enjoy happiness) allows interpreting it as Supreme sacral law or the Law of the Universe, which is conducted by a ruler. Namely this meaning of *törö* I would like to mark specially. When analyzing the XVII century chronicles I have found the additional data that gave evidence for my interpretation of *törö* as Supreme Law, i.e. as the universal principle in the world order. First of all, let's refer to the text of *Altan tobci* (AT), which shows that as late as in the XVII century, *törö* as Supreme sacral Law was still topical in the Mongolian political culture.

"When his golden life was about to go out" [AT 1955: 141], ("altan amin-iyan γarqui čaγ-tur" [ibid.: 58]).

44. "Your jade rule (*törö*) will be abased (qas boluγsan törü čin-u boγonidum-ja [ibid.]);
Your beloved queen Börte-keljin sečen will die;
Your Qasar and Belgetei will dispute with each other;
Your many people, brought together and collected together, will be scattered in all directions.
Your lofty rule (*törö*) will be abased (ündür boluγsan törü čin-u boγonidum-ja [ibid.: 59]);
Your queen Börte-keljin sečen whom you met, firmly, long ago, will die;
Your Ögedei and Tülüi will become orphans;
Your many peoples, gathered together by your heirs, will be scattered and belong to other men;

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[12] The texts show that in the later times the term *törö* could refer to a quite secular concept of law synonymic to the Mongolian term *yosun*. But this topic is beyond my research in this paper.

Your rule (*törö*) which has become a mountain, will be abased (aγula boluγsan törü čin-u boγonidum-ja [ibid.: 59]);

Your queen Börte-keljin sečen, whom you met and honoured, will die;

Your Očoqu and Qačaqu will dispute with each other;

Your many peoples, much established, will all be dispersed over all the mountains and forests;

They will live a nomad life on the sides of Mount Qangγai Qaγan;

…water in the desert places, and a road in the mountain defiles" [ibid.: 142-143].

It is hardly possible to agree with translation of the term *törö* as rule as it was proposed by C. Bawden. In my opinion, the given words addressed by Kilüketei Baatur to Chinggis-Khan the question is about *törö* that by that moment still had meaning of sacral quality which was connected with the Supreme ruler and provided harmony in the society and nature. First of all, attention is to be paid to the relationship of cause and effect, which is implicitly positioned in the text: Chinggis-khan was left by his 'altan amin', which was translated by C. Bauden as 'his golden life' [AT 1955: 141].

I think that the Mongolian term 'altan amin' can be interpreted as the sacral quality (charisma[13]) inherent in the supreme ruler. The attribute 'altan' being used before a word 'amin' (soul, breath) re-codes the meaning of the latter: the term which corresponds to vitality (breath, life) is becoming a designation for the sacral substance connected with the sun, and this is proved by the marker of color – gold.

My assumption is acknowledged by the facts mentioned in Erdeni-yin tobci (ET). Exactly in this way we are to understand the Boorchi's words who connects *törö* with the sacral substance of solar nature (charisma), of which Chinggis-khan's *törö* depends directly: "Let the gold cord of my lord be strong and precious jasper great *törö* be peace/serene" ("ejen-i minu altan oγosar batu boltuγai: erdeni qas yeke törö inu tübsin-e abasu" [ET 1990: 74]). This is proved in the phrase referring to times of Togon-Temur: "The khagan's gold cord is safe – the jasper törö is peace" ("qaγan-u altan oγosar esen. qas törö anu taibing büküi-e" [ibid.: 95]). Sagan-Setsen's idea gives proof to possibility of understanding törö as internal quality of a person: "The Supreme own törö will get weaker – you will become a slave to the old person" ("degedüs öber-ün törö-ece bauran: ötele kümün-ü boγol bolun jaruγdaqui" [ibid.: 195]). Probably this non-desacralized meaning of *törö* as Supreme law is partially kept when a question of a new ruler's coming to power arises. It is possible to say that in XVII century the sacral meaning of *törö* as a designation of the supreme law had been still kept. Exactly this by then not desacralized meaning of the Law (a principle of universal equivalence in micro- and a macrocosmos, which provides observance of regulations on order, law, rules, and norms that are to be fulfilled for harmony in Space, Nature, and Society [Freidank 1978 : 110]) is characteristic for the medieval Mongolian society

Törö was connected directly with the ruler who received (or accepted) it, and this allowed him to become the world monarch as *törö* as Axis mundi effected the whole world. The ritual texts mention Chinggis-khan exactly in this meaning: "Born by the Heaven Chinggis-khan who has received *törö* of the peoples of the world" [Rinchen 1959: 63]. The whole world can be modeled also through the numerical model when Chingis-khan says: "By the will of Heaven-father I have subdued twelve strong

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[13] Charisma is the quality inherent in magician, prophets, military leaders, and rulers. To my mind the ideas of charisma is fundamental to the authority's conception in the mongolian political culture. I wrote about the existence of various terms for charisma such as *sülde*, *suu jali*, *gegegen sünesün* in my previous works (Skrynnikova 1992/1993,1997). Possessor of the charisma was the chief of clan/tribe. Besides practical activities aimed at biological and social survival, the chief's function was to perform magical actions establishing contact with the other world thanks to charisma.

khans, and made all happy thanks to peaceful *törö*" ("bi tengri ecige-yügen jarliγ-iyar: eris-ün arban qoyar qad-i dorayitaγulun engke törö-ber narmai-yi jirγaγulsuγai büluge" [ET 1990: 72]).

Certainly, this reconstruction of ideas about *törö* as a supreme law is based in a big degree on the materials connected with Chinggis-khan ("like diamond törö of constantly virtuous bogdo" "Erdeni almas metü: ülemji buyan-tan boγdas-un törö bülügei" [ET 1990: 196]), who in the consciousness of medieval Mongols grew to the ideal of sacral ruler, and consequently on the one hand can be designated as an ideal model. But on the other hand, the example of connection between Togon-Temur's charisma (a gold cord) and törö confirms the universality of this model.

The fact that in the XVII century texts *törö* could still mean supreme law, which was conducted thanks to charisma by a ruler or connected with him attributes of power, is proved by designations of *törö* in the above quoted fragment from AT: 'ündür bolusan törü' and 'aula bolusan törü'. The words adjoining to *törö* – (both Your lofty *törö* and Your *törö* which has become a mountain) – absolutely definitely point at the image of mountain as Axis mundi, that is on meditative function of *törö* as the center of the world, which is harmonizing the space. In this context the verb 'booniduqu' ('to be/become low') is indicative when in the above quoted text it is used in relation to *törö*. Because "jasper/high/ mountain similar törö is becoming low" (qas/ündür/aula bolusan törü in-u boonidum-ja), not only negative events take place in the social space, but also natural harmony is broken ('water in the desert places, and a road in the mountain defiles'). The materials of the Mongolian chronicles and ritual texts show that according to traditional ideas, exercising of regulative function by the ruler in the Nature and society is provided with his special connection with *törö* – the universal law of the Universe or the Supreme Law which the Sky manifests through the ruler. The structural-semantic analysis of the term *törö* in the context with the words adjoining to it, in my opinion, allowed to interpret the term törö as the universal law connected with the figure of a ruler.

Certainly, my assumptions about meaning of *törö* as Supreme law are based on the implicit data and have been already criticized. 'It is in this long historical context that Skrynnikova ventured to suggest that "Perhaps in Chinggis's time, *törü* meant – the Law established by Heaven" [1997: 47], and some contemporary Mongolian scholars assert the same idea with no 'perhaps' about it [Erdemt 2002]. However, the text of the SH itself does not clearly establish this idea. Not only is 'Heaven' is a dubious translation of *tenggri* [Beffa and Hamayon 1995: 187], but *törü* does not occur directly with *tengri*. We have references to Chinggis being destined by *tenggri* to rule, and it is true that Qorchi asks for a reward for making such a revelation, saying   - *ele edu törü jigagsan* [SHM §121]. But the meaning of *törü* here is unclear. It has been translated as principle [Cleaves 1982: 53; Ardajab 1986: 324] and good fortune [Onon 2002: 99]. Skrynnikova herself suggests that the correct translation should be "(I, who) revealed the High Law (to you)" [1997: 46], though *törü* here could refer to the sovereignty that Chinggis is about to acquire, and it is not stated that the High Law was established by Heaven. In general, it is not clear that *törü* in this period was regarded as 'one thing' at all. The references in the SH indicate rather a plurality, a collection of diverse principles, such as loyalty and obedience to one's appointed commander, fidelity to an agreed compact, honesty and openness, or the carrying out of one's designated political role. The Qorchi episode is the only one where we have an indication that *törü* may possibly also have meant something like the right to rule' [Humphrey, Hürelbaatar 2004: 465].

I think that *törö* in this context means something more concrete then "something like the right to rule", namely Supreme Law of the Universe. This is confirmed by the ritual texts.

Törö in ritual texts

In the above examples from SHM, two different meanings are marked: the first one shown in § 121, 178, 208, 216, 220, and 281 is connected with center markers; and the second one where *törö* was

synonymic to *yosun* and meant a custom or common law. It is worthy to pay attention at one of the cases when *törö* is written in a different way in § 281 of SHM – as *dörö*, which is conformable to writing of a sacral spear, Chingis-khan's attribute (= analog of arbor mundi), which I characterized earlier. Studying of ritual texts confirms my assumption about a special place of *törö* in the Mongols' representations about socium functioning.

