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Editorial

Dear Colleagues and Readers

I am so glad to present Volume 4, Issue 2 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 December 2017 and your valuable contributions are welcome till 20 November 2017.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba

Editor-in-Chief

The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies (IJHCS)

Agreement and Anti-Agreement in Berber: A Multiple-Feature Inheritance Account

Saleem Abdelhady

Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada

Abstract

This study proposes understanding Agreement and Anti-Agreement in Berber from Multi-Feature Inheritance (MFI) account following Branigan's (2016) recent approach. The study aims to bridge a misunderstanding in the literature where it has been assumed that Feature Inheritance (FI) can only account for Agreement relations while Anti-agreement relations can only be established by a direct Agree between C as a probe and its goal. Under MFI, it can be argued that FI can account for all aspects of Agreement/Anti-agreement. The study, therefore, presents a unification of the three mechanisms proposed by Ouali (2008). The new approach is tested on data from Berber.

Keywords: Linguistics, Phase Theory, Multiple Feature Inheritance.

1. Introduction

Subject-verb agreement is one of the well-studied phenomenon in the literature. In many languages, subject-verb agreement is established when verbs agree with their subjects in terms of person, number, and gender. An interesting group of languages, however, show that under certain constructions subject-verb agreement is blocked. Ouhalla (1993) calls this linguistic phenomenon Anti-Agreement Effect (AAE). Based on Baier's (2016) recent survey of AAE, seven different proposals have been set to provide an analysis of AAE in eighteen languages, among which is Berber. Two of such proposals argue that AAE can be C-T relation (Henderson, 2013; Ouali, 2008). While Henderson (2013) and Ouali (2008) share the view that C-T relation can account for AAE, they differ in the way they tackle the problem and the languages they explore (Berber and Bantu). Basically, the aim of this article is to describe agreement and anti-agreement constructions in Berber, analyze Ouali's (2008) proposal and explore how such constructions can be accounted for under Branigan's (2016) new proposal, Multiple-Feature Inheritance (MFI).

2. Theoretical Background

Across languages, subject-verb agreement is established when the person/number features of the verb get assigned the same values as those of the subject. In some languages like Arabic and Berber, subjects can agree with their verbs fully (Soltan, 2006). A full agreement is established when the person, number and gender features of the verb match those of the subject. A few representative examples from Arabic and Berber appear below.

- (1) *alwalad-u ya?kulu alburtuqalata* (Arabic)
 the.boy.3SG.M-NOM eat.3SG.M the.orange
 'The boy is eating the orange' (Al-Shorafat,
 2012)
- (2) *thamttut Th-e?la araw* (Berber¹)
 woman 3SG.FEM-see.PERF boys
 'The woman saw the boys' (Ouali,
 2008)

In both

Arabic and Berber, the verbs *ya?kulu* 'eat' and *Th-e?la* 'see' show a full agreement with their subjects. Like Arabic, Berber has two word orders: SVO (e.g., (2)) or VSO (e.g., (3)).

- (3) *Th-e?la thamttut araw* (Berber)
 3SG.FEM-see.PERF woman boys
 'The woman saw the boys'

Moreo

ver, Berber is a pro-drop language i.e., it permits the use of null subjects because its verbs are rich in agreement morphology.

Subject agreement on verbs can be blocked. In Berber, verbs do not inflect for their subjects in constructions that involve local subject extraction. These include: (1) subject wh-clauses, (2)

¹ The examples throughout this article are drawn from Ouali's (2008) study unless otherwise stated.

subject-relative clauses and (3) cleft constructions (Ouali, 2008, p. 164). The three types are illustrated in the following examples, respectively.

*mani thamttut ag ɣlan *Th-eɣla araw* (4)
which woman COMP see.PERF.Part 3SG.FEM-see.PERF boys

‘Which woman saw the boys?’

*thamttut ag ɣlan *Th-eɣla araw* (5)
woman COMP see.PERF.Part 3SG.FEM-see.PERF boys

‘The woman who saw the boys’

*thamttut-a ag ɣlan *Th-eɣla araw* (6)
woman COMP see.PERF.Part 3SG.FEM-see.PERF boys

‘It was this woman that saw the boys’

Unlike example (2), we notice that the agreement on the verb *ɣlan* ‘see’ does not match its subject *thamttut(-a)* ‘woman’. In fact, using a verb that inflects for subject instead leads to ungrammatical sentences. That is to say, the use of the verb *Th-eɣla* ‘see’ instead of *ɣlan* ‘see’ is not possible. Ouhalla (1993) and Ouali (2008) attribute the lack of agreement on verb to AAE; once AAE is active, the default participial form of the verb appears.

However, AAE will have no effect when subjects are extracted from embedded clauses as illustrated in example (6) below.

*ma ag inna Ali th-eɣla *ɣlan araw* (6)
who COMP 3.SG.said Ali 3SG.FEM.saw *saw.PART boys

‘Who did Ali say saw the boys?’

In example (6), we

notice that the use of a verb that does not inflect for subject is not possible and leads to ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, subject-verb agreement is obligatory and AAE is blocked in this context.

To sum up, in Berber, subject-verb relations can be described as follows: in simple declarative constructions, verbs show agreement with their subjects, in root clauses, local subject extraction blocks subject-verb agreement, yet, in embedded clauses, long subject extraction does not affect subject-verb agreement.

3. Review of Ouali’s Proposal

AAE has been a topic of research since Ouhalla's (1993) study. Recently, two studies ((Henderson, 2013) and (Ouali, 2008)) have suggested that AAE could fit the framework of Feature Inheritance and Agree once some “small changes” are made. Such changes pour out from a logical understanding of the way features transfer from C to T. In this section, I review the two approaches and their basic principles. Yet, since my immediate concern is to analyze AAE in Berber, Ouali’s (2008) approach will be the centre of discussion throughout the remainder of this article.

Ouali’s analysis of agreement and anti-agreement is based on three core conditions that are introduced in Chomsky’s earlier works. The conditions can be stated as follows: (1) Heads Activation (for him, heads are active only when they include unvalued features), (2) Probe Condition (probing takes place only if heads are active) and (3) Completeness Condition (u-case is valued and deleted as long as probing heads contain a complete set of agreement features)

(Radford, 2009, pp. 312–313). Thus, if T is active and ϕ -complete, it can value u-case of subjects. He extends this generalization by proposing that an active C with a complete ϕ can value u-case of subjects as well.

Having the three conditions in mind, Ouali proposes deriving the three types of the aforementioned constructions, in light of the following logic:

- A. In simple declarative clauses, agreement takes place when T becomes active by inheriting unvalued features from C. By being active, T probes for the closest DP to value its unvalued features. Both T and the subject value their unvalued features.
- B. In local subject extraction, AAE shows up by establishing a direct probe-goal relationship between C and the subject. The basic idea is that C, in AAE constructions, does not transfer its unvalued features to T. Assuming this to be the case means that C remains active while T is not by virtue of not inheriting any features from C.
- C. In embedded clauses that involve long subject extraction, two stages are involved. The first utilizes the logic of (A) to account for subject-verb agreement (T and the DP) in the embedded CP. The second blends the logic of (A) and (B). That is to say, C not only transfers its u-features to the matrix T but also keeps a copy for itself. C and T in the matrix clause are active heads.

(A), (B) and (C) are referred to as DONATE, KEEP and SHARE, respectively (Ouali, 2008, p. 170). Ouali (2008) argues that these mechanisms should be applied in order. If the derivation does not converge by using (A), (B) comes second and as a final resort (C) is used. Even though (B) and (C) seem to be turn over stages to approach the problem, they have logical bases. How C skips transferring features to T is based on a logical understanding of the Completeness Condition. Such logic legitimizes (B) and (C) since nothing prevents C from valuing unvalued features of subjects.

In order to test Ouali's (2008) proposal, I aim to apply his mechanisms to a new set of data from Berber relying on Ouhalla's study (1993). The analysis, therefore, focuses on deriving constructions phase by phase with the following assumptions in mind:

- A) Donate C Tu ϕ > Simple declarative constructions
- B) Keep Cu ϕ T > Locally extracted subject
- C) Share Cu ϕ Tu ϕ > Long subject extraction in embedded clauses

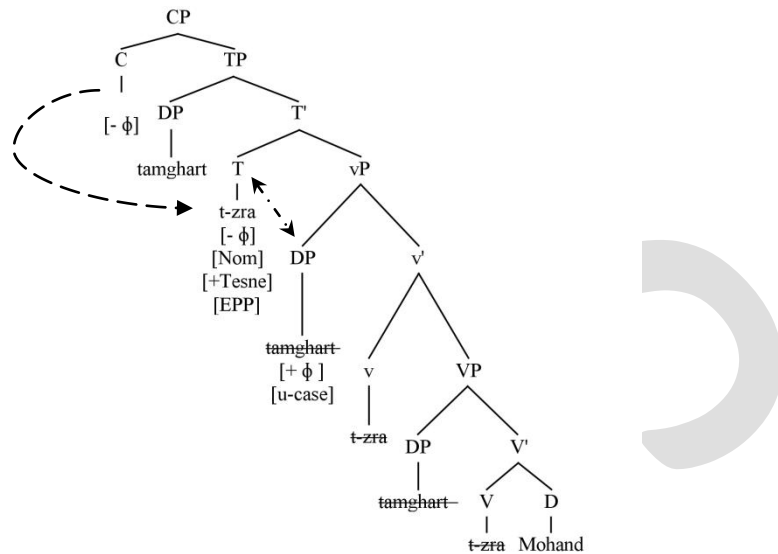
In light of Ouali's (2008) proposal, in simple declarative structures, ϕ -features originate in the phasal head C of the CP, through FI, they transfer down to the T head of the TP. Once C transfers its features, it becomes inactive. The T head gets activated and probes for the closest DP to value its unvalued features. The example in (7) can be derived as shown in (8) below.

- (7)
- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>tamghart</i> | <i>t-zra/ *yzrin</i> | <i>Mohand</i> |
| woman | 3FEM.SG-See/*see-PART | Mohand |
- 'The woman saw Mohand' (Ouhalla, 1993, p. 479)

According to Ouali (2008), C gives all its features to T without leaving a copy. Once T inherits the unvalued ϕ features of C; T becomes active and probes for the closest active DP to value its unvalued features. The DP *tamghart* is active since it has u-case. Thus, it becomes the goal of T

(T probes for the DP *tamghart* and not *Mohand* since the case of *Mohand* has already been checked and erased by the verb *t-zra*). Feature Valuation guarantees that the unvalued features of T and the DP get valued. Once Feature Valuation is complete, the DP *tamghart* moves to occupy Spec-TP in order to satisfy the EPP requirement. This guarantees that the verb *t-zra* inflect for the subject because of the Agree relation between T and the DP.

(8)

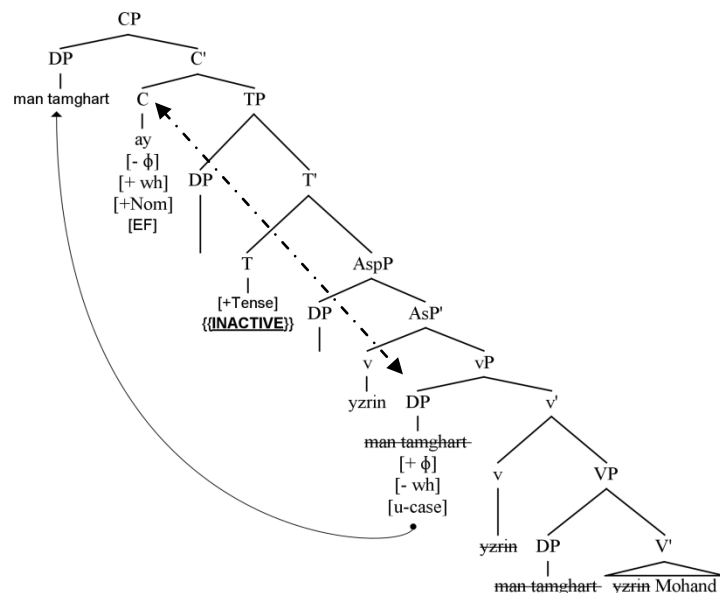


The example in (9) below illustrates the case of AAE; while the use of the verb *yzrin* that lacks ϕ agreement features with its subject is acceptable, using *t-zra* leads to ungrammatical construction.

- (9)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Man</i> | <i>tamghart</i> | <i>ay</i> | <i>yzrin</i> /* <i>t-zra</i> | <i>Mohand</i> |
| which | woman | COMP | see-PART/*3FEM.SG-See | Mohand |
| ‘Which woman saw Mohand?’ | | | | (Ouhalla, 1993, p. 479) |

According to Ouali (2008), when AAE is present in local subject extraction, the derivation converges when C keeps its features (wh-features, ϕ -features) and probes directly for the closest goal to value its unvalued features. Therefore the derivation proceeds through the lines in (10).

(10)



The DP, *man tamghart*, enters the derivation with valued ϕ -features and with unvalued case and wh-features. According to Chomsky, in order for the derivation to be sent to the PF component, the unvalued features must be valued. Therefore, a probe-goal relationship must be established between the DP and a syntactic phase head that is able to value its unvalued features.

Ouali (2008) shows that if the C head, a head that contains unvalued ϕ -features and a valued wh-feature transfers its features to T, this would result in an agreement relation between T and the DP. Thus, the DP raises to occupy Spec-TP. This would result in an agreeing verb with the subject. That is to say the verb **t-zra* 'see' would surface instead of the non-agreeing PERF verb *yzrin* 'see'. Therefore, Ouali argues that features should not transfer from C to T but the phasal head C probes for the DP directly resulting in a non-agreeing verb *yzrin* 'see'. Since T does not have/inherit unvalued features, it remains inactive during the derivation. Thus, the unvalued ϕ -features of C get valued by the valued ϕ -features of the DP and the unvalued wh-feature and u-case of the DP gets valued by C (see section 3.1 for when C can value u-case). The DP moves to Spec-C to satisfy the edge feature on C.

In embedded clauses, long subject extraction does permit subject agreement on verbs because of SHARE. The question in (11) below can be derived in the following lines.

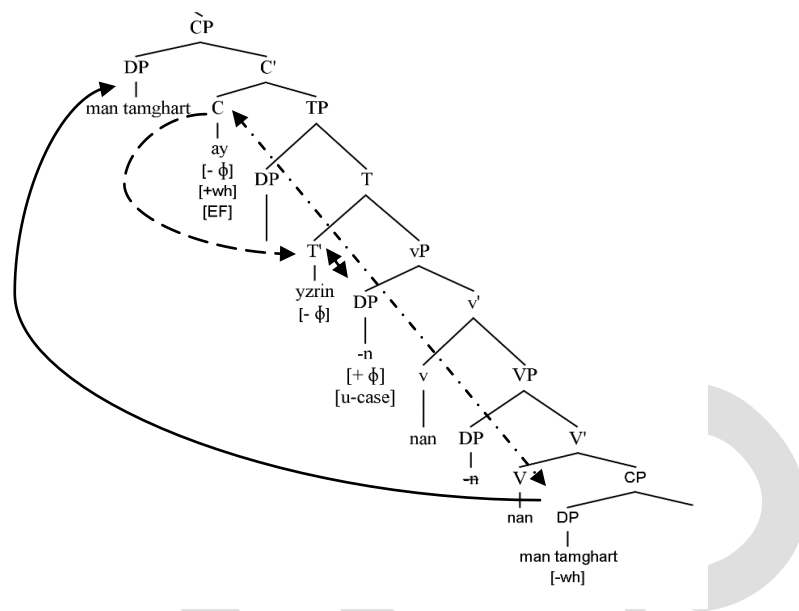
<i>man tamghart</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>nna -n</i>	<i>qa -t</i>	<i>zra</i>	<i>*ɕlan</i>	<i>Mohand</i>
Which woman	COMP	3.SG.said	that	3SG.FEM.saw	*saw.PART	Mohand
Which woman did they said [sic] saw Mohand?					(Ouhalla, 1993, p. 479)	

(11)

The C head transfers its unvalued ϕ -features to T and keeps a copy of these features so it remains active. In line of this T and C become active. T probes for the DP *man tamghart*. Since C in the

embedded clause does not have wh-feature, the wh-feature on the DP remains unvalued. Having unvalued wh-feature, the DP remains an active goal to probing.

(12)



In the matrix clause (See the derivation (12) above), C transfers its features to T and keeps a copy of such features. C and T are active heads for probing. Feature Valuation takes place between T and the DP *-n* and at the same time the unvalued wh-feature of *man tamghart* is valued by C. The DP *man tamghart* moves to occupy Spec-C satisfying the edge feature.

To guarantee that three mechanisms remain without overlapping, as a preventive measure, Ouali suggests that their application should be done based on a fixed order. Once a mechanism fails in Feature Valuation another mechanism apply. Saying so might be less economical from a bilingual point of view; the mind has to go through a complex algorithm to test the validity of each mechanism. In the following section, I present a new approach that blends the three mechanisms into one.

4. Multiple Feature Inheritance

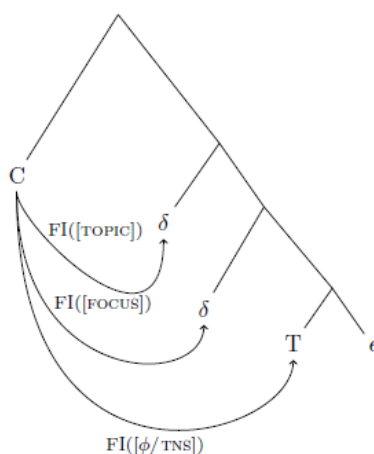
In his recent approach, Branigan (2016) changes some aspects in phase theory in order to increase its ability to account for the aspects of left periphery constructions that have been proposed by Rizzi (1997). The logic of his approach is based on two ideas. The first is that the interpretable features that are part of the C head should be expanded to include discourse features such as [wh], [Foc], [Top], [Subord] and [Tense]; as he shows this idea is well-rooted in the literature

(e.g., Shlonsky, 2006). Yet, it differs in that “FI can transfer features downwards to a variety of heads [.] Shlonsky’s [(2006)] analysis [however,] has C raising upwards through a series of “reprojected” positions, and actualising different feature sets in turn” (Branigan, 2016, p. 4). The second idea is that FI can apply multiply; thus, features can transfer from the phasal head C to many other discourse and phasal heads down in a derivation.

In principle, his approach works as follows. C includes different sets of interpretable features. By FI, C transfers these features down to different heads. The heads in turn becomes active and

ready to probe for their goals. While the mechanism does not differ from the way FI works, it does not limit the inheritance of features to one process – FI applies multiple times. This change is what gives the theory its name, Multiple Feature Inheritance (MFI). To understand how the theory works see the illustrative derivation below.

(13)



(Branigan, 2016, p. 6)

The approach has been proved to be fruitful for analyzing a number of syntactic phenomena: Left Periphery Constructions, Verb-Second constructions, Island effects and phrasal movement at the phrase level (Wh-questions and Subject-Auxiliary inversion). To illustrate how the approach work on the variability of left periphery, consider the following example as cited in Abdelhady (2017).

Due to the fact that it is not always the case where one topic precedes the focus or comes after it, MFI inheritance provides a relatively free order of left periphery constructions. Under MFI, the discourse features originate in the C head of the CP and they target discourse heads; such heads enter the derivation without any predefined features. They get their functions from the features they inherit from the phasal head C. Thus, the order of the left periphery heads is relative to which head is targeted by which feature. That is to say, if a delta head, δ , inherits a [Foc] from C, it becomes a target for a focalized element. By the same logic, if it inherits a [Top] feature, it becomes a target for a topicalized element. The theory, thus, gives free order of left periphery and does not limit the number of the unspecified discourse heads. In Arabic, two topics can come

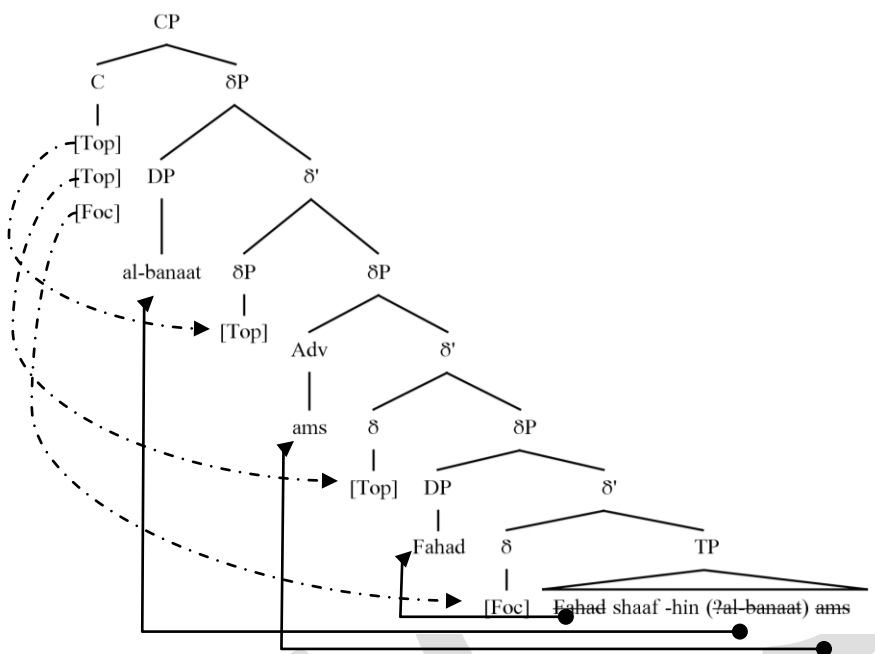
before the focus as it is illustrated in (19) below.

- (14) *al-banaat ams fahad shafi-hin*
the-girls yesterday Fahad see.perf.3sg.masc-them.f
'As for the girls, yesterday, FAHAD saw them.'

Turaif Arabic
(AlShammiry, 2007)

In order to account for this deviation, following MFI, Abdelhady (2017) argues that the three aspects of left periphery are features that originate in the C head. These features are transferred to δ heads in a multiple way. Thus, the example in (14) can be derived as follows.

(15)

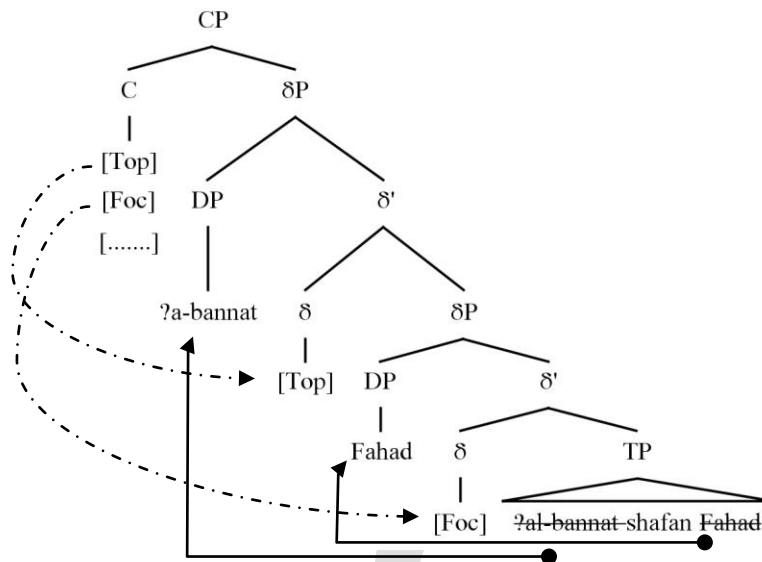


First, the phasal head C transfers a [Foc] feature to δ . The DP *Fahad* ‘Fahad’ raises to occupy Spec- δ P to satisfy the [Foc] feature of δ . At the same time, C also transfers two [Top] features to the δ heads above the one that received the [Foc] feature. Once the δ heads inherits, the [Top] features, the Adv., *ams* ‘yesterday’, and the DP, *?al-banaat* ‘the girls’, raise to occupy the specifier position of these heads. By saying so, there is no need to follow Rizzi’s (1997) hierarchical order as the order depends on FI.

Moreover, the approach itself is able to account for structures that go side by side with Rizzi’s (1997) approach. The sentence in (21) is repeated in (21) below.

- (16) *al-banaat Fahad shaaf-an* Turaif Arabic
the-girl-pl.f Fahad see.perf-3pl.f (16) the (AlShammiry, 2007)
In ‘As for the girls, they saw Fahad.’
topicalized element *al-banaat* ‘the girls’ comes before the focused element *Fahad* ‘Fahad’. By applying the same principle of MFI, the example in (17) can be derived as follows.

(17)



In addition to the unvalued $[-\phi]$ and [Tense] features, the C head has a [Top] and a [Foc] features. The three features are transferred in a multiple way to three heads, T and two δ heads. After becoming active the T head probes for the closet active goal *?al-bannat* and values its unvalued [case] feature. The DP *?al-bannat* also values the unvalued $[-\phi]$ feature in C. After that the DP moves to occupy Spec- δ P to satisfy the [Top] feature that has been transferred from C to δ . The word *Fahad* also moves from its position as the complement of V after valuing its unvalued [u-case] feature to occupy Spec- δ P, the head of which has inherited the [Foc] feature from C. The derivation in (20) shows that MFI can give adequate prediction on the position of left periphery constructions that follow the order suggested by Rizzi (1997). Also, MFI can accommodate for the structures that diverse. Thus, Abdelhady (2017) concludes the variation of left periphery constructions can be covered in light of such theory.

5. Analysis and Discussion

While the mechanisms suggested by Ouali (2008) can account for the syntax of AAE. KEEP and SHARE might be “problematic if Feature Inheritance is obligatory” (Citko 2014, p. 52). To overcome the problem, I argue that the mechanisms can be reduced to one. According to Branigan (2016), left periphery features do not have fixed positions and could vary from one language to another. In (18) for example, the Focus, PP, precedes Comp, *what*. Branigan (2016) argues that the C head transfers the feature Foc to a δ head above which the PP occupies Spec- δ P. At the same time, C also transfers [+wh, $-\phi$ features] to another δ head that is called T- δ . *What* occupies Spec-T- δ).

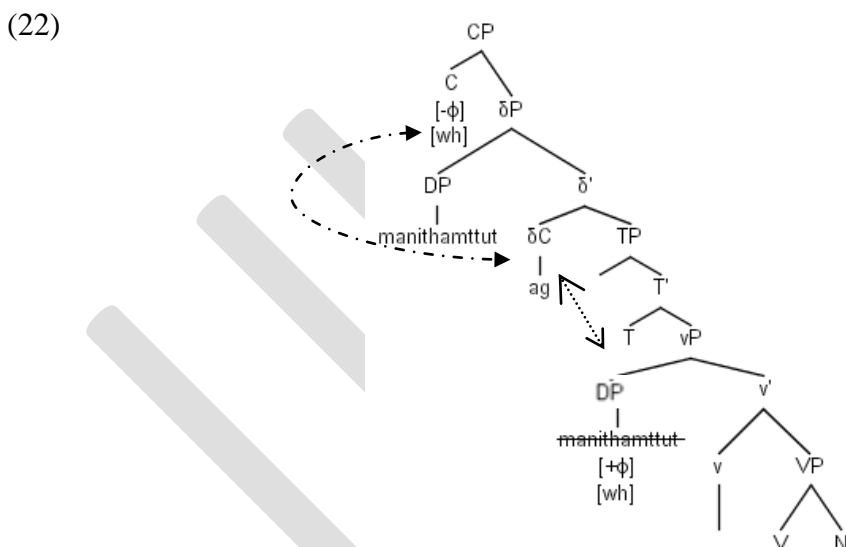
(18) At the market what do you want me to buy?

Can the same logic apply to AAE and explain why the verb does not inflect for its subject in Berber? I argue it does. Following Branigan’s (2016) MFI approach, I argue that C in local subject extraction donates its features to a syntactic head called delta, δ -C. Furthermore, I argue

that δ -C is not only able to receive Foc, Top, and wh-features but also $u\phi$. C chooses to transfer its features to the closest head that is able to receive left periphery features. Thus, C chooses δ -C instead of T. δ -C head becomes active and probes for a DP to value its unvalued features. Once probing is complete, the DP moves to occupy Spec- δ P. Since C has already transferred its features, it deletes.

My analysis could overcome the needs of features to be inherited by T simply because I argue that once a syntactic head inherits features from another head it cannot transfer the inherited features again. This simple logic explains why, in AAE constructions, the subject does not show agreement with T. T does not receive any features because it is the second head in the derivation after δ -C. The example in (19) can be derived as illustrated in (20) below.

- (21) *mani thamttut ag flan *Th-eſla araw*
 which woman COMP see.PERF.Part 3SG.FEM-see.PERF boys
 ‘Which woman saw the boys?’



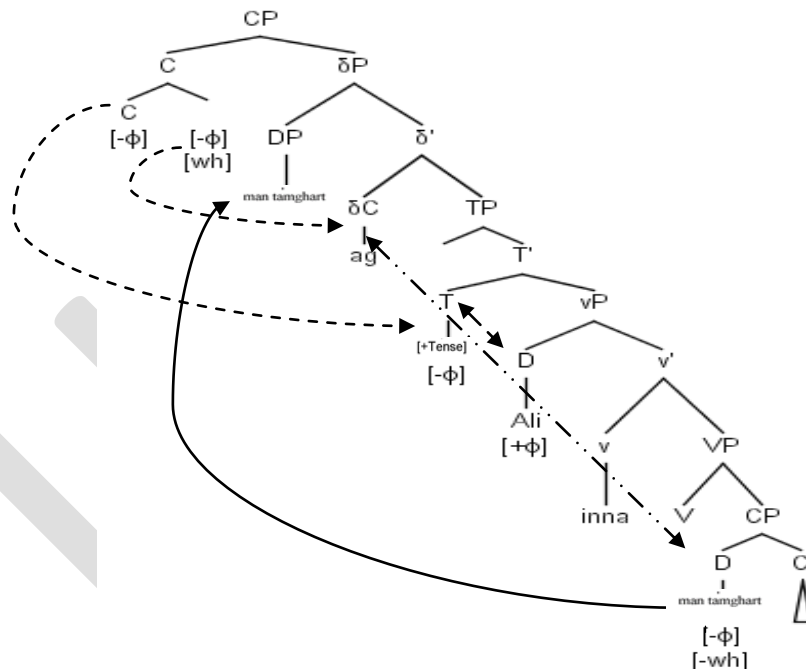
Ouali has rightly observed that an agreeing complementizer is different from a non-agreeing complementizer (Ouali, 2008, p. 171). Based on my analysis an agreeing complementizer is characterized as δ -C. Since FI is obligatory, C cannot keep its features and should transfer them down to the closest head. δ -C inherits the unvalued ϕ -features and the valued wh-feature of C. Based on my argument a head that inherits features from another head cannot transfer them again to yet another head. Thus, T remains inactive since it does not receive any unvalued features from any head. A probe-goal relation takes place between δ -C and the DP as it is the closest active goal in the derivation. Since δ -C is ϕ -complete, it can value u-case of the DP - δ -C and DP value their unvalued features. The DP then moves to occupy Spec- δ -C. The derivation converges

at this stage; the DP stays in Spec- δ -C because C has already been deleted by transferring its features to δ -C.

AAE takes place since T does not agree with the DP; T with its +Tense feature remains inactive throughout the derivation. The analysis does not contradict Ouali's (2008) argument but it rejects the idea that C keeps its features. In this sense, AAE fits the frame of FI.

The analysis can be extended to answer the question why AAE has no effect in embedded clauses². I argue that in Anti-AAE constructions, the C head contains two sets of the same features (a claim supported by Ouali (2008)); each set targets a different syntactic head. The first targets δ -C while the second targets T. Even though the assumption here sounds similar to SHARE, it has radical changes to Ouali's (2008) proposal in that Agreement, AAE and Anti-AAE all can be reduced to one mechanism Donate. How does Donate account for Anti-AAE in light of MFI? See the derivation (23) below.

(23)



The analysis shows that the main C head contains two sets of features. The head uses only one mechanism which is Donate (FI). The mechanism works as follows. First, the head transfers its features to the relevant heads below. Then probing takes place bottom up. The T head probes first for its goal. The closest active DP is valued. In this case *Ali* – it is an active goal by virtue of having u-case. Once the head and the DP are valued they become inactive leaving the ground for the upper head to probe for the remaining active goal/s in the derivation. At this stage, the closest active goal is the DP *man tamghart*. Feature valuation guarantees that the unvalued features be

² For simplicity, I would refer to this linguistic phenomenon as Anti-AAE.

valued and only then the embedded DP moves to occupy Spec δ -C. The derivation converges and the phases are sent to the PF component.

6. Conclusion

In this article, I have suggested a new approach to account for Agreement and Anti-Agreement in Berber. I have argued that Ouali's (2008) proposal is useful to account for A, AAE and Anti-AAE. However, it overlooks one of the basic tenants of FI, the obligatoriness of FI. This made him propose three mechanisms to account for A, AAE and Anti-AAE. These mechanisms include DONATE, a mechanism by which features are transferred without leaving a copy, KEEP, a mechanism in which the C head keeps its features without transference and SHARE, a mechanism that allows a head to transfer some features and keep a copy of the transferred features. I have proposed that the three mechanisms can be reduced to one. Under MFI, I argued that Donate only can give adequate and satisfying analysis of A, AAE and Anti-Agreement. The mechanism can be summarized as follows.

Donate	C > T	T AGREE Spec-vP	A in simple declarative constructions
Donate	C > δ -C	δ -C AGREE Spec-vP	AAE in local subject extraction
Donate	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C > T \\ C > \delta\text{-C} \end{array} \right\}$	T AGREE Spec-vP	Anti-AAE in embedded clauses
		δ -C AGREE Spec-CP	

From a biolinguistic point of view, it is more economical for numeration to be generated for a single process to capture Agreement relations in Berber that assuming that three processes are in collaboration to achieve such a purpose. Thus, MFI can also be extended to capture Agreement relations under one umbrella.

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Logistics in Yemen: Optimal Intermodal Freight Transportation

Hisham Najeeb Said AL-Shikh¹, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Valliappan Raju²

Phd Aspirant, Limkokwings University, Cyberjaya Malaysia¹

Sr. Lecturer, Limkokwings University, Cyberjaya Malaysia²

Abstract

Major roads in Yemen are not paved and its population density is high in coastal areas, implementing the idea of intermodal transportation method all over the coastline will give the product industries a huge advantages, due to its attractive solutions to the poor transportation infrastructure and its extremely limited road transportation system. The transport of goods in Yemen depends heavily on road transport in the absence of rail transport and limited movement by air transport and its high cost, the private sector provides the bulk of land transport services (goods) and has accompanied the performance of road transport activities in the absence of regulation and supervision. In this research paper the author intends to analyse and develop optimal intermodal freight transportation plans for product shipping in Yemen by using two modes of transport (truck, ship) without any handling of the freight itself when changing modes. Using intermodal transportation is vital for the product movement and supplies when single mode alternative becomes unusable or infeasible. The author intends to use quantitative research method, plan and execute fieldwork, collecting data from freight companies (truck, ship), local factories, Ministry of Transportation, etc. Compile preliminary maps of roads condition and population density. First the author intends to visit the Ministry of Transport to closely monitor the program and objectives of the Ministry and the secret of work and projects in which it is implemented and meet with its representative for the purpose of collecting data and evidence of the difficulties it faces in order to become familiar with it Comprehensively and directly on its problems and study the possible solutions. , the author will intend to visit Aden and Hodeida ports to view the service and facilities for a better understanding of the processes and to examine the availabilities of intermodal transportation freight and collect data of sea freight costs. The author also intends to visit a local factory (Shamlan Industry Ltd) to explore difficulties of products movement on road, costs, etc. the author attempts to provide an in depth examination of two major tasks, single mode and multimodal. Finally the Author intends to visit Ministry of public works and roads to compile preliminary maps of roads condition and population density. As a result Intermodal transportation can be a solution when transportation resources are scarce, bad road infrastructure and mountainous terrain. The quantity of demand is usually high and required an instant solution to meet the demand of the transportation resources. After analysing data and identifying findings of two modes of transportation, the author found multimodal freight transportation cost is comparatively advantage over single transportation mode.

Keyword: Logistics, Transportation, Optimization, Multimodal Freight.

Introduction

The transport sector plays an important and fundamental role in the renaissance of the peoples. It is the basis of economic and social development and the pillar of economic growth. Transport services are the most important requirements for the different stages of development in countries. An efficient transport sector is a prerequisite for ensuring economic development in each country or that the development of the transport sector.