First of all, *törö* corresponds to the center-marking attributes: "four-footed black banner having become an iron nail (stake) – a support of *törö* (törü-yin tüsiy-e temür-ün γadaγasun boluγsan... dörben költü qar-a tuγ [Rinchen 1959: 70]); "Having become a pillar *törö* (mediator as Axis mundi. – T.S.)… having become a support to the body... four-footed great banner (*sülde. – Author*); great sülde (charisma. – *Author*.) of the most august the lord (Chinggis-khan. – *Author*.), the having become a support *törö*, embodied in the nine-footed white banner" (törö-yin qadaγasun boluγsan... bey-e-yin tüsig boluγsan... dörben költü yeke qar-a sülde / törü-yin tüsig boluγsan.., yesün költü čaγan tuγ-iyen bosqaju... boγda ejen-ü yeke sülde [ibid. : 74]); «most august khan's wife... support of *törö*» (törü-yin tüsiy-e... boγdo qatun [ibid.: 98]). Thus a connection between *törö* and charisma comes to light in the ritual texts related to the cult of Chinggis-khan, in which his charisma (*sülde*) is embodied in the four-tailed black banner and nine-tailed white banner. Ideas about unity of ruler's sacrality (*sülde*) and *törö* are the archetype of traditional consciousness, which is expressed for example in the Chinese tradition through the unity of emperor's Tae and Tao[14].

Being in the sacral center of socium, *törö* tends to increase, growth, and expansion. It is defined as "plentiful happy *törö*" (arbin sayin törü [ibid.: 87, 102, 106]); "growing *törö*" (örgejikü törü [ibid.: 87, 99, 101, 103, 106]). *Törö* was directly connected with a ruler who received (or accepted) it. The ritual texts mention Chinggis-khan: "Born by the Heaven Chinggis-khan who has received *törö* of the peoples of the world " (Delekei-yin ulus-un törü-yi abuγsan tngrlig törügsen Činggis-qaγan [ibid.: 63]); "[Chinggis-khan] who received Van-khan's *törö*" (Ong qaγan-u törü-yi abuγsan [ibid.: 63, 67]); "[Chinggis-khan] who received Naiman Dayan-khan's *törö*" (Naiman Dayan qaγan-u törü-yi abuγsan [ibid.: 67]). Receiving of *törö* by a ruler-winner (Chinggis-khan) brought to seizing the people that had been headed by the defeated ruler: "Chinggis-khan … having received Van-khan's *törö*, began to own the numerous Kereits and manage them" (Ong qaγan-u törü-yi abuγsan, Olan kereyid-i ejlen medegsen Činggis qaγan [ibid]). This resulted from the fact that ruler's *törö* was socium's *törö* also: "Chinggis-khan … having received Naiman Dayan-khan's *törö*, received *törö* of the whole great ulus" (Naiman Dayan qaγan-u törü-yi abuγsan Narmai yeke ulus-un törü-yi abuγsan... Činggis qaγan [ibid.]).

The ruler who received *törö* and became its conductor, is designated as follows: "the Khan and Khan's wife of the expanding great *törö*» (örgejikü yeke törü-yin qan qatun [ibid.: 77]); «qagan and qatun of the plentiful and happy *törö* (arbin sayin törü-yin qaγan qatun» [ibid.: 87]). A number of definitions can be continued [ibid.: 87, 88, 106], but it should be marked that this is *törö* or strictly following the ritual texts "qagan and qatun [who are] in the center of extending happy *törö*" (örgejiküi sayin törü-yin dumda qaγan qatun [ibid.: 99]) provide happiness, peace and good fate for their people; they are addressed exactly like this: "Let they give peace, happiness, and [good fate] to the people (qamuγ ulus-a engkesün jirγal jayaγan örtügei [ibid.]).

Materials of the ritual texts show that, according to traditional representations, special connection with *törö* – Supreme law, which the Heaven manifests through the ruler, provides ruler's performance of regulating function in the socium.

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[14] "For favorable results of impact to the world "Tao and Tae must be united" – tao tae i" [Martynov 1978: 30].

Törö was directly connected with the ruler, who received (or accepted) it; this allowed to become the world monarch as *törö* as Axis mundi effected the whole world. exactly in this sense Chinggis-khan is mentioned in the ritual texts exactly in this meaning: "Heavenly born Chinggis-khan who has received *törö* of the peoples of the world» (Delekei-yin ulus-un törü-yi abuɣsan tngrlig törügsen Činggis-qaɣan [Rintchen 1959: 63]). The whole world can be also modeled through numerical model when Chinggis-khan says: "At Heaven-father will, I have subdued twelve strong khans, and made all people happy thanks to peaceful *törö*" (Mong. «bi tengri ecige-yügen jarliɣ-iyar : eris-ün arban qoyar qad-i dorayitaɣulun *engke törö*-ber narmai-yi jirɣaɣulsuɣai bülüge» [ET 1990: 72]). Even after his death, Chinggis-khan is in the center of this model: "Having made his Ordoss tumen[15] the center, Chinggis-khan became the lord of numerous uluses" (Ordus tümen-iyen töblen saɣuɣsan, Olan ulus-un ejen boluɣsan Činggis-qaɣan [Rintchen 1959: 67]).

The representations about connection of the ruler with Heaven and his functions as a conductor of the Supreme law of the Universe are kept in 17th century. This characteristic of the true ruler's status reveals both a number of certain duties, which he should fulfill and also all necessary attributes of his high-ranking position and sacral status including a throne. As one of necessary qualities, which the governor should possess, stability (with no stumbling and leaning) is marked that has connotations of something worthy or established. Thanks to this stability, the ruler can act as the Supreme law support (törö-yin sitügen) or "to hold Supreme law exactly" (yeke törö-yi tübsin-e bariju), then the ruler, his throne, and Supreme law provide harmony of the world, this being continually emphasized in the Mongolian sources of 17th century. And *törö* keeps the meaning that was formed in the framework of traditional political culture i.e. as the law of Universe (yirtincü-yin törö), which defines the status of qagan as an universal monarch.

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[15] This is a question of Mongols' sacral center Erzhen-Horo where Chinggis-khan's relics are preserved in eight white yurtas.

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Neotraditionalism in Contemporary Soyot and Buryat Cultures: The Okinsky District Case Study[1]

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Abstract

The Okinsky district of the Republic of Buryatia is a distant, hard-to-reach mountainous region in the Sayans. The local inhabitants preserve their identity, traditional way of life, highland nomadic type of herding. The Soyots regained their legal status of an ethnic minority in 2000 and the status of the traditional territory of local indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East in December 2015. The local Buryats highlight their identity by large-scale projects like erecting the stela of the Khongodors, celebration of King Gesar's myth in the Oka basin, etc. Neotraditionalism come out as a basis for the revival of Tibetan Buddhism introduced into the Oka region in the late XIX – early XX century. New rituals and myths are created to protect sacred territories, local vulnerable nature, archeological sites in the Oka basin. The neotraditionalistic trend appears to be useful also for promoting regional projects on ecological and religious tourism.

Keywords: Neotraditionalism, Buryatia, Oka basin, Soyot, Buryat, status, culture, religion, Buddhism.

The Republic of Buryatia is located in the south of Eastern Siberia. The distant Okinsky district (26012 sq. km) is situated in the far west of Buryatia, in the Sayans, on the border with Mongolia. The Great Sayan ranges surround the plateau in the heart of Asia, at an altitude of 1600-2100 meters above sea level. Mountain ranges comprise 23 peaks with heights of more than 3000 meter. Academician V.A. Obruchev called this region «Tibet in miniature».

Since 1927 the administrative center of the Okinsky district is the village of Orlik, some 770 km from Ulan-Ude – the capital of Buryatia. It is situated on the right bank of the river Oka (Buryat. «Akha-gol»; Soyot. «Oak khem» – «boom-river», «fast as an arrow»). In 1985-86 started the construction of the road connecting the Oka valley with the Tunkinsky District of Buryatia; nowadays it is the main transport artery to the area.

In 1991 the Okinsky Region received the status of the Far North region. This remote area is inhabited by the Buryats and the Soyots. The Soyots are descendants of the ancient Samoyedic population (who spoke some Uralic language). They underwent many cultural influences – Turkization, later Mongolization, which resulted in the repeated change of language. Russian Cossack guards came to the Oka basin after 1727 with the establishment of the border with the Qing Empire and were very small. The first Buryats (speaking a central Mongolic language) settled in the Oka basin in 1740-1750, after the outcome from the Baikal region through the Sayans into Mongolia. The Soyots now speak both Buryat and Russian languages which are taught at school. The population of the Okinsky District has increased during the last 20 years to 6000. The birth rate in the area now exceeds mortality 2.5 times. The local people have largely retained their ethnic and cultural identity. In the XXI century neotraditionalistic trends significantly intensified in their life. The author of this paper witnessed the process in July, 2016.

The Soyots were registered in the Unified List of Indigenous Peoples of the Russian Federation, approved by the Decree № 255 of the Government of the Russian Federation of March 24, 2000. The Soyots had disappeared from the population census of 1897, but in the 2002 census they were recorded again as a separate nation. Now there are about 3500 Soyots in Buryatia. They are an independent ethnic group, related to Tuvinians (Todzhins). The Soyot written language is based on the Cyrillic alphabet, textbooks for primary school are published.

Anthropological field research and scientific publications by Dr. Larisa R. Pavlinskaya (MAE (Kunstkamera) RAS) and Prof. Natalia L. Zhukovskaya (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology RAS) contributed to the restoration of the Soyots' status. As a part of an innovative project to create a natural and anthropological reserve (or to secure ethnic territory zone) Dr. Larisa R. Pavlinskaya had worked out «A program of development of the ethnic territory Oka (ethno-cultural aspect)» (1999). The program is being realized now.

The Buryats married the Soyot women quite often. The patrilineal kinship system dominated, but women have retained their awareness of belonging to the Soyot ethnicity. In 1999 many of them could indicate in the documents the ethnicity of their ancestors (mother, father, etc.) as Sayan Soyot. The rise of the prestige of the Soyot nationality became obvious [Pavlinskaya, 67]. A prominent contemporary figure of Tibetan Buddhism, Lama Danzan Khaibzun Samaev (1954-2005), a Soyot himself, promoted the process. The local population is rather closed and reserved towards strangers, unpretentious to the material well-being. Identity is retained in the mountainous areas to the level of consciousness [Pavlinskaya, 55].