At the same time, the transportation is an economic activity in itself, as it provides many investment opportunities, as well as provides employment opportunities linked to the private business. Transport is also the main artery of economic and social activity and a political component in investment decisions in the development of many economic sectors (trade, industry, agriculture, exploitation of mineral resources, etc.) Through the role of transport represented in securing the transport and movement of goods and individuals, it links between the centres of production, consumption, import and export.

The occupation of the transport sector of the first centres in terms of the size of its contribution to the GDP of many countries to reflect the nature of this vital role and important for transport in advancing the pace of development and contribute to the economic growth of any country.

Dry land port: The dry port is sometimes called the inland port, which is a storage station for goods directly connected with the roads or railway connecting to the sea port. The dry port is used as a centre for the collection of goods coming from the sea in preparation for distribution to the suppliers.

The dry port also has storage and unloading centres, maintenance centres for trailers, trucks, customs clearance services and customs inspection. This is aimed at relieving the pressure on storage capacity and the customs area which is crowded with seaports.

The port is located near the international shipping route and serves the location of the port a number of provinces with densely populated population and economic activities.

The port of Hodeida is the main port in the South of the Red Sea for the handling of imports, which represents 70% of the imports to Yemen. The port is located near the most densely populated city in Yemen.

Sea ports: The port of Aden and Hodeida are located near the international shipping route and serves the location of the port a number of provinces with densely populated population and economic activities. The port of Hodeida is the main port in the South of the Red Sea for the handling of imports, which represents than half of the imports to Yemen. The port is located near the most densely populated city in Yemen.

It is clear that rail transport is superior to other means of transport, especially in the field of transport of goods and is the best in terms of safety and cheaper in terms of transport costs for long distances and medium, not to mention the low consumption of fuel.

The first railway project in Yemen was launched a hundred years ago to connect the area of Tihama with Taiz to Sana'a, from which at that time it operated seven kilometres and stopped with the outbreak of the First World War. In addition, there was a railway line connecting Lahj and Aden. Unfortunately all government attempts failed to establish a railway project.

Multimodal transport is the latest mode of transport (container transport), with low transport cost while reducing transportation time and maintaining goods during its journey from origin to consumer, known as the door-to-door service.

The role of multimodal transport in the service of international trade increased, which is based on the transport of goods by container and through the use of more than one mode of transport (at least two modes) (land, sea, air) and through a single transport contract covers all stages of transport.

This system requires the availability of many requirements and the necessary elements to activate it, the most important of which are:

- Provision of suitable infrastructure (ground road networks, conforming to international standards, rail networks, and developed seaports, airports equipped to service cargo, assembly areas and links between transport patterns).
- Providing advanced mechanisms and equipment for dealing with containers (in airports, ports and connecting stations), as well as means of transport (special vehicles for transporting containers) and private aircraft equipped for the transport of goods.
- Dealing with information technology and providing advanced automated systems that simplify and facilitate customs procedures and shipping documents.
- Revisiting a lot of existing legislation to keep up with this system.

Major roads in Yemen are not paved and its population density is high in coastal areas, implementing the idea of intermodal transportation method all over the coastline will give the product industries a huge advantages, due to its attractive solutions to the poor transportation infrastructure and its extremely limited road transportation system, including the bad level of road security. As a frequent and regular service, offering a door-to-door solution to customers, it may substantially contribute to bypass road congestion. This mode isn't land consuming and is environmentally friendly. For the carrier, it can guarantee transit time and avoid delays due to traffic congestion; it is reliable and enables door-to-door solutions.

Intermodal transportation can be a solution when transportation resources are scarce, bad road infrastructure and mountainous terrain. The quantity of demand is usually high and required an instant solution to meet the demand of the transportation resources. Alternative transportation modes such as coaster (sea) can carry goods supplies in higher amounts on a single trip as a cure for fleet size constraints of road transportation in the short term. Coaster ship (sea) can cover the longer distance and final miles can be covered using tours with trucks on road.

Sea transport can be cheaper than road transport, due to Low infrastructure costs, Alternative varieties of service (route), environmentally friendly low energy consumption. , Unlimited

capacity usage , Being much more secure in comparison to the other modes of transportation , Fair pricing, Lower jam rate, Optimum duration in navigation, convenient transit duration.

Literature review

The optimization of supply chain structures considering both economic and environmental performances is nowadays an important research topic. However, enterprises are commonly faced with the competing issues of reduced cost, improved customer service and increased environmental factors as a multi-faceted trade-off problem when designing supply chains. (T PaksoyE Özceylan, June 2014)

Effective design and management of supply chain networks traditionally assists in transportation and delivery of a variety of products at low cost, high quality and short lead times. The dominant paradigm for supply chain networks is considering the organization in a way that maximizes profitability. The calculation of profitability, however, has included only the economic costs that companies directly incur. The distribution of goods through supply chains impairs local air quality (greenhouse gas emissions), generates noise and vibration, consumes fuel and makes a significant contribution to global warming. It is impossible to eliminate these factors while goods are moving. But it is possible to minimize the factors, providing for a perfect trade-off management. (T PaksoyE Özceylan, June 2014)

As presenting products with lower prices are getting more important in nowadays competitive environment, companies not only try to reduce their own cost but also cooperate with their supply chain (SC) to reduce total system cost. In this regard, decisions in SCs can be made into two categories, i.e. centralized and decentralized. In centralized supply chains (CSC), decisions are made according to the benefits of whole SC and the members have complete access to the whole information of each other. However, in the decentralized supply chains (DSC), each member has only access to its own information and tries to maximize its own profit regardless of other members. Joint Economic Lot Sizing (JELS) problems known as integrated vendor-buyer problems try to optimize joint total cost/profit of all members, simultaneously. (Navid Dehghanbaghi, Mohsen S. Sajadieh, May 2017)

With the growing importance of transportation, logistics, and supply chain economics to support industrial activities, specific supply chain asset investments can significantly impact national, local, and regional economies. At the same time, the relative availability, quality, and cost of a range of transportation services, particularly those relevant to essential intermodal activities and infrastructure, influence firms' location decisions. (David J. Closs and Yemisi A. Bolumole, Winter 2015)

The history of transportation and logistics is as long as the history of mankind, but has been marked by recent milestones. The railroad was discovered at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the airplane in 1903. In maritime transportation, the invention of the sea container is dated 1956 and has impacted sea transport dramatically. Nowadays logistics, and the broader

concept of supply chain management, is mainly intended as a business function that has the scope to make goods available where and when needed and in the needed quantities. Transportation management can be seen as part of logistics, when referred to the business processes. (M. Grazia Speranza, August 2016)

In the last few decades, the building evidence that CO₂e emissions lead to climate change has pointed to a need to reduce CO₂e emissions. (V. Sanchez Rodrigues, 2015) uses five scenarios in the context of UK import trade to assess total CO₂e emissions and costs of import re-routing containers. The overall objective is to assess possible carbon mitigation strategies for UK supply chains by using a combination of alternative ports and revised multimodal strategies. The model adopted includes three elements: port expansion, container handling and freight transport. The alternative scenarios explore different settings modal shift and short sea shipping. . (V. Sanchez Rodrigues, 2015)

Road freight transport typically dominates in urban delivery operations. However, an increasing number of trials and commercial operations have started in the past 10 years attempting to use rail transport in a range of cities. At the EU level attention on the possibility to shift at least some traffic from road to rail (or perhaps to use rail in combination with clean vehicles making the last mile delivery) has been increased by the EU White Paper on Transport (European Commission, 2011). A number of challenging goals were set, including the aim of achieving essentially CO₂-free city logistics in major urban centres by 2030. The White Paper makes the point that achieving essentially CO₂-free city logistics would also substantially reduce other harmful emissions. (Michael Browne et al, 2014)

Three main types of transportation systems are defined in the utilization of multiple transportation modes. Multimodal transportation refers to passenger or freight transportation from an origin to a destination using two or more transportation modes. Intermodal transportation is a type of multimodal freight transportation that uses an intermodal transport unit (ITU) (e.g. container) with no handling of the goods themselves between mode changes. Combined transportation is a type of multimodal freight transportation that excludes air transport and where most the trip occurs by rail or on waterways with only the initial and final legs of the trip occurring on road. (Ertem, M.A., İşbilir, M. & Şahin Arslan, 2017)

Methodology

The road network is one of the most important pillars of development in Yemen, especially since the terrain in the Republic of Yemen is mostly mountainous and requires the implementation of a network of roads to enable the state to connect the rest of the other services.

In this research paper the author like to use quantitative research method, plan and execute fieldwork, collecting data form freight companies (truck, ship), local factories, Ministry of Transportation, etc. Compile preliminary maps of roads condition and population density.

Given the importance of the role played by the Ministry of Transport from the impact on the economic sectors such as the industrial sector and the trade sector, and represent a modern and integrated transport infrastructure Land, sea and air

The first step to start the fieldwork program, the author intends to visit the Ministry of Transport to closely monitor the program and objectives of the Ministry and the secret of work and projects in which it is implemented and meet with its representative for the purpose of collecting data and evidence of the difficulties it faces in order to become familiar with it Comprehensively and directly on its problems and study the possible solutions.

Second step, the author will intend to visit Aden and Hodeida ports to view the service and facilities for a better understanding of the processes and to examine the availabilities of intermodal transportation freight and collect data of sea freight costs.

The author also intends to visit a local factory (Shamlan Industry Ltd) to explore difficulties of products movement on road, costs, etc. Next the author attempts to provide an in depth examination of two major tasks, single mode and multimodal.

Finally the Author intends to visit Ministry of public works and roads to compile preliminary maps of roads condition and population density.

Recommendations based on preliminary research

Intermodal transportation can be a solution when transportation resources are scarce, bad road infrastructure and mountainous terrain. The quantity of demand is usually high and required an instant solution to meet the demand of the transportation resources. Alternative transportation modes such as coaster (sea) can carry goods supplies in higher amounts on a single trip as a cure for fleet size constraints of road transportation in the short term. Coaster ship (sea) can cover the longer distance and final miles can be covered using tours with trucks on road.

This section will demonstrate multimodal method to find the optimum transportation cost. The first step is to explain the targeted sea ports from the point of origin to point of destination to represent the model. Then analysed all collected data and identifying findings of multi modes transportation method (truck, ship) over single mode transportation method (truck), compare road condition and difficulties over sea shipping. Investigate the use of intermodal freight transportation in Yemen.

Targeted sea ports

Hodeida is the industrial and agricultural capital of Yemen. Its ports are one of the most important import and export entrances. With its strategic location in the Red Sea, it manages the unloading of more than half of the dry cargo in Al Yamouhi, the headquarters of the largest fleet of trucks. Al Hodeida is located on the traffic of commercial goods from its port and is home to 20 large companies. Aden port's Core strengths: Strategic geographical location, connected to populated major cities, Design of a unique business area, Natural port with simple drill channel. Modern Container Terminal Services, Good storage facilities

Citation: Yemen General investment authorities

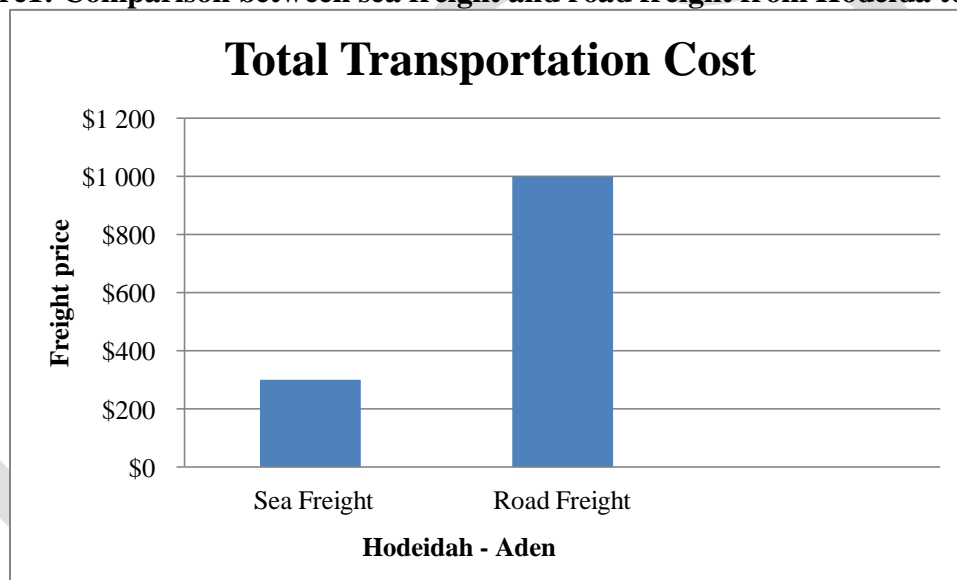
Table 1: Sea and Road freight cost from port of Hodeida to port of Aden

	Origin	Destination	Cost	Cost Optimization
sea(coaster)	Hodeida	Aden	\$300	+\$700
Road (Truck)	Hodeida	Aden	\$1,000	-\$700

Source: United Arab Shipping Company, Yemen

In this table, we compared two modes of transportation according to freight cost, first sea mode freight cost from port of Hodeida to port of Aden full load container \$300, then road mode freight cost from port of Hodeida to port of Aden full truck load \$1000, we found that sea mode has more comparative advantage over road mode from point of origin to point of destination.

Figure1: Comparison between sea freight and road freight from Hodeida to Aden



Source: United Arab Shipping Company, Yemen

The figure demonstrates the comparative advantage of sea mode over land mode from port of Hodeida to port of Aden.

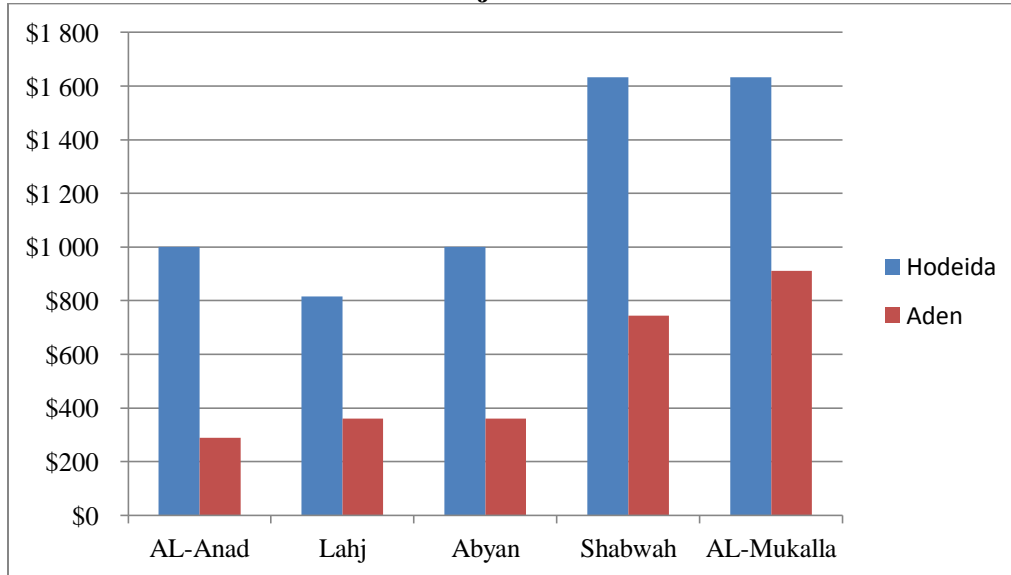
Table 2: Road freight cost from port of Hodeida and port of Aden to targeted major cities

	AL-Anad	Lahj	Abyan	Shabwah	AL-Mukall
Hodeida	\$1,000	\$816	\$1,000	\$1,632	\$1,632
Aden	\$288	\$360	\$360	\$744	\$912

Source: Yemen Land transport Affairs Authority, Yemen

In this table, we will compare direct road “full truck load” freight cost from port of Hodeida to Aden’s nearest major cities, then from port of Aden to the nearest major cities, later at the table below, we will add multimodal transport (sea, land) to find the comparative advantage of multimodal over single mode of transport.

Figure 2: Comparison of Road freight from port of Hodeida and port of Aden to targeted major cities



Source: Yemen Land transport Affairs Authority, Yemen

In this figure, demonstrate direct road “full truck load” freight cost from port of Hodeida to Aden’s nearest major cities, then from port of Aden to nearest major cities.

Analysing data and identifying findings of two modes of transportation

After collecting all data, finally we will analyze and identify the multimodal (sea, land) transportation freight cost over single mode (land) transportation mode then we will find the comparative advantage of multimodal over single transportation mode.

Table 3: Multimodal and single mode comparative advantage

	AL-Anad	Lahj	Abyan	Shabwah	AL-Mukalla
multimodal	\$588	\$660	\$660	\$1,044	\$1,212
Single mode	\$1,000	\$816	\$1,000	\$1,632	\$1,632

Finally, this table demonstrates the comparative advantage of multimodal freight transportation cost over single transportation mode.

Figure 3: Multimodal and single mode comparative advantage

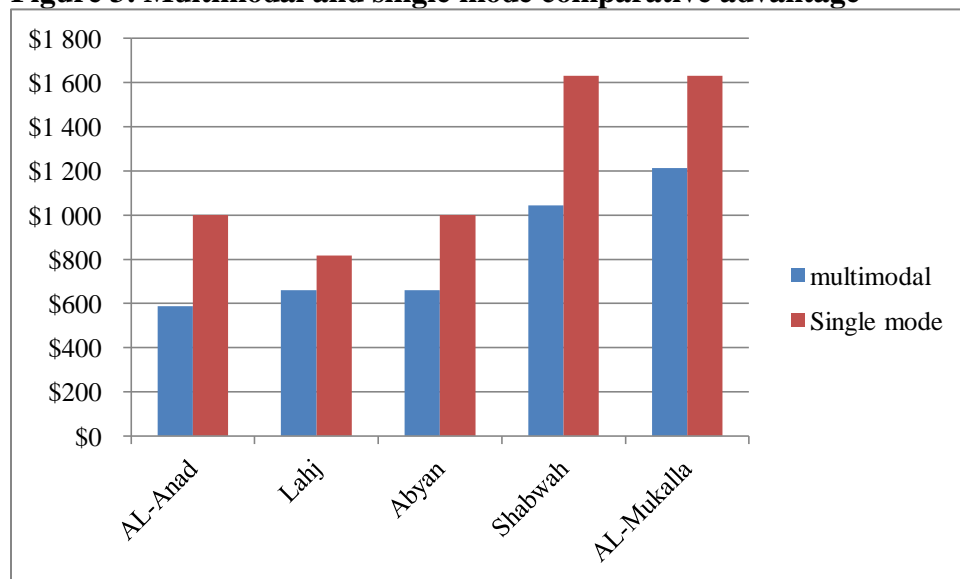


Figure demonstrates multimodal freight transportation cost is comparatively advantage over single transportation mode.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the road network is one of the most important pillars of development in Yemen, especially since the terrain in the Republic of Yemen is mostly mountainous and requires the implementation of a network of roads to enable the state to connect the rest of the other services. Major roads in Yemen are not paved and its population density are mainly populated in the coastal areas, implementing the idea of intermodal transportation method all over the coastline will give the product industries a huge advantages, due to its attractive solutions to the poor transportation infrastructure and its extremely limited road transportation system, including the bad level of road security. As a frequent and regular service, offering a door-to-door solution to customers, it may substantially contribute to bypass road congestion. This mode isn't land consuming and is environmentally friendly. For the carrier, it can guarantee transit time and avoid delays due to traffic congestion; it is reliable and enables door-to-door solutions.

Intermodal transportation can be a solution when transportation resources are scarce, bad road infrastructure and mountainous terrain. The quantity of demand is usually high and required an instant solution to meet the demand of the transportation resources. Finally after analysing data and identifying findings of two modes of transportation, the author found multimodal freight transportation cost is comparatively advantage over single transportation mode.

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The Quest for Wholeness and Individuation in Atwood's novel *Surfacing*: A Psycho-Feminist Approach

Latef S. N. Berzenji

English Department, College of Education
Kirkuk University, Iraq

Abstract

*Most of Margaret Atwood's novels depict women facing external and internal obstacles in their attempt to attain self-realisation as they are internally divided because of encountering the harsh realities of life, or living in a community ruled by patriarchal conventions. Many women characters, especially Atwood's protagonists, suffer from psychic split because of specific external factors and are haunted by mental and emotional traumas. This paper studies Atwood's *Surfacing* (1972) by examining the events that take place in the protagonist's mind as part of her long-running quest for wholeness; highlighting the mental process she undergoes to achieve such an aim. As a feminist writer, Atwood's primary aim is to explore women's inner psyche, their conflicts and search for identification. The writer wants to highlight the terrifying gap existing between man and woman. The paper attempts to assert that self-realization is at the heart of her novel under consideration.*

Keywords: Individuation, Domination, Patriarchy, Feminism & Surfacing.

I

The dilemma of fusion and individuation, also referred to as attachment and separation, is a significant existential developmental task facing human beings across time and culture (Yalom, 392-395). Indeed, separation is implied in the word 'exist' ("ex-ist" = "to stand out"). We are driven towards separation because to grow and differentiate ourselves necessitates separation from the comfort of the care-giver. Rank referred to this as birth trauma, which he thought was symbolic of all emergence from embeddedness (145:123). To grow thus implies separation, autonomy, self-reliance and individuation. With individuation, however, comes isolation. As one embraces one's personal attitudes, direction in life, hopes, and dreams, one inevitably becomes aware of being an entity separate from all others. One realises that one is the author of one's own life; one is free to make choices; but one is also responsible for one's choices. This awareness invites anxiety as the individual now stands alone in the face of the world with all its terrifying aspects (Fromm, 1941:29). Individuation is thus inherently anxiety-provoking. To relieve this anxiety, the individual finds comfort in fusing with another being, because by merging with another one loses oneself, and therefore, one's awareness of one's separation and its accompanying anxiety. Indeed, Yalom argues that fear of isolation is a significant driving force behind interpersonal relationships. He argues that relationship difficulties are fundamentally about the fusion-individuation dilemma (395-402). Playing on the word "apart", Bugental (1965) suggests that our fundamental interpersonal task is to learn how to be at once "a-part-of" and "a-part-from" the other. Applied to love, Fromm suggests that mature love is "union under the condition of preserving one's integrity, one's individuality ... in love the paradox occurs that two beings become one and yet remain two," (17).

Psychoanalysis is one of the proper means that could be used to analyse, understand and dive deep into the human psyche, which, to my understanding, is the element that prevails in Atwood's novel, *Sufacing*. The novel's plot develops in a sort of abstract setting, where the protagonist's mind, rather than a physical location, is the main arena of conflict. The study endeavours to elucidate the incidents that occur within the unnamed protagonist's mind as part of her continuous process of questing for wholeness. In fact, Atwood's female characters encounter difficulties and hindrances outside themselves in their quest to attain a complete and stable self, as they experience internal divisions because of living in a patriarchal community where conventions of masculinity prevail. Thus, being internally divided, they experience psychic traumas by being haunted by outside entities.

II

The protagonist, affected by past traumatic experiences, immerses herself into an introspection journey; an exploration of her own unconscious with the purpose of overcoming her traumas and being able to feel complete again. The novel can be conceived as a protest against and rejection of the sex role men have designed for female and it exposes men's aggressive conduct towards women. Women, who have been subjected to male-dominated societies, opposed and confronted the dehumanization and maltreatment they faced throughout history. Feminism and the suffering women faced were the focus of great feminist writers. Challenging the masculine, hegemonic order of society, all women movements have been striving tirelessly to better their life conditions and attain their independence and equal rights.

Atwood, as a feminist writer, had devoted most of her works to explore women's inner psyche, their internal and external conflicts, and their struggle for realizing their true identity and wholeness. The attempt to be assertive and gain self-realization is the gist of Atwood's female protagonist in her novel, subject of this study. Like other female authors, such as Sylvia Plath (1932-1963), Anne Sexton (1928-1974), Adrienne Rich (1929-2012), and Denise Levertov (1923-1997), Atwood is eager to uncover the terrible suffering of women in the western culture. Her novels, specifically *The Edible Woman* (1969), *Lady Oracle* (1976), *Bodily Harm* (1981), and *The Handmaid's Tale* (1983), tackle feminist issues in the modern Canadian society. Other than battling against male bull-headedness, the objective of Atwood's female protagonists is to accomplish self-definition as women. The novel, *Surfacing*, marks the denunciation against the females' sex role and the greedy and hostile conduct of men against them. In the view of Richard Lane, a different female voice has for some time been heard in Atwood's novel, *Surfacing*; it is a voice which expresses issues of sexual orientation, subjectivity and narrative control (71).

In *Surfacing*, Atwood explores the quest for identity and selfhood and through examining the protagonist's mental and psychic states, where reality and memory are fused. The unnamed protagonist experiences complete isolation and undergoes disconnection from people around her. As an individual, she sees herself alienated from the people with whom she is very close and intimate, especially the person she is in love with and her closest female friends. Moreover, because of her sense of lack of a true identity, that is hinted at when the novelist does not give her a name, she does not experience any sense of belonging and intimacy with those around her and even finds herself marginalized and dispossessed, which, as Natalie Cooke argues may indicate that she could "find herself in a much stronger position as a woman of the 1970s" (68). Atwood's *Surfacing* dives deep into the life of this nameless woman who stands for 'Everywoman' of the early 1970s as she contends to understand what it means to be an independent and fully self-reliant person with total control and awareness of her existence and aims in life. The journey that she ventures to attain this goal is really exciting, full of risk and difficulty. It is in reality an introspective journey, where the lady delves deep into her psyche to rediscover her true self that would reconcile the warring sides of the divided self, i.e., the conscious and the unconscious aspects. The basic goal of the internal struggle the protagonist experiences is to "free the self from the false wrappings of the persona on the one hand, and from the suggestive power of the unconscious images on the other" (Jung: 185). This internal journey mirrors the power she discovers in herself that enables her to achieve individuation and wholeness that results in the liberation of the person from all kinds of mental restrictions and psychic disorder, which help the individual rediscover her true self. In fact, the whole process of rediscovering one's real self and individual identity could be considered as a kind of psychological rebirth that is attained through exploring her psychic depths with a real intensity.

During her city life, and before meeting her boyfriend, Joe, the protagonist becomes pregnant as a result of having an affair with a married man, who was not ready to quit his own family; therefore, he asks her to have abortion. In fact, feeling that she was betrayed by the man, she got rid of the fetus, which left a deep scar in her psyche that she had to deal with and pass through a harsh process of healing and regeneration. She subsequently returns home with her three friends; Anna, the storyteller's companion and a model, David, Anna's husband and a movie producer, Joe, David's companion, a camera man and the narrator's partner. The

Purpose of her return is apparently to look for her missing father, to find out what has happened to him. She recalls that she had consistently relied on her father's clarifications, and says that her mother's husband has been a puzzle to her. Mr Paul, her father's closest companion, tells the storyteller that her father has vanished mysteriously. She loves and trusts her companions, yet they do not accompany her on her search for her father:

"I like them, I trust them, I can't think of anyone else I like better, but right now I wish they were not here. Though they're necessary: David's and Anna's car was the only way.... But my reason for being here embarrasses them, they don't understand it. They all disowned their parents long ago, the way you are supposed to: Joe never talks about his father and mother" (16) *.

Her companions consider the excursion as a break from city life while she insists that she might find something about her father. The excursion modified the memory of her troubled past, thus she contemplates her father in section three and says:

"If he's safe I don't want to see him. There is no point, they never forgave me, they didn't understand the divorce; I don't think they even understood the marriage....and leaving my husband and child...that was the unpardonable sin.... But I admit I was stupid, stupidity is the same as evil if you judge by the results and I didn't have any excuses." (25).

The mystery of her father's disappearance turns into a tangled labyrinth for her; therefore, she doesn't wish to be separated from anyone else in that place. While she was with her companions, the storyteller ponders her own brief love affair, and the loss of the child.

* Quotations, with page references, are from the following edition; *Surfacing* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd. and Wildwood House, (1972).

Thus, after years of absence, she returns to the area of northern Quebec, where she had grown up, and amid that adventurous expedition, she uncovers the dualities in both her own life and the male dominated society. The personal connections between the protagonist and the three minor characters reflect a world that suppresses and subjugates womanliness, which consequently helps readers better comprehend the protagonist's urgent need to regain and reassert her female identity. The Protagonist sees that the relationship between Anna and David mirrors the picture of what a lady's part ought to be in a marriage in a patriarchal society. During her nine-years marriage life, Anna carries on with a life of submission to David, continually attempting to satisfy him. She mostly wears cosmetics; if not, she is worried about the possibility that David will use sex as a weapon to repel her. The narrator states that she has never seen Anna without having any make-up and comments "You don't need that here," to which Anna replies " He doesn't like to see me without it," and then, contradicting herself, says "He doesn't know I wear it," (37). Anna, who is extremely upset, reveals to the narrator sordid details about their marriage, and reveals that David has a set of rules, if she breaks them, she will be punished. Therefore, the narrator suggests a divorce, but Anna asserts that she loves him, even though she thinks he'd like her to die.

She feels upset and worried that David might oblige Anna to strip and has Joe shoot her with a camera. However, when she sees the protagonist dumping the film into the lake, she attempts to stop her: "'You better not do that,' Anna says, 'they'll kill you'" (131). She complains whiningly to the narrator about how David embarrassed her by revealing to her his issues with other ladies; nevertheless, after she knows that David suggests sex to the storyteller, she frames an impermanent union with him. The storyteller likewise fights with her partner: "her body her only weapon and she was fighting for her life, her life was the

fight: she was fighting him because if she ever surrendered the balance of power would be broken and he would go elsewhere” (120). She believes that all women are victims of inhuman rules and authority and that men offer themselves the legitimate right to decide the things women are allowed to do and those which they are not. However, the protagonist takes a strong stand against all the inhuman conducts of being victimized: “This, above all, to refuse to be a victim” (191). Therefore, she utterly refuses David’s behaviour, and is against Anna’s yielding to such treatment, and rejects Joe’s conservatism. She strives to attain due respect and equality for herself and other women, and asserts that unless she witnesses a real change from her partner, she will not be ready to accept him.

III

Atwood, in *Surfacing*, depicts the estrangement of women in the Canadian culture and uses the disconnection of the storyteller to relate it with all Canadian women. She sees that men were forcing laws of patriarchy on women, through religion, marriage and language, and believes that men consider them just as "war-spoils" (16). Her sense of alienation is exceptionally alive within her, which indicates that children know their gender identity at an extremely more youthful age. The impact of the narrator's estrangement is her complete withdrawal from energetic life scenes and her name remains unrevealed till the end of the story, which indicates that she is an epitome of every woman whose mission for power is part of the quest for self-exploration that, in its turn, could help her advance in her healing process. Commenting on *Surfacing*, Emily Cho states that "discovering one's valid self is an agonizing and desolate quest" (Das 23). The narrator says being socially hindered resembles being rationally impeded; it stirs in others disturbance, regret and the longing to torment and change (221).

The puzzle of her father's vanishing is turning into a tangled labyrinth for her; therefore, she wouldn't have any desire to be separated from anyone else in that place. She conceives that: “I see now the impossibility of searching the island for him, it's two miles. It would take twenty to thirty men at least... and even then, they could miss him, dead or alive, accident or suicide or murder. Or if for some unfathomable reason he's chosen this absence and is hiding, they'd never find him.” (41). The physical Journey now transforms into a physical search for her father. Thus, she continues looking for signs of her father in that area and considers different potential outcomes, most abnormal of all is that he may be hiding in some place on the island. The pursuit on the trail becomes distinctly troublesome and the dread of her father's death is still clear and her fear, by all accounts, perhaps is much more concerned with her mental and psychic confusion.

In section ten Joe suddenly proposes to the protagonist, which makes her feel totally stunned. She rejects the proposal, then informs him of her marriage and the child, which suggests that all her conducts and decisions are driven by her mental confusion, that is why she believes that, "No one adores me Everybody loathes me I am setting off to the garden to eat worms" (118). The loss of her father turns into a mental and psychological dilemma of losing her identity as a woman. Therefore, she is physically mangled rather than being half dead. She would not like to wed Joe in the light of the fact that she is now baffled by her own first love affair and furthermore by the connection of Anna and David. She had gone absolutely distraught and believes that she must have the verification of her father's rational soundness and along these lines of his plausible passing, she is certain now that he is not a maniac

sneaking in the forested areas, "Crazy people can come back, from wherever they go to take refuge, but dead people can't, they are prohibited" (82). After refusing Joe's proposal, Joe and the protagonist discuss in detail something regarding their uncertain future. Suddenly and because of her sense of alienation, she offers Joe to leave the city flat and says; "I didn't love him, I was far away from him, it was as though I was seeing him through a smeared window or glossy paper" (114); she feels that he didn't belong to her and tells him frankly: "I don't love you" (ibid).

The protagonist overhears an argument between David and Anna who looks better and also happy but at this moment, David tries to persuade her to take her swimsuit off so that Joe can take some naked shots of her for a movie they are making. David urges her saying, "Come on, take it off... It won't hurt you, we need a naked lady...you'll go in beside the dead bird, it is your chance for stardom, you've always wanted fame" (105-06). This was the stance which was taken by Joe against Anna's yearning, which denotes total obliteration of Anna's personality. Anna and David are exceptionally furious, and David threatens to toss Anna into the lake if she doesn't yield. At last, Anna surrenders by removing her swimsuit and plunges into the water. The narrator imagines that David resembles her: "We are the ones that don't know how to love, there is something missing in us, we were born that way." (107). When she asks David about forcing Anna to degrade herself in front of Joe, he argues that Anna is deceitful, disloyal and senseless, David says "she goes with other men, she thinks she can get away with it, but she is too dumb, every time I find out; I can smell it on her.... God knows, it's not that I'm not jealous.... But she is devious, I can't stand that." (108). The narrator has had an abortion; it is a shock for the readers, as she has earlier revealed that she had a child whom she left with her husband when they separated. However, she acknowledges that "I thought, whatever it is part of myself or a separate creature, I killed it. It was not a child but it could have been one, I didn't allow it." (115). This suggests that she simultaneously feels guilty about the abortion and seeks relief from guilt by denying the fetus, the identity of a child. She believes that she could not forgive herself easily for what she has done.

In section seventeen, David and Anna inform her that her father has been found by a few American anglers. His body was unrecognizable, yet Mr. Paul distinguished the materials as her father's. The narrator is suspicious and, when she asks where they found the body, they inform her that it was found close to the bluff where she was plunging. Although her companion stays away from her due to the news of her father's death, she is persuaded that "nothing has died, everything is alive, everything is waiting to become alive." (124). It is observed that after discovering the body of the narrator's father, her response becomes odd, and she feels doubtful.

Her companions go back to the city of Toronto, while she continues searching not only for the truth of her father's death, but also for herself. Her mission is unsafe, troublesome and befuddling. She feels abandoned by a power, without which she lacks self-assurance and confidence. She knows she should stay alone in the lodge, however she is not in any way sure of her next step. She crushes the glasses, plates, books, covers and garments.

She sets fire to everything associated with human advancement; drawings, photos, maps, and she finally senses that she is purged in water like fire. Walking to the lake, she lies down in water and removes her clothes. She is hungry; she gathers some vegetables from the garden and eats them. She wants to reach her father and mother. Her journey is unmistakably not a

geographical but really a visionary one, and she searches for the force of the divine beings, the people of old Indian lords of nature, through a custom of individual filtration. In solitude on the island, she is suddenly awoken the following day by the sound of a power boat. She keeps running into the forested areas to stow away, as she supposes it may be the police or conceivably some visitors, she even thinks about whether they are American intruders. "They cannot be trusted. They'll mistake me for a human being, a naked woman wrapped in a blanket.... They won't be able to tell what I really am. But if they guess my true form, identity, they will shoot me or bludgeon in my skull and hang me up by the feet from a tree." (144). The narrator believes that her mother became a flying creature and her dad a fish. The following morning when she awakes, she understands, "I know they have gone finally, back into the earth, the air, the water, wherever they were when I summoned them. The rules are over. I can go anywhere now, into the cabin, into the garden, I can walk on the paths I am the only one left alive on this island." (148). She is now quite certain that her parents have disappeared for good and her stay there must be for a short time. She appears to be a victim of an unsuccessful love affair, "above all, to refuse to be a victim. Unless I can do that, I can do nothing. I have to recant, give up the old belief that I am powerless and because of it nothing I can do will ever hurt anyone.... Withdrawing is no longer possible and the alternative is death." (150). Thus, she becomes ready to re-enter life by wearing her clothes, and wonders about the baby she is carrying. She thinks that it is her job to feed and look after herself so that she will be capable of giving life to a healthy child. Somewhere out in the dreamland, she sees a watercraft touch base with Mr. Paul and Joe in it. Joe escapes the pontoon and he calls her. He has returned specifically for her. He will not hold up any longer. However, at this moment he holds up, "the lake is quiet; the trees surround me, asking and giving 'nothing'." (151). It is obvious that her quest is for a true identity and her plunging into the lake suggests descending into the inner depths of her psyche, which results in achieving redemption and some sort of transformation. She "finally emerges as a kind of shaman," (Nilsen 133) attaining a new strength, freedom and confidence within herself, she gains self-knowledge and power to face life.