Since 2005, after the Vth Congress of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East the problems of legal status, rights and lawful interests, preferences and privileges of the small communities have been consistently solved, since 2007 – the problems of protection of

original habitat, traditional ways of life, land use, access to resources, etc. In December 2015 the new status of the Okinsky District was accepted.

Difficult climatic conditions do not allow the development of agriculture. The main occupation of the indigenous population is traditional nomadic herding (highland type) and hunting. The Oka basin is the southernmost region in Siberia where reindeer breeding is practiced and the most northern one where yaks are bred, as well as cows, sheep, horses, sarlyks (Mongolian yak), khainags (a cross between Mongolian yaks and cows). Hey is a real green gold in these high wooded mountains. Here in abundance grow herbs and wild berries. The former nomads now live in stationary houses. The Internet, cellular network and TV are available in their villages. Heavy rains often hamper the traffic: rivers overflow, erode roads, cause landslides and rockfalls. In 1999, 15 km downstream from the village of Orlik, the first bridge across the rough river Oka was constructed near the village Khara-Khujir. In the area there is no production, but the «Khujir Enterprise Co.» since 2010 plans to develop the Konevinskoe gold ore deposit.

Rare tourists coming to the gorge to the Okinsky District learn from the new information board that «the territory of traditional nature use of local indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation – the Soyots – is established December 24, 2015, registered 12 January, 2016. The purpose of creation is preservation and protection of original habitat and traditional way of life, livelihoods and crafts of this indigenous people of Siberia and the Far East – the Soyots, preservation and development of indigenous culture, preservation of biological diversity in the territory of traditional nature use.»

In the region miraculously united religious ideas of shamanistic beliefs, Shamanism and Buddhism. Origins of river Oka – the watershed of the Eastern Sayan – is considered a sacred center of the world. Since ancient times, the Buryats and the Soyots believe that all localities (caves, mountains, streams) have their patrons (spirits, deities) that provide a quiet life and influence the future of peaceful coexistence in the same territory. The Eastern Sayan is considered the seat of the heavenly gods (like the Greek Olympus), the deities of the mountains – «masters of the soil» and supporters of people. The mountain Rinchin-Khumb (2831 m) is the most revered one by the Soyots. The mountain Munku-Sardyk (3491 m) is a historic and sacred center of the Sayan-Baikal region, focus of ancient myths and legends, abode of heavenly patrons of the peoples of Central Asia. In 2001 Lama D. K. Samaev erected at the foot of the Munku-Sardyk above the river White Irkut (Sagaan erhu) a complex of ritual structures to perform the ritual worship honoring the guardians of this sacred territory. The rituals aim to attract public attention to the preservation of the unique nature and culture of the inhabitants of the region. A fire is made and springs of juniper are burned. Local worship of mountain shrines is made according the regulations recorded in the ancient book «Solchid» preserved now in the *datsan* «Puntsognamdollin» in the village of Orlik.

Traditional beliefs represent a complex set of different representations of magic, superstitions and taboos, mostly associated with the cult of the mountains and the worship of the Earth. Mountain is considered a symbol of the center of the Universe, an intermediary between the Heaven and the Earth. At the foot of each sacred mountain there are some remarkable trees, and all passing by travelers should leave something as a donation.

Now official plaques with the inscription «Holy Place» mark such sites, car parking and a seating area are provided nearby. All vehicles passing by make a stop, the driver and all passengers bring a sacrifice to the spirits by «splashing» some milk tea or vodka, leaving some food, money, buttons, tobacco, matches, asking local spirits for help and protection in the way.

The Buryats introduced the Tibetan Buddhism into Baikal region in the XVII century. By 1741 Buddhism became one of the official religions in Russia. By 1917 there were 44 *datsans* and about 150 small temples in Buryatia. Next to each of them *suburghans* (stupas), wooden frames and stone mounds were built. In the early XX century the new faith was approved by the Soyots at the household level. Tibetan medicine practiced by the Lamas became popular. In the Oka region several free-standing Buddhist temples (*dugans*) and monastic complexes (*datsans*) were erected, first in wood, then – in stone. In Oka basin on the sides of the roads *suburghans* coexist with conical huts made of young fir trees as a place to which one can bind a colored cloth. Ritual conical tents are common to the taiga hunters in northern Siberia as the image of the Universe and a symbol of a World Mountain. Inside there may be found a stone with the words of prayer, cult utensils, image of a deity. Strips of silk or any other textile (*khata*) are tied to the trees in the sacred places as a symbol of respect to spirits of ancestors and good intentions. Ceremonial scarf (*khadag)* is presented as a sign of respect to any person (usually the elder, guest of honor). Blue (the color of Eternal Blue Sky) *khadag* is a symbol of longevity; white is a symbol of water, purity, kindness; yellow is a symbol of the Sun, fire; red is a symbol of metal; green is a symbol of Earth.

In recent years a new practice to make ritual *oboo* – a pile of stones as a place for prayers – entered into the Oka region.

The local Buryats established at the plain Sentsyn-Tala, not far from the village of Sayan, the Khongodor place of worship. Here the Buryats hold mass events, festivals, horse racing, etc. They are aware of their relationship with the Khongodor ethnic group who came out of Western Mongolia in the XVI century. A painted wooden statue of a male ancestor who caught a Virgin-Swan wife is erected. It is surrounded by four generic poles established in honor of four Khongodor clans and two extra poles for the visitors. A hitching post is the image of the Sacred World Axis. Next to the statue a white stone slab from Mongolia is mounted vertically on two pillars. According to beliefs of the Khongodors, anyone who touches this Power Stone enters into relationship with cosmos and receives its positive energy.

An ancient totem sign of the Soyots is a soaring eagle that represents rebirth and aspirations for the future. Wooden sculpture of an eagle is mounted on the central square of the village of Sorok.

The geological structure of the Eastern Sayan bears traces of violent tectonic activity, there are young volcanic formations (yet frozen). It gives grounds for interpreting the myth on the King Gesar, the son of a heavenly deity, approving on Earth goodness and justice in harmony with nature and cosmos. The epic of King Gesar emerged in the XVI-XVII centuries in Tibet, Mongolia, Buryatia. Thanks to an extremely archaic oral tradition the most ancient features of this Central Asian myth seem preserved in the Buryat version. In 1995, the celebration of 1000 anniversary of the «Gesar» was widely celebrated in Buryatia. It is on these grounds in Oka basin that Gesar was fighting with his opponent, the Gul Dulme Khan (Khan of a «Fiery Realm»), the personification of volcanic activity. The blackened lava flows that filled the ancient glacial valley of the river Zhom-Bolok (120 sq. km) are considered as ruins of Gal Dulme Khan's palace molten by Gesar. In the region there are many natural objects associated with the myth: a single large rock Turaga-Shuluun («Giant stone») is «Gesar's saddle»; a sleek 20-meter stone at the top of the sacred mountain Khan-Uula («King Mountain») is called a petrified «Gesar's sword»; «Gesar's stirrups» are at the mountain Zun-Ara-Hada; under the sacred peaks of Ulaan Shuluun Khairkhan («Red Stone») is a well visible red spot – «Gesar's petrified blood stain», allegedly spilled during his battle with the Gal Dulme Khan;

in the vicinity of the Shasnur village lies a huge rock, a Tegne-Shuluun («Pack-stone») that Gesar strapped to his saddle bow as a counterweight to his trophy – the head of the mythical monster *mangadkhai*; in the north-western outskirts of the village of Sayan, at the foot of the Khan-Uula mountain, is a «Gesar's Arrow» – a stone laying out about 20 m long; on the right bank of the river Sentsy, in front of the settlement Shasnur lies the lake Huhe Nuur («Blue Lake»), where the enemy struck by the Gesar's arrow fell and turned into a giant fish (taimen); by the arrow Gesar struck a huge through arch Nukhen-Dabaan («Hole-pass») in the limestone peak near the mountain Munku-Sardyk, at the confluence of rivers White Irkut and Black Irkut. The «Gesar's Headquaters» slope is near the village of Khujir. A wooden structure in traditional style with a fireplace – «Gesar's temple» –was built there in 1995.

In 1999, under the Federal Act, three «local religious organizations to reflect the historical past» in the area were re-registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Buryatia: *datsan* «Tushita» in Kyren (the oldest one), Khoymorsky *datsan* «Bodhidharma» in Arshan, and Okinsky *datsan* «Puntsognamdollin» in Orlik. Together they comprise a centralized Buddhist organization «Maidar» as an independent religious association of the Republic of Buryatia intended to address challenges common to all *datsans* in Okinsky and Tunkinsky Districts, to represent their interests in state structures, including preparation of spiritual training and legal consolidation of all holy places subordinated to historical *datsans* in Sayan highlands, as well as creation of new working places for indigenous people by using religious pilgrimage routes and growing interest of people in religious tourism [Shaglakhaev]. Tibetan Buddhism is represented by the school Gelugpa.

The «Bodhidharma» *datsan* was founded in 1897 by Agvan Dorjiev, an outstanding Buryat religious figure, in Arshan village near the sacred place «The Throne of Genghis Khan». Now old wooden structures used by Aghvan Dorzhiev (parts of his house and a *dugan*) are carefully preserved in Arshan and Orlik.

Since 2004 every two years the «Dorzhiev readings» scientific conferences are held in different places of Buryatia. International scientific-practical conference «Samaev readings» was started in Orlik, where Lama D. Kh. Samaev was born.