The novel ends without a clear ending about what the storyteller will really do a short time later. In any case, the closure is brimming with trust; a trust that depends on practical desires and an acknowledgment of one's own individuation. The narrator believes that another internal identity, which emerges within her, speaks about her "conceivable" future with Joe, who returns again to "protect" her; "I watch him, my love for him useless as a third eye or a possibility. If I go with him we will have to talk, wooden houses as obsolete, we can no longer live in a spurious peace by avoiding each other." (150). She perceives that Joe is redeemable and that her relationship with him could be successful. When uniting with Joe, the narrator senses that her aborted child is surfacing within her, "I can feel my lost child surfacing within me, forgiving me, rising from the lake with it has been present for so long." (127). Everybody seems to be sure by the end of the novel that the narrator and Joe's relationship has been saved, "By screwing Joe She's brought us back together. Saving the world, everyone wants to; men think they can do it with guns, women with their bodies, love conquers all, conquerors love all, mirages raised by words." (129).

Atwood's protagonist fights bravely to break the old structure of life that her society imposes upon her. She mirrors the torment sensibility of a lady who is not prepared to trade off with the male overwhelmed society and is searching for an escape from this male-dominated

culture. It is seen that she abhors civilisation, resorts to some kind of primitive culture which she hopes to find in the heart of nature. The painful and harsh realities of life turn her into an independent and adventurous woman, who seeks to escape being victimized both politically and sexually. Her quest for wholeness results in the development of her mental state. This allows her to successfully assimilate certain aspects of her unconscious, which in turn empowers her to confront her traumatic past. The physical and spiritual journey helps the achievement of self-exploration that becomes the main factor for attaining individuation which denotes complete being. Jung says that individuation means “to become a single, discrete being, and ... it also includes the idea of becoming one’s own” (23). Survival makes it necessary for the individual to be totally concerned with the obstacles one faces in life; perhaps the most demanding of which are psychological in nature. Atwood’s protagonist in *Surfacing* experienced and successfully confronted this challenge.

Conclusion

The unnamed narrator’s psyche is shattered into pieces as she loses parts of herself through abortion, divorce, and her parents’ deaths. However, with the help of nature and her experience, she faces her repressed memories and unresolved grief, and hence comes to terms with these traumas. By developing the ability to acknowledge, communicate, and express her sense of loss, she integrates her fragmented self and thereby reaches wholeness. Tracing Atwood’s protagonist in *Surfacing* as a traumatized subject gives us an in-depth understanding of her predicament and how she eventually overcomes her situation. It is only through asserting her individuality that the narrator is able to survive and become integrated into society. The unnamed heroine tries to survive in this patriarchal society without sacrificing her own self or identity as a woman. After a near-drowning experience that allows the Surfer to excavate parts of her repressed past, she essentially becomes one with herself.

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Everyday aesthetics on staycation as a pathway to restoration

Anu Marjaana Besson

Department of Music, Art and Culture Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland
Tel: +61 451 051 766
anubesson@gmail.com

Abstract

This multidisciplinary study enforces a suggested link between everyday aesthetic experiences and restoration. The studied phenomenon is staycation, a short-term holiday spent at home or at one's home region, to identify how people use a (culturally) familiar environment for everyday aesthetic enjoyment and how that influences restoration. This focus minimises the potential effect of long-distance travel, novelty and escapism to restoration. Staycation has not been studied before from the perspective of everyday aesthetics and restoration. I explore staycation through a lens of qualitative media analysis; history and empirical research of holiday-making; and theories in everyday aesthetics.

Keywords: Staycation, everyday aesthetics, restoration, subjective well-being, aesthesis.

1. Introduction

1.1 Why study staycation?

Holidays are undertaken for the purposes of restoration and replenishment;¹ and sustaining or improving subjective well-being.² By *restoration*, I mean Stephen Kaplan's definition: recovery from mental fatigue.³ Many typical holiday activities, such as sightseeing, photographing and sampling cuisine are aesthetic pastimes; and holidays are typically taken in aesthetically appealing locations. Is there, then, a connection or causation between (everyday) aesthetic experiences, restoration and wellbeing?

In this paper, by *aesthetic* I mean sensory, pleasing, fascinating and valued qualities of an object or the environment as a whole. An aesthetic experience comprises the aspects of sensuousness, sensitivity, imagination and evaluation.⁴ For millennia, philosophers have understood beauty and aesthetic experience as sources of pleasure.⁵ David Hume said: "[p]leasure and pain... are not only necessary attendants of beauty and deformity but constitute their very essence".⁶ Alexander Nehamas has argued that "shared beauty [experienced or shared with others] is a particularly intense form of communication".⁷ Beauty is often associated with "high arts" (painting, sculpture, architecture, music and poetry),⁸ whereas everyday aesthetics studies "non-art-related" aesthetic experiences, aesthetic enjoyment drawn from ordinary, familiar or everyday objects, sights and activities via all senses.⁹ Currently, empirical studies in everyday aesthetics are scarce:¹⁰ more research is called for to understand, what aesthetic elements or qualities people enjoy (or dislike) in their environment and why; and what is the significance of everyday aesthetic experiences to well-being and the human condition in general.

Not everyone engages in artistic or cultural activities on a holiday, but everyone is a recipient of constant flow of sensory cues, whether conscious of this or not.¹¹ Positive and negative sensory data can determine the restorative or depleting effects of the environment.¹² A series of interviews (N=60) and a survey (N=1,043) conducted by Ipsos Mori for the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment in the UK in 2010 found that people feel deeply about beauty in their environment, but many refrain from talking about it due to the fear of their taste being judged. Feeling comfortable at one's settings emerged as a prerequisite for being able to enjoy beauty; implying that being relaxed can open a person to aesthetic experiences. Ipsos Mori found a shared view that beauty is an instinctive need and the question "why should we have more beauty?" was treated equal to "why have more happiness?" – non-sensical - due to the strong association between beauty and well-being.¹³

The term staycation became popular in the US and the UK at the beginning of the global financial crisis in 2007 and it has spread around the world since.¹⁴ The Oxford dictionary defines staycation as a domestic holiday, or more narrowly, a break spent at home, involving day trips to local attractions. VisitEngland has surveyed staycationers from 2008 and found that staycation is popular, because holidaymakers wish to have a safe, easy break, utilise last-minute deals, experience their home region in a novel manner (as tourists) and have frequent breaks in between of "real" vacations.¹⁵ In the UK, staycation trend has grown year on year since 2009: for example in 2013, one- to three-day trips were the fastest growing holiday

type.¹⁶ A global survey in 2016 found that of 1,000 respondents, half had had at least one staycation.¹⁷ In Australia, the spending on local daytrips rose by 7% in 2016.¹⁸

The rise of staycation can be attributed to many roots, such as the emergence of experience economy, commodification, nostalgia (re-creating childhood experiences) or instability in the job markets. Nonetheless, staycation is used as a strategy to experience the familiar (non-exotic or non-foreign) environment through the eyes of a visitor.¹⁹ On staycation, the change from the everyday to holiday occurs more in the subject's attitude and mood than in the environment and activities. Staycationers are simultaneously residents and visitors; hence, studying staycation can offer information to a range of parties, from resident groups to policy makers, urban planners, local businesses and travel industry.

1.2 Data and analysis method

The analysis consisted of a detailed review of 20 recent lifestyle articles to establish, how staycation is understood and discussed in the society, on a platform accessible and meaningful to staycationers; and of a review of 200 Instagram photos to establish, how staycation is portrayed by staycationers themselves - what elements or features staycationers find worth sharing with others. The photos indicate what is seen as pleasing, aesthetic or restorative; or, what the contributors presume other people view as such. The analysis method with both data sets was grounded theory (GT), informed by sociological discourse analysis (DA), both qualitative analysis tools. The purpose was to elicit quantitative data with GT to make statistical inferences; and examine the deeper cultural and semantic meanings with DA. The articles were published in English-speaking countries since 2015 and the photographs were uploaded on Instagram around the world in October 2016.²⁰

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 The connection of beauty and pleasure

Linking beauty and pleasure is an age-old notion, and holidays, also staycation, are usually taken for reasons of pleasure (e.g. relaxation, enjoyment and entertainment). Intuitively, pleasure appears restorative, but pleasure can also be a momentary distraction or relief that does not lead to a more stable state of restoration. Is it possible to establish a connection – or further, causation - between aesthetic experiences and restoration or revitalisation? If becoming restored is understood as increasing or sustaining one's longer-term wellbeing, theory in everyday aesthetics indicates that the answer may be positive.

Kevin Melchionne proposes that everyday aesthetic activities such as grooming, cooking and creativity can increase subjective well-being (SWB) by creating a “hedonic high”, pleasure that can be re-obtained by repeating or intensifying what caused it.²¹ Melchionne notes that high(er) SWB is obtainable from two main sources: a) life circumstances; and b) mindset, habits and activities. Everyday aesthetic activities are a potential pathway to increased SWB, because we have more agency over our activities than circumstances. Melchionne mainly associates SWB with the ability to regulate one's hedonic high. Another viewpoint is *eudemonia*, pleasure obtained from having a sense of purpose in life, social connections with others and avenues for self-expression and self-actualisation.²²

Happiness research suggests that well-being does not only rise from hedonic sources, but also and perhaps more potently from eudemonia. Melchionne proposes that the point of everyday aesthetics is to widen one's scope for sources of pleasure.²³ Staycation is an attempt to experience something different or new in one's every day, hence, it can be a strategy to expand one's range or frequency of everyday aesthetic experiences. Melchionne's proposal is supported by indirect empirical evidence: today, creative activities such as (mobile phone) photography, street fashion and make-up, crafting, gourmet cooking and "homing", ongoing home beautifying, are immensely popular and enjoyed by many, as indicated by, for instance, vast and global social media content.²⁴

Social media is not just about fun. In a recent study, Instagram was found to cause anxiety, negative body image and mental health issues to young people due to its appearances-focus. But, Instagram was also appreciated as a platform for self-expression and identity-building.²⁵ A recent study found that (mobile phone) photographing makes the photographer look at the world more attentively – presumably with an aesthetic disposition. The act of planning a photo or looking for things to capture makes the photographer more deeply engaged in the experience, which, according to the study, tends to lead to deeper enjoyment.²⁶ Despite the potential negative effects, sharing photos on social media can also increase hedonic and eudemonic high by enabling a creative outlet, social connection and positive self-identity. The Ipsos Mori study identified that a part of the appeal of beauty is its ability to connect like-minded people - draw deep enjoyment of a shared taste, as theorised by Alexander Nehamas.²⁷

2.2 Can social media prove an aesthetic experience?

Instagram is a mobile photo-sharing app and social network created in 2010. It has approximately 300 million daily active users and 500 million monthly users.²⁸ Social and urban studies researchers use Instagram as a source to study, for example, cultural geography, subculture formation and identity.²⁹ Instagram is not just a platform to share experiences and build identity, but it affects decision-making and behaviour. Two recent surveys found that many holidaymakers rank "Instagrammability", the chance to take appealing photos, a main driver in destination selection. Of people aged 18-33 surveyed in the UK, 40.1% ranked Instagrammability the number one motivator for a holiday location.³⁰ A study in Australia by mobile operator Telstra found that a quarter of respondents select holiday locations based on its social media prestige factor.³¹ The reason is two-fold: beautiful locations are used to enhance one's social media appearances, but attractive photos also indicate the location is worth the visit.

Sharing aesthetically appealing, prestigious or "enviable" photos on social media can be seen as a substitute or cultural continuum for sending postcards. In the turn of the 18-19th centuries, some travellers carried a *Claude glass*, a small, tinted convex mirror, to frame, focus and "image manipulate" the landscape to be portrayed with watercolours more artistically and dramatically. Postcards have been among the most popular souvenirs since their invention in the latter part of the 19th century.³² Orvar Löfgren analyses that postcards "filled a void", a hunger for pictorial expression still scarce in the 19th century; for instance, five million Swedish people sent 48 million postcards in 1904. According to Löfgren, and

parallel to the popularity of photos shared in social media, postcards became depictees of not just locations, but moods and feelings that many found difficult to express verbally.³³

This study seeks to uncover, is there a connection between aesthetic experiences and restoration. Can photos on Instagram prove that a staycationer had an aesthetic experience? The Telstra survey on Instagrammability found that sharing photos on social media often indicates a wish to boost one's social status. But, according to another study, photographing enhances the enjoyment drawn from the experience.³⁴ Prevalence of one motivation (boosting self-image) does not automatically exclude the other (aesthetic enjoyment). Thomas Leddy argues that a photo can be many things simultaneously. Photographers, amateurs and professionals alike, usually seek to: 1) capture the identified aesthetic qualities of the subject-matter; 2) enhance those qualities; and 3) create new aesthetic qualities via means of composition, framing or image-manipulation.³⁵ But, is photo a proof of an aesthetic experience? It depends on the content. Yuriko Saito discusses aesthetic reactions, such as an impulse to tidy a messy room, as an indicator of (or search for) an aesthetic experience.³⁶ A wish to make something more aesthetic according to one's taste, or a wish to capture or communicate something because it looks good, can be seen as aesthetic reactions; if not "full" aesthetic experience, then its prerequisite or pre-step.

2.3 Everyday aesthetic experiences on a holiday

If holidays exist for restorative purposes and aesthetic experiences have the ability to increase SWB, are holidays usually more aesthetic than the everyday life, indirectly supporting the theory that aesthetic experiences have a revitalising effect? That depends on what is meant by aesthetic. The traditional understanding of an aesthetic experience is based on Immanuel Kant's concept of disinterested contemplation:³⁷ objects can be said to be beautiful (aesthetic)³⁸ - instead of mere "agreeable" or subjectively pleasing - *only* when they evoke sensuous pleasure without any utilitarian purpose. In light of the traditional take, it is always debatable whether for example a meal can be beautiful, if it is also eaten and hence, utilised for bodily pleasure and sustenance.

Everyday aesthetics adopts a different viewpoint: disinterested, unemotional contemplation is not the (only) key to an aesthetic experience. Aligning with Arnold Berleant's engaged aesthetics,³⁹ I suggest that (mental, bodily or emotional) distance is not a prerequisite for having an aesthetic experience: it is possible to enjoy a nicely served breakfast, a decorated cocktail, a dip in a swimming pool or sunbathing at the beach both aesthetically and "merely" bodily. On holiday, people often (seek to) engage in pleasurable whole-of-body experiences, seeds of aesthetic experience, such as listed above. Also, holidays often take place in tranquil, warm or beautiful locations; similarly, staycationers prefer the countryside, beach or park.⁴⁰ Cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has shown that "paradise island" (symbolically expressed in resorts and palm beaches) as an idealised environment has been persistently popular in the collective imagination of the humankind as a safe haven, insulated from the worries of the world.⁴¹ Escapism and isolationism are not the only reasons why people seek idyllic or scenic locations to recharge: findings in environmental psychology⁴² and neuroscience⁴³ (nature boosts restoration and art may aid the release dopamine, the pleasure hormone, in the brain), indicate that aesthetic experiences are important for SWB.

Beach is the most popular holiday destination according to two recent surveys in the US and the UK.⁴⁴ Seaside resorts in the UK have attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors every year since the early 1800s, when mass tourism first emerged.⁴⁵ The long-term appeal of beaches and pools aligns with a recent study that linked lower psychological distress (or higher SWB) with the proximity of the sea: looking at the “blue space” helps reduce stress.⁴⁶ The appeal of water appears to be both visual and haptic-kinaesthetic: the multisensory contact with the warmth of the sun, sand and water are perceived as sources of deep satisfaction and enjoyment.⁴⁷ In general, nature appears to have a restorative effect and greenery is perceived as calming and revitalising.⁴⁸ Tuan suggests that people enjoy beach or pool holidays, because we understand time based on heartbeat and breathing – the slow rhythm of the lapping water means relaxation.⁴⁹

2.4 Aesthetic play

Staycation is commonly understood as imitation of a “real” holiday. Consequently, it can be seen as make-believe: a performance played with and for oneself, or for one’s social circles through social media.⁵⁰ Katya Mandoki has identified two aesthetic attitudes: poetics, or attention to art and the artistic; and prosaics, attention to everyday aesthetics: how ordinary things look, feel and are performed.⁵¹ Thomas Leddy has suggested that everyday aesthetic experiences rise from the ordinary extraordinarily experienced: (momentarily) perceiving the world like an artist.⁵² Sharing photos on social media implies a “tourist’s gaze”, capturing interesting, novel or socially pertinent objects and events (e.g. portraits of the location and undertaken activities); but they can also indicate aesthetic reactions, prosaics or poetics, depending on the content.

The theory of play, first developed by Johan Huizinga and further evolved by Mandoki, can in part explain the appeal of staycation. Play is a form of enjoyment deriving from mental and physical freedom (play by definition is voluntary and hence, also following rules of play is freedom).⁵³ Poetics and prosaics can be understood as play: one can engage in them, for example, by creating a narrative, or being open to sensory experiences. Mandoki builds on Huizinga’s and Roger Caillois’ categories of play by identifying five basic play types, of which three are essential for staycation: Peripatos, Mimesis and Ilinx (adventure, playful curiosity; make-believe and imitation; and momentary destruction of predictability and normalcy) are building blocks of staycation, an activity whose purpose is to enable a novel experience within the familiar. Staycation can also involve the two remaining types of play, Agon and Alea, chance-taking and competition: exploring one’s home region is a gamble that may or may not deliver (restoration, entertainment, thrill), and competition takes place in and out of social media about the depth and wealth of the experience.⁵⁴

3. Analysis of data

3.1 Analysis method

The analysis method for both sets of data, articles (N=20) and photos (N=200) was grounded theory (GT); the analysis process is described in the endnote.⁵⁵ Sociological discourse analysis (DA) was used to interpret the texts and photos in cultural context (e.g. intentions of the writers and photographers). GT is a qualitative research tool to conceptualise latent

patterns in text and images. The analysis comprised three main steps: coding (labelling of findings), categorising (forming label groups and themes) and interpretation (analysing themes). GT requires constant comparative analysis to capture all instances of variation: categories are created as the analysis progresses instead of working on a pre-set hypothesis or classes.

The concurrent DA contained three levels of analysis: 1) textual, 2) contextual and 3) interpretive level. Textual level focused on elements (choices of words or subject-matter of photos etc.), contextual level focused on the discourse as an act in its cultural etc. background, and interpretation provided an explanation to the discourse. In sociological DA inductive inferences are made of a small number of samples, because the presumption is that cultural, societal information is always intertwined and overlapping: information from one subject can be treated as interchangeable with information from others in a similar social position.⁵⁶ With DA, the base argument is that communication constructs the social world by, for example, normalising certain practices and values.⁵⁷ My analysis aimed to reveal what is understood as normal, common or typical about staycation.

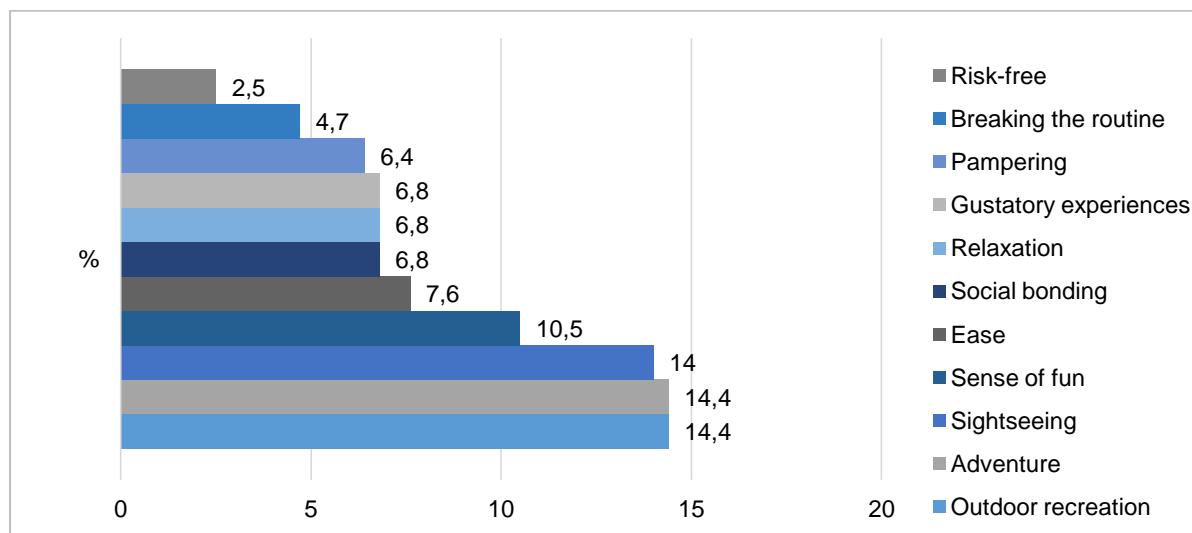
3.3 Review of lifestyle articles

The majority of the lifestyle articles were written in the format of a “tip list” for a successful staycation.⁵⁸ The recommended activities or presumed objectives were relaxation, excitement, social bonding and entertainment, including self-expression and creativity, to recharge. As an example of typical article, Steve Odland’s text is a prime sample. It is a self-help stress-management guide to navigate the rut of the everyday. The article *16 Things To Do On A "Staycation"* (Forbes, 31 May 2012) sums up staycation:

“[...] an increasingly popular and fun vacation is the stay-at-home-vacation, or the “staycation.” [...] visit your local museums: art, natural or American history, botanical gardens [...]. Every area also has its architectural gems [...]. Pretend you’re a tourist and go visit them. [...] Do we ever take time to explore the [local] area as we would if we were tourists? [...] Let’s admit it, we probably have spent more time exploring places far away from home than we have sites of our own area or region.”

The lifestyle articles contained 485 statements that could be labelled and categorised. The category titles were based on the expressions used in the text [refer to Figure 1].

Figure 1. The most discussed activities and objectives for a staycation.



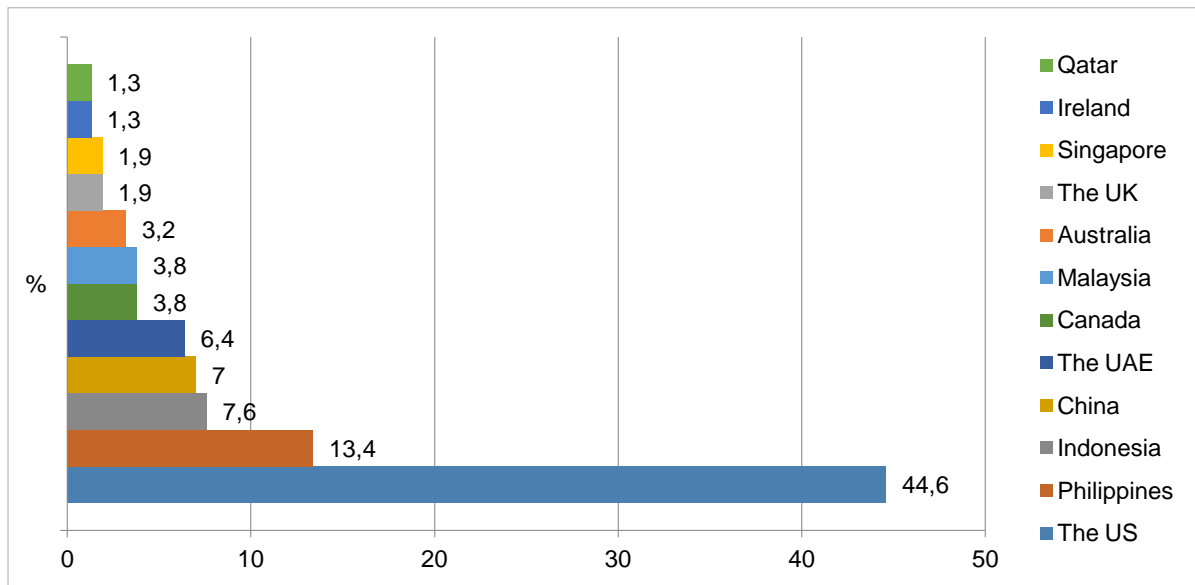
The three most discussed or recommended activities were *outdoor recreation* (at a beach, pool, yard, park or wilderness); *adventure* or exploration; and *sightseeing* (incl. local landmarks, attractions and culture venues). Sightseeing links to exploration, but it was categorised separately, because not all adventure is sightseeing and vice versa. The fourth popular theme was the *sense of fun*: discussion covered play- and fairgrounds and movies, but also DIY, art and craft projects as self-expression. All of the categories overlapped and interlinked: for instance, outdoor recreation was commonly understood as exploration, and one of the main purposes of exploration was to have fun.

Typically, staycation was seen as a pale cousin of a “real” holiday. Every writer felt the need to sell staycation via potential benefits such as saving money, time or both. The *ease* of a home holiday was mentioned in 7.6% of the statements. Other important elements or benefits were *social bonding*, *relaxation* and *gustatory experiences* (e.g. trying out new restaurants or indulging in one’s favourite café). Rarer, but relatively often mentioned activities or justifications for staycation were *pampering* and *breaking the routine* for the purposes of revitalisation. Safety featured in 2.5% of the comments: staycation was perceived as *risk-free*. Typically, the articles discussed free or low-cost, family-centred activities, such as camping at one’s backyard or experimenting with arts or crafts. Concurrently, indulging in pampering (e.g. hotel or spa night in one’s own home city) was justified by the savings made in travel costs. Only one article was critical about unrealistic expectations by criticising a niche trend to buy a holiday home within one’s home city.⁵⁹

3.3 Analysis of Instagram photographs

True to the birthplace of the term staycation, close to half of the photographs were taken in the US, but English-speaking countries did not otherwise dominate the data [refer to figure 2].⁶⁰ This implies that staycation as a phenomenon is global, or at least globally known.

Figure 2. The countries of origin of Instagram photos.



The 200 photos could be classified into two style streams: composed images (56%) and snapshots (44%). Composed images were framed, arranged or otherwise made more artistic (the object positioned in a certain manner or the image afterwards manipulated) to draw the attention to the aesthetic qualities of the subject-matter (e.g. a decorated breakfast table, a row of pretty bottles at a bathroom sink, or a scenic view).⁶¹ To determine, whether a photo was intended as aesthetic (composed), a classification method was developed based on the classical aesthetic qualities of unity, harmony and balance (incl. colours, rhythm and composition).⁶² For example, photos that reflected the visual style of landscape painting or postcard were classified as “composed”. Snapshots were action photos, such as a dog running into water, or people casually posing [refer to figures 3 and 4, sample photos].

Figure 3. Example of snapshots.

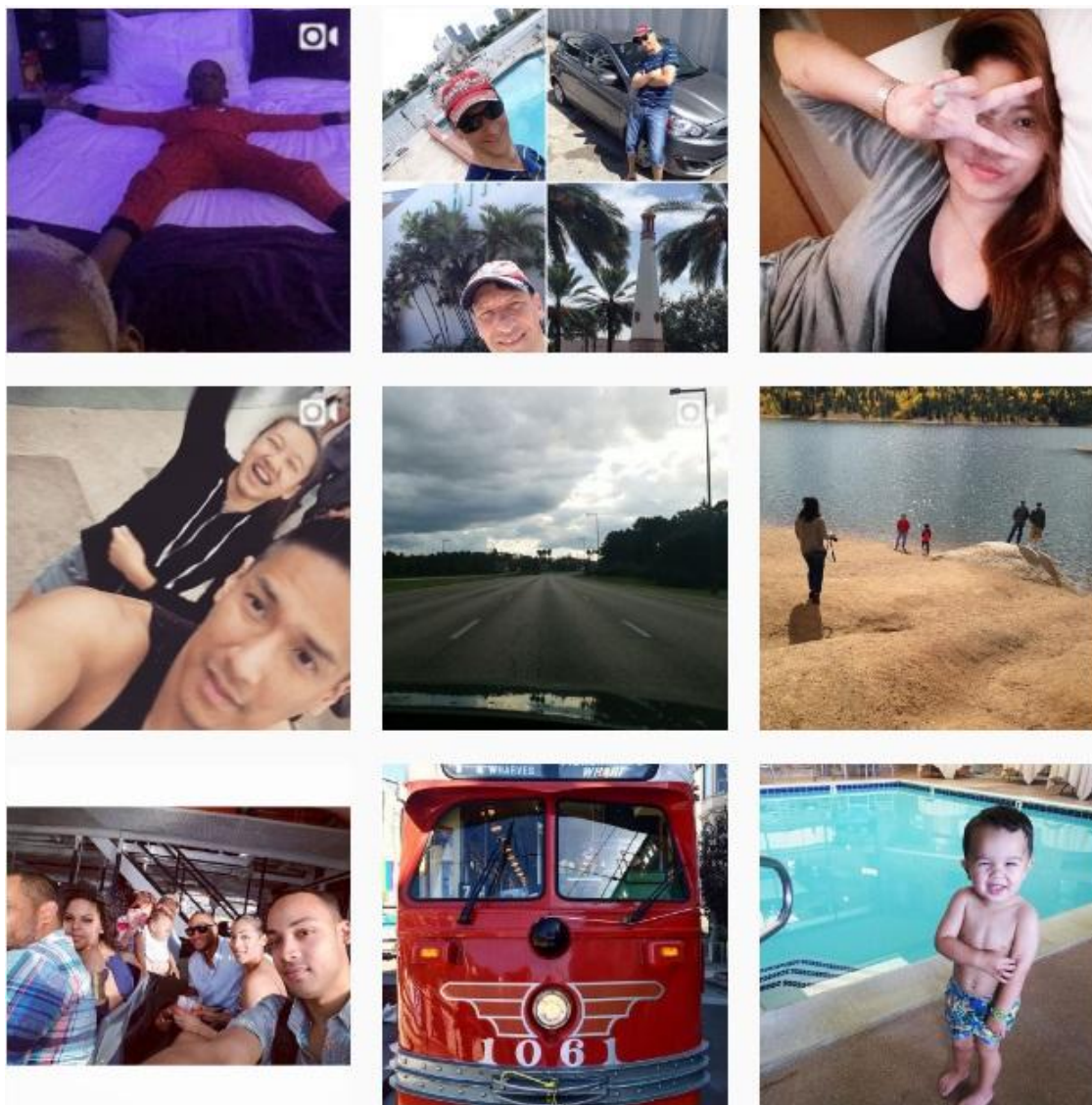
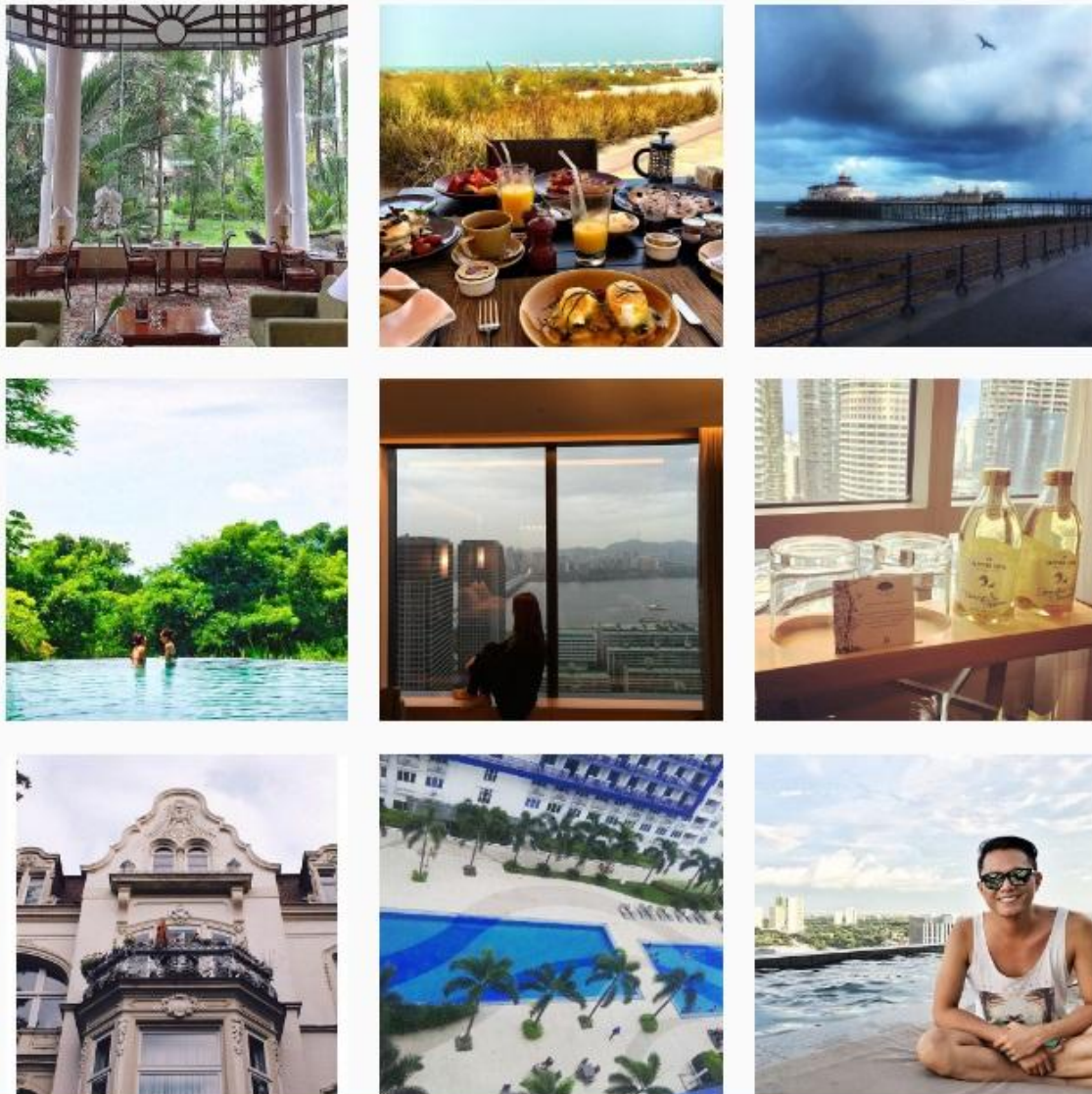


Figure 4. Example of composed images.

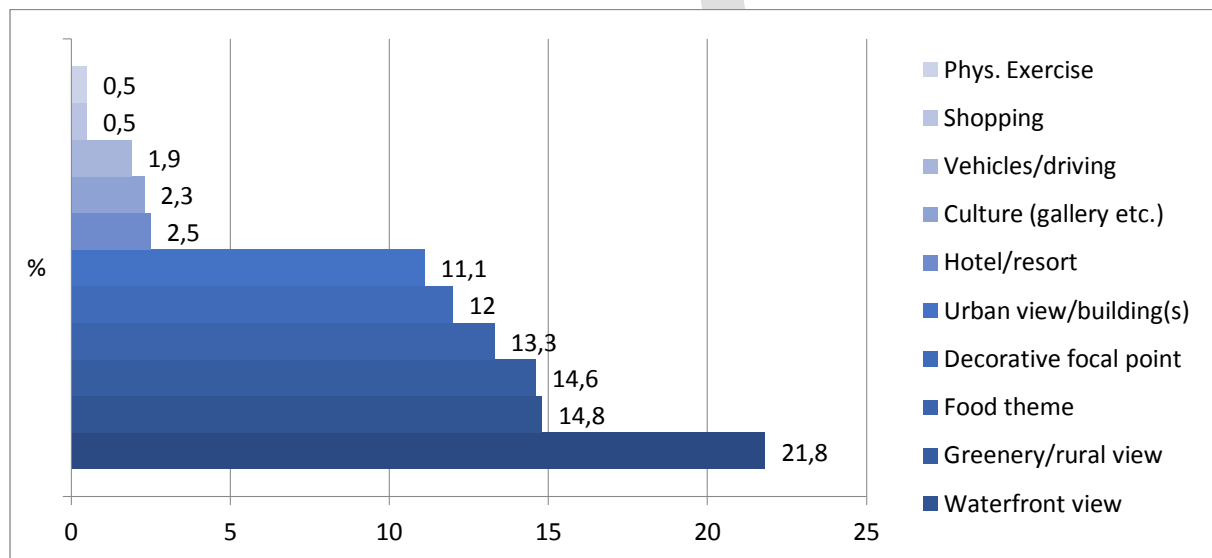


The fact that the majority of the photos could be classified as composed – reflecting an aesthetic intention or reaction - indicates that a poetic or prosaic version of what is experienced, is considered as pertinent (and perhaps prestigious) to notice and share. It can be argued that snapshots should dominate, if photos were taken for mere recording purposes. Even if the composed photos were primarily meant for boost of self-image and identity, the boost takes place through aesthetic means, revealing a cultural and social connotation linking prestige and beauty. As discussed in theory section, photos can serve a number of purposes and focusing on the act of photographing is commonly understood as enjoyable – and so is contemplating beauty, as argued by Hume. Focusing on creativity or aesthetic activities can, in turn, boost SWB, as argued by Melchionne.

The most popular subject-matter was a person or people posing. The other common themes in the order of popularity were a waterfront view (e.g. a beach, pool, marina or lakeside); greenery or rural view (e.g. a garden or resort, scenic landscape, flowering plant); food theme

(a meal, drink, restaurant or food market) and a decorative focal point (e.g. design furniture, architecture detail, fireplace). Urban views and buildings were significantly less popular than nature and greenery. By far, the most popular activities were swimming and sunbathing (depicted in every fifth photo), echoing Tuan’s notion about satisfaction found in the beach, sun and water.⁶³ The prevalence of water- and nature- themes builds on a long history of cultural understanding about a holiday. The bourgeoisie tradition of relocating to countryside for summer is an obvious reference point; and the findings in environmental psychology about the restoring effect of nature are also echoed in this data. Noticeably, the photos depicting nature were most typically portraits of something perceived as beautiful due to its aesthetic qualities - colours, rhythm, harmony etc. (e.g. turquoise water or colourful sunset), indicating that not mere naturalness appeals to people. [Refer to figure 5].

Figure 5. The most typical content of Instagram photos.



Instagram photos are usually labelled with keywords, “hashtags”. The 200 photos contained a too varied selection of hashtags, such as place names, to make meaningful statistical inferences. However, the most used hashtags were family or couple (8.3%), sea, lake or swim (6.2%) and weekend (6%). The popularity of weekend hashtags indicates that for staycationers, weekend becomes or is portrayed as active self-realisation and search for pleasant experiences.

4. Discussion

In the articles, staycation is targeted to urbanites with financial means for mini-holidays between holidays,⁶⁴ it is promoted as a self-help stress-management tool, and it offers easy-read content. The articles could be dismissed as mere marketing, but they offer insights on social conventions. Staycation is understood as inadequate for the purposes of a holiday, but adequate for the purposes of “quick-fix” restoration. The appeal arises from “ring-fencing”: staycation is earmarked for specified pleasurable activities, incl. outdoor recreation, exploration, entertainment, social bonding, gustatory experiences and playful creativity (DIY

and art projects). The content largely aligns between the articles and the photos, indicating that staycation is understood fairly similarly globally.

The prevalence of whole-of-body experiences in the photos (e.g. water, nature and sun; food markets, cocktails and restaurants), in my view, points that moments of savoured *aesthesis* – sensuous experiences of aliveness – are understood as restorative. It is conceivable that in the modern everyday filled with cerebral or non-physical activities, sensory experiences act as restorative counterbalance. The idealised, tranquil paradise island of Tuan is found in the data in the symbolic form of a resort, garden, beach or pool. In my data, the objective of staycation is to obtain exciting, enjoyable and/or enticing experiences, including experiences of beauty, which in turn can be seen as an attempt to open oneself to wonder. Recent research in psychology has found causation between feeling awe and (momentarily) increased SWB.⁶⁵ Dr. Keltner, professor of psychology in Berkeley, writes:⁶⁶

[...] people report feeling awe in response to more mundane things: when seeing the leaves of a Ginkgo tree change from green to yellow, in beholding the night sky when camping near a river [...]. Intriguingly, each burst of daily awe predicted greater well-being and curiosity weeks later.

Aesthetics as a field has for long focused on disinterested, contemplative aesthetic experience, whereas today's voluminous online content (lifestyle and social media, including Instagram and blogs) indicate that many seek creativity and aesthetic experiences as an inseparable part of the enjoyable everyday - combined with self-expression, entertainment, mastering a skill etc. Staycation, especially one shared in social media in the form of composed images, can be seen as a strategy to refresh or sharpen one's aesthetic sensitivity by engaging with and capturing what is perceived aesthetic.

Instagram can only tell a limited story. By selecting scenic or fun-filled images a staycationer builds a narrative of an idealised break or self. The lack of negative photographs indicates that those do not fit into the narrative. It can be asked, whether negative experiences (for example encountered discrimination) are psychologically harmfully erased for the purposes of fitting into the convention. But, it is equally possible that non-positive experiences are dismissed (and perhaps faster forgotten) in favour of the positive ones – photographing one's environment may help in this, as indicated by the study noting a connection between enjoyable experiences and photographing. Staycation undoubtedly is one manifestation of today's experience economy, but its popularity, in particular the popularity of composed photos, lends support to Melchionne's proposition that everyday aesthetics has unacknowledged power in bringing about greater wellbeing.

The popularity of staycations implies that opportunities to recharge in the everyday are lacking, questioning the sustainability of today's work-life from the well-being perspective. My findings reinforce the Ipsos Mori finding that many treat experiences of beauty as an instinctive need, an integral part of good life. Everyday aesthetic (self-)education, learning to acquire aesthetic experiences within the ordinary, could offer a vehicle for more frequent revitalisation and enhanced well-being as proposed by Melchionne.

5. Concluding comments

The lack of coherent background data – demographics etc. - sets limitations to my study. It was not possible to conclude how deep or conscious was the staycationers' own emphasis of the aesthetic aspect of their break. Despite the limitations, based on history and theory of holiday-making and everyday aesthetics, this study enforced a link between everyday aesthetic experiences and restoration. Composed (aesthetic) photos on social media cannot prove, but they indicate aesthetic intentions or reactions, pre-steps of aesthetic experience. Photographing as an act appears to deepen the enjoyment drawn from the experience. This study summarised and found further theoretical and empirical support for the view that everyday aesthetic experiences can increase SWB. Also, on holidays, relaxation may aid noticing beauty and savouring *aesthesis*, sensuous experience of aliveness, which in turn may enable revitalisation.

Staycation is understood as imitation of a “real holiday” - or, make-believe: a performance played with and for oneself. In this data set, a “successful” (restorative) staycation appears a four-layered process, aligning with Mandoki’s poetics, prosaics and five types of play: 1) staycation emerges from different configurations of the five types of play, 2) staycation involves poetics, e.g. performance or narrative for oneself and/or one’s social circles, 3) staycation involves prosaics, e.g. an attempt to notice the aesthetic around, and 4) staycation involves aesthetic reactions and experiences, such as photographing and sharing sights to obtain eudemonic pleasure from self-expression, identity building and connecting with others.

End notes

¹ Sebastien Filep & Philip Pearce (edit.), *Tourist Experience and Fulfilment: Insights from Positive Psychology*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 203.

² Sarah Pykea et al., “Exploring well-being as a tourism product resource”, *Tourism Management*, Volume 55, August 2016, pp. 94–105, Section 1.

³ Stephen Kaplan, “The Restorative Environment: Nature and Human Experience”, *The Role of Horticulture in Human Well-Being and Social Development* (Diane Relf, edit.), (Portland: Timber Press, 1992). pp. 134-135. Mental fatigue follows from directed attention (cognitive effort e.g. work and studies). Mental fatigue causes irritability, inability to focus and make decisions, and decreased overall health.

⁴ Sensuousness means absorbing information sensuously; sensitivity refers to the ability to discriminate and savour; imagination refers to the intermingling of perception and thinking; and evaluation refers to recognition but also valuation of objects. Pauline von Bonsdorff, *The Human Habitat - Aesthetic and Axiological Perspectives*, (Jyväskylä: International Institute of Applied Aesthetics Series Vol. 5, 1998), pp. 81-89.

⁵ Building on Neoplatonic tradition, the medieval church fathers of the 4th century interpreted beauty in terms of good and pleasurable, as a reflection of the world's divine order and beauty: contemplating beauty offers pleasure. Gian Carlo Garfagnini, *Medieval Aesthetics, Key Thinkers: Aesthetics* (Alessandro Giovanelli, edit.), (India: Continuum, 2012) pp. 34-35.

⁶ Hume 1740, p. 299, quoted by Crispin Sartwell, "Beauty", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), (Edward Zalta, edit.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/beauty/>, Section 2.4.

⁷ Sartwell (2016), Section 1.

⁸ Arnold Berleant, *Sensibility and Sense: The Aesthetic Transformation of the Human World*, (Imprint Academic, 2010), p 32.

⁹ Yuriko Saito, “Aesthetics of the Everyday”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2015 Edition), (Edward Zalta, edit.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2015/entries/aesthetics-of-everyday/>, Section 2.

¹⁰ Previous empirical research includes for example Pauliina Rautio’s “On Hanging Laundry: The Place of Beauty in Managing Everyday Life”, *Contemporary Aesthetics* (2009), vol. 9.

¹¹ Katya Mandoki, *Prosaics, The Play of Culture and Social Identities* (Great Britain: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 25-26.

¹² For example: Kaplan (1992), pp. 137-138.

¹³ Ipsos Mori: “People and places: Public attitudes to beauty”, (2010), pp. 4, 9-10, 20, 23-24. <http://www.designcouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/asset/document/people-and-places.pdf>.

¹⁴ Beth Harpaz, “The Origins of Mashup Marketing Terms Like ‘Bleisure’ and ‘Staycation’”, *Skift*, 10 April 2014.

¹⁵ The reports are available on VisitEngland’s website, <https://www.visitbritain.org/economic-downturn-and-holiday-taking-behaviour>. The list is from VisitEngland: *Qualitative research on short-break-taking – Topline findings* (December 2014), accessed 16 October 2016.

¹⁶ Lauren Davidson, “The rise of the staycation: more Brits holidaying at home”, *The Telegraph*, 7 February 2015.

- ¹⁷ Anne Pilon, "Staycations Survey: Staycations Almost as Popular as Vacations", AYTM website (Ask Your Target Market), 8 November 2016, <https://aytm.com/blog/daily-survey-results/staycations-survey/>, accessed 9 June 2017.
- ¹⁸ Belinda Tasker, "Aussie holidaymakers switch to staycations", *News.com.au*, 21 December 2016, <https://goo.gl/i0GOcP>, accessed 9 June 2016.
- ¹⁹ Tej Vir Singh (edit.), *Challenges in Tourism Research*, (Channel View Publications, 2015), p. 25.
- ²⁰ Photographs were sourced with the keyword "staycation" in two counts on 3 October 2016: 100 photographs at 9am and a further 100 at 3pm. During the interval, the number of "staycation" photos on Instagram increased by 717 photos, totalling 1,075,464.
- ²¹ Kevin Melchionne, "The Point of Everyday Aesthetics", *Contemporary Aesthetics* (2014), vol. 12.
- ²² Eudaimonia or eudemonia is comprehensively discussed in Chapter 1 of Felicia Huppert and Cary Cooper (edit.), *Wellbeing: A Complete Reference Guide, Volume VI, Interventions and Policies to Enhance Wellbeing*, (UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014).
- ²³ This point is also made by Damien Freeman, "Aesthetic Experience as Transformation of Pleasure," *the Harvard Review of Philosophy* (2010), vol. 17, pp. 56-75.
- ²⁴ By way of example, the number of everyday aesthetics themed blogs indicates that many find undertaking, discussing and viewing everyday aesthetic activities meaningful and rewarding. A Google search on 12 June 2017 with keywords "home design blog" produced 388 million hits; "photography blog" 309 million hits; "fashion blog" 152 million hits; "cooking blog" 23 million hits; and "crafts blog" 14.6 million hits.
- ²⁵ Denis Campbell, "Facebook and Twitter 'harm young people's mental health'", *The Guardian*, 19 May 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/may/19/popular-social-media-sites-harm-young-peoples-mental-health>, accessed 13 June 2017.
- ²⁶ Kristin Diehl et al., "How taking photos increases enjoyment of experiences", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol 111(2), Aug 2016, pp. 119-140.
- ²⁷ Ipsos Mori (2010), p. 57.
- ²⁸ Shannon Gausepohl, "Instagram for Business: Everything You Need to Know", *Business News Daily*, 3 January 2017. <http://www.businessnewsdaily.com/7662-instagram-business-guide.html>, accessed 8 June 2017.
- ²⁹ John Boy & Justus Uitermark, "How to study the city on Instagram", *PLoS ONE* (2016), vol. 11(6).
- ³⁰ The other high-ranking motivators were the cost of alcohol in the location (24%) and chances for personal development (22.6%). Rachel Hosie, "'Instagrammability': Most Important Factor for Millennials on Choosing Holiday Destination," *The Independent*, 24 March 2017.
- ³¹ Rod Chester, "Australians say Instagram obsession drives holiday choices and the power of the humble brag", *News.com.au*, 27 December 2016. <https://goo.gl/i0GOcP>, accessed 8 June 2017.
- ³² Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*, (USA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 18, 77.
- ³³ *Ibid*, 79-80.
- ³⁴ Kristin Diehl et al., (2016).
- ³⁵ Thomas Leddy, "Everyday Aesthetics and Photography", *Aisthesis* (2014), vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 45-62.

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- ³⁶ Yuriko Saito, *Everyday Aesthetics*, (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 4.
- ³⁷ First published in the *Critique of Judgement* (1790) and since discussed extensively in the field of aesthetics.
- ³⁸ I prefer to use the term aesthetic instead of beautiful to not limit the association to visual perception.
- ³⁹ Arnold Berleant, "What is Aesthetic Engagement?", *Contemporary Aesthetics*, (2013), vol. 11.
- ⁴⁰ VisitEngland reports on staycation, <https://www.visitbritain.org/economic-downturn-and-holiday-taking-behaviour>. Accessed 8 June 2017
- ⁴¹ According to Tuan (1995), paradise island appears in many ancient myths across cultures and eras; and the South Pacific Islands with hula skirts, flower garlands and palm beaches gained a mythical reputation as "the paradise" from mid-1800s, promoted by Western artists and writers.
- ⁴² It is not conclusive what causes the restoration effect of green spaces: aesthetic experience, physical exercise, physical and mental relaxation, something else, or all of these combined? Research in this field includes for example Stephen & Rachel Kaplan (1989), Roger Ulrich (1991), Terry Hartig (1991), and Anette Kjellegren & Hanne Buhrkall (2010). For an overview, see Anna Dale & Yuill Herbert, "Community Vitality and Green Spaces," *CRC Research*, accessed 6 December 2016. https://crcresearch.org/sites/default/files/u641/vitality_-_green_spaces.pdf
- ⁴³ Semir Zeki has found that aesthetic experiences with art can increase the release of dopamine. For an overview of neuro-aesthetic studies, including critique, see Mengfei Huan, "The Neuroscience of Art", *Standford Journal of Neuroscience*, Vol. 2, 2009, pp. 24-26.
- ⁴⁴ Statista, "If you could take only one holiday, what type of holiday would you prefer?", Preferred types of holidays in the United States 2012, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/249577/preferred-holiday-types-in-the-us/>, accessed 8 June 2017; and Peter Woodman, "Beach breaks are the most popular holiday type say survey," *The Independent*, 24 May 2012, <http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/beach-breaks-are-most-popular-holiday-type-says-survey-7784549.html>, accessed 8 June 2017.
- ⁴⁵ John Walton, "The seaside resort: a British cultural export", website *History in Focus* (2005), Department of Humanities, University of Central Lancashire, <https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Sea/articles/walton.html>, accessed 29 May 2017. In 2013 in the UK, city breaks and beach holidays were the two most popular holiday types. ABTA (the Association of British Travel Agencies), "City breaks now as popular as beach holidays", August 2013, <https://abta.com/about-us/press/city-breaks-now-as-popular-as-beach-holidays>, accessed 29 May 2017.
- ⁴⁶ Daniel Nutsforda et al., "Residential exposure to visible blue space (but not green space) associated with lower psychological distress in a capital city," *Health & Place* (2016), Vol. 39, pp. 70-78. This study did not establish what is the required exposure time or the size of the water body: hence, it is not conclusive whether people are drawn to water bodies due to the "blue space effect" or for other reasons.
- ⁴⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*, (USA: Columbia University Press, 1974/1990 edition), p. 96. Also, Tuan has noted that places that offer diverse tactile experiences are seen as more appealing overall than monotonic places. *Passing Strange and Wonderful. Aesthetics, Nature and Culture*, (New York: Kodansha America Inc., 1995), p. 44.
- ⁴⁸ For example Richard Ryan et al., "Vitalizing effects of being outdoors and in nature," *Journal of Environmental Psychology* (2010), Vol. 30, Issue 2, pp. 159-168.
- ⁴⁹ Tuan (1995), p. 72. Also Tuan (1974/1990 edit.), pp. 116-119.

⁵⁰ Boy and Uitermark (2016) note that social media users typically do not report on their everyday chores: instead, shared images are part of strategies of identity-building and distinction-making.

⁵¹ Mandoki (2007), pp. 75-77.

⁵² Mandoki's (2007) theory about prosaics parallels with Leddy's suggestion about the existence of aura in an object that transforms ordinary to extraordinary. I understand Leddy to mean that aura is product of a shift in one's attitude, to be open or curious to look at the object like an artist. Thomas Leddy, *The Extraordinary in the Ordinary: The Aesthetics of Everyday Life*, (Broadview Press, 2012), pp. 128-130, 244.

⁵³ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, (Great Britain: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1949), pp. 8, 21-22.

⁵⁴ Mandoki (2007), 94.

⁵⁵ For conducting a GT analysis, see for example Carla Willig, *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology*, (London: City University London, 2013), pp. 69-75. The analysis process for the articles was as follows: each article, sentence by sentence, was reviewed and each separate statement assigned an identifying label. Similar labels were grouped into categories (i.e. "adventure", "sense of fun", etc.), as presented in Figure 1. The analysis process for the images was similar: the primary and secondary themes of the photos were identified, labelled and categorised (e.g. "people", "food", "waterfront", "urban greenery", "decorative focus point", etc.). The labels were summed up for statistical presentation from most common to least common. Concurrently, the themes were examined against their semantic and cultural meaning (e.g. was a food market photographed for curiosity, documenting or aesthetic purposes or all of the above).

⁵⁶ Jorge Ruiz Ruiz, "Sociological Discourse Analysis: Methods and Logic", *FQS Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, May 2009, Volume 10, No. 2, Art. 26. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1298/2882>, accessed 6 June 2017.

⁵⁷ See for example Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*, (UK: SAGE Publications, 2006). Normalisation of ideas and practices was first discussed by Michael Foucault.

⁵⁸ The articles were sourced with the keyword "staycation" on 20 June 2016 by selecting the first 20 non-advertisement articles on Google. Most of the articles were published during 2015-16. More than half (12) were from the US, three were from Canada, three were from the UK and two were from Australia. Adverts were excluded from the data, but all of the articles can be considered as promotional. All except one article portrayed staycation positively and did not discuss its potential downsides, such as promotion of consumerism, or financial and social performance stress.

⁵⁹ Rebecca Fishbein, "Some Charming Manhattanites Are Buying Second 'Staycation' Homes in Manhattan for 'A Change of Scenery'", *Gothamist*, June 3, 2016. http://gothamist.com/2016/06/03/always_buy_a_burner_apartment.php

⁶⁰ The other relatively common source countries were Philippines, Indonesia, China and the United Arab Emirates. Rarer countries with more than one photo were Canada, Malaysia, Australia, the UK, Singapore, Ireland and Qatar. The remaining ~4% of the photos were individual shots from all around the globe, from Mexico to Czech Republic.

⁶¹ The assessment of the aesthetic intention/reaction was informed by Carolyn Korsmeier's discussion of taste, Berys Gaut & Dominic McIver Lopes (edit.), *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, (Taylor & Francis Books, 2013), pp. 259-262: in summary, aesthetic qualities are debatable and depend on the adopted viewpoint and philosophy, but objects have properties that make them worth appreciation or criticism, such as colour, composition, elegance, rhythm etc. and the value of these qualities is understood fairly similarly within a culture or among a class of objects (paintings, photographs, furniture etc.).

⁶² Unity in (visual) variety means the harmony or union of cooperating elements or the balance of contrasting or conflicting elements. Aesthetic harmony exists when some identical quality or form or purpose is embodied in various elements of a whole – sameness in difference. Aesthetic balance is the unity between elements which, while they oppose or conflict with one another, nevertheless need or supplement each other. Dewitt H. Parker, Chapter V, “The Analysis of the Aesthetic Experience: The Structure of the Experience”, *The Principles Of Aesthetics*, (1920), E-book, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6366/pg6366-images.html>, accessed 15 June 2016.

⁶³ Appropriate to the narrative of a holiday, half of the images displayed a sunny summer day. One quarter of the photos was taken indoors, and the remaining pictures depicted an overcast weather, night or indiscernible weather. Only one image showed sleet and a half a dozen pictured rain.

⁶⁴ The socio-economic background of staycationers was not revealed by this data, but the portrayed staycation (eating in restaurants etc.) requires some disposable income.

⁶⁵ See for example Melanie Rudd et al., “Awe Expands People’s Perception of Time, Alters Decision Making, and Enhances Well-Being”, *Psychological Science* (2012), 23(10), p. 1135.

⁶⁶ Dacher Keltner, “Why Do We Feel Awe?” *Greater Good*, Berkeley University of California, 10 May 2016. http://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/why_do_we_feel_awe, accessed 14 December 2016.

Emphasizing the Suppression of Feminist Voices and Women Rhetoricians

Ashok Bhusal

Department of English Rhetoric and Composition
The University of Texas at El Paso, USA

Abstract

This article highlights the suppression tactics used to marginalize four women writers from the prior four centuries and attempts to find commonalities among these rhetors. They are getting recognition for their long overlooked rhetorical skills. We, as students of rhetoric, need to continue to look for other women rhetors who have been largely marginalized or ignored and reclaim their contributions in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: rhetors, suppression, women.

Purpose

This work examines the suppression tactics used to marginalize or ignore four women writers from the prior four centuries, including seventeenth-century English writer Mary Astell, eighteenth-century English author Mary Wollstonecraft, the nineteenth-century American writer Margaret Fuller, and the later nineteenth and early twentieth-century African American writer Ida B. Wells. Additionally, the four writers' use of rhetorical devices to inform, persuade, dialogue with, and move audiences to act are analyzed, as well as circumstances or rhetorical situations that prompted these rhetors to take pen in hand or take the podium. This article also attempts to find commonalities among these rhetors.

Discussion

The first writer under consideration is Mary Astell, whose first work, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement for their True and Greatest Interest*, was a proposal for a Protestant nunnery for women. Christine Mason Sutherland, in "Mary Astell: Reclaiming Rhetorica in the Seventeenth Century," begins her analysis of Astell's work by commenting that she was well known and well regarded in her life time, but she was nearly forgotten after her death (93). Sexism, as one of the factors Russ points out, was a contributing factor for this suppression. Sutherland points out that the particular rhetorical situation Astell was addressing was the plight of women who do not marry and need employment and shelter or whose lives lack in moral and spiritual sustenance. Sutherland continues that Astell obviously made a study of her readers (audience). She pointedly addressed her book to ladies, capturing their attention by appealing to their interest in charm and beauty, while realizing at the same time that men also must recognize her ideas. Sutherland admires the strong persuasive techniques Astell employs to win over her readers, including building anticipation by not stating her major proposal of a nunnery until she had written fifty pages of her book. Her proposal went unfunded, as there were strong sentiments at that time in English society against anything that seemed to suggest Catholicism or papal influences. Sutherland also credits Astell with boldly rejecting classical rhetorical techniques of confrontation or opposition in favor of her technique of showing respect, tenderness and caring for one's audience (115).

The eighteenth century English writer Mary Wollstonecraft is perhaps best known for her book *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. She was a contemporary of Rousseau and Talleyrand. Jamie Barlowe, in "Daring to Dialogue: Mary Wollstonecraft's Rhetoric of Feminist Dialogics," presents Wollstonecraft as a woman who believed in her own right to participate in dialogues with the leading thinkers of her day (117). The rhetorical situations that she addressed concerned the suppression of women through lack of educational opportunity and denial of equal rights in treatment and in law. Barlow also observes that, as a rhetor, Wollstonecraft capitalized on her own educational advantages to argue, persuade, give evidence, and reason to state her case to the powerful men of her generation. Wollstonecraft argues in *Rights of Women* that because men trivialized women's intellectual powers and marginalized their reasoning abilities, they "victimized themselves as well as women." She wanted men to see that including women was logical and advantageous to both sexes (118).

Annette Kolodny, in “Inventing a Feminist Discourse: Rhetoric and Resistance in Margaret Fuller’s *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*,” says that Margaret Fuller, the nineteenth-century Transcendentalist editor of *The Dial*, wrote over 250 essays and two books during the middle of the 19th century. However, Fuller’s legacy did not continue after her death. She, too, was marginalized until the feminist movement of the twentieth century. She is strong in providing reason and argument to persuade the audience. She ended her *Vindications* with the use of irony as a rhetorical tool. Kolodny says that prominent critics of her day called her work poorly organized and her arguments erroneous because men and women were not equal. Joanna Russ, in *How to Suppress Women’s Writing* would call this suppression due to sexism or the false categorizing of women as weak writers. Kolodny points out that Charles F. Briggs damned Margaret Fuller’s work as “not sufficiently plain and direct” and complained that the contents were loosely constructed.

Jaqueline Jones Royster, in her “To Call a Thing by Its True Name: The Rhetoric of Ida B. Wells,” discusses another important feminist writer Ida B. Wells and looks at her life and work and rhetorical significance. She, who was born a slave in 1862, rose to prominence as a journalist, speaker, and civil rights activist. She devoted over forty years of her life to speaking out against the horrors of lynching of black men, women, and children by illegal mobs. She toured England and Scotland and one of Wells’ rhetorical strategies was making US mob actions a campaign of international focus. She was exiled from Tennessee and found refuge in states outside the South. Her rhetorical strategies included using evidence and argument to persuade and she frequently quoted from press articles to legitimize her own words. Though she was not recognized widely at the time, her language had a significant impact on audiences to change their thinking and behaviors. The most important contribution that Wells did was to use the weapon of composition and rhetoric to bring about changes in the society by closely analyzing her own life and including in her rhetoric that which she saw as truth.

From those articles in the book, *Reclaiming Rhetorica*, what we can deduce is that all of these writers were very powerful figures during their lifetimes. Mary Astell spoke and wrote to improve the treatment of women living in the seventeenth century, using her skills as a rhetor. Mary Wollstonecraft in the eighteenth century, Margaret Fuller in the nineteenth century and Ida B. Wells in the early twentieth century, each had a strong belief in their ability to provide reason and argument as a persuasive tool. All of their works were marginalized, but recent feminist studies and African studies have recovered their contributions to rhetoric, perhaps because exigencies have changed, constraints have altered, and the audience has changed.

Lloyd Bitzer provides a powerful definition of rhetoric. He describes rhetoric as “a mode of altering reality” using discourse to change the existing reality through conscious thought and action (4). Bitzer depicts an exigence as “an imperfection marked by urgency” (6) that needs to be addressed. Astell, Wollstonecraft, Fuller, and Wells tried to change the exigencies they found in their world using their rhetorical skills. Though these four powerful women writers engaged their powers of composition and rhetoric to alter existing realities, contemporary male attitudes remained rigid toward women and these women writers were soon marginalized or completely

suppressed. Because of sexist and racist perspectives, their literary and rhetorical gifts were discredited and were not included in traditional historical study. The first three suffered from sexism whereas Wells faced both racism and sexism. However, present day scholars have belatedly begun to analyze their still relevant contributions to improve the status of women and their whole artistic and creative discourse.

Russ points out in her article “False Categorizing,” that female writers were falsely categorized as weaker than the leading male writers of their era because of the prevailing attitudes resulting from the male-dominant culture. Astell tried to extend or challenge the ideas of her contemporaries, including like Descartes, Locke and other thinkers and philosophers of her time. However, she was not treated as highly as her male contemporaries. Similarly, Fuller was a prominent member of the transcendental writers' group, but she was not considered as important as transcendental writers such as Emerson and Thoreau or even close to them. Wollstonecraft's contemporary Rousseau maintained his stature while she became marginalized after her death.

Conclusion

At last, these women rhetors are getting recognition for their long overlooked rhetorical skills. The effects of years of marginalization or suppression are being rectified as interest and scholarly studies are illuminating their impressive literary and rhetorical gifts. Many of the reforms in societal attitudes toward women that they championed are being realized. In the twenty-first century, their influence will be a continuing presence in rhetorical study. We, as students of rhetoric, need to continue to look for other women rhetors who have been largely marginalized or ignored and reclaim their contributions in the twenty-first century.

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The Protection of Animals in Thailand--An Insight into Animal Protection Legislation

Dr. Sulaiman Dorloh

LL.B, LL.B (Shariah), MCL, PhD (IIUM)

Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Shariah and Law, Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University (UNISSA), Brunei Darussalam

Abstract

There are many critics of current Thai law concerning the welfare of animals. They argue that the PACPAWA,2014 is inadequate to protect the welfare of animals. The absence of clear guidelines in the legislation concerning animal welfare has resulted in animal welfare receiving inadequate protection. There are other limitations contributing to the inadequacy of existing laws in protecting animals in Thailand. The possible penalties are very low. For the offence of cruelty against an animal, the PACPAWA,2014 sets a maximum fine of TBH 2000. This is considered inadequate and ineffective in preventing cruelty to animals. The study utilises doctrinal legal research or library-based research approach to provide valuable insights in understanding the law and and ascertaining the principles of legal interpretation and analysis. The study also provides possible suggestions to enhance the protection of the welfare of animals in Thailand. The research suggests that education should play an important role in promoting kindness towards animals.

Keywords: Thailand, Animal Protection Legislation, welfare of animals.

Introduction

This paper will examine the existing laws from two angles, firstly from the livestock's welfare perspective and secondly from the pet or stray animals' welfare. Animal protection laws in this country are derived from three sources of legislation i.e. the Wild Animal Reservation and Protection Act, 1992 (WARPA, 1992), the Prevention of Animal Cruelty and Provision of Animal Welfare Act, 2014 (PACPAWA, 2014) and the Penal Code of Thailand (PCT, 1956). In Thailand which form the context for the discussion in this paper, instances of animal cruelty are frequently reported. This paper seeks to address this problem by identifying interpretation of existing cruelty laws that will best promote their objectives and effectiveness. Suggestions will also be made as to how existing laws could be improved to meet modern international standards in the protection of animals from cruelty and in improving animal welfare. This paper will also identify and discuss some of Islamic point of views concerning the treatment of animals.

Sources of Animal Protection Legislation in Thailand

There are two sources of Animal Protection Legislation in Thailand.

I. Wild Animal Reservation and Protection Act, 1992

The Wild Animal Reservation and Protection Act, 1992 (WARPA 1992) is intended to regulate certain defined wild animals generally outside human control. It covers activities involving hunting, propagating and trading of wildlife.

The Act is divided into eight chapters. It begins with Chapter I—General Provisions; Chapter II—The National Wildlife Preservation and Protection Committee; Chapter III Hunting, Propagating and Trading of Wildlife; Chapter IV --- Importing and Exporting Wildlife; Chapter V--- A Public Zoo; Chapter VI --- Prohibited Areas and Places for Hunting Wildlife; Chapter VII --- The Competent Officers; Chapter VIII --- Penalties; and lastly Chapter IV --- Transitory Provisions

By examining the WARPA, 1992 it is found that the WARPA's main objective is primarily to protect wildlife or to prevent spreading of animal diseases and conservation of livestock for human consumption. Since then, it has undergone various amendments, until its most recent amendment on 28 February 2014. The aims of the new bill are to make animal owners more conscious of their responsibilities and to provide proper care for their animals. The bill seeks to impose harsh punishments on animal owners who fail to take care of their animals. The bill is also aimed at controlling the movement of animals and methods of animal slaughter, preventing cruelty to animals, and providing measures pertaining to the general welfare, conservation and improvement of animals in Thailand. The power to make law and policy under the WARPA, 1992 is given to the Minister of Agro-Based Industry through the Department of Veterinary Services.

II. Prevention of Animal Cruelty and Provision of Animal Welfare Act, 2014

Due to the rise of public concern and a growing awareness concerning animal welfare, the Thai government is now in the process of passing a new law to repeal the Prevention

of Animal Cruelty and Provision of Animal Welfare Act, 2014 (PACPAWA, 2014). Due to the outrage of the abuse of pet or stray animal incident in Thailand, The Prevention of Animal Cruelty and Provision of Animal Welfare Act, 2014 (PACPAWA, 2014) was gazzetted on 28 February 2014.

The PACPAWA,2014 consists of eight Chapters, i.e. Chapter 1 ---Animal Anti-Cruelty and Welfare Committee; Chapter 2--- Animal Welfare Organization; Chapter 3---Animal Assistent Establishment; Chapter 4 ---Animal Anti-Cruelty; Chapter 5 --- Animal Welfare; Chapter 6 ---The Competent Welfare Officers; Chapter 7 ---Penalies; Chapter 8 --- Transitory Provisions

The PACPWA,2014 expands on the WARPA , 1992 in many aspects and can be summarized into the following points.

Firstly, the WARPA, 1992 establishes the formation of an Animal Anti Cruelty and Welfare Committee, which among others, will conduct any activities involving animal welfare and monitor the work of organizations established for the purpose of preventing trauma, pain or suffering of animals. In furtherance to the above, the committee will also work closely with the other welfare organizations and associations that registered under this Act.

Secondly, the WARPA, 1992 creates a duty of care by owners to provide appropriate animal welfare with sufficient habitation, food and water.¹ Owners have to ensure animals are free from pain and suffering, injury and diseases at all material times.

Fourthly, fines for not more than forty thousands Thai baht (THB) could be ordered by courts for any act of cruelty perpetrated onto animals.²

The Fifth point is that a search warrant will be needed to search and seize premises.

Tirapongse Pangsrivongse, president of the Thai Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, was of the view that the bill is “a victory for rights groups” but that it need to further outline and specify what constitutes cruelty. He also said that “...by only specifying piecemeal details of cruel acts, the bill will exclude more cruel acts than it includes,”

The defendant was charged for cruelly ill-treating and torturing her cat by throwing her cat from the fifth- floor of her apartment. The Bangkok North Municipal Court imposed two months’ imprisonment.³

Last but not least, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives is conferred many powers under the PACPAWA, 2014. The minister has authority, from time to time to

¹ The PACPWA,2014 , Chapter 5, sections 19 to 21

² Ibid, Chapter 4, section 17

³ See “ Online Reporters”, *The Bangkok Post* (28/01/2016)

issue an order as may be expedient to comply with an order from minister.⁴ The enforcement agency of this Act is the Department of Wildlife and National Parks under the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives.

Other law affecting animals

The Penal Code of Thailand,1956

The Penal Code of Thailand,1956 (PCT 1956) is an act stipulating types of criminal offences under PCT 1956. While the PACPAWA, 2014 classifies animal cruelty as one of the criminal offences of an offender towards animals. There are only two sections under the PCT, 1956 that are relevant in curbing animal abuse, ie., under the category of ‘mischief’---ss 428 and 429. For the PCT,1956 when it comes to animals protection laws, the provisions seem to aim at protecting the humans only and not, per se, the fate of the animals. It is found that, under both provisions of the PCT, animals are treated solely as economic commodities with its value placed with human beings.

Section 381 of the PCT states

Whoever cruelly ill-treats or kills an animal with unnecessary suffering shall be punished with imprisonment of up to one month and/or fined up to THB 1,000.

Section 382 of the PCT states:

Whoever overworks an animal unreasonably or uses it for unsuitable work when it is ill, old or young shall be imprisoned for up to one month and/or fined to THB 1,000.