The artist Andrei Savchenko paintined *thangkas* representing the «Gesar Khan» scenes on the walls of the *datsan* «Puntsognamdolling» in Orlik. Norbu Lama V. G. Ayusheev was elected the Chairman of the Association of the Okinsky District Soyots. Not far from the *datsan* there is a cave where the Buddhist monks can occasionally retire and hold deep meditation sessions.

In the early XX century three Mongolian-Tibetan Lamas visited the Oka valley for the first time and committed ritual consecration of the Mongolzhon area. On the slope of a mountain here the mantra «Om mani padme hum» (in Cyrillic) is laid of white stones.

Under the authority of the Okinskiy *datsan* are the famous Shumak springs, known for its healing power. Local *amchi lamas* (healers) had developed a unique method for determining the useful power of mineral springs [Sambyalova].

In modern *datsans* many rituals are converted. For example, instead of alcohol, milk or tea is presented to local guardian spirits. In *datsans* long structures for hanging ritual prayer flags and scraps of fabric are built. Every year with the change of the old year cycle these flags lose their purpose and are burnt.

The Buddhist Traditional Sangha established in 2003 in Orlik a new *datsan* «Lamazhabdoylin» («Temple of worship of the Great Teachers»). This local religious community stared the project «Landscaping self-manifestation of the face of the goddess Green Tara». Actually, Tara is the generic name for a set of Buddhas or female bodhisattvas in Tibetan Buddhism. White Tara is known for compassion, long life, healing and serenity;

and Green Tara is known as the Buddha of enlightened activity. For the local population they are goddesses, protectors of family and home, who grant childbirth and acquisition of a spouse.

Face of a White Tara was carved out by Aghvan Dorokhin in the late XIXth century of the rock in Harahan area, on the mountain near the village of Sayan; thus this Lama, the famous healer, sanctified the place.

In 2010 Je Khenpo Rinpoche, the personal oracle of the Supreme Lama of Bhutan, after the meditation predicted that a Green Tara will appear in Oka at a special place where mountains on both sides of the river are similar to each other. It turned out that the mountains across the river Oka are alike. Not far from the White Tara, at the mountain Khara Khoshuun a natural face of Nogoon Dara Ehe (Green Tara) was discovered. Local people did not visit this place due to the taboo in force there. In 2011 the group of Lamas held a series of prayer services in the area and stripped of the earlier ban on visits to the place of worship of Green Tara. In the small cave there now a donation case is placed where the pilgrims can put images, pictures, so called «pictures of happiness», and write their wishes in a notebook. They believe that the goddess helps them [Ivanova].

The Shamanism still exists among the Soyots. The identity of the Soyots is preserved more at the level of tribal consciousness and historical memory. The system is supported by the benefits provided to the Soyots as a community.

The Buddhist rituals are revived in the Oka valley as a tradition of honoring the local deities and the ancestors. Buddhist Lamas has done a lot to preserve the environment and to promote the region's identity. They have won respect and support of the population. Okinsky *datsan* «Puntsognamdolling», Federation of Sport Tourism of the Republic of Buryatia, Regional Social and Environmental NGO «Munko-Saridak» developed a «Snow Leopard Trail» project. The information board explains to the tourists the significance of this sacred territory, symbolism of the mountains Munku-Sardyk and Big Sayan. In 2015 the «Foundation for the Study, Conservation of the Snow Leopard (Irbis) and Rare Species of Mountain Fauna» was established by East-Siberian scientists, businessmen and residents of the Oka area. The image of irbis is captured on the coat-of-arms of the Okinsky District. The information on the events in the region is placed in Internet and social networks, both in Russian and in local languages.

Neotraditionalism is a contemporary means that small communities can use to preserve their special economic and cultural status. It also provides promotion of local Soyot and Buryat identity that attracts tourists to this remote part of Eastern Siberia. Neotraditionalism even influenced some Buddhist rituals and activities started by the local *datsans*. At the same time neotraditionalism appears to be a component of ecological thought and mythology of the peoples in the Oka basin.

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The impact of trade with Europeans on the creation of the new Zulu sociality in the early nineteenth century[1]

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Abstract

There is hard problem for South African anthropology to find real causes for large-scale social changes in the Zulu society in the early nineteenth century. The goal of this article is to find a place for trade with Europeans in the set of estimated causes.

On the territory of Zululand in the early nineteenth century Dingiswayo, the chief from Mthethwa clan (gen), started a creation of chiefdoms union; after his death power was brought to the chief from Zulu clan – Shaka. During their reign the new "regimental" age-class system was created, in which military unions and strong army was forming on the base of age groups. Zulu accepted unknown for neighbors war tactics and the new weapon – assegai. Zulu authority was expanded on almost all Zululand and many chiefs in Natal southward were involved in subordinate relations.

These and other large-scale social changes, including polito- and ethnogenetic, in the first half of nineteenth century happened in South Africa are including by historians in the Mfecane period, which is one of the most important periods for the south-African ethnic history. The forming of such Nguni-speaking peoples as Zulu, Swazi, Matabele (Zimbabwean Ndebele) and Ngoni ethnic identity was arising from this point on.

Keywords: Nguni; chiefdom; paramountcy; *inkosi*; Zulu; KwaZulu-Natal; Mfecane; trade.

Zulu expansion was not a trigger of Mfecane but its most important part. Suchwise, the causes of first phenomena origin were, in many ways, the causes of the Mfecane beginning.

Among **estimated causes** are:

- a demographic explosion, which was connected with distribution of corn after the import of it by Portuguese and later by Dutch traders in the Delagoa Bay (Oliver P., Atmore A. 2001: 222). But archaeological data shows us, that there was a consolidation of the population in the region in the early nineteenth century but not a natural population growth (vide: Perry W.R. 2002).

- an ecological factor: the lack of grasslands, which was provoked by the excessive use and the decrease of the ground productivity by soil erosion and drought, lead to the territorial expansion (Perry W.R. 2002: 11). But here too we have no evidences that there was the soil depletion. Most strong droughts in south-eastern Africa, indeed, took place between 1800 and 1803, in 1812 and in 1816-18. There was a special droughts cycle, which were not something unusual. But in the time, when the new polities and social inequality were emerged, droughts undermined traditional strategies of the famine avoiding among people (Eldredge E.A. 1992: 26, 29, 31).

- a slave trade. Absolutely, other regions were involved in a slave trade earlier and in lager scales, but its level in Delagoa Bay was minimal until 1820s (and first big conflicts in the region arose in 1817 only) until emerging of a large number of captives and refuges in the region. "The natives [Nguni], – as witness – captain Owen noted, – have a decided aversion to the [slave] trade." (Owen, Captain of HMS Leven. "The Bay of Delagoa." *RSEA, II*: 465-79. Cit. in: Eldredge E.A. 1992: 10). The Cape colony was placed to the south of Zulu, along its borders raided Griqua and Korana, which were sponsored by Europeans. But neither the first nor the second could be the cause of forming the polities and the migrations. And that was convincingly proved by an American researcher E.A. Eldredge (Eldredge E.A. 1992: 1-35). Already since 1820s slave traders escalated the continued violence for obtaining "goods" (Eldredge E.A. 1992: 1).

- a material goods trade: ivory, skins, cattle, Rhino horns in exchange for woolen and cotton shawls, calico, brass ornaments, beads, and tobacco (Ballard Ch. 1981: 10).

In the moment when Europeans came, an exchange between chiefdoms already was a privilege of elites. Common members of society, as Soviet anthropologist-africanist I.I. Potekhin noted, "produced foreign exchange with permission of the chief only, paying him some bribe". The interior exchange was with "iron, copper, ivory, skin, wood, cane and clay" products (Potekhin I.I. 1955: 38-41).

In the beginning of the Mfecane period there was a sharp intensification of the struggle of elites for control over trade and resources, coming mostly from Port Natal and Delagoa Bay (Perry W.R. 2002: 14-16). Before this moment Arabian and Swahili traders did not go so far to the south, and Portuguese, which situated in the region since sixteenth century, focused on gold-bearing areas of Zimbabwe. Only when British and Dutch interested in buying ivory arrived, northern Nguni (future Zulu and Swazi) were involved in coastal trade (Huffman T.N. 2004: 102). The new trade net grew from the station based at Delagoa Bay by Dutch in early seventeenth century. The control over the region belonged to the chiefdom of Tsonga – Maputu. Tsonga militant activity created a chain-reaction, which triggered the struggle for the monopolization of foreign trade in the inland areas of Northern Natal. Trade in Delagoa Bay peaked in 1780s and then the supply began to decrease, and the chiefdom Maputu turned to

the production of food for European whaling ships (Oliver P., Atmore A. 2001: 222). In KwaZulu-Natal the number of raids to capture cattle has increased sharply from the 1780s. To the 1800s, the demand of Europeans for cattle begins to exceed the demand for ivory (Huffman T.N. 2004: 104).

The rise of political and wealth inequality in complex with droughts forced the weakest to join major polities involved in the competition for good irrigated land (Eldredge E.A. 1992: 1). In the mid to late eighteenth century, the population in South Africa starts to accumulate in larger settlements (Huffman T.N. 2004: 103-107).

During the reign of Shaka the vast majority of Zulu had not the opportunity to exchange with white traders, so that economic interaction was limited with the ruling elite (Ballard Ch. 1981: 5). Only by the time of the establishment of colonial rule (under the paramount chief Mpande) local leaders have achieved a higher level of autonomy and an opportunity to exchange with European traders directly (Ballard Ch. 1981: 11).

Neither ivory exporting nor importing of clothing and beads transformed the local production. However, this trade was important because it served as a source of wealth for the elite, stimulating the growth of social inequality (Eldredge E.A. 1992: 29). As a result of increasing political hierarchy, the local chiefdoms of Zululand, which were headed by chiefs (*inkosi*) and their assistants (*induna*), unite under the authority of the paramount chief (*inkosi enkhulu*). The presence of a centralized authority contributed to the cultural and linguistic homogenization of the population, and this process continued during the colonial period (since 1840s).

So we see that the desire to monopolize trade was inherent in the elites of the region *before* the advent of European goods. However, *after*, the social rupture of the elite with ordinary members of the society increased markedly. Thus, trade with Europeans can be called one of the most important causes for the emergence of a new form of Zulu sociality – the union of chiefdoms (or paramount chiefdom), which became known far beyond Africa thanks to the victory of the Zulu over the British at the battle of hill Isandlwana in 1879.

Acknowledgements

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Neotraditionalism in the Contemporary Russian Office: Coworkers Birthdays[1]

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Abstract

 The purpose of this article is to describe and analyze the case of birthdays of employees in the Russian office. Description and analysis of this case is made in the framework of the concept of neotraditionalism, by using the classical concepts of anthropology and comparative data, obtained in the study of traditional societies. The study shows a high explanatory potential of classical anthropology theories applied on the analysis of contemporary societies in the framework of neotraditionalism concept.

Keywords: gift exchange, neotraditionalism, modernity, organizanional studies, celebrations.

This article is devoted to the case observed by the author over the years in one of the divisions of the large Russian construction company in Saint-Petersburg; this case is about celebrating coworkers birthdays. Field research focused on organizing these celebrations, forming a set of participants, collecting gift money. The field (modern company office in St. Petersburg) involves the greatest applicability concepts and theoretical frameworks of organizational studies, as well as concepts of similar anthropological and sociological sub-disciplines, most often used for the study of modernity. Of course, the description and interpretation of this case in these theoretical frameworks would be efficiently and interesting, but authors background in the field of traditional anthropology allowed to draw attention to the possibility of applying concepts, that came from studies of traditional culture. While cconceptual export from classical anthropology to studies of modernity is relatively frequent, however, requires an explanation.

Typologization and generalization have always been the most important methods of scientific knowledge, including humanities and social sciences. One of the most articulated and long-playing paradigms of cultural and social development are the theory of evolution in different ways. In Soviet science Marxist theory of sequential change of socio-economic formations has long been a dogma; in the West, almost all the classics of sociology agreed with the scheme, according to which modern society arose from the traditional; their local stadial scheme arose in power researchers, economy, and material culture. Although the authors of stadial schemes does not necessarily imply that features of each stage are characteristic only this stage, but at mass dissemination schemes turned out that unique features of current stage considered most important, and the rest were recorded in the category of "remnants", ''periphery'', that important only to identify regularities past epochs, but not this. It was reflected in the orientation of anthropological research on historicism, but reduced their explanatory value in relation to the present.

Although large-scale generalization and stadial schemes have been proud to modern science, its reductionism is realized a growing number of researchers, particularly anthropologists. Even Mauss believed that social phenomena has "total" (holistic) character in the primitive societies, these include features of economic, political, religious institutions, and can't be attributed to any one category (Mauss 2002: 3). Recently, more and more often expressed the view that such things still exist, and even widespread in modern society. B. Latour calls them hybrids (Latour 1993: 1-3), and D. Greber says plainly that the economy, considered without regard to the social sphere is abstraction, that is far-away from life (Graeber 2011: 32-33). T. Ingold focuses on the deconstruction of the opposition between nature and society, the individual and the body, he thinks that this framework is not relevant to the research (Ingold 2000: 3). Perhaps the movement towards a comprehensive study of the phenomena without distinction of disciplinary boundaries, will be the main trend of the near future, but for now, these approaches are only making their first steps.

What do the anthropologist, who sees in the studied community or culture is something that does not fit into conventional stadial scheme? He has a difficult choice between several approaches: try to put the facts in the old concepts; adapt holistic approaches, such as actor-network theory of B. Latour to new field; and, finally, create his own theoretical scheme, which can consistently describe the observed situation. The first approach evidently leads to a high probability of distortions and reductions, the second approach is possible, when the study does not include the analysis of large empirical database, structured in line with old approaches (otherwise a large number of resources to be spent on their translation into the language of new paradigm). The third option is the best, but only when the scope of the study is sufficient for the new global generalization, but this is not

always true. Use of concepts, that ccontains the usual terms, but have filled them with a new content is a good way in this situations; such concept, for example, is neotraditionalism. The benefits of their application are not only understandable to a broad range of researchers, but also an opportunity to use a large amount of materials, which have been accumulated in the framework of classical paradigms.

In view of the above, referring to the archaic, the author will be understood not phenomena inherent "archaic" stage in any of the stadial schemes, but phenomena described in classical anthropology, in the theoretical framework of this kind schemes. That is, the terms "neotraditionalism" and "archaic" will have an appeal mainly to the disciplinary boundaries.

Thus, the study of celebrations in the Russian office using the traditional concepts of anthropology, is possible to put into the framework of "neotraditionalism", because social structures and actions, that have been described and conceptualized on the data of traditional societies, are found in modern organization. The discovery of structures that do not fit into the traditional economic and social concept, often happened, in spite of the applied research orientation. For example, the concept of "social system", entered in the study of organizations by means of anthropologists (M. Mead, AR Radcliffe-Brown) in the famous Hawthorne experiment, revealed that the workers do not increase the production of a response to material stimulation, and by means of a system of social norms retain a certain constant level of productivity (Romanov, 1999, 96). This conclusion is strikingly coincides with the so-called "Chayanov's rule" first formulated by A. Chayanov on the data of the Russian peasant economy, and then tested by M. Sahlins on the data of the primitive agricultural communities. The rule reads as follows: «Intensity of labor in a system of domestic production for use varies inversely with the relative working capacity of the producing unit» (Sahlins 1974: 91). This correlation shows, that pre-industrial community and industrial company have similar social and cultural patterns. Also it shows, that the use of classical anthropological concepts in modern society, can bring interesting results, not devoid of practical importance.

Returning to our case, note that in study used participant observation, informal occasional interview and some elements of autoethnography. Birthdays celebrations in the studied division is standard for the Russian organizations: in Birthday (or in the next business day, if the birthday falls on a weekend) "newborn" ordered or brought from home some treats (cakes, pizza, pies and etc.) and set it on the free table in the division room. After it, he invited employees to treat ourselves. By this time, the employees collected cash gift for him (each adding to the overall envelope a certain amount), which is awarded during treats by senior officer. In most episodes circle of those presents at the feasts was limited to staff of the division and employees with a workplace in the main room of division (not being his employees). Thus, they formed a closed network "Those who congratulate", each of the participants of this network annually treated his colleagues and received a cash gift, were treated on the Birthdays of other participants and made a contribution to the cash gifts.

It should be noted, that network was built more as a local than on formal structural basis. That is, employees with a workplace in the main division room formed network, even if structurally belonged to another division; at the same time, division employees, were located in other areas, could not participate in the network. Moreover, there was great resistance of this network, than the local organizational structures, that is, employees who previously had a working place in the common room, but later moved to other room, continued to participate in the network. Obviously,

the network was built primarily on the basis of personal acquaintance, as well as other types of face-to-face communities. It is also important to note that the network is an informal structure and evolved spontaneously, without orders from the management. This fact suggested that the principles of its creation and functioning, can be found among other types of informal social structures known anthropology.

These principles were found in the well-studied conception of gift exchange, founded by M. Moss on the data of the primitive and ancient societies. Although Moss considered, that the gift is a "total" social fact, as we mentioned above, but its consideration is produced mainly in economic terms, and compared primarily with trade relations. In the future, other researchers have argued in this manner, they considered, that a gift is early commodity or anti-commodity, and it shifted the focus from the gift as a social but not only economical phenomenon[2]. These economic determinations will obviously need to be revised in line with the mentioned holistic interdisciplinary concepts, but even in the unchanged economic definitions centered on the movement of wealth between agents, in this case have sufficient explanatory value. The material aspect of the turnover of congratulations and gifts can be described using two complementary definitions: M. Moss and M. Sahlins. Moss has formulated the essence of the gift of the three obligations: the obligation to give, the obligation to receive and the obligation to return a gift. M. Sahlins, describing all types of economic exchange using the concept of reciprocity (reciprocity), the gift or generalized reciprocity defined as the exchange, in which the first gift is counting on roughly equivalent gift response, and the response time and the content will not stipulated in advance (Sahlins 1974 : 193-194).

Thus, repeating the cyrcle of feasts and birthday celebrations formed, when one of the coworkers invited all his colleagues to the celebration, and colleagues feel the need to give a gift in the form of equivalent treats on his birthday. Giving cash gifts during Birtday treats is separate, partly independent circle of gift exchange. This circle was formed later, than treats tradition, and it was formed at the suggestion of one of the socially active employees. "Newborn" employee, having once cash gift, felt obliged to take part in the subsequent cash gifts to colleagues. In the case of food, the size of the response gift, in fact, will have only a relative equivalence, because each employee selects products for the feast table according to own taste. Money gift size also depends on the number of participants, which may depend on the number of division staff and other factors, therefore, in this case the gifts have only an approximate equivalence too. Only time of treats and gifts in this case is known in advance, because the dates of birthdays of employees will be repeated every year.

In general, the historical data show that holiday feast, often become part of the gift exchanges relations. In societies, where exchange of gifts acquired competitive nature, feasts became a place of such events, or their part. Competition could lead to a form of feast, in that values could even be destroyed, for the elevation of the status of the organizer of the feast. However, when there were no preconditions for one of participants victory, egalitarian gift exchange network was formed. This network is considering, for example, Y. Semenov. He wrote about village feasts of the late XIX century in Russia. Each village of certain districts arranged them in turn (often, in the feast day of

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[2]   A brief overview of the concepts of "gift like other commodity" see in [Verhovcev 2015: 8-12].

the church or the chapel, located in the settlement) and the invited were the inhabitants of all the villages that were part of "festive" network (Semjonov 1996: 79). This case is in many respects similar to studied office network: the role of the host in turn perform all participants in the network, also the date of the general holidays are distributed relatively evenly over the days of the year. Also in both cases the holidays had "hidden" function to establish informal communication between participants.