The term “ ill-treats or kills” in section 381 of the PCT,1956 has been invoke in reference to a broad range of conducts. It has also been interpreted to refer to an omission. It is also an offence under the PCT,1956 to kill an animal. However,this is no evidence that this clause is enforced as there is no clarification on what constitutes cruelty. In addition, the PCT,1956 does not define ‘animal’ so it is unclear as to whether this code intended to extend wild animals or only to protect domestic animals, and whether it covers animals used in scientific research. Moreover, both provisions fall under the general heading of ‘petty offences’ under Book III of the PCT,1956. Under the PCT,1956, a person who commits an offence of cruelly ill-treats or kills an animal is liable to a fine not exceeding 1,000 Thai Baht (THB) or imprisonment not exceeding one month or both. The THB 1,000 fine, which has been the subject of much criticism, is plainly inadequate as a punishment or deterrent to animal cruelty.

Section 377 of the PCT,1966 regulates the responsibilities of animal owners and persons who are in charge of animals. This section aims to protect people from injury which may be caused by animals. This law established the liability of animal owners to supervise such animals

⁴ Ibid, section 4

so as to prevent them causing hurt or injury and nuisance to other persons and the public. To prevent public disorder, the PCT, 1966, for instance, criminalises the use of animals which cause hurt or injury to others.

Conclusion

In conclusion, animal cruelty laws of Thailand, regardless of the new law or latest implementation, seems to be like a 'toothless tiger' where the effectiveness in curbing animal cruelty is relatively low. These laws are definitely required to improve further and should be enforced strictly by the relevant authorities. At the same time, such laws must remain flexible enough to reflect changes in public opinion, in order to safeguard the welfare of defenseless animals. It is important, however, to not leave such a wide concept undefined.

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Legislation

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Prevention of Animal Cruelty and Provision of Animal Welfare Act, 2014

Wild Animal Reservation and Protection Act, 1992

IJHCS

Roles and Functions of the Patani Muslim Religious Committee Council in Propagating and Preserving Islam as a Religion under Thai Constitution

Sulaiman Dorloh and Abdol Rauh Yaacob

Faculty of Shariah and Law, Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University (UNISSA),
Brunei Darussalam

Abstract

This paper examines the roles and the functions that the Islamic committee members play at the Muslim Religious Committee Council in the Patani province in propagating and preserving Islam as a religion under the Thai Constitution. Other councils for example, Narathiwat Muslim Religious Committee Council (NMRCC), Yala Muslim Religious Committee Council (YMRCC) and Satul Muslim Religious Committee Council (SMRCC) also embarks upon their own roles besides solving the matrimonial disputes among the Muslims in the deep south. This is due to the fact that the sole purpose of the establishment of the Muslim Religious Committee Councils is to propagate the Islamic teachings and monitor the affair of Muslims in those four provinces. Unfortunately, in the recent year, there are some allegations and misunderstandings as to the roles played by the committee. Although there have been attempts to clarify such misconception, no attempt has been made to provide sufficient information and concrete solutions to the above problems. To a large extent those roles and functions are being carried out by the committee since the beginning of the establishment of the councils. Hence, this paper intends to investigate the roles and the functions of the committee in the Patani Muslim Religious Committee Council by exploring the current tasks and responsibilities of the Islamic committee members in the sphere of propagating and preserving the Islamic teachings as well as conducting the dispute resolution mechanism. Finally, the author will provide some possible solutions and suggestions to the current problems faced by PMRCC.

Keywords: Patani Islamic Religious Committee Council, Thai Constitution, Reconciliation in family matters, Deep south, Islamic family law disputes.

The Current Scenario of the PMRCC

Due to ongoing unrest in the Thailand's Malay Muslim speaking area, the office of the Muslim Religious Committee Councils in the four southern border provinces is being targeted by several allegations especially the PMRCC. Such pejorative image indeed, will tarnish reputation of the PMRCC and the office of Shayk al-Islam as symbols of Islamic religion in Thai contexts. Looking at the roles played by the office of the Muslim religious committee council in Patani province especially in the field of propagating and preserving the Islamic teachings are obvious.

Legally speaking, settling marital disputes among the Muslims in those four border provinces is considered as quasi-judicial task as far as the routine of work of the Thai Provincial courts is concerned. In fact, the PMRCC has helped the Provincial courts in minimizing the numbers the court case filed at the Patani provincial court. As such, the importance of family dispute resolution is being currently conducted by the PMRCC has been grown quite substantially in the recent years. The implementation of Islamic family and Islamic law of inheritance is another major role demonstrated by the PMRCC in matters involving the Islamic faith, marriage, *talaq*, and succession to estate of deceased Muslim persons.

Hence, the training of the religious counselors in the Majlis/council of the southern border provinces of Thailand, in both Islamic legal knowledge and skills in order to prepare them to solve and accommodate the problems accounted while carry out their counseling is indeed very important. The present administrative staff at the PMRCC is not trained purposely for that particular specific goal but rather embark upon on a very broad and general mission. There was no focus made as far as the implementation of the dispute resolution in the PMRCC was concerned

The Roles and Functions of the PMRCC

Before the establishment of the MRCC, the task of propagating Islamic teachings and making compromise were conducted by *tok gurus* (learned scholars), *imam*, and head villagers in their respective village. When the Act on the Islamic Organization Act B.E. 2540 (1997) has been implemented in those areas, and resulting the formation of the PMRCC and the task of propagating Islamic teaching subsequently, was transformed to the PMRCC. It might be said that the *tok gurus*' roles are less significant compared to the PMRCC's roles. However, generally speaking, the roles and the functions of the Muslim Religious Committee Councils in Thailand can be divided into two roles. There are as follows:

The Roles of PMRCC in Propagating and Preserving Islam as a Religion of the Thai Constitution

The oldest Muslim Religious Committee Council after the Siamese occupation is the Patani Muslim Religious Committee Council. This council was established in 1948. The first president

of PMRCC was Haji Sulong Bin Abdul Qadir.¹ His full's name was Tuan Guru Haji Mohammad Sulong Bin Abdul Qadir Bin Muhammad Bin Tuan Minal al-Fatani.

The newly appointed present president of the PMRCC is Haji Abdul Rahman Bin Dawud. The tenure office for the posts of the posts of the committee chairman, and vice-chairman and the committee members is a four-year term but they may seek re-elect if they so wish. Among the objectives of PMRCC in broader sense is to propagate the Islamic teachings. Moreover, the specific objectives have been formulated to suit with the present conditions they are as follows. Firstly; to act as *wali am* for Muslim couples , secondly; to promote and preserve the Islamic heritage and its teachings, thirdly to supervise and monitor the affairs of the mosque in their respective localities, fourthly, to solve the Muslim matrimonial problems and to monitor and take care of abandoned child, needy, orphanage, unfortunate and less fortunate persons. Those objectives are being interpreted into action plan which will be carried out by PMRCC under the new leadership of Haji Abdul Rahman Bin Dawud . There are as follows:

1. To supervise and monitor Ma'had Darul Ma'arif
2. To monitor kindergarten at the respective mosque with totaling of 623 schools
3. To conduct a seminar annually to the imam, khatib and bilal and its committee members. The total number of the participants in each year are approximately 1,869 persons
4. To produce a syllabus for kindergarten school at the respective mosque
5. To monitor and take care of orphanages and unfortunate persons
6. To take part in social services conducted by PMRCC
7. To conduct a free training for Muslims during the school vocation
8. To give a public lecture on radio and TV
9. To form a dakwah group for villagers when the request is made from the villagers
10. To form Ulama Council consisting of 30 persons for each village.
11. To prepare articles and Khutbah book to be distributed to the mosque in their respective mosque, and
12. To collect donation and provide scholarship for the Muslim students whose intent to pursue their studies locally or abroad²

The Roles and Functions of PMRCC According the Thai's law

The Thai Constitution is a supreme law, any law which is repugnant with the Thai Constitution is null and void. Although, Thailand is a Buddhist country, the freedom of religion as guaranteed by the Thai Constitution.³ Article 38 of the said constitution provides:

¹ The second president of PMRCC was Haji Abdul Aziz Bin Haji Abdul Wahab (1948-1974), the third president of PMRCC was Haji Muhammad Amin Bin Haji Muhammad Sulong (1975-1982), the fourth president of PMRCC was Haji Yusuf Bin Wan Musa (1982-1984), fifth president of MAIP was Haji Abdul Wahab Bin Abdul Wahab (1984-1999) See; Mina Jeh tae, Al-Tanzim al-Idari, ibid., p.55. Daily Matichon, 16 april, 2004, Matichon Press, Bangkok, p.34

² Those objectives are changeable from time to time to suit with the need of the villagers

A person shall enjoy full liberty to profess a religion, a religious sect or creed, and observe religious precepts or exercise a form of worship in accordance with his or her belief provided that it is not contrary to his or her civic duties, public order or good morals.

His Majesty, the King is the upholder and the patron of all religions. Moreover, His Majesty the King always takes part actively in promoting the understanding between the majority of Thais and minority groups especially peoples in the Malay speaking areas.⁴ His Majesty, the king graciously has allocated through the government the budget and land for the construction of the mosque, symbolizing the Thailand's commitment toward the Islamic affairs. Today there are four thousands mosques and a large number of prayer facilities all over Thailand.

According to the Islamic Organization Act B.E. 2540 (1997), under this act the Committee for the Provincial for Islamic Affairs were formed to advice and assist the provincial governor in all matters relating to Islam. Besides that by virtue of article 26 (11) of the Act 1997. The Act 1997 provides to the effect that:

“The Provincial Islamic Religious Committee has the power to compromise and reconcile disputes concerning family and inheritance according to Islamic rules when there is a request from the Muslims.”

But in practical, PMRCC most of the time play dual functions, reconcile and acting as arbitrator in matrimonial disputes. Though, other government institution such as Provincial court- presided by Dato Yuthitham (Muslim magistrate) is appointed for that particular purpose.

To respond the Act, PMRCC forms 30 administrative staff members. Besides that PMRCC have been employed 14 persons as permanent staff. The office of PMRCC is divided into 12 divisions. Each division is self- sponsored. They are as follows:

1. Operational Affairs Division Affairs. This division is comprising of one chairman whose is assisted by 3 vice-chairmen. The main task of this division is to administer, study and identify the internal as well as the external administrative policy of the ONMRCC. This includes to liaise with other organizations.

2. Secretariat Affairs Division Affairs. This division is headed by one Secretary with two secretarial assistants. This division mainly deals with the clerical works and conducting monthly meetings and workshops. The usual workshop conducted by this division is called “*khusus praperkahwinan*”

3. Bursar Affairs Division Affairs. It deals with financing, budgeting and auditing of the PMRCC's balance sheet.

³ It is to be noted that this constitution is accredited as the " Popular Constitution," for it is believed to be the product of rampant participation by the people in its drafting.

⁴ The National Identity Board, *Thailand in the 90s*,(Bangkok : The office of the Prime Minister, Kingdom of Thailand, 1995) 70.

4. Economic Division Affairs. This division is comprising of one official. Its main tasks are to generate the incomes of the PMRCC by making a connection with the co-operate body in the region.

5. Educational Affairs Division Affairs. This division is consisting of several religious teachers. This division seeks to promote religious education of every mosque. The class will be conducted in Malay language under the patronage of mosque educational committee. The class will begin on the school holiday, Saturday and Sunday on the mosque veranda.

6. Reconciliation Affairs Division Affairs. This division consists of one principal division whose is assisted by two assistants. Its main task is to reconcile the marital disputes between husband and wife. This includes to act as a mediator or counsellor on wills, bequests and dowry disputes.

7. Social welfare Affairs Division Affairs. This division is headed by one principal division with two assistants. The office is responsible to provide temporary relief and aid to those who are suffered from natural disastrous such as drought, and flood . The office also will provide financial assistant to the newly-converted Muslims. Distributing donation for the construction on the mosques, kindred garden schools and giving assist to the students who intended further their high education are held by this division.

8. Marriage, divorce and Islamic Division Affairs Affairs. This division is responsible to issue the marriage and divorce certificate, letter certification, issueing religious rulings on certain issues relating marriage, divorce and inheritance. This division is headed by several learned scholars or *tok gurus* in the province.

9. Hajj and Umrah Division Affairs Affairs. Consisting of one principal division with one assistant. This division is responsible to coordinate with the companies and the pilgrimage leaders. This includes to conduct a seminar and workshop to those who intended to go for hajj and umrah.

10. Mosque Administrative Division Affairs Affairs. This division consists of one principal head with one assistant whose main job is to survey and register the mosques and its committees in the area. This includes to conduct a seminar annually for imam, khatib, bilal and mosque's committee

11. Zakat Affairs Division Affairs. Consists of one principal head with one assistant whose main job is to educate the Muslims in the region to understand about alms giving (Zakat) and its requirements.

12. Halal Affairs Division Affairs, this division is headed by a principle and academic assistant. The main task is to issue halal certificate and monitoring product displayed in the market place.

13 Information Affairs Division Affairs. The division is consisting of one principal head with one assistantship whose main jobs are to promote the council's activities by producing pamphlets, brochers, booklets to be distributed the Muslims in the region.

Looking at the functions of PMRCC as discussed above, it is evident that the PMRCC is playing a major role in preserving the Islamic teachings.

Judicial Function

Besides the above mentioned functions, the PMRCC also acting as arbitration and reconciliation body whose major tasks are to conduct reconciliation. Below is the reconciliation process and types of cases decided by PMRCC

1. Conducting Reconciliation process and practicing order at the Patani Muslim Religious Committee Council(PMRCC)

By the virtue of the Islamic Organization Act B.E. 2540 (1997), the committee of the Muslim Religious Council is responsible to compromise and settle Muslims' marriage, divorce and inheritance disputes. However, before settling those problems, negotiation and reconciliation is conducted by the beginning with the presence of the parties in *sulh* or conciliation meeting until the end of negotiation. This principle has been stressed in the Holy Qur'an. Allah Almighty says: And if you a breach between the two (husband and wife), then appoint an arbiter from his (husband's) people and arbiter from her (wife's) people. If they desire agreement, Allah will affect harmony between them (An-Nisa: 35): If two parties among the believers fall into a quarrel. Make ye peace between them (al-Hujrat: 9)

In the light of the above Quranic verses, Allah has laid down procedures that should be followed when disagreement arises between husband and wife. The appointment of *hakam* or arbitrator from both parties is necessary. Secondly, an amicable settlement is permissible in all matters among Muslims except the amicable settlement which makes the unlawful as lawful and that which makes the lawful as unlawful. And thirdly, the reconciliation by way of arbitration should be made before any legal action takes place. Legally speaking, a reconciliation is a contract for amicable settlement when there are conflicts.

2. The PMRCC's Manual Order

Regarding the roles and the functions of the PMRCC in reconciliation is obvious. The reconciliation working procedures which have being practicing in the PMRCC are stated in PMRCC's manual order. It can be summarized as follows:

1. The applicant must bring the letter of marriage and letter of intention for entering a conciliation from *imam*
2. The Committee will consider whether the conflict is existing or not, if the conflict is present the committee will suggest the applicant to enter for the reconciliation by filling a complaint form⁵ at the PMRCC.
3. The conciliatory committee will open the remark by *ta'ruf*
4. The Committee will then explain the reconciliation process at the PMRCC according to both in Islamic law and Thai civil law
5. The committee will ask the applicant whether the applicants want to enter for the reconciliation process

⁵ See letter of Complaint for Reconciliation

6. If the applicants agree to enter for conciliation the committee will first consider the complaints of the aggravated party. If the conciliation is successful the committee shall issue a conciliation letter⁶
7. The conciliatory committee will be assisted by the PMRCC's Qadi Sharie as a head of the conciliatory committee.
8. If the party disagree with the conciliation committee, the committee will then send the report to the provincial court subject to the approval of the president of the PMRCC and the decision shall made based on the report prepared by the conciliatory committee

It might be noticed that from the practice order of the PMRCC. There are several points to be highlighted. The conciliation is an optional. The PMRCC's committee will be acting as an appointed mediator. However, the counseling given by the PMRCC's committee is not binding upon the other parties. The conciliatory committees were appointed to execute the duties as conciliators in accordance with the conciliation procedures consisting of 5 persons. They all were under the supervision of Qadi Shar'ie. This process is not an adversarial but it is rather a co-operative and consensus-oriented process. On these particular issues, the committee will advise the parties on their legal right or on how they should resolve the issues between them when they want to file a legal suit at the provincial court.

Several problems were accounted; among others were limitation of time, counselors, and atmosphere. In promoting reconciliation, the PMRCC requires an active role of the provincial court by asking the applicants to have recourse to the assistance and advice from the PMRCC from the purpose of effecting reconciliation.

Comparatively speaking, the reconciliation working procedures can be compared with the Practice Suggestions Concerning Conciliation for Settlement in the Thai Civil court. Those Practice suggestions were issued by the President of the Supreme Court on 7 March B.E.2539 (1996) by the virtue of section 1 of the Statute of the Court of Justice. It provides that

“whereby the President of the Supreme Court is empowered, in the capacity as a head of the Judiciary to lay down directions for the judges in conducting reconciliation in cases where the prising judges is of the opinion that there is a reasonable chance of amicable settlement between the parties, the court shall initiate the conciliation proceedings”.

From the above-quoted provision issued by the President of the Supreme Court, the followings steps have been practicing at the Provincial courts to ensure that the conciliation proceedings are running smoothly.

1. The court may designate a special room for conciliation process. The atmosphere shall be informal and the judge and lawyers will not be wearing their gowns.
2. The court, with the approval of the parties may appoint a neutral or expert arbitrator to rule on the matter given
3. The award rendered by the arbitrator, if approved by the court, shall be incorporated in the final judgment
4. Where a speedy settlement is achieved, the court may consider returning the court fees to the parties.⁷

⁶ See letter of Reconciliation

From the discussion above it shows that the reconciliation at the Thai civil court and at the PMRCC are optional, the presence of the judges, lawyers and *Qadhi syarie* are necessary for the purpose of reconciliation. The expert and neutral arbitrator are of requisite one.

3. Types of cases filed at PMRCC

The applications and claims for reconciliation can be made at the PMRCC's office in accordance with the act on the application of Islamic Family law and law of inheritance, 1941 and the Royal Act Concerning the Administration of Islamic Organization, 1997 and Islamic family law which is being applicable from time to time including matters relating to reconciliation in the matter of matrimonial problems, claiming for breach of promise to marry or betrothal, ancillary claims for divorce such as *'iddah* maintenance, arrears of maintenance, jointly acquired property and other reasonable claims, claiming for custody of children, claiming for maintenance of children, claiming for division property, and any other related issues concerning Islamic law and Islamic family law.

Looking at the types of application, it can be said that the PMRCC plays a major role in the implementation of Islamic Family and Islamic law of inheritance in the Thailand's Malay speaking areas though, the PMRCC's annual budget is lesser than other Muslim and government organization. Similarly, the salary for the PMRCC's staff is paid on the basis of mutual cooperation.

Possible Solutions to the Current Problems

Having discussed the roles and functions of the PMRCC, it is obvious that the PMRCC is moving towards propagating and preserving the teachings of Islam under the context of Thai Constitution. Regarding the nature of the work and the workload of administrative staff at the PMCC as prescribed in this article, it shows that the financial assistant must be provided for them. Thus it is suggested that the Thai government through the Interior Ministry must consider the MRCC administrative staff for the eligibility to obtain the monthly salary from the respective authority, the monthly salary for the PMRCC administrative must be paid to them. Thus, the allocation of the national annual budget for the purpose of payment of PMCC administrative must be borne by the central government. The entitlement for such payment should be in line with the Thai public servant salary scheme.

Some of the problems that have mentioned above has already been solved by the relevant authority. For example, the creation of the Islamic legal assistant post at the PMRCC is considered as proactive steps towards solving the current problems faced by the MRCC. This position is being recruited by Shari'ah law students whose have graduated from the Prince of Songkhla University, Patani campus. This initiative is indeed very beneficial not only for the

⁷ Vichai Ariyanuntaka, Jurisdiction and recognition and enforcement of foreign judgment and arbitration awards: A Thai perspective, Paper presented at the 8th Singapore Conference on International Business Law, Current Legal Issues in International Commercial Litigation' 30 October-1 November 1996 at Shangi-La Singapore

council but for the Thai authority as well. Taking part in administration of the Muslim affairs in the Malay speaking areas is indeed beneficial so that it may lessen the administrative burden of the PMRCC and narrow down the gap between the Muslims and the Thai authorities. It is hoped that this initiative would be the first step towards the creation of other new posts in the future for example, Thai civil legal assistant and Islamic counselors.

Conclusion

Being a government institution, the PMRCC is obliged to follow the rules and regulations which are provided by the Thai law. The propagation and preserving the Islamic teaching which carried by the PMRCC is in accordance provisions of the Thai Constitution.

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Nollywood, Popular Culture and Nigerian National Identity

Charles Effiong, Ph.D¹

Lecturer 1

Department of Theatre and Media Studies

University of Calabar-Nigeria

08026095811

charles.effiong@gmail.com

&

Lucy Michael Iseyen²

Department of Performing Arts

Akwa Ibom State University

Obio Akpa Campus, Nigeria

08021066914

Abstract

Film culture in Nigeria has become very popular among Nigerian and transnational audiences especially in Africa to the extent that there is hardly a day people do not look for new films produced by Nollywood. In the same light, there is hardly a street in the country where one cannot find at least a video shop that distributes these films. Young and old people especially those in the rural areas are often found hanging around these shops to catch a glimpse of any of the films advertised by retail outlets. This has therefore proven the popularity of Nollywood productions among the people, who see in these films issues of culture that engage their attention and also try to give them awareness about socio-cultural practices that are common in the society. A major problem of concern is that although these films expose and treat cultural issues that affect the society, their promotion of a true national identity is questionable. In this regard, this paper is an attempt to examine how the films produced by Nollywood have been able to promote national identity vis-à-vis showcasing the cultural values of the people that can be cherished in the Nigerian society and beyond. Arguments on this will be done through qualitative (interview) method and supported by Kantian morality theory, which will help in concluding that as popular culture, Nigerian films have created among Nigerians and the world some cultural practices that tend to give the Nigerian people a negative identity.

Keywords: Popular Culture, Aesthetics and National Identity.

¹ Charles Effiong, Ph.D teaches at the University of Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria. His research interest is on media criticism, aesthetics and cultural studies.

² Lucy Iseyen is a doctoral candidate at the University of Calabar, Nigeria, and currently teaches Performing Arts at Akwa Ibom State University in Nigeria.

Introduction

Nigerian films are classified among the most watched media products in present times. This is consequent upon the novelty of thematic concerns of the product on current topical issues structured in a typically melodramatic form that can simply exude gratification to the audience. Irrespective of their treatment of what the people want to see and what they do not want to see, these films are common in people's shelves just as they talk about them at every recreation point where they meet. This suggests the level of popularity of Nigerian films especially among Nigerians.

Furthermore, across African countries and even in some American countries, Nigerian video films are also known to be popular. Agbese Aje-Ori (2010:85) acknowledges this stating that the Nigerian movie industry is popular across Africa and abroad; thus the films have become global products that are received by global audiences. Moradewun Adejumo (2010:107) emphatically holds that, "today it is almost certain that any store serving the needs of mostly African immigrants in the United States and which also sells or rents films, will have a regularly updated stock of Nigerian video films". On this basis, it is right to hold the view that audiences of the world have found in Nigerian films the resource for satisfying majorly their entertainment appetite.

Thus the popularity of Nigerian films can never be put in doubt across the globe. On the grounds of popular culture, the films have become essentially what most audiences would like to have and watch always. This is the reason it is contended that with such level of popularity across the globe, the films should be able to serve national consciousness and ensure that the Nigerian identity is clearly built to the level of positive appreciation other than what is known about Nigerians in the world. As a medium of communication, which also serves as a medium for internationalizing of cultures, films can positively promote cultures as they can also warp their messages in such a way that will create in the audiences' mind a cynical and depressed notion about certain group of persons in the society. Apart from its popularity, the positive role it is supposed to play in terms of cultural promotion may have been the reason all the films produced in Nigeria were grouped into an industry called Nollywood, as a matter of identity and purposeful service to its audiences. However, according to Hyginus Ekwuazi (2011:205) "the inability of the Nigerian motion picture to meaningfully contribute either national reorientation or international image building", still leaves many in the society to ponder on the good provided by the industry.

This paper will seek to show the evolution of the film industry to serve the need of the masses who desire popular entertainment through a popular medium. How the film medium has fared in creating and sustaining national identity for Nigeria will also be examined.

The Film Industry in Nigeria

There is no gainsaying the fact that filmmaking in Nigeria started as a tool for public enlightenment and education employed by the colonialists to aid the administration of the

colony. They had the Colonial Film Unit (CFU) that was in-charge of film exhibition, because film was introduced through exhibition. At that time, only documentary films were produced and used as propaganda by the colonial government to promote their programmes and as well as foreign activities that were of interest to them. Nothing of local content interested them and this is clearly justified by Onookome Okome (1998:43-44), who states that; “film came to Nigeria in the context of colonialism. Colonialism instituted a process of negation of indigenous social and political institutions as well as discouraging the possibilities of indigenous discourse”.

This demonstrates the point that colonial authorities employed films to dismantle the social and cultural status of Nigerians, and therefore perpetuated their power throughout the country. This was a challenge to indigenes that saw film as a dangerous mode of colonialism and were also interested in trying to get indigenous cultures promoted in order to have the very cultural values of Nigeria celebrated. The Nigerian government also established the Federal Film Unit (FFU) under the Ministry of Information and culture to see to the exhibition of films with the use of mobile film van.

To this end, Nigerians started the development of television dramas in the early 1960s as a means to educate the people about Nigeria and Nigerians instead of the foreign product that came from the colonial government. Later, in 1971, Francis Oladele pioneered the first feature film in Nigeria, *Kongi's Harvest*, which was a political satire on government activities. After the effort of Oladele was a much improved attempt at stepping towards popular films in Nigeria still in the 1970s. This was achieved by Ola Balogun with his *Ajani Ogun*, reputed to have been a box-office hit with high ticket sales, which marked an enhanced effort in the development of indigenous filmmaking in Nigeria. Bankole Bello's film titled *Oselu* that was produced in the 1980s also created the path that led to popular films in Nigeria with its box-office hit. Adesanya (1997:14) recalls that;

Ola Balogun's *Ajani Ogun* gave the much-needed impetus to local film production and led to a new career for traveling theatre troupes. Within a twinkle of the eye, travelling theatre troupes were in droves abandoning their itineraries for film locations.

It is easy to adduce thus that the Yorubas pioneered popular filmmaking in Nigeria. However, the effort of getting film production to be developed as an industry in Nigeria at that time was short-lived owing to funding. In order to help the situation, the Nigerian Film Corporation (NFC) was established in 1979, and to further facilitate film production in terms of research and financial assistance. This development gave rise to a new era of growth in film in the country especially as four to five films were produced per year in the 1980s. Although the number was not encouraging, it was significant in the sense that government institution NFC was involved in supporting film production.

The effort of the 70s and 80s precipitated what is today and globally acknowledged as Nollywood, which started with Igbo popular films in the 1992. Nollywood has become a name in

the mouth of every Nigerian film audience as well as those in other countries. Films produced by this industry are undoubtedly popular and able to satisfy the appetite of film audiences in Nigeria and Africa in general. The emergence of this feat is traceable to Kenneth Nnebue's *Living in Bondage* which was followed by *Nneka*, *Glamour Girls*, *Domitila*, *Onome* etc. All these productions were around the early and late 1990s. Based on this development Ushang Ugor (2000:227) posits that; "the late 1990s presents a curious and fascinating trend in the Nigerian home video film industry. This period inaugurates the emergence of a novel narrative structure and content in some of the films milled out of the industry".

As it is today, Nollywood has captured the world as evident in multichoice television, a satellite medium that is accessible globally. This satellite television service through three of its channels feed global audiences with Nollywood productions every day. One of these channels Africa Magic Epic shows these films 24 hours of the day and audience members who want to view these productions must subscribe to the station. Other cable stations like Communication Trend Limited (CTL) and Cable Mission Television (CMTV) etc also engage in making Nollywood productions to type of audiences.

Popular Culture

A cursory understanding of popular culture can be considered basically as the way of life of the people that is generally accepted. This brief assessment of popular culture makes it easy for one to see certain things that are done in the society and hailed by people as being the popular way of life. However, what may fascinate one person may not necessarily fascinate the other, which is the reason societies maintain that cultural values are core in the lives of every community and ought to remain high.

What can be understood about popular culture is that it has mass effect and so can be known as mass culture. In this sense, John Storey (2001:8a) opines that mass culture is mass produced for mass consumption and for non-discriminating audience. This suggests that the audiences are fascinated in everything offered and are manipulated based on developments of the time as the culture itself is one that originates from the people.

The United States of America is linked to the hegemonization of transnational cultural activities thereby breaking local cultures and presenting styles and modes that form mass appeal for the people. The Americanization of global cultures is what many have considered in relation to popular culture. The understanding of this seems to be based on world developments in relation to industrialization and urbanization. For sure, America has scored good points in the industrialization process of the world to the level that other great nations especially Britain and Russia have seemingly lost their popularity when compared to feats achieved by America. Consequent upon this, there global craze to urbanize cities through industrialization and to which extent folk culture, being the traditional way of life of the people, is challenged.

It is possible to note that those with power, politically or economically, would always tend to control the culture of those with no such power. In such cases especially, where industrialization and urbanization tend to reshape cultural practices in the society, Storey (2001:17) adds that there is bound to a segregation of culture whereby one culture is for profit by the new cultural entrepreneurs and the other for artisans, middle class reformers and political agitators etc. In clear term, these developments intimidate traditional system of folk culture.

Popular films in Nigeria can be seen in relation to profit making by cultural entrepreneurs, who are film producers. This is to say that producers of films depend on materials that they can manipulate to get the product ready for consumption by the masses. That is why at most times a number of what is produced for consumption have received criticisms about quality assurance in terms of cultural values and technical effects. Storey's analysis that popular culture is mass-produced commercial culture consumed with brain-numbed and brain-numbing passivity (2001:6-8b), gives support to this position.

Like any informal literature, popular films form part of popular art forms which break the canon of high culture to simplify things for the masses through a collage of contrasting elements to gain wide acceptance. To further support this argument, Karin Barber (1987:5) opines that:

Popular art can be taken to mean the large class of new unofficial art forms which are syncretic, concerned with social change, and associated with the masses. The centres of activities in this field are cities, in their pivotal position between the rural hinterland on the one hand and the metropolitan countries on the other.

This, therefore, indicates that Nigerian popular films are eclectic in the likes of other arts forms past and present including those from other parts of the world in order to redefine the socio-cultural and economic formations of the Nigerian society. In doing this, attempt is made at engaging the acceptability of the masses who are ready consumers of such cultural product. To engage the masses in this effort and proof the popularity of this art form,

The film must be simple in language and technique, it must be brief it must be cheap. Simplicity and accessibility go hand in hand to ensure a base on which topical issues about people's everyday lives are anchored. According to Emmanuel Obiechina (1971:3-4), brevity is important because the mass of people have to contend with more serious economic and social issues and therefore would not ordinarily spend a great deal of time pouring over the complicated and elaborately told stories or events.

The foregoing is a tonic to the fact that as popular culture, popular art (film) possesses such characteristics as not being high but simplistic, accessible and less elaborate so as to avoid confusing the audience. It can be safe to add that popular culture is basically that culture that seeks to draw acceptability through the demystification of high culture by eclectic application of other art forms, cultures, modes and styles in the global community.

Nollywood As Popular Films

Right from the early 1990s, when Igbo popular video films captured the audience in Nigeria, there has been no going back on the acceptability of Nigerian films among the audience. In fact, as at today, the name Nollywood has become a household name among transnational audiences after Hollywood and Bollywood. The effort of Yoruba video film producers in the 1980s articulated social, cultural, political and economic nuances of the Nigerian society and further culminated in the hit recorded in video film industry from the 1990s by Igbo home video producers. The relative financial involvement and the gains that accrue from the production of video films stimulated the development and essence of popular films in Nigeria.

Jonathan Haynes and Onookome Okome (1997:24) give a clear analysis of the advent of popular films in Nigeria. It was the Igbo businessman who understood that a larger market could be opened up by the retail sale of video cassettes. Kenneth Nnebue, then an electronic dealer and film promoter led the way. He produced a Yoruba video film...it was made as cheaply as possible, shooting with ordinary VHS Camera and using a couple of VCRS to edit. Few of the actors were paid anything at all. His investment was a mere N2,000 and he made hundreds of thousands back. Yoruba artists like Jide Kosoko, Adebayo Salami, Gbenga Adewusi and Muyi Aromire, seeing the money to be made and unhappy with the pittance they were being paid by Igbo producers, soon rented video equipment and launched into their own productions. A deluge of films followed.

The large number of films by Igbo producers accounted for the high economic status accorded films produced in Nigeria. Today, Nollywood is said to be one of the leading producers of films in the world churning out not less than 4,000 films annually and at least, 300 monthly. This rating puts the industry second only to Bollywood in terms of film production. The industry has shown traits for globalising its products given its potentials in harnessing the cultural materials for the free market space.

With this development, popular films have become paradigmatic symbol in contemporary Nigeria with the ability to conjure social change, promote cultural integration as well as national identity. Apart from the Yorubas, who have had a good foundation through the effort of Ogunde, Oladele, Balogun among others; the Hausas, Efik-Ibibio, Tivs, Binis among other ethnic groups in the country are now producing films in their local languages. The Igbos have shown tremendous contribution in financial and material sponsorship of popular films (Ugor 227), which is instrumental to articulating the popularity of the film industry in Nigeria. Films like Cover Pot, Red Machete, Ritual, Mayor, Living in Bondage, Blood Money, Submission, Ijele, etc have expressed thematic sentiments mostly of Igbo culture and also a touch on urban lifestyle, thus attempting to project a cross-cultural sentiment.

The situations found in this treatment of socio-cultural issues portend a profound dimension for popular film culture. Such a step with intent, purpose and conception coupled with the economic enablement is instrumental to the popularity of Nigerian films. More so, due to the

fact that economic standing predicates the financial involvement in film production, the distribution, exhibition and advertising of films are based on this factor to stimulate the popularity of films.

Methodology

Interview sessions were conducted on eight (8) members of the public especially those who were found to be ardent fans of Nigerian films. The respondents were chosen purposively and the questioned structured to bring out clear that were apt and useful to the discussion. Two interviewees were taken from each of these cities Calabar, Enugu, Lagos and Abuja. The reason for choosing interviewees from these cities was basically to cover the Southern, Eastern, Western and the Northern parts of Nigeria, which they represent. Although Abuja can be taken as a neutral ground being the nation's capital, but being a city carved out from northern states and its proximity to the area makes it easy for the choice to represent the area.

From responses to the questions posed to respondents, it became clear that Nollywood films are popular features in Nigeria and Anglophone African countries, but are offensive to the sensibility of Nigerians and their acceptable cultural identity. Respondents, however, agreed that thematic preoccupation of the films are issues found among Nigerians although they are classified as morally unacceptable. These invariably submits that the cultural aesthetics in Nollywood films fall short of what the people would accept as an element for identification.

Nollywood and National Identity: Discussion

As the promoter of national culture, film has been used by developed countries such as the United States of America to advance and uphold the core values of that society. Barclays Ayakoroma (2014:7) affirms this stating that "over the years Hollywood films have continued to reflect American way of life-politically, economically, socially, culturally, technologically, and so forth". The example of Hollywood is clear and plain, in the sense that film industries that are domesticated in any society should be predisposed to offering the audience culturally celebrated and related narratives that can give the people an identity that is valued by them. Since Nollywood became popular, various arguments have been offered in the direction of the industry's potentials in portraying a valued Nigerian identity. One thing that is certain is that the film industry has stimulated wealth and economic growth in relation to employment opportunities. To buttress the assertion and x-ray the socio-economic conditions of the people, Foluke Ogunleye (2003:9) opines that:

With the global world united under the sway of visual culture, the emergence of the video film in Nigeria is timely and crucial as it serves as the voice of its people and responds to the drudgery of a socioeconomic existence characterized by high unemployment and dwindling opportunities.