In both cases is preserved function of competition in an implicit form. The hosts in the village wanted to treat ourselves guests better, and the "newborns" tried to treat their colleagues is not worse than previously treated. Moreover, employees who claimed to formal (heads) or informal leadership in the team, trying to surpass the normal scope of such treats, buy for the celebration of any unusual, sometimes quite expensive foods. Of course, this cannot be compared in scale to the extravagance of the peasants, who bring themselves to impoverishment after such feasts (Semjonov 1996: 81), but feast day were the main holidays in their life, while celebrating a birthday at work is only one among several events, such as Birthday celebrations with family and friends.

It should be pointed out, that the common for the holidays in the Russian village of the late XIX century, and for celebrations in the Contemporary Russian office of the beginning of the XXI century is also a function of the deposit, which, apparently, often accompaniess by the gift exchanges transactions. Its essence lies in the fact, that the scarce good that is accessible for a short time, but in large amount, gifted to another, that he returned the gift later. So, what would benefit only a short time, gift exchanges embedded in the "bank" and after a certain time return back for free, and thus the access time to the good extended. A single village could not afford more than one crowded holiday a year, but joining the informal alliance of villages, arrange holidays at a time, inhabitants of the village visited all neighboring feasts. The same thing happens in the office: the employee invited his colleagues in birthday cakes or pizza, and he was invited to the subsequent similar events, when he could distract from the work routine, and communicated with colleagues in an informal atmosphere.

So, the case of the circle of mutual treats in the Russian office used to test the concept "neotraditionalism" in the study of modern societies. The function and the structure of the circle could be explained using the theory of gift exchange, set up on the archaic societies data, that shows the overall prospects of such approaches. Of course, it would be interesting to consider other manifestations of the existing informal network, its interaction with other informal communities of company division and the organization as a whole. Finally, these results may be included in the disciplinary scope of application areas of anthropology, for example, for identification the role of informal institutions in workflow efficiency. But we will leave implementation of these tasks to future research.

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Assessment implementation of participatory approach in Improvement and Renovation deteriorated area
(Case study: Gheytarieh, Tehran)

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Abstract

What more than anything create a sense of belonging in humans towards an environment are changes provided by them and based on their interests or needs. In fact, a place or an element of urban development creates a higher sense of belonging in those who were involved in its formation, rather than those who had no involvement in its formation. Civil participation means a serious presence, and an active, informed and organized and effective involvement of people, groups and urban organizations in the economic, social and cultural activities in urban life, to achieve urban collective goals. Gheytarieh, one of the ancient neighborhoods of Tehran, has an old history and legacy and has been a rural area of the capital, which was absorbed over time in Tehran and has developed. Generally, in Gheytarieh's worn out texture framework, communication networks, important historical monuments and public spaces have a particular priority. Of course, it is noteworthy that in addition to the above factors, some other factors also influence it and natural factors and gardens are of this category which is effective in determining the classification of the framework of this texture. This article is a review of people's participation as a proposed renewal strategy of worn out textures of Gheytarieh and its influencing factors; and to ultimately assess the impact of people's participation in worn out texture of this area. Of the research results, one is the high participation in realization of urban and humane renewal projects especially renovation of the worn out texture with partnership approach in Gheytarieh region of Tehran.

Keywords: **Civil participation, worn out texture, Gheytarieh region, renewal.**

1. Introduction

By "worn out", we mean inefficiency and reduction of the efficiency of a texture relative to other urban textures. The worn out texture and its inner elements is due to old age or lack of executive development programs and technical supervision on the texture formation. The outcome of wearing out that eventually reduces its prestige in people's minds, can be identified in a variety of forms including reducing the environmental conditions or lack of flexibility and safety as well as physical, social, economic and utility disorders (Sharan Consulting Engineers, 2006).The problematic urban texture is an urban texture in which different elements and factors, reduce the quality and value of the human environment.

The renewal stops in the texture, and the desire to migrate is deepened in residents (Jahanshahi, Urban Development Queries). In another definition, the worn out urban textures are those statutory city ranges that because of physical exhaustion and lack of urban utilities have become vulnerable and have low location, environmental and economic value. In General, reducing the efficiency of every phenomena, lack of maintenance and revitalization will wear it out. Wear out of the urban texture affects the texture structure as well as its social and economic activities.

The structural wear out and deterioration of social and economic life of the texture, in a reciprocal relationship, intensify each other and cause severe degradation of urban life and living quality. Ineffective and worn out urban textures cover a significant portion of the city of Tehran and other towns in the country. These textures, on the one hand, suffer from a wide range of problems like structural, functional, traffic and environmental issues, and on the other hand, they have the highest potential of a city for the use of land to provide accommodation, open services spaces, as well as environmental improvement. The worn out texture, despite strong neighborhood integration and social texture, suffers from problems beyond construction style and its issues because of its urban position among other city areas.

Therefore, intervention in these textures must not merely be a type of structural action. The texture decline which is a result of physical and economic deterioration gradually undermines the possibility of proper and efficient land use and will result in wasting land in powerful parts of the city, like central and old areas. Empty spaces and worn out textures in the heart of the cities are being abandoned while the city's physical expansion creates new problems every day in addition to existing problems and issues. The extent of the worn out textures with huge problems and lack of clear strategies regarding planning and project management and implementation in the field of cooperation in the reconstruction of such a context, is another factor that mandates discussing this topic. On the other hand, what puts dealing with worn out textures of our country in the bottleneck, is the lack of correct distinction between historical context and worn out textures that sometimes paves the way for absolute protection like museum mentality, and ties the hands and legs of designers and practitioners. In many old cores, what is valuable is not existing structures and buildings and city building, but the paths, passages, neighborhood centers, social relations between residents, monuments and texture signatures that have social and cultural value.

Therefore, intervention in these textures must not merely be of the type of physical actions, or as it is sometimes called, demolition and reconstruction again. In a lot of areas, improvement of texture and participatory action with people living in it is very favorable and offers sustainable methods which can be carried out in short term and empower citizenship in the context. To improve neighborhoods with worn out texture, participatory methods are required - with a partnership between sectors and the bottom - up methods - to provide local economy's self - sufficiency and prosperity.

The multiplication of today's cities, poses the main challenge in the physical realm and in the cultural arena, which leads to facilitating in local government. This partnership has three poles: one is citizens, another is entrepreneurs and investors, and the last one is local politicians and authorized experts. Citizens are not inactive information resources to be attacked by the influx of questionnaires, but they have indigenous knowledge and experimental wisdom and are acquainted with local constraints and challenges.

Citizens ' participation in city building, perhaps due to the nature of the cities (a place to live for people / citizens), may seem obvious and at the same time ambiguous and intangible. Ambiguous, since in today's communities, modern governments are ruling over city core, and policy makers determine the future of cities, so citizens' participation is a kind of interference with power structure. On the other hand, actual participation is possible when the main intention of planners is rooted in their internal and serious conviction to real participation of citizens (Habibi, Mohsen, 2005). Appreciating citizens' views as cells in urban community in order to promote the purposes and objectives of urban development plans is a topic whose modern manifest is not too old, but discussing civil participation, mobilization of local forces, and protection of their culture and identity as one of the principles of Rio Declaration in the Environment & Development Conference - or Earth Summit – in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992, shows the importance of this topic (Laghaee, Mohammadzadeh, 2008). also, two major initiatives to improve urban life and global management were presented in the UN meeting in 1996:

(A) Increasing quality of functional criteria of urban management

(B) To encourage people to participate in urban affairs (Prdaraz Consulting Engineers, 2004)

Global experiences offered by countries participating in this meeting shows that many of these countries, particularly the developed countries, realize the importance of citizens' participation for the implementation of urban management program (UMP). So some of the neighborhoods or neighborhood units have a fundamental role in land use decision (General Plan, 2002).

2. Public participation

Since late 1960s, the role of citizen participation in the communities took over more than before. Ernstein, in an article published in 1969 for the first time, clearly defined the concept of participation. His article was frequently used later by pundits and was the basis for the partnership theories (Mohsen Habibi, Hadi Saeedi Rezvani, 2005). He tried to clarify the citizen engagement meanings using the eight ladder - steps partnership metaphor. In the

metaphor, the various degrees of impact or the direct power of the people were evaluated on the decision making.

3. Public Participation Ladder
- Citizen control
- Delegated power   - Participation power scale
- Partnership
- Placation
- Consultation   - Partial participation
- Informing
- Therapy   - No participation
- Manipulation
- Reference: Ostheusen, 1998

At the lowest level of Ernstein ladder, there is no power for the citizens. In other words, the lack of participation shows itself in two categories that he has named Manipulation and Therapy. Ernstein holds that the Manipulation means some government agencies form a dummy substitute of partnership whose true purpose is training citizens to accept tasks that have been already determined (Sharifian Sani, 2001).

Participation of the people in General, is the spontaneous and informed formation of a group of people living in a district to improve housing and residential environment in a non - profit way and on the basis of informed and voluntary selection that demands involvement of people at all stages of the preparation monitoring and implementing of a plan (Sheikhi, 1997).

Also among non - Iranian experts, Friedman has raised the necessity of a revision in thought, and planning and shifting from large scale decision - making to local aspects of everyday life. He believes the traditional planning framework in order to today's conditions is in need of change. He emphasizes that planning as the knowledge and activities that occur in "time and space" dimensions, should change its position again. In time means that:
- Planning is an activity occurring in present everyday life and not in a future that we may imagine.
- Planning should be quick and immediate, a process which currently occurs among the people and not among the reports and documents.

In space means that:
- Planning on the local and regional scale precedes the national and international scale.
- Planning on the local and regional scale, is non - centralized and open.

From his perspective, the city and neighborhood unit are places where meaningful citizen participation may be realized. He holds that, national and international space is not a space where ordinary people can substantially affect the course of affairs. But the people affect the spaces wherein they make a living and their everyday life is going on and quality of these spaces has superb significance for them (Hajipour,2004).

Therefore, from the above point of views, we can conclude that not only the participation of citizens in development of the city and urban projects as the main exploiters of city should be in order, but we must pay attention to this statement by Rogers the famous English architect:

<p style="text-align:center">"The city makes its citizens and the citizens make their city»</p>

On this basis, focusing on a planning model based on people's participation and local planning groups, which is a type of bottom – up planning, is considered appropriate for urban planning and management in all parts of the city, especially the worn out textures in need of serious and faster participation of citizens in order to improve the quality of their environment. Participation means the presence and involvement of the people in determining the fate of economic, social, cultural and political issues, but in relation to the type of participation, there are different definitions. The table below shows the people's participation modes in various worn out urban textures:

<p style="text-align:center">Types of people's participation and government intervention</p>

Texture category	Types of government intervention	Types of people's participation
Type A: reputable and historical textures	full involvement of the government through the relevant institutions (urban development and renovation organization, cultural heritage organization, municipality, etc.) by capturing State Budget.	Cooperation in selling some residential / business units to expand passages, aggregating texture's lands, creating institutions of welfare services and so on, and evacuating the textures.
Type B: scattered historical textures, or else	Involvement of government for the preparation of detailed plans and intentions with respect to people's requirements and with the intention of keeping the residents there and facilitating the continuation of living and activity in the texture through improvement of passages and creating necessary services spaces.	The participation of people who could be with the organization of the neighborhood groups on the level or on the pass or... To cooperate with the government in order to facilitate the sale of parts of the texture that are merely used to create a crossover or public spaces, and placement of homeowners and residents within the texture, including assigning proper reconstruction loans, providing an additional density incentive, the exemptions for water, power, gas and telephone and. .. ultimately to enable the textures and to create accommodation complexes appropriate with social and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants.

| Type C: worn out textures without historical value | The involvement of the Government in order to prepare detailed plans and reform of required passageways and welfare / services enterprises by directing social groups lacking any housing to these textures and to change the social nature and to create the right living environment for low income groups, etc. | In such areas, we encounter two groups of people: one is the owners of residential units and the other, residents, who are different with each other. The first group are eager to buy and receive related funds because they have left the neighborhood long ago and look for a buyer, and the second group who do not have any loyalty to the neighborhood and also they are opposed to disrupting the existing situation, and naturally resist change. This group does not accept the terms of economic improvement and will not cooperate. In this area, government entry as executor of all renovation projects is not recommended but it is necessary to prepare the project, and attract the participation of the private sector to be present in the reconstruction. Construction of roads, required urban services in the area and construction of residential complexes by public companies facilitate the possibility of the presence of the private sector, or a part of the region's homeowners. |
| Type D: new worn out textures constructed in suburbs | The government is obliged to officially recognize these regions based on government decree and responsibility and provide an organizing plan for them. The plan includes construction of the appropriate passageways, to serve the area and issuing title deeds, etc. Each of these factors by itself is enough to encourage residents to cooperate and participate in betterment of the area. But in this respect and also in the previous instance, the necessary agencies | In these areas, while we do not encounter a consistent urban board, but the region contains ethnic and clan groups with adequate internal cohesion, however, in their interactions may have a lot of conflicts and confrontation. It is important that in such areas, there are many subsidies for the participation and the presence of people for implementation of the projects of the Government. Since their displacement and spreading them inside the city is not recommended by any sociologist, thus they must be |

| | must be established to set the grounds for participation. | organized inside the same area but the necessity to provide minimal urban services can facilitate participation in organizing plan. The major point here is creating a participatory public agency and also establishing social agencies with the presence of the residents and this participation can be realized through societies or committees so the competitiveness and taking over phenomenon that is strong in the area's residents can be exploited. |

Reference: Thesis (Application of urban renewal approach in the worn out textures of City of Tonkabon)

With regard to the extent of worn out textures in Tehran (approximately 50% of residential areas), the following factors as the main obstacles to the reconstruction of worn out textures and refers to the necessity of participation of residents:

1 - Time limitation: If we optimistically estimate 1% reconstruction of worn out texture annually, it takes 100 years for total reconstruction of worn out texture. Notwithstanding during these years, many new and semi – constructed buildings will be added to the current worn out texture.

2 - Limitation of financial resources: the financial resources of any organization alone cannot afford this level of investment. If people's investments are used in a megacity like Tehran with significant population, certainly the reconstruction would be facilitated.

3 - Sustainable development: reconstruction of an area should be based on indigenous identity and culture platform, so in the end, it does not force the current inhabitants to migrate. Because in such conditions, worn out texture, marginal slums, etc. will occur in another location in the city (Andalib, Alireza, 2010).

4. Global experiences

A review of the experience of countries that were successful to attract participation in worn out texture, showed their experiences can be used in spite of physical, cultural, political and economic differences and we can utilize their achievements in modernization of these textures in our country. the French politicians (Prime Minister, and the Mayor of Grenoble) implemented a program entitled "social development of neighborhoods" or SECO?. An important innovation of the plan was close cooperation of government and local institutions and the role of citizens in the process of planning, project, and overall, urban development. In the neighborhoods that are selected for the implementation of the plan, the government contracts the municipality. According to this contract, private offices are established in

problematic neighborhoods to assume contract execution job under mayor and act as main element in management of urban planning and the project. The duty of the office includes a role of intermediary between official institutions and representatives of civil society (forums, etc.). It is also responsible for providing the best local conditions for citizens' intervention at various stages of the program (Athari,2002).

Also, the collaborative renovation experience in a neighborhood in the east of Paris in district 20 (project includes 3 stages) reveals that:

1. Providing full information to the public

2. Polls

3. More exchange of ideas on a certain project.

The plan was provided by three groups: the Municipality, city building professionals, and inhabitants, and was dynamic and flexible.

In the American City of Oakland, some citizens started citizenship participation policies and programs with several operational stages as follows:

1. Coding houses and determining social development needs

2. Preparing savings schemes (funding) for the next year in the annual plan proposal

3. Official confirmation of City Council after the final annual plan or five - year strategic plan

4. It is possible that some requirements will be added and changes should be made for the budget use.

5. After completion of the full year program and when the program was established, the annual implementation and evaluation of reports should be made public.

Public participation program is only effective when the public can be aware of changes and has the opportunity to comment on the plans (City of Oakland, 2000). Also, Majale's experiences in Kenya related to unofficial habitats, achieved interesting results about civil participation. In his Bandanna Project, he found that the level of satisfaction among those who have been consulted about the project was higher, and not only they were inclined to pay the costs, but also, depending on the value of housing utilization, the environment, and the advantages of these services for the individual, and their inclination to pay the cost by the beneficiaries, the project got higher execution priority (Majale, 1998). after this brief investigation, some cases showed that the involvement of citizens in the success of the programs, and also growth and development of the city and assisting urban management, is undeniable. Now, by demonstrating some types of participation between people and the municipality - as the major authority of city development   affairs in a historical context – we study the status quo of civil participation.

5. **The necessity of using participatory planning towards urban reconstruction and renovation of worn out texture**

The process of renovation and reconstruction of the urban worn out texture in the past and present, shows that the state and municipality acted in the very limited scale and without regard to the economic, social and environmental dimensions, and the popular participation

potential in such textures (Majedi, 2010). Paying attention to the improvement and renovation of the urban worn out texture and the citizenry partnership issue has many different dimensions and this must be followed gradually. When we talk about people's partnership, it is expected that the costs related to reclamation and renovation must be paid by the people and residents of such textures.

While in principle, texture regeneration and conservation of historical monuments, ancient architecture and cultural heritage values are a national category. So we cannot expect that all costs and plans be funded by such textures (where they are worn out, most of its inhabitants are from the lower classes of society, and are fleeing).

Now, there are two very important issues to be discussed:

First, if only the Government must intervene in urban worn out texture, it means stripping authority from the people and inhabitants of the texture and therefore it will not be sustainable, because the renovation is not natural.

Secondly, if the government (as a strong investor) do not intervene in worn out textures and do not encourage people to do so, people never attempt the renewal of texture and will gradually leave (Naraghi, 2001).