The films have also received commendations for giving to the audience Nigerian stories as they are. Femi Shaka (2011:2), like Okome hold the view that stories by Nollywood simple are narratives about Nigerians and are told as they ought to be told. In Shaka's view, Nigerian films have projected cultural themes and even political aspects of the Nigerian situation to the acceptability of the audience. According to him, the films have given a good account of themselves by documenting the social, cultural and the political aspects of the country. He explains further.

As an art form, the film medium, like our literature, has historically documented the social mentality, fears and desires of the Nigerian society through the works of our major filmmakers. Ola Balogun's works such as *Amadi*, *Cry Freedom*, *Money Power*; Sanya Dosumu's *Dinner with the Devil*; Jab Adu's *Bisi*, *Daughter of the River*; the critical realist films of Eddie Ugbomah such as *The Rise and Fall of Dr. Oyenusi*, *The Mask*, *Oil Doom*, *Vengeance of the Cult*, *Death of a Black President*; Ade Folayan's *Mosebolatan/Hopelessness*, directed for Moses Olaiya Adejumo's *Alawada Movies*; Wole Soyinka's *Blues for a Prodigal*; Ladi Ladebo's *Vendor*, all have chronicled the social anxieties of Nigerians in the age and time of their productions (2).

In the same perspective, Patrick Ebewo (2013) notes that films produced by the industry have given Nigerians an identity across the country's borders as they are true to the situations in the Nigerian environment. He posits.

Nollywood films are popular in Nigeria because they have indigenous content and address issues relevant to a mass audience. Through an amalgamation of Nigerian narrative techniques (African storylines) and Western technology, these films document and re-create socio-political and cultural events that occurred within and beyond the country's borders (online).

However, the making of such films like the *Blackberry Girls* is not true to local cultural practices as it does not give a valued identity to Nigerians but only portend an easy way to produce and attract the market. On this account, Chukwuma Anyanwu (2003:81) clearly argues that:

Society's expectation of the home video when it first emerged was that it has come to right the wrongs done to the black race using other media including film. It is, however, disappointing to note that a great percentage of home videos produced in Nigeria portray women as evil, witches, husband prisoners, greedy, prostitutes etc as well as being prone to other vices that anybody can imagine.

In corroborating the above viewpoint, Grace Gwam-Nzekwe (2008:171) points out that no matter how Nigerian films are produced to satisfy diversified audience, negative stereotypes should not be promoted; and states thus: "Sadly, the Nigerian video film, much given to slavish

copying of society instead of positively altering these negative stereotypes...has rather reinforced these negative stereotypes". According to her, this does not give good lessons to youths in a society that is as multicultural as Nigeria. In the same vein, Emmanuel Akpabio (2011:8) says the films should rather promote themes that would serve as a panacea to such negative activities in the society than to glorify obscenities and other negative issues. He explains:

Instead of the glorification of sex, prostitution, greed, promiscuity and other negative tendencies, these home videos could have lent themselves to dealing a deathblow to these ills. Nigerian culture does not encourage promiscuity as we find in *Sharon Stone* who uses her beauty to advantage in the acquisition of wealth. In fact, many communities expect brides to be virgins and it is normally a thing of shame for the husband to discover that his wife is not chaste at the consummation of their marriage. That is not to say that negative cultural practices did not exist, some of which have regrettably survived to this day.

The above argument is captured in Alice Jonah's position that Nollywood is slow to take advantage in the age of digitalisation that is impacting the industry. She holds that the industry should have capitalised on it to promote the Nigerian cultures and affirms that the promotion of a valued Nigerian identity is a role the film industry is still battling with amidst certain factors that face them and create an influence for alteration of the true and accepted profile of what could be regarded as the country's culture. Alice Jonah (2010) states:

Nigerian films started well by promoting our rich cultural heritage but somewhere along the line deviated to accommodate financial gains. This became prominent when the viewers of home videos increased drastically thereby giving rise to competition among film producers who were ready to pay heavily to get stories that would move and increase sales (online).

It is obvious from Jonah's position that producers of these films just key into the fad of popular culture to grab whatever fascinating stories that is commercially viable without recourse to valued identity of the people the industry is representing. This is further proven by Sam Dede (2015), Nollywood actor, in his statement at the 2015 SONTA Conference in Abuja, that Nollywood producers depend basically on stories that are often criticized as not giving a good identity to Nigeria because they want mass appeal and ready market. According to Dede, in one of the occasions when a producer was advised to change a story for another, the producer rejected and simply said "*e no go sell*" (no page).

According to Fakrogha D. O (2012:201), the Nigerian video films can be used to correct any negative image created on Nigerians by western media, because the video films should produce moral virtues based on Nigerian cultures. To this end, Ayo Akinwale (2013:24) suggests that film producers should try to make films that are positive of Nigerian situation and enhance the country's cultural diplomacy because some films produced by the industry do not promote

the Nigerian culture while some do; more so for the fact that the word positive is key to cultural diplomacy which is a precipitate of national identity.

Therefore, there is need for producers to understand the theoretical base that supports the promotion of cultural values that can project national identity. In this direction we can rely on Immanuel Kant's morality theory which holds that actions can be considered as morally right only when such is based on good will. Good will can be taken to mean the positive representation of national identity against hunger to make outrageous profit, which is common with popular video films, like the Nollywood. The Nigerian Government (2016) has identified the need for positive packaging of Nigeria's identity and clearly states the following during the culture and tourism summit.

Nigeria has a rich cultural heritage; but over the years, the country seems to have lost the tenets of cultural values, integrity, sincerity and moral uprightness. In order to address the situation, there is need for cultural rebirth that will reposition Nigeria as a domain of moral sanctity and light not only for the African continent but for the global community (7).

Conclusion

It is evidently demonstrated that popular films can constitute threat to cultural values given the fact that it concerns with eclectically getting cultural elements engaged in such a way that can contrast with the values of the national culture in the long run. Examples from Nollywood productions which have been verified further attest that the true national identity of Nigeria has been jeopardized by a number of Nollywood films and their quality. Following from Kant's position, it is, therefore, concluded that good and valuable themes that can promote positive national image, should be key above rush for profiteering in filmmaking in Nigeria.

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A Pragmalinguistic and Sociopragmatic Study of Praise and Criticism in Academic Writing: The Case of Arabic Academic Book Reviews

Awni Shati Etaywe¹

The Jordanian Association of Translators and Applied Linguists-JATAL, Jordan
awnietaywe2@gmail.com

Abstract

Given the scarce literature on the Arabic academic book reviews (BRs) and the relatively under-searched praise and criticism speech acts, this study investigates praise and criticism as reflected in the evaluative voice of Arabic academic BRs. It aims to identify the evaluated aspects, the conventional lexical resources, praise and criticism strategies, and how politeness is achieved. To this end, the non-reactive fully naturalistic approach was used to collect data from 30 academic BRs. The corpus was analyzed qualitatively, and drawn chiefly on the speech act theory, Brown and Levinson's notion of politeness, and Leech's maxims of politeness. Results showed that praise and criticism were for the author and the authored. Lexical resources were affective, judgmental and appreciative, and presenting formulaic evaluation. Praise was for general and specific aspects of content, style, usefulness and relevance to the field, publishing standards, readership, and author's reputation and expertise. Criticism was for specific aspects of content and style. 'Statement of advantages via explicit expression of attitude' appeared as the most frequent praise strategy. Criticism was direct and mostly indirect, with marked use of mitigation devices. Approbation Maxim and Tact Maxim characterized Arabic BRs. This study provides implications for cultural pragmatics and academic writing.

Keywords: praise, criticism, illocution, politeness, pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic.

¹ Awni Shati Etaywe is a full member of the Jordanian Association of Translators and Applied Linguists (JATAL), which is a member of the International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA). Etaywe has taught English in Jordan for several years. He has served as a senior translator, writer and *reviewer* at Jordan Center for Strategic Studies and Lessons Learned, and an interpreter at multiple United Nations missions. His fields of interest include Pragmatics, Forensic Linguistics and Discourse Analysis.

1. Introduction

Pragmatics can be viewed as the study of “choices [that language users] make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication” (Crystal, 2008:379). Therefore, through the pragmatics of language, one can better understand how linguistic resources are used and interpreted in an act of communication of a given situational context and social constraints. Given Hyland’s (2000:1) view of the academic writing as being ‘a collective social practice’ which reflects the values, norms, conventions, beliefs or attitudes shared by a community, the interpretation of language as a social activity is crucial to the current study. It points to two aspects of linguistic communication: the importance of situational context for language use (Austin, 1962; Fetzer, 2003) and the role of politeness in linguistic interaction where it could be a source of linguistic varieties across societies, cultures and languages (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1980).

Socializing in academic writing can reveal how writers across different disciplines go about producing knowledge, and what “the sanctioned social behaviours, epistemic beliefs and institutional structures of academics” are (Hyland, 2000:1). Considering the significance of the situational context, Spencer-Oatey and Zegarac (2002) point out four major elements and features of the situational context which have crucial effect on how language is used. These are as follows:

- a. The participants: their roles, the amount of power differential between them and the degree of distance between them.
- b. The message content: how costly or beneficial the message is to the hearer (or reader) and speaker (or writer), how face-threatening it is, and whether it exceeds or stays within the rights and obligations of the relationship.
- c. The communicative activity.
- d. How the norms of the activity influence language behaviour.

Spencer-Oatey and Zegarac (2002:83)

Consistent with Banks’ (2002) view of systemic functional linguistics as a model for text analysis, Arabic academic BRs can be viewed as having the three dimensions of the situational context:

1. Field: it is “the area of external reality with which the text deals” (Banks, 2002:2). This external reality is represented by the ideational semantic-metafunction, i.e. by the content of the message and what is conveyed. In a BR, the field is the academic research which is realized by the BR content that involves dissemination of information on the content of the book under review (the authored), and evaluation of certain aspects of the authored and the author.
2. Tenor: “it concerns the [establishment of communication and] relationship between those taking part in the linguistic act” (Banks, 2002:2). It is represented by the interpersonal semantic-metafunction which also concerns the relationships that exist between the writer (in a BR case) and his/her addressee(s) as well as his/her message. In a BR, tenor includes namely the reviewer who disseminates information and evaluative opinion and the discourse community readers who are sought to be persuaded by the reviewer’s opinion.

3. Mode: it is “the means through which communication takes place” (Banks, 2002:2). In a BR communicative event, the mode is formal written communication published in academic journals. It is the textual semantic-metafunction

Being a structured communicative event that is motivated by communicative purposes, mainly evaluative and informative purposes, and performed by certain discourse communities, BR could be looked at as a structured form of written social activity. It has the potential to organize reviewers’ communication around their ways of social interaction with a particular academic community, indicating what information should be conveyed and how (Bazerman, 2004; Etaywe, 2017; Suárez & Moreno, 2008). Therefore, in a BR, politeness has a major role to play. It can be manifested “in the way [exchange] is managed and structured by its participants” (Leech 1983:139).

Having said that, to evaluate in an effective and socially acceptable manner, a pragmatic competence for a book reviewer is paramount, indicating to the essentiality of the linguistic, social and cultural context in any pragmatic analysis. Such analysis could be indicative of how the relationship between the reviewer and the author as well as the discourse community is maintained, particularly when considering that the very evaluative aspect in might be perceived as face-threatening act (FTA), especially when it comes to criticism. In the present study, it argued that for a book reviewer to become pragmatically competent he/she should be able to communicate socio-pragmatic meanings by means of pragmalinguistic conventions. The sociopragmatics conveyed in which pragmalinguistic conventions is the focus of this study.

In other words, a book reviewer has to be aware of the ‘*sociopragmatics*’ of book reviewing, “the way conditions on language use derive from the social situation” (Crystal, 2008:379), i.e. the way in which pragmatic performance is subjected to such social factors as power and authority. These social conditions have to be expressed by the pragmalinguistic conventions (Kasper & Rover, 2005:317). Such conventions comprise “the particular resources that a given language provides for conveying particular intentions” (Leech, 1983:11). A pragmalinguistic approach “might begin with the pronoun system of a language, and examine the way in which people choose different forms to express a range of attitudes and relationships” (Crystal, 2008:379). Hence, pragmalinguistic conventions may refer to the choice of the actual wordings and conventional resources like the lexical devices, syntactic structures and semantic formula, and may include even how pronouns are used, to express intention and attitude. This makes the evaluative aspect of BRs a real challenge, particularly to inexperienced and novice reviewers. Though, it is an integral part of this academic sub-genre.

By investigating the conventional realizations (strategies) which are employed to express reviewer’s attitude (way of thinking, feeling or opinion) towards the authored or its author, this study is likely to explore how Arab reviewers manage to establish their persona and identity through expressing their evaluation and negotiating their relationship with the author and readers of disciplinary community. This study is a contribution to the research on academic writing, specifically on BRs. It contributes to filling a gap in the scarce literature concerning praise and criticism in academic writing. It does so by analysis of the evaluative speech acts, the lexical items (at the semantic level) as well as the syntactic formulae. Although this study is limited to soft discipline-Arabic BRs, the novelty of it lies in being the first to investigate comprehensively how the evaluative voice operates in Arabic BRs. It is,

therefore, expected to help reviewers remain sensitized to socially polite behaviour towards their established community. This study seeks to provide answers to the following four focus research questions:

- a. Which aspects are evaluated, by praise and criticism, in Arabic book reviews?
- b. What lexical resources are conventionally employed to express reviewer's attitude towards the evaluated?
- c. What strategies are conventionally used to communicate praise with discourse community?
- d. What strategies are conventionally used to communicate criticism and how is politeness achieved when criticizing?

2. Literature Review

This section presents the theoretical framework of the study. It gives a general overview of the speech act of praise and the speech act of criticism, and some related studies. This would help build up a clear picture of focus questions, and serve as a pedestal upon which the study will be founded.

2.1 Theoretical background

In this study, it is hypothesized that the socio-cultural context of Arabic academic BRs as practiced by Arab reviewers has a fundamental impact on the pragmatolinguistic conventions followed to convey the sociopragmatic meaning and message of praise and criticism. The approach to the data of the study is based on two pervasive principles which have been widely used. First, it is the speech act theory developed by Searle (1969, 1976), following Austin's (1962) work, and second, it is the notion of politeness as developed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and realized in Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness.

Speech act theory is based on the assumption that language is a form of behavior that is governed by strict set of rules (Searle, 1969). The speech act, according to this theory, is seen as the minimal unit of linguistic communication. It is an utterance that serves a particular function in communication. The idea that language is behavior is the basic element which helps us understand how language functions in a social context. Such acts include, for example, giving reports, making promises, apologizing, inviting, requesting, praising, criticizing, complaining, and so forth.

According to Austin (1962), communication is a series of communicative acts or speech acts that constitute the framework of communication. Austin (1962: 94-108) proposed a set of three simultaneous types of acts: an locutionary act which refers to the particular sense and reference of an utterance; an illocutionary act which refers to the act performed in the performance of the illocution; and a perlocutionary act which refers to the act performed by means of what is said. In his work on the theory, Searle (1976: 22) suggested five illocutionary acts that one can perform, and they themselves refer to communicative functions that utterances can serve in speech acts. These are the following:

- a. Assertives: They refer to statements that may be judged true or false because they purport to describe a state of affairs in the world.
- b. Directives: They are statements that attempt to make the addressee do something.

- c. Commissives: They are statements committing the interlocutor to a future course of action as described by the propositional content.
- d. Expressives: They refer to statements that express the interlocutor's attitude and what he/she feels.
- e. Declaratives: They refer to statements that attempt to change the world through utterances.

The core involvement of the speech act theory, for this study, is in drawing attention to the different illocutionary acts and their communicative functions to which praise and criticism belong. It is also to shed light on the notion of direct and indirect speech acts which in return have impact on recognized politeness. Searle argues that speech acts can be performed either directly when "the speaker means exactly and literally what he says" (Searle, 1979: 30) or indirectly. Along this line of thought, the choice of how to perform praise and criticism is likely to make up social information that affects appropriateness of this choice. Searle (1975: 60-61) claims that in indirect speech acts "the speaker [or writer] communicates to the hearer [or reader] more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information". Taking that into account, the level of directness is correlated to the principle of politeness and the notion of face.

Politeness can be defined as "the means employed to show awareness of another person's face" (Yule, 1996: 60). By their referring to Goffman's (1967) notion of face as the public self-image of a person, Brown and Levinson (1987) argued that because it is in the mutual interest of interlocutors to save, maintain or support each other's face, the so-called FTAs should be either avoided or softened by means of different strategies. According to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), 'face' is a favorable public image involving two different kinds of desires or face want: the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions "negative face", and desire to be approved of "positive face".

In the heart of strategies to avoid FTAs lies the speech act theory notion of directness of speech acts. Directness and indirectness notion is universal. In the direct style of communication, the speaker seeks to get straightforward to the point and help the hearer/reader grasp what has been meant, whereas the indirect style aims to minimize the *imposition* on the addressee and help avoid the risk of losing face. So, the form in indirect style differs from the function. It is performed "by means of another" (Searle, 1979: 60), and the speaker means not only what he says but also something more.

Considered a milestone in the study of politeness, Leech's contribution came out in the form of what he calls "the general conditions of the communicative use of language" (Leech, 1983:10). Leech's maxims focused on politeness as "strategic conflict avoidance", through which one can convey messages indirectly, and that politeness "can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation" (Leech, 1980:19). His model depends on the cost-benefit scale, where the speaker (or the writer, for the purpose of the present study) tries to minimize the cost and maximize the benefit to himself/ herself or to the addressee. Those maxims are:

- a. Tact maxim: minimize cost to other and maximize benefit to other.
- b. Generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self.

- c. Approbation maxim: minimize expression of beliefs that express dispraise of others and maximize praise of others.
- d. Modesty maxim: minimize praise of self and maximize dispraise of self.
- e. Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other, and maximize agreement between self and other
- f. Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other, and maximize sympathy between self and other.

(Leech, 1983:132)

The present study focuses on Arab book reviewers' use of praise and criticism speech acts. Concerning the pragmatolinguistic conventions of praise and criticism, the researcher focuses on the choice of praise, criticism and mitigation *strategies*, and the *lexical resources*. At the sociopragmatic level, light is shed on the ways that reviewers have chosen to express praise and criticism, and the intended (in)directness level along with the achieved mitigation, as this is believed to reflect the social and situational function of the strategies. It will help understand how well Arab reviewers do understand and produce evaluation in relation to the social power (authoritative voice) which is entitled to them as reviewers, and "the degree of imposition" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, 1978) exercised in a BR.

2.2 The speech act of praise

Praise as an expression of "admiration or approval of the achievement or characteristics of a person or thing" (online Cambridge Dictionary), has been generally referred to by former researchers in the field as "*positive evaluations*" (Hyland, 2000; Kanouse, Gumpert & Kanavan-Gumpert, 1981) where the evaluator presumes the validity of the standards on which the evaluation is based. Being essential for and a common feature of interpersonal interaction, praise has a special power to encourage, socialize, seduce, reward and influence other people (Deline & Baumiester, 1994). When made for someone, praise is used to let the addressee know that he/she is worthwhile, but when it is made for something, it is used to praise someone for something he/she has done and to convey that one has surpassed a noteworthy evaluative standard (Wicklund, 1975).

In line with Searle's illocutionary act classification, praise's communicative function (and type of speech act) is *expressive* because it refers to statements that express the speaker's attitude and what he/she feels. As regards its formula, praise is usually formulaic because particular parts of speech (e.g. verbs, adjectives) that describe positive evaluations are used. Praise may make use of general adjectives or adjective related to appearance, performance, manner, and so forth. Praise may also make use of such verbs as admire, love, like, enjoy, etc., the use of simile and adverbs. In general, every praise expression should embody at least one term loaded with positive semantic evaluation (Manes & Wolfson, 1980:106).

According to Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) 'face notion', praise is of positive politeness. However, praise is effective when it is welcomed by the recipient, i.e. if it appears disingenuous or manipulative, it may create negative emotional consequences (Deline & Baumiester, 1994). Praise attracts the attention not only to the praised/addressee but also to the self, and conveys information to the recipient and about the values (including the politeness values) of the self (of the speaker or the writer) (Deline & Baumiester, 1994). This stresses the socio-cultural value of studying praise.

2.3 The speech act of criticism

As an “expression of disapproval of someone or something on the basis of perceived faults or mistakes” (online Oxford Dictionary), criticism has been generally referred to “negative comment[s]” (Hyland, 2000: 44) and “*negative evaluation*” (Nguyen, 2005:7). In light of Searle’s illocutionary acts, criticism is expressive because *it expresses a psychological state and a negative belief about a state of affairs*. It is also considered a directive speech act when *it attempts to make the addressee do something* whether by stating that directly or by implying a demand for improvement.

Criticism could be used to “give negative evaluation of the hearer’s (H) actions, choice, words and products for which he or she may be held responsible” (Nguyen, 2005:7). Criticism is performed in the hope of influencing H’s future actions for H’s betterment as viewed by the speaker (S) or to communicate S’s dissatisfaction with or dislike regarding what H has done but without the implicature that what H has done brings undesirable consequences to S (Wierzbicka, 1987). For Wierzbicka, criticism could be expressive by communicating dissatisfaction or dislike, or directive by influencing the addressee for a future enhancement.

2.4 Perspectives on directness level and politeness strategies in relation to criticism

Taking into account that the speech act of criticism is “an intrinsically face-threatening act” (Min, 2008: 74), to achieve politeness criticism needs to be softened, mitigated and expressed indirectly. Indirect criticism entails that the illocutionary force of criticism could be uttered by means of the performance of other speech acts or any other means that achieve indirectness, so that the speaker’s/writer’s intention is not completely overt. In other words, to make criticism favorable to the addressee, the speaker/writer may reduce the imposition of criticism by means of indirectness formulas and mitigating devices so as to increase politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Literature shows that mitigation strategies can take the form of internal or external modification. Internal modification occurs at part of the criticism speech (head) act itself (Nguyen, 2005), while external modification does not affect the head act, but rather the supportive moves that come before and after the act occurs. It is a modification made at the level of the head act’s context which consequently modifies indirectly the head act illocutionary force (Nguyen, 2005). Such modifications have significance because they soften the negative effects and smoothens the social interaction (Caffi, 1999; Fraser, 1990). The precise nature and politeness functions of both external and internal modifiers are context-specific, and they may derive their politeness value when employed in a situation or another (Bella, 2011), which makes their investigation in Arabic BRs situational context worthwhile.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 68-70) state some options that one may decide on when performing an FTA such as criticism. These options include the following strategies: (1) bald-on-record politeness which is used between intimates, (2) off-record politeness which is performed by means of an indirect speech act, in which the speaker’s communicative intention is ambiguous (as in using metaphors, understatements, rhetorical questions and

hints), or (3) on-record strategy which allows natural speaking, and the worry about the other's face is little, as in imperative clauses.

Apart from the communication environment (be it official or unofficial), the socio-cultural factors affecting the choice of strategy, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), depends on three factors: (1) social distance (combination of psychologically real factors such as age, gender, and intimacy); (2) relative power, resulting from social and economic status; (3) force of imposition. Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to power as the "degree in which Hearer can impose his/her own plans and own self-evaluation (face) at the expense of Speaker's plans and self-evaluation" (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 77). Therefore, power is an asymmetric social element. Generally, the greater the power difference between the interlocutors, the stronger the force of the imposition on the one with lower status; and the degree of imposition increases with the distance between the interlocutors. In a nutshell, it is believed that factors, strategies and options that affect performing a speech act help determine the strategies and the number of semantic formulae used by a book reviewer.

2.5 Previous studies

Due to scarce in literature on praise and criticism, some early studies have been referred to for the significance in their findings which are deemed relevant to the present study. One of the early important studies on criticism is Tracy, Van Dusen and Robinson's (1987) study of the characteristics of good and bad criticisms as perceived by people from different cultural backgrounds. Among the main findings of their study, they have found five stylistic characteristics that distinguish good criticism from bad criticisms. They have concluded that a good criticism needs to display a positive language and manner: it should not violate the relationship between interlocutors; it suggests specific changes; it needs be made explicit; and the criticism is compensated for by being placed in a larger positive message.

Wajnryb (1993) adds that an effective criticism needs be softened by different strategies. He proposes such strategies as measuring words, soft-pedaling by using internal and external modifications, distancing and neutralizing to depersonalize criticism, using negotiating language, and approaching by the third person. This may inform us about how good or effective a criticism made by a book reviewer could be.

Concerning effective praise, which is the welcomed by recipient, the influence that any praise may have on an individual depends on many factors, including the context and the characteristics of the recipient, etc. (Henderlong and Lepper, 2002). Such influence can be related to the three functions of praise stated by Bell and Wolfe (2004:1-4):

- a. Praise is used as a social compliment and to express friendship and let someone feel good.
- b. Praise is used to motivate and help build self-esteem and self-image.
- c. Praise is used to build relationships and encourage cooperation.

To review the most significant literature directly pertinent to the topic of the present study, it is worth highlighting that some researchers have focused on appraisal and evaluation functions in BRs based on attitude judgment and engagement's resources, the semantic units and lexical realizations (cf. Hyland, 2000; Wang & An, 2013). Others have shed light on the

distribution of evaluation across structural moves and sub-moves (c.f. Carvalho, 2001; Motta-Roth, 1995; Suárez & Moreno, 2008). Being an evaluative account, a BR has the potential to assess certain aspects of the book under review by means of positive and negative comments in the form of praise and criticism acts.

In his pioneering genre analytic study of Arabic BRs, Etaywe (2017) has approached Arabic BRs across soft disciplines by identifying their rhetorical structure and highlighting some of its lexico-grammatical aspects. Etaywe has identified some of the defining content and formal schemata of Arabic BRs with typical characteristics that could give Arabic BRs a genre status and a representing shape with its socio-cultural specifics. Results also showed that Arabic BRs are principally informative and descriptive; however, they show some evaluative voice that appeared mainly centered in three structural moves: opening with praise-structural move, introducing the authored, the author and readership-structural move, and closing with praise, commentary or recommendation on the authored. Basically, this very evaluative voice, which was identified across the generic three structural moves, has paved the way to the present study.

Studying text and disciplinary cultures analytically, Motta-Roth (1995) has carried out a discourse analysis of academic BRs based on a corpus of 180 BRs written in English across three disciplines: chemistry, economics and linguistics. Motta-Roth's pioneering study has revealed a schematic description of the structural organization of academic BR-rhetorical structure, comprising the following four rhetorical moves, of which the focus of evaluation is given in the third move (to provide the majority of praise and criticism in a focused form of evaluation) and the fourth move:

- a. Introducing the book.
- b. Outlining the book.
- c. Highlighting parts of the book.
- d. Providing closing evaluation of the book.

Bringing focus into praise and criticism, Hyland (2000) is considered the first researcher to investigate praise and criticism in BRs. He has found that reviewers, in his corpus, provided more praise on global aspects of the books while criticism is more specific. Hyland analyzed praise and criticism as semantic units. Hyland has focused on the main semantic resources that writers use to negotiate judgments and valuation in reviews. Analyzing catalogues of positive and negative speech acts, he has found that reviewers tend to use different praise and criticism semantic options. He also highlights that all reviews of his corpus have opened or closed with praise as almost a routine move and a mitigating strategy to criticism.

In his study of social interactions in academic writing, Hyland (2000) has designed a metadiscourse framework to investigate metadiscourse in academic genres. Hyland's framework comprises two models: (1) textual metadiscourse which includes logical connectives, frame markers, endophoric markers, evidentials, and code glosses, that are used to "organize propositional information in ways that a perceived audience is likely to find coherent and convincing" (p. 88-93), and (2) interpersonal metadiscourse which is used to allow "writers to express a perspective towards their propositions and their readers" (p. 112). Hyland has concluded that soft discipline and hard discipline practice praise and criticism differently because they are different disciplinary cultures with different requirements.

Hyland's (2000:113) interpersonal metadiscourse model-categories have enacted attitude makers, hedges, emphatics/boosters, interpersonal markers, and relational markers as communicative functional options in discourse. That model has been revisited in his proposed 'interpersonal model of metadiscourse functions' that comprised of two dimensions of interaction: the interactive dimension and the interactional dimension (Hyland, 2013:77). The interactive resources that tend to guide the reader through the text are: transition markers (additive, adversative, causative), frame markers (e.g. finally), endophoric markers (e.g. noted above), evidential (e.g. according to), code glosses (e.g. in other words) (Hyland, 2013:78). The interactional resources that involve the reader in the text include hedges, boosters (it is clear that), attitude markers (e.g. unfortunately), engagement markers (e.g. you can see that), self-mention (e.g. I, we) (Hyland, 2013:80).

Comparative studies on the evaluative voice in BRs have also received attention and shown that evaluation strategies may differ from one language or culture to another (Bloch & Chi, 1995; Giannoni, 2006; Itakura & Tsui, 2011; Moreno & Suárez, 2008; Salager-Meyer Ariza & Pabon, 2005). For example, in a contrastive study on managing criticism in 20 English and 20 Japanese linguistics BRs, Itakura and Tsui (2011) have found major differences between the two languages' criticism. Rhetorical questions, self-denigration, recasting problems as potential for future research and attributing problems to the next generation have been used only in Japanese BRs. Moreno and Suarez's (2008) comparative study on English and Spanish BRs has identified cross linguistic differences. They have highlighted that the Spanish BRs are less critical than the English.

In an exploration of the influence of the linguistic and cultural context in the degree of evaluative voice in BRs, adopting a cross-cultural approach, Lorés-Sanz (2012) has drawn conclusions about whether or not the same disciplinary community (i.e. historians) uses BRs for the same evaluative purposes when working in two different linguistic and cultural contexts, namely English and Spanish as a model. Lorés-Sanz has found that in both English and Spanish contexts there appear a tendency to praise the book in the central moves, both when general aspects of the book are commented upon and when chapters or detailed aspects are under focus. Lorés-Sanz has also found in both languages a tendency to criticize only specific aspects of the book, indicating to common conventional patterns of evaluation distribution shared by the disciplinary community of historians in both languages and cultures. The evident difference between BRs in both contexts lies in the degree and the intensity with which evaluation is used.

To wrap up this section, it is believed that the speech act theory developed by Searle (1969, 1976), Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) model and Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness can provide an insightful account of the various ways in which politeness can be conveyed as far as praise and criticism in Arabic BRs is concerned. Previous related studies also give orientation on what has been studied and explored in relation to praise and criticism. Literature as well provides insight on what kind of linguistics resources could be investigated and collected and how.

3. Methodology

3.1 Corpus

Following the non-reactive fully naturalistic approach, the material of 30 BRs written in Arabic was collected from ten academic journals and used as corpus of the study. The BRs were related to eight disciplines: pedagogy, sociology, economy, literature, law, politics, management, and peace and security. Journals were issued by different academic institutions and universities and in different Arab countries to reflect as wide and representing sample as possible for academic BRs published in the Arab world.

Journals used for the purpose of the study are namely: ‘The Pedagogical Journal’ of the University of Kuwait, ‘Idafat (Additions)- the Arab Journal of Sociology’, ‘Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi Journal’, ‘The Arab Economy Research Journal’, ‘The Journal of Law’ of the University of Kuwait, ‘The Cultural Journal’ of the University of Jordan, ‘Ajman University of Science and Technology Network Journal’, the ‘Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training’, ‘Arab Journal for Training’, and ‘Imran Journal for Social Studies’.

3.2 Data analysis procedure and data categorization

After collecting the data, they were sifted and analyzed in view of the four focus questions of the study following the tradition set in the field. It is meant to include an analysis and categorization of the evaluated aspects, lexical resources, praise strategies and criticism strategies.

3.2.1 The analysis and categorization of evaluated aspects

By capturing the semantic units (and praise and criticism utterances) across the corpus, the semantic units were grouped in and categorized under two major categories according to what is being evaluated: evaluation of the authored, i.e. the book under review (evaluation of something), and evaluation of the author (evaluation of someone). Light was then shed on which aspects in particular received praise or criticism. This light was to introduce further sub-categories of the evaluated aspects and to realize whether praise and criticism are made on specific or general aspects.

For example, a sentence like ‘This is a well organized book’ is categorized under the ‘evaluation of the authored’ category and, further into, its ‘style’ as a specific aspect. However, a sentence like ‘The writer is considered a famous specialist in economy’ is considered an ‘evaluation of the author’, and his/her reputation in specific. After the conventionally evaluated aspects are identified and categorized, the percentage of frequency of evaluating each aspect to the total corpus evaluative acts is presented. Clarifying examples on identified categories are provided from the corpus.

3.2.2 The analysis and categorization of lexical resources

How Arab book reviewers in the corpus manage to establish their persona and identity through expressing evaluation was sought after by capturing the employment of appraisal lexical-items as identified in praise and criticism statements. According to Martin and White’s

(2005), appraisal lexical items have the power to express one's attitude as well as one's positive and negative feelings towards material things or social events. Martin and White (2005) viewed attitude as a system that includes subsystems: affect subsystem, judgment subsystem and appreciation subsystem.

For Martin and White, *Affect* includes the neutral lexical items used to express one's emotive reaction and feelings towards the world, as in the expression of dis/inclination, un/happiness and dis/satisfaction. *Judgment* refers to one's attitude towards behavior and whether someone is reliable, capable, trustworthy, etc. Positive judgment is given for the good behaviour that we admire, while negative judgment is for bad behaviour that we criticize, as in the expression of normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity and propriety. *Appreciation* refers to evaluation of things not of people. It is whether or not something attracts us, is nicely done, and so forth. Appreciation includes examples of the expression of value, composition order, reaction and attraction.

Categorization of attitude lexical resources in the present study was based on Martin and White's attitude sub-systems; yet, it was left open to include as many categories or sub-categories as possible to accommodate and thus represent attitude in Arabic BRs. A catalogue of lexical items used for the purpose of praise and criticism was captured. Lexical items were then categorized and tabulated into three major categories: affective lexical resources, judgmental lexical resources, and appreciative lexical resources. The number of occurrences of use of lexical items related to each major category were counted and then the percentages of total occurrences of use of each category was displayed in a table to show their frequency of appearance as per the corpus.

Further sub-categories of every major category were also shown along with exemplifying record of common lexico-grammatical devices used in corpus. For example, in utterances where an expression of admiration was given by means of lexical items and phrases like *admire, the best to read*, such lexical items were categorized as admiration lexical items which constitute a sub-category of the affective lexical resources. Examples on the identified categories and sub-categories are provided as found in the corpus.

3.2.3 The analysis and categorization of conventional praise and criticism strategies

For the purpose of identifying the conventional realization-strategies that are used by Arab book reviewers to communicate praise and criticism with discourse community, all semantic units that include praise or criticism have been studied and strategies are then described as reflected in praise and criticism utterances. For praise strategies, every conventional technique used in the corpus was described and labeled as a strategy type. Percentage of reoccurrences of that strategy to the total occurrences of other strategies was presented, and then explained in examples excerpted from the corpus. For example, for cases where the repetition of presenting praise in form of personal opinion on the authored, they are described as 'expression of positive personal opinion on content'.

To reflect the direct criticism and the indirect criticism strategies, criticism was investigated with the benefit of insight of Nguyen's (2005) categories of external and internal modifiers of criticism, and Hyland's (2000, 2013) interpersonal metadiscourse model and interpersonal model of metadiscourse functions. Direct strategies for Nguyen include *negative*

evaluation, disapproval, expression of disagreement, identification of problem found with addressee's choice, *statement of difficulties, and consequences* of choice. Indirect strategies comprise proposition for correction, indicating a standard as being a collective obligation, preaching by stating something as a guideline for the addressee, demand for change, request for change, advice about change, suggestion for change, expression of uncertainty, asking, and other hints than expression of uncertainty or asking.

Hyland's (2000:113) model-categories include attitude makers such as 'even, interestingly and must'; hedges such as 'perhaps, possible, may and seem'; emphatics/boosters as in 'actually, always, certainly and in fact'; interpersonal markers, for example, 'I, we, my and our; and relational markers as in the use of words like 'consider', and the inclusive 'our'. The functions of markers could be explained in light of Hyland's (2013) interactive and interactional metadiscourse functions. Descriptions of strategies were tabulated to describe the typical Arabic reviewers' strategies in specific.

The identified criticism strategies were broadly classified into direct criticism strategies and indirect criticism strategies. For example, for utterances that described the reviewer's disapproval-attitude towards an author's choice, they were described as 'disapproval' strategy, under the umbrella of the direct criticism-strategies. Besides, the frequency of use of every strategy with relation to the total identified strategies was also provided. Exemplifying sentences were excerpted from the corpus as well.

3.2.4 Analysis of how politeness is achieved-analysis

Analysis of politeness was approached by drawing the findings of analysis of conventional praise and criticism strategies onto Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) notion of politeness and FTAs as well as Leech's (1980) maxims of politeness. In so doing, *politeness was measured in terms of the strategy choice made to reflect the book reviewer's effort exerted to avoid a conflictive situation*. It is not only praise that can reflect politeness, but also any other strategy that may reduce the imposition of a criticism act, including indirectness formulas and mitigating devices that have the potential to increase politeness. This stresses the idea behind referring to Hyland's model and Nguyen's categories of modifications used to mitigate criticism.

Hyland's interpersonal metadiscourse model can provide insight on Arabic BR-specific interpersonal metadiscourse features that can enact certain communicative functions in discourse and allow book reviewers to express viewpoints towards their audience and established community. For the same reason Nguyen's (2005) categories of external and internal modifiers of criticism as mentioned in his coding scheme of the speech act of criticism are referred to. In his scheme, Nguyen listed the following as external modifiers: *steer* (utterances used to lead the addressee onto the raised issue), *sweeteners* (positive remarks paid to the addressee either before or after a criticism to compensate for the offensive act), *disarmers* (utterances used to show awareness of the potential offence that might be caused to the addressee) and *grounders* (reasons given to justify intent) as four external modifiers.

Nguyen introduced the syntactic and phrasal/ lexical modifiers as the two broad internal modifiers of criticism. On the first hand, he related the use of past tense, interrogative and modals to the syntactic modifiers. On the other hand, he related to the phrasal/ lexical modifiers the following: the use of hedges (e.g. kind of), understaters (e.g. a bit), downtoners (e.g. maybe, possibly, etc.), subjectivers (e.g. I think) consultative (e.g. do you think?), cajolers (e.g. I mean, you know, etc.) and appealers (e.g. okay). Arabic modifiers were sought after in the present study analysis to find out how much effort is made by Arab reviewers to avoid conflicting situations and keep solidarity.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Aspects evaluated by praise and criticism

The evaluated aspects, along with the percentage of occurrences of each aspect to the thirty sample-BRs, are displayed in Table 1 below. It is stressed here that percentages are based on the number of sample BRs, i.e. the percentage 96.6% represents the number of BRs wherein praise of the value of the content appeared. Parentheses (...) in Arabic examples were used in discussion to indicate to some words that I deleted for the purpose of economy of word count of examples.

Table 1: Evaluated aspects in Arabic BRs

Evaluation categories	Sub-categories	Praise occurrences	Criticism occurrences
Evaluation of the authored	Value of the content	96.6%	20%
	Value of the style	66.6%	16.6%
	Value of usefulness and relevance to the field	100%	0
	Value of publishing standards	56.6%	0
	Value of readership	100%	0
Evaluation of the author	Value of author's reputation, affiliation, expertise or achievements in the field	40%	0

Table 1 shows that the evaluative acts are principally about two broad evaluation categories: the authored (book) and the author. The authored-related aspects include: evaluation of the authored-content, style, usefulness and relevance to its field, publishing standards, and readership. The author-related evaluated aspects include the author's reputation, affiliation, expertise and achievements, which are put together because they are inter-related and inter-dependent. The percentages of aspects appearance in the corpus show that the focus of reviewers is far more on the authored than on the author.

Analysis showed that 100% of the corpus BRs embraced praise for the value of usefulness and relevance to the field (example 1), and the value of readership (examples 2 and 3). These two sub-categories received the highest frequency across the corpus in terms of their appearance in the 30 BRs. They were followed by the evaluation of the value of the

content (example 4) which was praised in more than 96% of the corpus BRs and criticized in about 20% of them. The value of content was followed in the order of frequency of use by the evaluation of the value of the style (examples 5 and 6). Conversely, evaluating the publishing standards (example 7), and the value of author's reputation, affiliation, expertise and achievements in the field (example 8) were the least referred to in Arabic BRs. Figures clearly show that Arab reviewers tend to praise more than they tend to criticize.

Example 1:

"قد عالج فيه المؤلف موضوعاً من أهم الموضوعات المطروحة على الساحة القانونية، وهو موضوع العمل الطبي وما يثيره من مشكلات قانونية دقيقة"

The author has addressed one of the important topics in Law, which is the medical profession and its related critical legal problems.

In Example 1, the reviewer comments positively on the value of the book's topic and its usefulness and relevance to its field. This praise is mainly given to the authored; yet it gives credit to the one who selected the subject of writing, and that is the author himself.

Example 2:

"إن قراءة كتاب جاك دونلي... ذو مردود جيد... بالنسبة إلى الباحثين في مجال حقوق الإنسان"

Reading John Donley's book is rewarding to [...] researchers in the field of human rights.

Example 3:

"تزداد أهمية هذا الكتاب بازدياد الفئات التي يمكنها الاستفادة منه، وهم كثير، نذكر منهم"

Significance of this book increases when considering the groups of people who can benefit from it. They are many, just to mention few.

Example 2 comments positively on the value of the authored-readership: purpose (as being good for researchers) and discipline (i.e. human rights field). Example 3 highlights the importance of the authored by relating it to the wide scope and large number of those who benefit from it. These examples show praise on the account of to whom the authored will be of interest.

Example 4:

"يعد هذا الكتاب إضافة ثرية إلى المكتبة العربية بصفة عامة والمكتبة الأمنية بصفة خاصة"

This book is considered a valuable addition to the Arabic library in general and the security-library in particular.

The example reflects the value of the content of the authored and how rich it is. This richness has reflection in turn on the Arabic library and those interested in security studies. Praise on content in this example also implicitly refers to the kind of interested readers and audience.

Example 5:

"كان عرضه لها عرضاً واضحاً يسهل للقارئ متابعة الأفكار وتسلسلها"

His presentation was so clear that it makes it easy for the reader to follow up the ideas and their sequence.

Example 6:

"يلتزم المؤلف في عرض أفكاره في الأسلوب العلمي في البحث... أما بالنسبة لالتزام المؤلف بالأمانة العلمية، فقد حافظ على جهود الباحثين السابقين... بالإشارة إلى المصادر"

The author is committed to presenting his ideas in a scientific research method...As for the author's compliance with the anti-plagiarism standards, he has preserved the efforts of former researchers by referring to the sources, citation.

In Examples 5 and 6, the reviewer praises the style of the authored: its organization and readability. Such comment focuses on how the organization of the authored-material facilitates easiness of reading and following-up the introduced ideas systematically (as literally stated in Example 5), and in compliance with the scientific research methodology style and respect for citation norms (as stated in Example 6). Although these examples comment on the authored, they indirectly refer to a capability of the author.

Example 7:

"طُبِعَ طبعَتين...تمثل رسالةً أو كتيباً صغيراً الجرم عظيم الشأن"

It has been printed out in two editions that represent a thesis or a booklet small in size but great in significance.

This example praises the value of publishing standard of size while highlighting that a small size is an advantage as long as it has no adverse effect on the value of content. It could be understood as a clever achievement made by having the authored published in an easy to carry size without affecting the scholarly material.

Example 8:

"يعد الكاتب من المتخصصين بالإقتصاد الحضاري ويعمل أستاذاً في جامعة ارازموس"

The writer is considered a specialist in the cultural economics and a professor in Erasmus University.

This example comments on the author's reputation and expertise in cultural economy. It also comments on the author's position and affiliation to a renowned academic institution. This kind of comment is likely to add an indirect praise to the value of the authored for being a product by a specialized academic.

In terms of the received praise and criticism, it should be emphasized that the value of usefulness and relevance to the field (example 9), value of readership (example 10) and value of content have received most of praise, while value of the content (example 11) and value of style (example 12) seemed exclusively receiving criticism. Criticism for style appeared in 16.6% of the corpus BRs whereas criticism for some content aspects emerged in 20% of the sample. Remaining sub-categories of evaluated aspects received either praise or no comments; none received criticism. Not a single BR was found denying praise whether to the book or to the author himself. No a BR suggested that an author was for instance intellectually or experientially unqualified to write the reviewed book. Even when a book was the first of an author, reviewers used descriptions like 'يعد هذا الكتاب باكورة كتب المؤلف' meaning 'this book is considered the first-fruit of the author'.

Example 9:

"الكتاب الذي نعرض له، من الكتب الجيدة في مجال الإرشاد النفسي"

The book under review is one of the good books in the field of psychological guidance.

Example 9 comments positively on the value of the authored: usefulness and relevance to its field. It shows the goodness of the reviewed book in relation to its field of psychological guidance.

Example 10:

"يحقق الكتاب فائدة للمرشدين النفسيين في المدارس"

The book is of value to school-psychological supervisors.

Example 10 praises the readership aspect of the authored. It does so by mentioning who is namely benefiting from it and where. It relates the authored to the psychological supervisors working in schools.

Example 11:

"نأخذ على هذا المؤلف بعض الملاحظات أهمها: أنه ركز على استخدام الإرشاد النفسي المصغر في علاج المشكلات الدراسية ولم يعط للتنمية والوقاية نفس القدر من الإهتمام الذي أعطاه للعلاج"

We have some concerns about the author. Most importantly, the author has focused on the micro guidance as a method to solve scholastic problems, while he has not given the same attention to developmental and preventive measures.

Example 11 criticizes the content of the authored for not showing balance between the sub-topics addressed in the authored. Although the criticized aspect is in the authored material itself, this criticism was directed to the author who seemed the one to blame for his/her product.

Example 12:

"لم يخلُ من تكرار بعض المحاور التي قد تتسبب بالتشويش للقارئ"

It is not free of repetition of some themes, which may confuse/mislead the reader.

This example comments negatively on the style (organization) of the authored. It presents what is perceived wrong in style, which is repeating some themes. This may lead, according to the reviewer, to a further slip, which is causing confusion when reading.

In general, analysis (as exemplified above) reflected that praise was used for 'both general and specific aspects of the book' and 'the author'. Readership aspect has received most of the general praise, while the authored-relevance and usefulness aspect has been given more specific praise. In comparison, criticism was limited to specific aspects of the book, particularly to the content. Criticism mostly concentrated on insufficient extent of argument and failing to present sub-topics that might be of significance to a wider reader-community, as in overlooking (not-mentioning) preventive measures and remedy of certain scholastic challenges, as in example 11 above. These findings are in affinity with what Lorés-Sanz (2012) has identified in both English and Spanish contexts. This in turn presents BRs in Arabic context attuned with their English and Spanish equivalents that have the same tendency to praise general aspects of the book as well as aspects highlighted in specific chapters of the book, and criticize only specific aspects.

4.2 Lexical resources to express attitude

Analysis of corpus lexical items employed by Arab reviewers showed different lexical categories. Table 2 below illustrates the major conventional lexical resources as realized in the corpus. Percentages of total occurrences of use of every main category, and exemplifying record of common lexico-grammatical devices used in corpus to express praise and criticism are shown in Table 2 next to each sub-category. To bring focus on the main part of speech, only the head part of speech was marked in Table 2, for example, in cases where a noun or a noun phrase existed only 'n' is used to refer to the noun or the noun phrase.

Table 2: Lexical resources to express attitude

Categories of resources	Sub-categories	common lexico-grammatical devices/sub-category	%
Affective lexical resources	Inclination lexical items	request (v), invite (v), advise (v)	10%
	Admiration/ satisfaction lexical items	admire (v), extol (v), rare (adj), dear (adj), deserve (v), the best released (adj), the best to read	

		(adj)	
Judgmental lexical resources	Veracity lexical items	bold (adj), reluctant (adj), reflect (reality) (v), hide behind (v)	25%
	Perfection lexical items	perfection (n), deficiency (n), well (adv)	
	Normality lexical items	up to date (adj), out of date (adj)	
	Capacity lexical items	praiseworthy (adj), successful (adj), succeed (v)	
Appreciative lexical resources	Value lexical items	creativity (n), inactivity (n), valuable (adj), useful (adj), qualitative addition (n), scientific addition (n), a contribution (n), an addition (n), valuable (adj), rich (adj), excellent (adj), good (adj), theoretical (adj), practical (adj)	65%
	Composition order lexical items	consistent (adj), inconsistent (adj), clear (adj), misleading (adj), repetitive (adj)	
	Reaction and attraction/distractio lexical items	deep (adj), interesting (adj), significant (adj), detailed (adj), difficult (adj), comprehensive (adj), overlook (something) (v), attractive (adj), follow (v)	

The identified lexical resources belonged to three main categories: affective lexical resources, judgmental lexical resources and appreciative lexical resources. Lexicographically speaking, the identified lexical resources were found belonging to a variety of parts of speech and their respective phrases. They belong to four parts of speech: verbs, adverbs, nouns and adjectives (and their respective phrases such as noun phrase) that carry positive or negative feeling of evaluation. Therefore, praise and criticism in Arabic BRs could be described as formulaic.

Table 2 shows that 10% of the lexical items were affective, i.e. were used to express the book reviewer's emotive reaction and feelings towards the authored. Affect was shown in two ways (sub-categories). First way is the expression of 'inclination' by use of such items as 'request, invite and advise' (see example 13). Second way is by expressing 'admiration or satisfaction' by use of lexical items as in admire, extol, rare, dear, deserve, the best released and the best to read (see example 14).

Example 13:

"أنصح كل من يهتم بهذا الموضوع أن يطلع على هذا الكتاب ويستقي منه وينهل من جداوله الرقاقة"

I advise everyone interested in this topic to read this book, to draw thereof and gallop from its flowing springs.

In example 13, inclination is expressed via the verb 'advise'. It shows a like or preference of a reading material over which the reviewer has been bent. Thus, the reviewer is providing advice for others to read the authored.

Example 14:

"أحیی جهد المؤلف"

I *extol* the author's effort.

In example 14 the reviewer expresses his admiration/satisfaction of effort put in by the author. This is triggered by means of the verb 'extol' to show the much praise for the contribution of the author.

As for judgmental lexical resources, they were present in 25% of the used lexical resources. They were employed to express the reviewer's attitude towards a behavior and whether the author was reliable, capable, trustworthy and efficient in his scholarly contribution. The sub-categories through which reviewers expressed judgment included the use of: first, veracity lexical items that show the author's 'boldness vs. reluctance', and reflecting reality vs. hiding behind some aspects (example 15 and example 16); second, perfection lexical items such as perfection vs. deficiency, and well vs. badly (example 17 and example 18); third, normality lexical items that reflect whether the product is 'up to date' vs. 'out of date' and so forth (example 19); fourth, capacity lexical items such as praiseworthy, successful and succeed (example 20 and 21).

Example 15:

"لعل الباحث كان بحاجة إلى مزيد من الجرأة الواقعية التي توارت وراء السرد التاريخي"

The researcher has probably *needed* more realist-boldness that hid behind the historical narrative.

This example presents judgment on efforts made by the author that seems lacking boldness in presentation. This judgment has been triggered by 'needed', where boldness according to the reviewer has been missing to convey the naked truth in the book. Boldness could have shown conformity to truth or fact accuracy rather than following what has been narrated.

Example 16:

"يسجل للباحثة جرأتها في تناول هذه القضية الحساسة التي يعزف كثير من الباحثين عن تناولها"

The researcher's *boldness* is well noted for addressing this sensitive issue that is abandoned untouched by many researchers.

The use of the noun 'boldness' has triggered a judgment driven by an observance of facing and telling the truth about a topic which could be a sensitive issue for many.

Example 17:

"وقد أجاد الباحث في تعمقه"

The researcher did *very well* in going deep into the topic.

This example conveys a judgment by means of commenting on the perfection standard. Deep investigation into the topic of the authored has given credit for the author.

Example 18:

"فيبقى عملها بشرياً مشوباً ببعض القصور حيث كثرة الاقتباسات، وغياب الإبداع على النحو الذي تجلى في الإطار التطبيقي"

Her work remains a human's, with some *deficiency* trait for including many quotations and *absence of creativity* that rather prevailed in the practical frame.

The reviewer here comments on the quality of the authored of being imperfect. The work has missed the highest degree of proficiency or excellence due to reliance on others' contribution

as reflected in quotations, and the non-balance between the theoretical and the applicable aspect.

Example 19:

"يتناول موضوعاً حديثاً"

It addresses an *up-to-date* topic.

Judgment in this example is given to whether the authored presents an average and traditionally addressed topic or a contemporary one and from a new perspective. Addressing an up-to-date topic, according to the reviewer, is what is special and unusual in the reviewed work. That very reason has served to establish a standard upon which the reviewer has issued a judgment.

Example 20:

"إن المؤلفه قامت فيه بجهد تشكر عليه"

In this book, the author has put in a *praiseworthy effort*.

Judgment in example 20 is expressed by commenting on the capacity/ability of the author to present something for which she deserves praise. This capacity is triggered by the noun phrase (adj + noun: 'praiseworthy effort').

Example 21:

"نجح المؤلف في الربط بين النظرية والتطبيق"

The author has *succeeded* in linking theory with practice.

Judgment in example 21 is also expressed by attributing praise of the author's ability to his combination between theory and practice in his book. This capacity is triggered by the verb 'succeeded'.

Moving to the last but the most frequently used category, 'appreciative lexical resources-category' presented most of the lexical resources with a percentage of 65%. These resources reflected evaluation of things related to the authored per se, but not to the author, i.e. evaluating thing not someone. This category included 'value lexical items' (example 22 and example 23), 'composition order lexical items' (example 24), and 'reaction and attraction/distraction lexical items' (example 25 and 26).

Example 22:

"يعد هذا الكتاب إضافة ثرية"

This book is considered a *rich addition*.

Example 23:

"وفي الختام، فإن هذا عرض موجز عن كتاب قيم"

In conclusion, this has been a brief review of a *valuable* book.

In example 22, the value of the authored is expressed by the reviewer's comment on how rich the book is as a contribution to the field. That is signaled by the noun phrase 'rich addition'. Similarly, example 23 uses the adjective 'valuable' to show how good the reviewed book is.

Example 24:

"كانت بعض الأجزاء غير متسقة"

Some parts were *inconsistent*.

Evaluating the 'composition order' of the authored, the reviewer in example 24 uses the adjective 'inconsistent' to comment on how consistent vs. inconsistent, of clear organization, or misleading the authored is.

Example 25:

"إنه كتاب ممتع"

It is an *interesting* book.

Example 26:

"اتبع أسلوباً واضحاً في عرض الموضوع"

He followed a *clear organization*-style to present his topic.

Slightly different from composition lexical items, the 'reaction and attraction/distraction lexical items' were found commenting on what makes the authored attractive or not. This has been expressed in example 25 by the use of the adjective 'interesting' which may describe what has attracted the reviewer or how he/she has reacted to it. By means of use of such an adjective, the reviewer implicitly invites more people to go and read that particular book. The same function could be the reason behind commenting on the clear organization of the authored in example 26.

Needless to say, proportionate with Martin and White (2005), appraisal lexical items used to praise and criticize in Arabic BRs have demonstrated the power to convey the evaluative aspect of book reviewing. By using the identified lexical resources Arab reviewers could express their attitude, positive and negative feelings towards the material things, the social event and the people.

4.3 Conventional strategies to communicate praise

This sub-section is dedicated to answer study-question three concerning the conventional realizations (strategies) to communicate praise with discourse community. Based on the categorization of every praise expression that embodied (a)term(s) loaded with positive semantic evaluation, analysis showed multiple praise strategies as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Conventional strategies to communicate praise

Strategy	Frequency to total BRs
Statement of advantages via explicit expression of attitude	39%
Expression of positive personal opinion on the authored	27%
Implicit praise of author's ability by reporting on aspects in the authored	20%
Positive evaluation based on informative value-grounding	10%
Supplication/prayer for the author	3%
Direct bracketed praise (or congratulation) of author	1%

Table 3 displays six main praise strategies used by Arab book reviewers. The first and most frequently used strategy across soft discipline-BRs, with a percentage of appearance of 39%, was the 'statement of advantages via explicit expression of attitude', i.e. the statement of advantages by providing appraisal my means of expression of affect, judgment and appreciation by means of various lexical items (discussed in sub-section 4.2) along with making use of attitude markers. This advantage-attitude marking covered all evaluated aspects (which were introduced in Table 1). This reflects a commonality between evaluation in Arabic and evaluation in English, in terms of making use of an acknowledged technique that has been well researched by Martin and White (2005), and Hyland (2000, 2013) when it comes to appraisal lexical resources and attitude markers, consecutively.

Examples include the statement of the advantage of the authored style which makes it *simple and easy* for readers *to read* due to its praiseworthy organization (example 5, sub-

section 4.1). Comment on organization clarity is an expression on composition order and thus an appreciation. This simplicity and easiness-related feature is related to the clear organization and style advantage for readers. This is a clear expressiveness in this strategy. Example 7, sub-section 4.1, also reflects another advantage of the authored, i.e. easy to carry book for being issued in a relatively small size while preserving its scholarly significance. This comment on its size vis-à-vis scholarly significance can be perceived as an expression of admiration and thus an affect.

The use of such lexical markers as the booster *so* (in ‘so clear), *many* (in ‘they are many’), *in general, in particular*, the self-mention and engagement sense in *we* (as in ‘we have some concerns’), and talking about the ‘reader’ (as in ‘may mislead the reader’) in an attempt to engage the reader may carry what Hyland (2013) has named it, the interactional dimension of metadiscourse resources that function by operating to involve the reader in the text. Attitude lexical items such as ‘invite, request and advise’, and the mere mentioning of advantage sides of a book might be perceived as an indirect invitation an encouragement of readers to read the book under review, and thus presenting praise with directive function indirectly. This (quasi) directive power of praise strategy stresses what Deline and Baumiester (1994) underlined of a function of praise, i.e. the function of encouragement and seduction to influence other people.

The second preferred strategy followed in the corpus was ‘expression of positive personal opinion on the authored’ chiefly by means of using positive adjectives mentioned in Table 2 above. This strategy-use appeared in 27% of the sample BRs. What is special in this strategy is that Arab reviewers seem to foreground their positive comments as personal responses, which allows them to adopt less threatening authorial voice. Expression of positive opinion, thus, appeared along with the use of subjectivity markers. This serves in repositioning reviewers as readers or colleagues representing their own individual opinions, as in example 27 below.

Example 27:

"إنّ الكتاب في تقديري من أفضل الكتب التي دونت باللغة العربية"

The book, *in my opinion*, is one of the *best* written (in its field) in Arabic.

Example 27 reflects a personal opinion via the reviewer’s use of the marker phrase ‘in my opinion *في رأئي/تقديري*’ and then states the adjective ‘*best*’. Other examples of such markers identified in the corpus include: ‘I guess *أعتقد*’, ‘personally *شخصياً*’, and ‘to my mind *من وجهة نظري*’. This strategy seems functioning, what Hyland (2013) has named as in his interactional dimension, the self-mentioning. The use of these markers helps present subjective utterances that can signal uncertainty and negotiable opinion rather than an objective evaluation. In other words, this use of personal indecisive opinion opens the door for alternative views and makes the reviewer’s view irresolute. However, they serve in maintaining solidarity with author and discourse community.

The third praise strategy in frequency of appearance (20% of BRs) was the ‘implicit praise of author’s ability by reporting on aspects in the authored’. Consider example 6 mentioned earlier. It praises the scientific research-like presentation of the authored and the anti-plagiarism related conventions when it comes to citation and listing references. This has been stressed by the reviewer as being a respect manifested by the author towards other

authors' contributions. Although some might consider what was being commented herein on banal, it rather existed in Arabic BRs.

In the fourth place, in terms of frequency (10% of BRs), came the 'positive evaluation based on informative value-grounding'. In this strategy, a reviewer focuses on the informative purpose of reviewing by reporting and concluding, and just before the very end of his/her review he/she refers to the same information given by the author and highlighted in the review to serve as evidence or a mark of significance and scholarly contribution to the field or mastery by the author. Thus, it serves as a ground/foundation for a positive evaluation (the reviewer is about to mention) for either the authored or the author. Consider example 28 and 29.

Example 28:

"وبناءً على ما تقدم، يشكل الكتاب إضافة علمية مهمة في ميدان العلوم الأمنية والعلوم المتصلة بها سواء على المستوى النظري أو التطبيقي"

Based on the above mentioned, this book constitutes a significant scholarly addition to the field of security studies and relevant sciences, be it theoretical or practical domain.

Example 29:

"كل ذلك يدل على سعة اطلاع المؤلف، وعمق تفكيره وممارسته الفعلية في مجال التنظيم"

All that refers to how knowledgeable the author is, and how deep his thought and expertise in the field of 'organization' are.

In example 28, the reviewer builds the positive evaluation on the value of information that has been reviewed. This value between the informative aspect of the review and the evaluative aspect is linked and triggered by an interactive resource (phrase), 'وبناءً على ما تقدم' meaning 'based on the above mentioned', which is an example of evidential marker. In this context, the evidential marker preceded a positive comment on the authored. In example 29, the endophoric marker 'كل ذلك' meaning 'all that' is another interactive resource that has linked what has been reviewed with the coming positive comment on the author's knowledge, thought and expertise. Preparing the ground for a positive evaluation is achieved by such phrases or markers. In line with Hyland's (2013) interpersonal model of metadiscourse functions, such markers function interactively, i.e. tend to guide the reader to a conclusion that deserves praise.

One of the least frequently used praise strategy in corpus was providing 'supplication/prayer for the author', the fourth strategy. It is a cultural style of praise. It seemed like journal specific as it mostly appeared in the Arab Journal for Security Studies and Training that is published by Naif Arab University for Security Studies, Saudi Arabia. This is probably due to the Islamic culture dominance on lexical items used by people of Saudi Arabia and the region. The strategy of praising the author by praying for him was used with a percentage of about 3% of the total sample BRs. The use of this strategy is flavoured with the Islamic cultural background of reviewers who are usually used to using such expressions in everyday social interaction. Consider example 30 and 31.

Example 30:

"وَقَّعَ اللهُ المَوْلفَ وكتبَ أجره"

May Allah grant the author success, and reward him well!

Example 31:

"إن الباحثة قامت بجهد تشكر عليه ولها من الله الثواب"

The researcher has made a praiseworthy effort. May Allah reward her well!

In example 30, the reviewer's prayer conveys the message that it is only Allah who can reward the author and guide him to more successes. Whereas, in example 31 the reviewer, first, thanks the author by mentioning that what she did is a 'praiseworthy effort', and second, refer the author to Allah who can fully reward her. From an Islamic cultural point of view, to pray for someone to receive a reward from Allah (the God) for having done something good is believed to be the finest and most satisfying way of praising him/her for what he/she has done. This is because Muslims believe that the biggest ever reward one may receive is from Allah, given that Allah once gives would astonish everyone because he is the 'the most Generous'. This particular praise strategy seems like the most culturally typical praise strategy, yet the most journal-specific. This re-highlights the point raised by previous researchers (e.g. Giannoni, 2006; Itakura & Tsui, 2011) about evaluation strategies; they vary from one culture/language to another.

The last strategy and the least ever followed was the 'direct bracketed praise of author' where the reviewer highlights his authorial voice by stating that he/she is going to comment on the author (example 32 and 33) by a "frame marker" (to use Hyland's category term), such as 'If any (final) word should be said now' in example 32 and 'in the end' in example 33.

Example 32:

"وإذا كان من كلمة تقال هنا، فإن المؤلف قام بإعطاء كل فصل من فصول الكتاب ما يستحقه من أهمية وفائدة، فقدم عرضاً شاملاً متكاملًا ومترابطاً لمادة مفيدة وغزيرة انتقاها عن علم وخبرة وبأسلوب واضح يجعله صالحاً كمرجع"

If any (final) word should be said now would be that the author has fully addressed the sub-topics in every chapter of the book. He presented a comprehensive, integrated and consistent material that is beneficial and rich, and finely selected based on his knowledge, experience and clear style that present the book as a reference book.

Example 33:

"وفي الختام، فلست أعالي إن قلت أنّ الكتاب أفضل كتاب في مجاله وهو مساهمة فعلية للمكتبة الإدارية العربية، فهنيئاً للمؤلف"

In the end, it is no exaggeration to say that this book is the best in its field, and a real contribution to the library of administration in Arabic. *To the author, I shall say Congratulations!*

Example 32 shows that praise was bracketed and introduced by the marker 'وإذا كان من كلمة تقال هنا' meaning 'If any (final) word should be said now', and then the reviewer praised on the author's performance, knowledge and experience as a final remark. In example 33, bracketing was triggered by the marker 'وفي الختام' meaning 'in the end', and the reviewer finished reviewing by literal congratulation on the achievement of the author. This way of presenting praise preceded by frame markers tends to lead the reader in the text in a kind of interaction between the reviewer and the reader. It is a final remark that reflects a function of praise, which is conveying a message that one has surpassed the evaluative standard.

In line with Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), 'face notion', praise as used in Arabic BRs is of positive politeness. It attracts the attention not only to the praised but also to the reviewer as a colleague and a moderate voice of an authority and politeness values. Drawn on Searle's (1976) illocutionary acts, praise strategies employed by Arab reviewers function differently. Praise is expressive mainly in the 'statement of advantages via explicit expression of attitude-strategy', 'expression of positive personal opinion on the authored-strategy',

‘positive evaluation based on informative value-grounding’ and ‘supplication/prayer for the author’ where the reviewer expresses his/her attitude and what he/she feels about the author or the authored. Interestingly, in cases where ‘statement of advantages via explicit expression of attitude’ is used, attitude lexical items such as *invite* and *advise* along with statement of advantages of an authored (related to its handy size, for example) might be considered a praise with a combined function, being expressive and (quasi)directive. It is directive as it triggers an indirect attempt to make the reader do something, i.e. possessing or reading the book under review. Praise could be viewed as assertive in ‘implicit praise of author’s ability by reporting on aspects in the authored-strategy’ where the reviewer reports on the style, for example, followed by the author.

4.4 Conventional strategies to communicate criticism and politeness

Although critical statements appeared more specific and restricted, analysis shows that criticism strategies can broadly be categorized into: direct criticism strategies which refer to *techniques of expression of unfavourable comments and negative attitude that send the message of disapproval with no mitigation*, and indirect criticism strategies which refer to *techniques of expression of unfavourable comments and negative attitude whose force of message of disapproval is attenuated by some mitigation devices (my definitions)*. Based on this broad categorization, further sub-categories (sub-strategies) are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Conventional strategies to communicate criticism

Strategy		Frequency of use
Direct criticism	Statement of shortcomings in the authored	13%
	Negative attitude towards the author	
	Disapproval	
	Identification of errors	
Indirect criticism	Implicit warning of consequences due to an identified difficulty	87%
	Suggestion for change	
	Proposition for correction	
	Indicating a standard	
	Preaching	
	Expression of uncertainty by means of relational/subjectivity markers	
	Ambiguity	
	Praise-criticism clausal pairing	
Hedging		

Table 4 displays that most of the strategies employed by Arab reviewers tended to be indirect, with a percentage of 87% to the total criticism speech acts appeared in the corpus. The direct strategies, on the contrary, represented the least used strategies with a percentage of 13%. Recalling what has been stated in sub-section 4.1, Arab reviewers tend to praise more than they tend to criticize, Table 4 stresses another point, which is that Arab reviewers generally tend to criticize indirectly. Being identified centered in the closing structural move

in Arabic BRs, as a 'bracketed new voice' that is preceded by the general positive flow of the review, even direct criticism could be looked at as produced politely because the previously mentioned positive flow is likely to lessen the impact of directness.

4.4.1 Direct criticism

The conventionally used direct criticism strategies can be divided into four sub-strategies as follows:

- a. Statement of shortcomings in the authored (expressed by evaluative adjectives and nouns with negative meaning).
- b. Negative attitude towards the author (such as his /her creativity or capacity).
- c. Disapproval (by expression of reviewer's attitude towards the addressee's choice).
- d. Identification of errors.

As a well-established practice, statement of shortcomings has been used by inserting a negative comment of at least one part of speech with negative meaning. Consider examples 34 and 35 which show how criticism, reflects statement of shortcomings.

Example 34:

"لم يخلُ من التركيز على بعض الجوانب دون سواها"

It has not been free of being *limited* to (focusing on) some aspects at the expense of others.

Example 35:

"أخفق في تقديم رؤية وتوليفة أوسع وأشمل"

The book has *failed* to provide a broader and more comprehensive vision and synthesis.

Criticism in example 34 was given to a shortcoming perceived by the reviewer for imbalance in attention given to the sub-topics in the authored, as expressed in the negative connotation in 'limited'. It is a criticism because a focus on certain aspects per se may in turn affect the readability and attraction/ distraction dimension of the authored. In example 35, the reviewer voices negative evaluation loaded in the verb 'failed'.

Concerning the 'negative attitude towards the author', in example 36 the reviewer shows a negative expression of feeling and attitude towards the author by using a word meaning 'regrettable/unfortunate':

Example 36:

"من المؤسف أن المؤلف لم يتطرق لنقاش أمر الجو العام الذي نشأت فيه الحركات العيساوية (العيسوية) التي اجتاحت السودان في نهايات القرن التاسع عشر"

It is regrettable that the author did not address, in discussion, the general atmosphere wherein the Issawiya Movements, which swept through the Sudan in the late nineteenth century, arose.

The use of an attitude lexical marker such as 'من المؤسف' meaning 'it is regrettable', as in example 36, conveys the negative expressive function of this criticism. However, it mentions what is missing and can be rectified in a later version. The emotions loaded in this marker also involve the readers in the review so that they may interact and carry the same feeling.

Regarding 'disapproval', example 37 below shows that Arab reviewers tend to discuss some problems in the author's choice or product which the reviewer disapproves.

Example 37:

"لا أوافق المؤلف البتة في ما ذهب إليه من محاولة الربط بين تصوير نميري لنفسه كـ "إمام"، والفكرة الشيعية عن الزعامة الدينية"

I do not agree with the author *at all* in his attempt to link between Nimeiri's representation of himself as an imam, and the Shiite notion of religious leadership.

In example 37, the reviewer expresses his disapproval of the author's analogy made between Nimeiri being an Imam and Shiite religious leaders. This disapproval is triggered by '*do not agree*'; yet, its imposition is lessened by the use of the subjective marker '*I*' which lets the criticism received as a personal opinion and thus others may approve the choice the author has gone for.

The strategy of 'identification of errors' appeared as in example 38 below to show a reviewer's explicit highlight of an issue that the author should revisit.

Example 38:

"...إعادة النظر في ترقيم وترتيب وتبويب العناوين الفرعية... لتجنب الخلل في تسلسل الأفكار"
...reconsider numerating, arrangement and tabulating the sub-headings...to avoid a fault in sequence of ideas.

In example 38 of criticism of style, the reviewer shows directly the error and its effect on the logical sequencing of ideas. The reviewer does not tell the how to correct the error, but instead he reminds the author with a standard in authorship that might be referred to.

Describing what is(not) in the authored or what the author has missed out or failed to do, and reporting in statements that may be judged true or false because they purport to describe a state of affairs in the world, the first sub-strategy of direct criticism seems to give criticism an assertive function. Sub-strategy two conveys an expressive function especially when an attitude lexical marker is loaded with negative feelings, as in 'regrettable'. Sub-strategy three, disapproval, is also expressive in nature, while sub-strategy four, identification of errors, seems of directive function as it provides the author with a piece of information on what should be done.

Direct criticism as identified in the Arabic reviews seemed, to a great extent, to have shared some of Nguyen's (2005) strategies of direct strategies. This is obvious when it comes to Nguyen's *negative evaluation* and Arab reviewers' *negative attitude towards the author*, *disapproval*, Nguyen's *identification of problem* and *statement of difficulties* and Arab reviewers' *identification of errors statement of shortcomings in the authored*. Similarities might be indicative of the universal notion of criticism that could be found in every evaluative context. As any other speech act, criticism appeared in Arabic BRs performed directly (though not many times) to clarify "exactly and literally what [a reviewer wants to] say" (Searle, 1979: 30).

4.4.2 Indirect criticism and observing politeness

Focusing on the conventionally used indirect strategies, indirect strategies were seen mainly making use of subjective markers, ambiguity, indicating a standard, lexical and clausal hedging, syntactic structures (syntactic hedging), and relational/engagement markers to modify the illocutionary force of criticism. They make a lot of use of interactional resources as defined by Hyland (2013). This use for mitigation purposes is a mark of style of politeness, as such devices and techniques are believed to be used to minimize the imposition on the

addressee and help avoid the risk of losing face. Indirect criticism strategies as identified in corpus can be described/labeled and divided into nine sub-strategies as follows: implicit warning of consequences due to an identified difficulty, suggestion for change, proposition for correction by indicating a standard, preaching, expression of uncertainty by means of relational markers or subjectivity markers, ambiguity, praise-criticism clausal pairing (e.g. clausal hedging), and lexical hedging. 'Implicit warning of consequences due to an identified difficulty' can be seen in example 39.