6. Introduction of studied zone

Gheytarieh, one of the ancient neighborhoods of Tehran, has an old history and legacy and has been a suburb area near the capital Tehran which was absorbed over time in Tehran and developed. It can be said that Gheytarieh was the first place in the north of Tehran around Alborz mountain range that was a human habitat. The first inhabitants were similar to those who lived three thousand years ago in Cheshmeh Ali. The "problematic Gheytarieh Hill" is an old hill in Gheytarieh, at the intersection of Shahid Amir Karimi st., today's Gheytarieh Ave., and Saba Blvd. It is noteworthy that before inhabitants settle on the hill, until 1947 or 1949, dry land cultivation methods were used on it. The hill was the settlement of tribes that have migrated there a few years after the initial formation of the hill, which include Isfahan people coming from Isfahan, Turks from Azerbaijan, Lurs and Tabasi people.
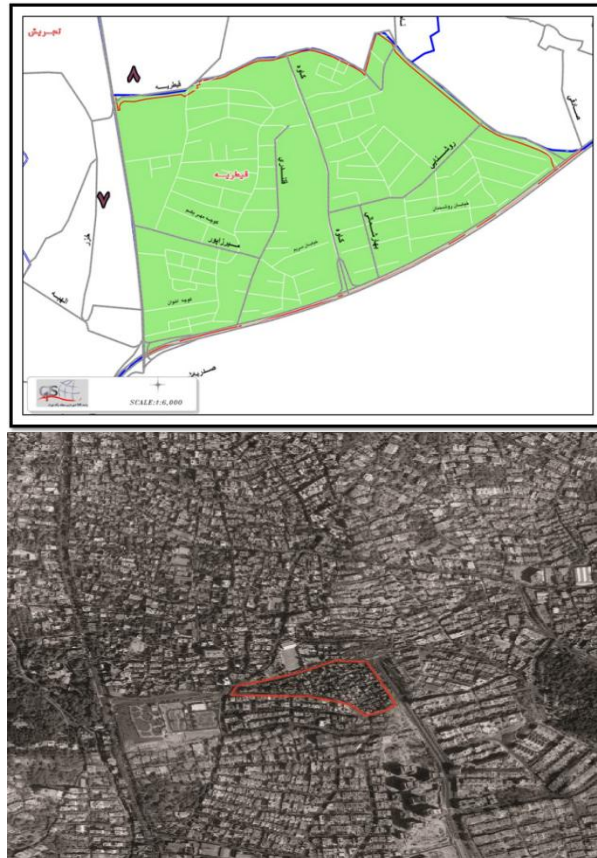
Map and aerial photos of worn out texture of Gheytarieh Hill

Gheytarieh's problematic texture is limited on the north to Gheytarieh St., on south to Shahid Dehghan Kaman St., on west to the intersection of Saba Blvd. and Gheytarieh St. and Shahid Amir Hossein Karimi St. (Bouali St.) and Fatemieh St., on the east to Kaveh Blvd. Generally, in terms of determining the classification of each texture; communication networks, important historical monuments, and public spaces have a particular priority.

7. Prediction of social associations' participation in the reconstruction of the Neighborhood

Participation is "the mental and emotional involvement of individuals in a group formation and they help each other to achieve group objectives and share the responsibility of the work". Therefore, the presence of persons, and their involvement and accountability are important components of their participation (Alavi Tabar, Alireza, 2000).

In a classification, participation can be divided into three types:

1 - Includes participation in decision making and management: evaluation and criticism of programs and at large - scale, decision making and administration of a city or a neighborhood. This type of participation depends on mutual trust among groups, existing regulations in executive systems, urban administrator's outlook, structure and performance of public groups, etc.

2 - Participation in financing the projects: financing administration of city or neighborhoods, service delivery, and the implementation of various civil projects have many financial resources, and the two main sources are public grants and taxing the citizens.

3 - In this regard, some of the financing can be implemented by correct economic guidance along with attracting private investors, or participation of citizenry agencies. Participation in providing human resources: one of the participations is provision of human resources to carry out civil plans and development programs. This type of participation depends on age composition of the population and the amount of people's spare time.

 - Prediction of the amount of participation of social organizations is related to the various factors that connect on one side, with the type and structure of associations, and on the other side, with the amount and the type of relationship with government organizations. In this regard, according to the interviews, some of the characteristics of social organizations in the neighborhood may be pointed out:

 - Some of the neighborhood associations are based on the family / ethnic links. In this regard, appropriate communication of authorities of these associations with the neighborhood residents, and solidarity with the people for establishment or development of a civil agency is a positive point.

 - Non - government organizations or people's associations can be divided according to performance scale to small, medium and large units. In this regard, based on the number of members of each association, the amount of their credits and covered areas, these units are generally classified as small scale.

 - Non - governmental organizations' connections with governmental organizations (effective in urban development) have been weak and interaction between these sectors has not resulted in establishing services or improving environmental conditions for the households.

 - These units have special activity areas and their performance shows that they were not active in neighborhood development efforts.

 - The attitude of the officials of the associations is often based on emphasis on economic and social issues, and they believe the existing physical issues are caused by poor economic conditions of the households.

 - The financial power of these associations to improve the physical conditions is very limited and cannot be exploited.

 - The final evaluation of social organizations of neighborhood reflects that their financial power cannot be exploited in the project, but utilizing and identification of their points of view can increase the executive ability of the project.

A study of the residents' views on neighborhood development shows that among the total study sample households (68 households), approximately 33.8% of households stated that the situation was better than the past, 25 percent of households said the present status of the neighborhood was worse than the past, and 36.8% saw no differences. It is evident that more than half of the residents had a negative evaluation of the neighborhood changes (including lack of change and adverse changes).

Table 1 - Evaluation of studied households in the problematic texture about the neighborhood status relative to the past

View	Number	%
Got better year after year	23	33/8
Got worse year after year	17	25
No changes occurred	25	36/8
Unknown	3	4/4
Total	68	100

Chart 1: Distribution of studied households in the worn out texture by percentage, which evaluated the neighborhood status relative to the past
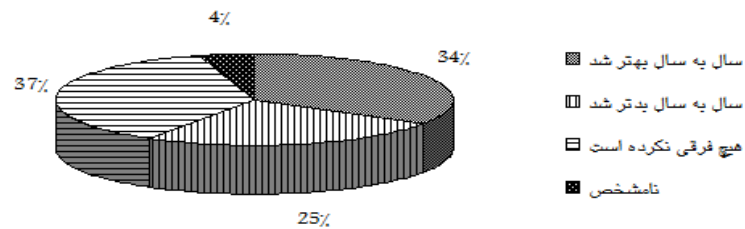
Based on study sample, from 68 households, about 48.5 percent of households tend to continue living in problematic texture, and 45.6 percent of households expressed dissatisfaction to go on living in the neighborhood, also 5.9% of households were undecided. Accordingly, a significant proportion of residents of the problematic texture showed dissatisfaction resulting from inadequate social and physical conditions in the neighborhood.

Table 2 - Evaluation of studied households in the worn out texture about continued residence

View	Number	%
Prefer to stay	33	48/5
Prefer not to stay	31	45/6
Unknown	4	5/9
Total	68	100

Chart 2: Distribution of studied households in the worn out texture by percentage, which evaluated the question of continued residence
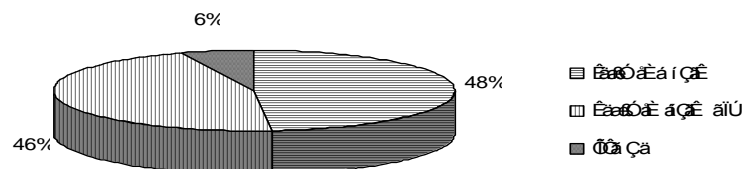
## 8. The solutions to collaborative neighborhood improvement

Study on the residents about the neighborhood recovery solutions indicates from 68 households, a considerable proportion like to demolish the neighborhood and build apartments (38.2% of the total number of households) and wanted major modification of

some passageways (27.9%). On this basis, most households want major reform in the neighborhood including improving housing conditions and the passageway network.

Table 2 - Evaluation of studied households in the worn out texture about neighborhood recovery solutions

%	Number	View
5/9	4	Neighborhood must continue as is
10/3	7	Partial modification needed
27/9	19	Major modification of some passageways needed
38/2	26	Neighborhood must be demolished and apartments must be built
4/4	3	Neighborhood residents must be relocated
13/2	9	Unknown
100	68	Total

Chart 3: Distribution of studied households in the worn out texture by percentage, which evaluated the question of neighborhood recovery solutions
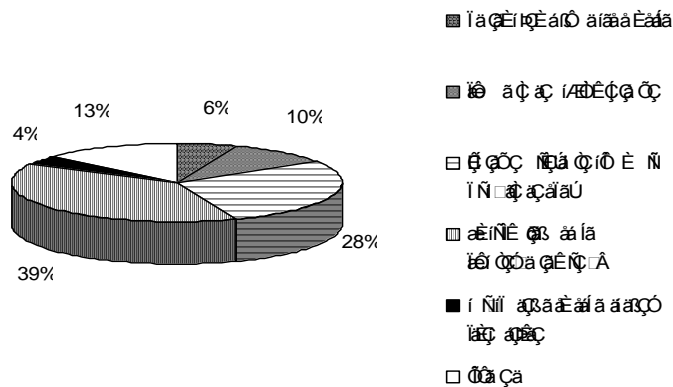
9. Conclusion

As it was pointed out, a main cause of wearing out the texture and separating it from the city level is narrow - minded approach to these textures, and ignoring people's participation in its renovation. Also, underestimating the people, customs and culture of the people in the region, and the lack of participation of the people is another factor of this decline. To exploit the people and dynamic social participation and to achieve a sustainable city and participation in the shadow of active and effective partnership of people and the non - government sector, and creation of that platform, it is necessary to encourage, support, and empower them. recent experience has shown that in many cases, where the city administration has acted selfishly and unilaterally without asking people's views, it has not been so unsuccessful. Therefore, if the people are one side of the project of urban development, and urban authorities (managers and planners) are on the other side, it must be like a loop whose starting and ending point is discussion and idea exchange. after discussions, the time comes for decision making and taking action and project execution. After this stage, the effectiveness of the plan shall be

determined and the cycle is repeated until the project is expected to reach the desired conclusion. it must be noted that citizen participation planning is a process and not a project and by internalization of it in citizenry through participation agencies, the substrate for cooperation and participation and transparent settings for attracting such participation can be realized. in the case study of sensitivity analysis, and attitude of Gheytarieh residents about necessity of participation in renewal of regional texture, the following points are noteworthy:

 - Some residents are families so any structural plan must be must be presented based on family structure ruling there.

 - One of the factors effective in renovation of the neighborhood by the residents, is the prevailing social strata structure, because most residents of the area placed in the medium and lower income classes.

 - Evaluation of residents of the neighborhood improvement solution is not limited to a particular class or group.

 - Small residential parcels resulted in increasing minor owners and offering structural plans to transfer residents to newly built complexes or purchase of neighborhood lands means conflicting with many households.

 - Residents of the neighborhood are generally owner of residential units.

 - A significant part of the residents hold negative views about the neighborhood changes relative to the past.

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