Example 39:

"وتكرار بعض المحاور التي قد تتسبب بالتشويش للقارئ"

The *repetition* of some themes which *may* cause some confusion to the reader.

Criticism here is in the form of indirect warning or alarming directed to the composition-order of the authored which, if not rectified, may present a kind of potential distraction that affects the appreciation of the authored. Indirectness level could be seen in the use of a partitive article like 'بعض' meaning 'some' (as a lexical under-stater) and the hedge 'قد' meaning 'may' (as a lexical down-toner). This kind of criticism may also send an implied advice to the author in regard to an effort need be made to get rid of the cause of potential confusion in the authored. In such a strategy, the reviewer expresses *a negative belief about a state of affairs but mildly*. Criticism in this sense is therefore expressive. It could also be looked at as a heads-up call to the author to *attempt to make him/her do something to ameliorate the scholarly product*, i.e. demand for improvement. In this sense, criticism is perceived of a directive function.

In a suggestion for change, example 40 below uses 'أودُ' meaning 'I would like to' to bring attention to a suggestion the reviewer he likes to make on the style (organization).

Example 40:

"إنني أود ابداء بعض النقاط المحدودة التي لا يراد بها إلا فائدة المؤلف، ومنها: دمج الفصل السادس مع الفصل الرابع"

I would like to introduce *some limited* points that are not meant for anything but the benefit for the author. Among these is to combine Chapter Six with Chapter Four.

In this suggestion for change, the reviewer uses a disarmer ('التي لا يراد بها') meaning 'that are not meant for anything') to show awareness of the potential offence that might be caused to the author by stating the suggestions. Along that disarmer, a grounder is used ('فائدة المؤلف' meaning 'the benefit for the author') to give the reason that justifies the intent behind the suggestion.

By the strategy of 'proposition for correction by indicating a standard', a reviewer, as in example 41, proposes how the authored would be better or more useful.

Example 41:

"أحسب أن هذا الكتاب كان سيكون أكثر فائدة لو أضاف له المؤلف مزيداً من الخرائط"

I think this book would have been more useful if the author had added more maps.

In this example, the reviewer shows the reason behind such a proposition (serving as a grounder), which is the amelioration of utility/the benefits to be gained from the authored. The reviewer tells what might be done, i.e. adding more maps.

Concerning the voice of 'preaching-strategy', consider example 42.

Example 42

"وعلى الرغم من الإبداع الذي سجلته الباحثة فيبقى عملها بشرياً مشوباً ببعض القصور"

Despite the creativity recorded by the researcher, her work remains of a human and thus imperfect.

The reviewer, in example 42, can state a postulate that may imply imperfectness or incapability of making spotless choices all the time. By reminding the reader that for any author as a human to achieve something immaculately could be far-fetched due to the intrinsic 'imperfectness' characteristic of all humankind, the author should accept a criticism. By combining praise with a criticism, this strategy seems in line with Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), 'face notion', where praise is used as positive politeness strategy to ensure attending to the hearer's positive face wants while the reviewer performs the FTA. This combination is achieved by use of concession structure (despite...), where the praise is mentioned in the dependent clause (despite clause) and criticism is expressed in the independent (main) clause.

'Expression of uncertainty by means of relational markers or subjectivity markers' diffuses criticism by shifting its source to someone else while assuming common grounds with readers by using the relational marker 'Not everyone will agree...لن يتفق الجميع'. This implies that the reviewer's opinion look like shared with some other readers. This also helps reviewer criticize as if he was presenting some other people's opinion but not his/her own. However, while it is used to raise the author's awareness of the inappropriateness of his/her choice in product, it strengthens the opinion offered and encourages readers including the author to accept dispute about the subject of criticism. This is done while keeping the reviewer safer from a potential risk of personal responsibility. For subjectivity markers, they could also be used to mitigate the effect of a criticism. A reviewer may highlight missing aspects in the authored by use of subjective markers (e.g. I, my) as in example 43:

Example 43

"أرى أن (المؤلف) لم تتطرق إلى المنظمات العربية كجامعة الدول العربية"

I see that the author has not discussed the Arab organizations such as the Arab League. In this example, the reviewer includes himself to send a message that his criticism is a personal view, and thus other may see it differently. This is triggered by the use of the subjective marker 'I'. This use of subjective marker contributes to a greater degree of politeness by conveying indefiniteness and uncertainty. To introduce a comment to be taken as a personal opinion is a manifestation of politeness and deference, which is considered a very strong culture-specific phenomenon in Arabic.

'Ambiguity' is used to present a proposition for correction indirectly. A reviewer presents his/her utterance with the purpose of proposing how to fix some error while weakening the negative force of the proposition (which is in example 44 below a proposition to diffuse the thorniness of topics and making them clearly presented).

Example 44:

"وبسبب تشعب المواضيع التي يتناولها المؤلف ربما نكون قد أغفلنا بعضها اثناء قرائتنا وعرضنا للكتاب".

Due to the thorny topics that the author addressed, we may have missed reviewing some topics while reading and reviewing the book.

In this example of criticism on style, a proposition is made by injecting evaluative ambiguity by letting the reader knows that the reviewer has probably overlooked or unintentionally skipped some other aspects in the authored; yet, this overlooking could be related to the thorny sub-topics of the authored. The proposition is introduced by saying less than what the reviewer means, and thus leaving the reader to make the appropriate connections. This is a clear manifestation of what Brown and Levinson (1987) described as a strategy whereby the reviewer goes off-record in performing the FTA, and he/she performs the criticism speech act in such a vague manner that could be interpreted (by the author/reader) as some other act.

'Praise-criticism clausal pairing' refers to instances where full illocutionary force of specific criticism was alleviated through the juxtaposition of direct negative comments to praise, or by making praise syntactically subordinated to a criticism clause. This appears in clausal pairing, as in if-clause, but-clause, concession clauses as in the example 45. This praise-criticism adjacency softens the negativity of evaluation.

Example 45:

"إنَّ المرءَ وعلى الرغم من الملاحظات الثانوية... لا يملك خياراً إلا وأن يعجب بإبداع البياتي..."

Despite the minor remarks..., one has no choice but to admire al-Bayati's creativity.

Example 45 shows the use of clausal pairing, concession, which is a kind of a clausal hedging. It is a kind of compromise that involves a criticism which seems not the intended point of the sentence, and an acknowledgment which is the main point of the sentence. This syntactic structure allows the reviewer to both present a criticism and his/her admiration of the authored which reflects the author's capacity. It is a trigger of Agreement Maxim whereby the reviewer minimizes disagreement between himself/herself and the author, and maximizes agreement between the two.

'Lexical hedges', as pragmatic markers, attenuate the strength of criticism utterances. Hedges were thus employed by Arab reviewers through using words meaning: could, may, might, possibly, probably, maybe, perhaps, seems, etc. Hedging as such seems connected to the Arab culture which considers respect a central concept that enables the reviewer to go on record but with redress (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Hyland, 2000). Hedging reduces the face loss associated with the conveyed message and mitigates the interpersonal damage. It is worth underscoring that hedging appeared in all Arab BRs. Consider example 46 below.

Example 46:

"لعل الباحث كان بحاجة إلى مزيد من الجرأة الواقعية"

The researcher has *probably* needed more realist-boldness.

The example above shows the use of 'probably' as a lexical hedge used as a tentativizer that reflects uncertainty of the evaluation. The use of the hedge in this example signals reservation and decreases the certainty about the utterance. Meanwhile, the reviewer sends his/her message of what he/she perceives as missing and needed.

The use of different linguistic strategies, be it lexical or syntactic, to redress criticism in Arabic BRs does decrease explicitness of an utterance and hence enable the reviewer to be less direct and bold on-record in communicating his/her evaluation. Indirect criticism strategies are centered on the tact maxim by minimizing cost to other (the author). In Arabic BRs, tact maxim is ranked the dominant, taking into account the more use of praise than criticism and the more frequent employment of indirect criticism than the direct criticism. Indirect criticism strategies were meant to attenuate the strength of FTA. This confirms Leech's hypothesis (1983: 133) that not all of the maxims are equally important, and they do vary from one society/culture to another.

Along with Brown and Levinson's (1987) negative politeness that views an FTA as a violation of the speaker's freedom of action, indirect criticism strategies identified in this study showed ability to provide a possible compensation. Negative politeness, therefore, has enabled the reviewer to go on-record (presenting his/her communicative evaluative intention), but with redress. Even in utterances where no linguistic device is used to mitigate a criticism, the distancing of a direct criticism utterance may signal a less significance of the negative comment. Moreover, the introduction of the distant criticism utterance just before closing the

review seems like sandwiching the negative comment between two positive flows. This serves as coating criticism with sweeteners. Presenting a sandwiched criticism in this sense seems a strategic politeness technique that coats criticism with praise and a socio-culturally marked expression of solidarity and establishment of rapport with the audience.

Politeness in Arabic BR's is also strategically achieved by opening with praise and recommending the authored at the end rather than disqualifying it. Politeness in Arabic reviewers' criticism, which is encoded in softening criticism by the means of identified indirect criticism strategies and their variety of linguistic means, informs us that the Arab reviewers make a recognized effort to minimize the authoritativeness, directness and imposition of their criticism. In general, a predisposition of Arab reviewers to praise more global and specific features was probably to give the impression that the book is by large praise-worthy despite having specific shortcomings that have received criticism for specific aspects. This seems proportionate with the Arab Muslim culture that stresses on maintaining the social harmony which is explicit in book reviewing by using multiple praise strategies and indirect criticism strategies.

5. Conclusion, implications and recommendations

According to the findings of the study, praise in Arabic BRs can best be viewed as a discourse evaluative act that directs scholarly favourable comments and positive attitude at some good work pertinent to the book or at its author in a way that reflects approval and admiration, and encourages others to read the book under review. Criticism in a BR can be varied as a discourse evaluative act that directs unfavourable comments and negative attitude at some perceived faults in a book's content or style in a(n) (in)direct way that reflects disapproval and proposes change while showing respect to the social and cultural context.

This study has been devoted to fill a niche in current research regarding identifying the evaluative voice in Arabic BRs. Despite being more ideational than evaluative, thanks to their great deal of neutral descriptions, Arabic BRs give emphasis to *praise and criticism* as two illocutionary acts. Directing positive comments and judgment at some good work, praise acts like a strategic politeness technique that expresses solidarity and rapport with the audience (in the global context of reviewing) and compliment-coats criticism for mitigation purposes, especially when used in the local context of criticism. Referring to a discourse evaluative acts that direct negative comments, criticism is rarely found direct. Most of criticism was indirect. Arab reviewers tend to utilize *mild-criticism* techniques which ensure relatively indirect and mitigated critical options that help avoid being viewed as vulgar or inconsiderate.

In line with Yule's (1996) and Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) assertion on the role of social and cultural factors in steering discourses, Arab reviewers reflected a collective social practice by resorting to certain techniques that are believed to help maintain social relationship. The special pattern of indirect criticism, for example, can be understood and appreciated by people sharing the same socio-cultural background, and hence reiterate that some aspects of BRs are society and culture-specific. Praise is used to maintain solidarity and maximize the benefit of the author, and indirect criticism is used to minimize imposition, dispraise and cost to the author and to maintain rapport with discourse community.

In view of Leech's maxim of politeness and that politeness "can be measured in terms of the degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation" (Leech, 1980:19), it could be concluded that Arab book reviewers' use of praise more than criticism and their preference to criticize mildly and indirectly inform us that they do strategically work to avoid conflict while conveying the messages they want. Even when it comes to the rare use of direct criticism, reviewers tend to compensate for it by placing it in a larger positive message. By their general inclination to express praise and criticism, Arab reviewers try to minimize the cost to others (to the authors) and maximize the benefit to others while minimizing dispraise of others (authors) and maximizing praise of others (authors), and hence present Tact Maxim as well as Approbation Maxim as the top prevailing maxims reflected in Arabic BRs.

Sociopragmatically speaking, to achieve the BR-evaluative function successfully, Arabic BRs showed how Arab reviewers practice reviewing with respect for interpersonal relations and following acceptable socio-cultural conventions. Pragmalinguistically speaking, these conventions made use of various linguistic resources. This study provides implications for cultural pragmatics and academic writing. Findings of this study can be integrated into a teaching material for raising book reviewers' awareness about the craft of reviewing. Findings are educating for novice Arab book reviewers and those working in book publishing industry. This study also provides implications for cultural pragmatics, academic writing, discourse analysis, and cross-cultural communication students who are invited to realize BR's socio-cultural practices and discipline-related expectations that if violated may lead into interpersonal conflicts.

Consistent with the theoretical background, this study has provided a valuable insight into the Arabic culture politeness values as well as the social context of disciplinary community in which Arabic book reviewers operate. It has added evidence to what Leech (1983) argued about the cross-culture variations in relation to the values of politeness and its maxims. Tact maxim and approbation maxim appeared as the dominating and most important in Arabic culture when it comes to book reviewing. It is recommended that a comparative study be conducted to show how evaluation in Arabic BRs is similar to or different from that in another language. More studies on praise and criticism in Arabic BRs are believed to help pave the way for a reference framework for presenting the evaluative aspect of academic BRs in Arabic. Therefore, another study with larger corpus or even one that is on BRs on scientific disciplines may compare its findings with the present study's findings. Praise and criticism in BRs of different disciplines is also encouraged.

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Epistemological Metaphors: Orders of Knowledge and Control in the Encyclopedist Myths of Cyberspace

Dr. Ron Iphofen

Independent Consultant, France

Abstract

The apparent freeing of information access and knowledge accumulation that was the promise of modern communications technology – the Internet, World Wide Web and mobile digitized telecommunications – heralded the opportunity to attain some of the ideals that have been expounded for liberal education, open and lifelong learning, informed democratic decision-making and overall an increasingly informed populace and participative, well-educated electorate. The prospects for a democratization of knowledge acquisition had broad appeal – de-institutionalizing formal education, enhancing learner choice and ‘de-experting’ authoritative knowledge sources. Failings of intellectual imagination, political will and insight together with the inappropriate organization of resources have limited such aspirations. Escaping the constraints of formal, institutionalized education and established forms of knowledge ‘transfer’ may be more difficult to accomplish than has been anticipated. Achieving the promised flexibility and adaptability in human learning may be hampered by the problem of balancing an epistemological dilemma between the efficient management of information and intellectual freedom. This paper addresses the connected issues of the costs and benefits of online encyclopedism, the production and management of intellectual capital within information systems, and the influence of the more latent metaphors for knowledge management which have subtle consequences for social order and social control.

Keywords: epistemological metaphor; cyberspace; knowledge; control; encyclopedism; Internet; fake news.

“Wisdom is not a product of schooling but of the lifelong attempt to acquire it.”
Albert Einstein

Introduction

There was once a time when we respected the illusion of balance in broadcast media, especially in public service broadcasting. These days we subject ourselves to the myths of open access, information availability and knowledge ‘transfer’ in the illusion of online encyclopedism. The idea that there is unlimited reliable knowledge available to us and that it can be transferred is singularly disturbing and its aptness as a metaphor barely thought through. People write of ‘knowledge production’ and gain funding to examine ‘knowledge transfer’. Yet how can knowledge be a ‘product’ which can, in any sense, be ‘transferred’? If I gain knowledge I neither bought it nor acquired it from anyone or anywhere. I gained it through the combination of information and experience (HM Government, 2016). Even assuming such a transfer is possible implies that the ‘known’, by being passed on, leaves a void at its source. Can gaining knowledge truly be considered a zero sum action? The physical distribution parallel with logistics is such that the produced knowledge ‘goods’ are removed from storage somewhere and ‘delivered’ to another location, only then can they be considered ‘transferred’. It also suggests that the knowledge product is marketable – can be bought, sold and ‘consumed’.

The availability of so much material/information online means that it could be impossible to choose appropriate products from the ‘knowledge store’. As a result we tend to look narrowly for those things that interest us and those views we agree with (See Wason’s concept of ‘confirmation bias’ in Charter and Oakesford 2001) and rarely find ourselves able to address a challenge to our comfortable assumptions about the world – even if those assumptions are un-comfortable, we remain contented with the discomfort. We do little about it on the grounds that we assume that little can be done. Now the commercialized algorithms of the Internet and the Web keep steering us to those topics that ‘it’ has learned we like. No commercial advantage comes from having us challenged. Rather market ‘optimization’ panders to our purchasable wants and not to our needs.

To compound this specialization of sought information, actors involved in the ‘virtual reality’ (truly an oxymoron) of gaming rather than looking up to actual charismatic leaders, become their own hero via their avatar. The experiences they have are promoted as *immersive* – which is the entire point: being so heavily immersed in a virtual world they are less likely to cause problems in the real world. The virtual habitat of cyberspace creates new illusions: that we are ‘informed’ when deceived, that we have ‘acted’ when we sign online petitions, that we can make a difference when little really changes. Any indignation we have is ephemeral – our indignation resonates with others (Hessel 2010) but is not sustained. There remain other indignations to address – online. Instead of enhancing any activism, instead of really ‘occupying’ (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupy_movement), life in cyberspace *occupies us*. We are ‘occupied’ in shadow work (Illich 1981) which once gave employment to others in, noticeably, banking, retail sales and transport, but crucially also in information-getting and giving, and educating. “With the rise of this shadow economy I observe the appearance of a kind of toil which is not rewarded by wages, and yet contributes nothing to the household’s independence from the market.” (Illich 1981: 5) The growth of online petitioning

offers a similar case in point. ChangeOrg, Avaaz and the like bombard us with so many petitions that we could be signing several every day. It is hard to disagree with the many 'good causes' they espouse so we find it easy to sign and perhaps feel guilty if we do not show support. But the ease, frequency and quantity dilutes the effect of each individual petition. The 'really good cause' gets lost in the over production of petitions. We become occupied into believing we are acting collectively when we sign online and even if we do turn up for a real live 'occupation', it too lacks durability and we return to the virtual world to dream up new actions that fundamentally change little about the underlying systems of order and control. Petitions are no substitute for direct action. If I were a conspiracy theorist I could imagine a conversation at high political levels: "We have to do something about this Internet potential... people will be getting information themselves, we won't be able to quite control it like we used to. It's dangerous... If we can get people to spend more time in front of their computers they'll be less likely to be out in the streets causing us trouble... Google needs to throw up busloads of trivia before it allows people to get to the real info." This maybe not so consciously done so I wish here to explore the subtle ways in which this trick is accomplished and, by doing so, challenge us to find ways to substitute the real for the illusory.

Knowledge as Re-presentation

At different times and places, across different cultures and communities, the way knowledge is organized and re-presented changes as it develops and evolves. Our perspectives on what we know can change through history and between cultures. Traditions of 'liberal' education systems aimed to cultivate critical awareness of the sources and consequences of our precious knowledge (Ehrenreich 1994: 232-3). There is a problem that the representations of what we know and how we know it are so subliminal that the metaphors we use to describe knowledge are rarely seen for the analogies they are. They are not 'the world'; they are re-presentations of it constructed by intelligent human beings. They are 'as if' statements which help us to make sense of the insensible (Vaihinger, 1924, Oppenheimer 1956). Indeed "All reflection, thought and criticism begins in comparison, analogy and metaphor... the world can only exist for man (sic) as man knows or imagines it." (MacRae 1975: 59)

Such metaphors are often well hidden and are sometimes heavily mixed but they contain, control and possibly determine how we see and operate in the world. Before we come to understand how modern forms of ICT¹ accomplish this it is important to reflect upon how our commonly held perspectives on what knowledge is are governed by the terms which we use to describe and talk about it.

It seems hardly surprising that more commonly employed knowledge representations dominating the twentieth century have included variations on the themes of crisis, catastrophe, chaos and risk (see the work of René Thom, Christopher Zeeman, Edward Lorenz, Ulrich Beck, Mary Douglas and Aaron Wildavsky among many others). But we are largely only sensitized to epistemological metaphors when we are subjected to new ones and this happened when the Internet first took hold and the dominant metaphor for how we

¹ I continue to use 'information and communications technology' as a shorthand term for the composite forms of modern sources of information and communications – Internet, WWW and mobile digital telecommunications.

acquire, arrange, access and apply what we know was labelled the *information superhighway*. Metaphorically we could engage in global mental traveling. Our journey was a 'road to everywhere'. It was with the rise of the World Wide Web that knowledge became synonymous with information and there existed a belief and a hope that modern ICT offered a fast route to it. How fast modern highway traveling really is, given the pressure of *traffic*, remains a moot point, but the route metaphor implied that the knowledge traveller's most vital accessory would be a map.

Attempts to map cognition imply that we are dealing with navigable territory. But who does the cartography? In what sense could it be possible for anything really new to be discovered if 'someone' already has the map? The best strategy might be to hunt out the map - without it one would only discover hidden treasures by chance. In fact the truly vital questions about roads (literally and metaphorically) include: Who built 'the road' and why? Who currently owns the road and who will own and manage the road in future? Who pays for the road? Who repairs or rebuilds the road? Where are the crucial toll-gates and who really owns and controls them? It is simplistic and naïve to attribute it all to ICT 'heroes' such as Tim Berners-Lee, and in terms of the distribution of power we remain at the mercy of a high return economic infrastructure that can change hands rapidly if the price is right.

The discourse surrounding contemporary epistemological debates similarly leads us into to certain extrapolations. If we are journeying on a superhighway then, when we get to our destination we may 'unpack' the discourse which holds the knowledge - a luggage metaphor. The 'luggage' metaphor again suggests that knowledge can be somehow contained and may be portable. If we see knowledge as something built on solid foundations - when we need to understand how the building 'holds up' we can 'deconstruct' it. The building metaphor contains, if subtly, notions of planning, co-ordination and targets. It holds an implicit teleological perspective upon social order that most who use the term 'social construction' would explicitly reject. Even a deconstructionist perhaps does not intend to extend the metaphor to demolition, although the architectural metaphor is well-suited to the post-modern mind.

Ever since its inception more than one writer has pointed out the headaches involved with finding ways through the *quagmire* of information sources available on the Internet: "Anyone on the network can mount anything they like: there's no quality control, and the result is a labyrinth, mostly uncharted, which hides its best material in the midst of acres of trivia." (Gartner 1992). Little has changed in that regard in the intervening years since Gartner's statement, so much so that one ought to question the appropriateness of the highway metaphor. Thus Gartner's maze metaphor might be more appropriate. The labyrinth metaphor for knowledge and information still implies that a discoverable centre exists, but that, unlike most mazes, many different routes to the core are possible. There are still some cul-de-sacs and circular routes that return you to the starting point. Crucially there remains the assumption that there is an ultimate thing or things to know, a central knowledge core or an absolute truth - a 'heart' to the maze.

In fact the 'netsurfing' analogy reveals much. The Internet does not hold knowledge, but information and rather superficially at that - mostly infotainment, occasionally edutainment - but it remains an 'infosphere' where the boundary between the real and imagined is blurred

(see Toffler 1980, Floridi 2014). The surfing metaphor implies that the whole thing is fun - a leisurely exercise. Indeed, as any surfer knows, success depends upon staying ahead of the wave; once the crest passes you, you are left behind - something many of us feel is highly possible with the speed of the information revolution and which accounts for those who suffer 'information anxiety' (Wurman 1989). It is hard to resist checking e-mails or text messages and tweets continuously as they buzz their presence. To add to that anxiety is the culturally relativist concern that our knowledge remains speculative and tentative, no matter the extent of our current conviction as to its durable truth.

It seems ironic that one dominant route metaphor for organizing and representing knowledge - the 'course' of study - no longer holds sway. Its demise seemed inevitable in a more relativistic intellectual culture. The idea of following a fixed route to a finishing post implies a finite view of learning and information access that few could accept today. Instead courses of study are broken up into 'modules' - smaller than a course, packaged and bounded - all ready for travel in 'space' and capable of (lunar?) landing somewhere. It seems positively archaic to speak of a 'corpus' (i.e. body) of knowledge these days although 'embodiment' appears to have regained its epistemological relevance in recent years along with the promotion of a 'new materialism' (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012). Organic analogies have been heavily criticised in the social sciences in the past since comparisons between 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' societies and a social pathology perspective have been seen as removing responsibilities for action from individuals and locating them within 'diseased' social organs. The notion that certain 'bodies' of knowledge might not be good for our health does, however, hold a certain attraction and the organic analogy has been effectively applied to the cyberspatial experience (Featherstone and Burrows 1996).

It could be suggested that the superhighway metaphor really ought to be replaced by the virtual 'garden plot' or 'vegetable allotment'. What we are really doing is pottering about, digging around, looking for and planting things. Actually this is not too far from that longest surviving epistemological metaphors - the agricultural one. We ask people "What field are you in?" without a second thought for the latent metaphor. Once again the extrapolation of the analogy rings true. Fields are bounded pieces of territory intended for cultivation, have fences (to keep things in or out) and gates (to permit controlled comings and goings). When we work in a field we plant ideas, cultivate them and develop new knowledge by either digging deeper or (thinking 'laterally' cf De Bono 1990) digging elsewhere. Seeds used to be 'broad cast' and might fall on stony ground - just as much random paper mailshot advertising still does today. Now there is a narrowing of the target facilitated by the records of our online 'searching' that aim to match those items of our curiosity...the 'gardeners' may reckon the seeds are being sown in more fertile ground. So much so that telephone cold calling continues despite the public distaste for it and targeted advertising via search engines grows apace - indeed the survival of many online applications depends upon it. But the force of a 'field' can be observed in the domain protectionism observed in many disciplines - intellectuals can be highly sensitive to what constitutes 'their' domain. Once more the field contains ownable knowledge.

Early public broadcasting had a mission to enhance mass culture. Sadly the virulence of the contemporary seeds emerging from broadcasting appears to have been diluted both by quantity and the lack of investment in the production process. Interestingly, educationists re-

imported the program metaphor back from the broadcasters. The idea of learning programs had clear appeal to behaviorist learning theorists: learners could submit themselves as passive audiences for programs presented in a particular order in a 'menu', as part of a 'diet' (note the mixed alimentary metaphor) which could be selected weekly in their version of the TV and radio guide. Media information is invariably parcelled in a menu format ready for selection and consumption - whether via texted mobile messages or a selection of file tabs on the application.

Analogic Traps

The great appeal of all such metaphors lies in the comfort of clear boundaries. We can feel secure in our intellectual territory and quickly recognize intruders. Thus while there exists a pedagogic rationale for owning knowledge, obsessions with intellectual property can lead to abuse in the form of secrecy or a narrowly instrumental exploitation of information: an attitude which inevitably acts as a check on the emergence of new knowledge (Schon 1979).

In a climate of increasing information anxiety, taxonomies are similarly psychologically comforting since they order and arrange information in convenient categories that beguile us into thinking we have knowledge. There would be danger if we came to believe that those pigeonholes exist in the real world and that nature orders itself into categories for our conceptual convenience: an intelligent design? Most of the metaphors we feel comfortable with do entail clear boundaries - boxes, packages, routes, bodies, fields. This may be why Western scientists initially had difficulty coming to terms with 'fuzzy' thinking; and why South East Asians took strides in applying fuzzy mathematics to advanced computer electronics. And this too is precisely why it matters that epistemological metaphors should not remain hidden and that we retain awareness of their subliminal effects.

Sensitivity to the danger inherent in all analogies again reminds us that they are only representations of the world and if extrapolated too far can misrepresent, confuse and mislead instead of fostering the emergence of new knowledge. Microsoft's original 'windows' metaphor now dominates all our front screens. We were warned that it would become the gate through which users enter the information superhighways of the future (O'Neill and Schofield 1996). It takes intellectual effort to remind ourselves that we are NOT looking through a window but a necessarily two-dimensional representation of content – not matter how 'real' the imagery appears. It is the combined power of our imagination and the promotional effort of those who delivered the medium that we 'believe' we are looking through a 'window on the world'. In reality it is what is now regarded on the Web as an 'older British term' – a Visual Display Unit (VDU). A VDU is a more literally accurate description of what it is we are looking 'at' and not really 'through'.

It has been suggested that it does not really matter what the front screen is so long as it is user friendly and does its job well. But another analogy can illustrate the problem: chiropractors and osteopaths have long been aware that one of the major causes of back problems today, along with incorrect lifting, is car driving position - something we largely accept and adjust to without question. Car manufacturers would not take kindly to the suggestion that the entire ergonomics of driving needs a fundamental reconsideration. Where else could we possibly put the steering wheel, or foot pedals or gear lever, or can you find a modern driver seat that is not a 'bucket' design? That's not the point. Where they are now and what they do to your

physiology is having unanticipated consequences. Our driving ‘front screen’ is causing repetitive (cognitive) strain injuries which those who suffer from them do not even recognize as the source of their complaint. What if there are hidden cognitive consequences to looking always at the world through the Microsoft-originating ‘Windows’? What might be the cognitive consequences of ‘seeing without seeing’ learning and knowledge as routed, programmed, coursed, embodied, packaged, planted or constructed?

The real value of an information superhighway to me would be the speed with which I can access the information which may help enhance my knowledge. Its value is decreased if it takes more time to access the information than the information is ‘worth’ - my more valued and valuable time is in using the information - not in the time taken in getting to it. With each new fashionable ‘app’ that I am obliged to download, my precious time has to be spent learning how to operate it. (More *shadow work* note.) Once I am comfortable with new software the market strives to persuade me I need to ‘upgrade’ to remain effective. At times they even suggest that I can help with ‘improving the design’ by accepting Beta versions and feedback comments to help improve the app. (Even more shadow work and absorption of my precious time.) The gardening metaphor may continue to be apt: I don't want to spend too much time digging the allotment - I want to be enjoying the produce. This is not to decry nor deny others the pleasure of digging. If someone enjoys mindlessly surfing the Internet then fine, I personally do get some joy in browsing the spines of books on the shelves in the library. By doing so I am acquiring a sense of the field. But I have long since learned that that is not the most efficient way of finding out what sort of information is contained in the books. In fact, neither is merely looking at the titles. I really need a cataloguing system that accurately covers contents and index.

It can easily be forgotten that a map is not the territory, a mathematical formula is not the physical process it is adopted to re-present, the language (say) of emotion is not ‘the’ emotion. We employ discourse to create and share meaning – it is not the meaning. That discourse ‘means’ something is a quality of our interpretive capacities as human beings – the bridge between the noumenal and the phenomenal qua Immanuel Kant (via Vaihinger 1924). We must strive to remind ourselves that the Internet is not necessarily inclusive of all available ‘knowledge’, it contains information which requires transposition into knowledge. It is not necessarily fast since we have to be sufficiently skilled to find the quick routes to information. It is not necessarily liberating since ordinary citizens do not control it. It is more time-consuming than time-saving if we cannot control how it is made available and how we use it. Its claimed democratising, liberating, and free access to knowledge is an illusion. But the maintenance of such illusions is underpinned by these common metaphors – those are the analogic traps.

The Beguiling ‘Efficiencies’ of Encyclopaedism

The conventions adopted for presenting knowledge mirror our intellectual practices. Trained in a modernist tradition I used to organize my knowledge in numbered lists; in some senses prioritizing facts via number. I have now learned to ‘see’ my facts as a series of bulleted points, often removing all sense of priority and, incidentally, making them harder to recall from memory. But in modern texts, course-writing and open learning design, this is seen as user-friendly. We are encouraged to write in short, punchy paragraphs. My students naturally did this through their reading the popular tabloid press. Are we just being old-fashioned in

encouraging them to write continuous prose in decently sized paragraphs to produce sustained argument? Or might it be the case that fragmented, tabloid paragraphs encourage fragmented, tabloid thinking? (I sense some ‘tweets’ on the horizon?)

The dilemma is perhaps revealed in the distinction between the modernist and the post-modern paradigms. Navigationally, modernism would advocate using a critical path flowchart to knowledge, while postmodernism might favour serendipity – or fuzzy logic. Clearly, we need not counterpose algorithm to anarchy. Both paradigms remain as metaphors which can vary in their validity and usefulness for intellectual progress.

The problem of balancing the algorithmic with the anarchic was reflected in debates over deschooling and the creation of de-institutionalized liberal education in the mid to late 1960s (see, for example, Illich, 1971; and Neill, 1960, on the ‘free school’ at Summerhill). The promise of liberal education was true freedom in learning. All possible avenues to knowledge could be kept open. Openness was seen as essential to innovation – to the planned as well as the unplanned, the chance discovery of new knowledge. The latest manifestations of openness are supposed to be found in the various forms of Open Access in publishing – something strenuously advocated by research funding agencies.

There are, undoubtedly, problems with this approach to learning. How can one balance the distinct advantages that a tutor has over a learner in knowing the field, as against the possible novel lines of thought that could be opened up if the learner is allowed a degree of freedom? Does freedom to learn mean that we all have to explore the same cul-de-sacs that others have visited before us? How can freedom be best balanced with efficiency? Yet others have argued against the structured collective amnesia which inhibits the accumulation and accessible storage of the knowledge base of ‘normal’ social science (Gans 1992). And this is only part of larger problem of keeping up with a literature that grew throughout the twentieth century (De Solla Price 1963; Toffler 1970) and continues to grow exponentially.

Clearly there are trade-offs. Such an encyclopedist approach to the organization of knowledge, which could enhance both the tutor's and the learner's efficiency might serve to discourage more serendipitous routes to learning and the discovery of new ideas. It can lead to finite syllabuses and curricula, and static course assessments – as in one-off exam papers. But that may be only because of that rather primitive system for organizing and distributing knowledge - the printed textbook. The opportunity to reconcile liberal education with the efficient acquisition of knowledge lies in the promise and ideals of truly open learning that appeared to be offered in cyberspace. The principles of learner autonomy, flexible access to a ‘corpus’ of knowledge and escape from the rigidities of traditional ‘courses’ could be ‘embodied’ in new ways of arranging the tutor/learner relationship and new ways of accessing the available knowledge. (I wonder if these highly mixed metaphors would barely have been noticed without the earlier argument in this paper and the inverted commas in the last sentence.)

Epistemological Consequences of Metaphors

It is in the area of epistemology that the problems of flexibility, efficiency and freedom must be primarily confronted. The epistemological problems facing any human society can be simply classified - the corpus of human knowledge must be established and grow; it must be stored somehow; it must be accessible; and, although some would debate this, it must be used

or applied. It could be argued that the first category is more prescriptive, a value judgment - but the latter three are essential to a society's survival. Individual learning is certainly dependent on all four problems being confronted and the success of any 'impact agenda' gives weight to the 'useful knowledge' motive.

The potential efficiency to be gained from encyclopaedism has to be balanced against the possible cost that not many students/learners will strive to look elsewhere, outside the available corpus or 'knowledge store', for their information. Especially if time is short and fees have to be paid. Who then can legitimately take on the task of deciding what should be incorporated in the corpus? Online encyclopaedias or learning companies primarily and necessarily motivated by profit cannot be entrusted with such a high responsibility. Even universities and colleges may not be trusted to be comprehensive and equitably selective in their knowledge inclusion policies since even they are increasingly required to be at least self-financing if not actually profitable. What will happen to 'excluded' knowledge? Will any more be lost than is already lost in the more randomly competitive knowledge contest that we have witnessed hitherto? And what will happen as education and training institutions increasingly become privatised?

As suggested earlier, efficiency also depends on the learner being able to navigate the body of knowledge effectively. (The anatomy metaphor holds here – bones, arteries, organs, tissues and, better still, neural networks have to be 'navigated'.) But how is it possible to avoid irrelevancies, timewasting, false starts, dead ends, and yet, at the same time not miss something 'vital'? (Life-giving – essential to survival.) Systems will have to be designed in such a way as to 'know' in advance what questions the learner will need or want to ask. Such questions should not be forced on the learner by the system's built-in framework. It may not be possible to construct a useful flowchart which maps the field if one doesn't know the extent of the corpus. If the corpus can be assumed to be relatively *finite* then the learner needs alternative routes *through* and *round* it. If the corpus must be assumed to be *infinite*, then the learner needs routes to key elements of the existing corpus and the stimulus to move *beyond* it. It could be impossible for course designers and knowledge controllers to anticipate all journeys within and beyond the corpus. At some point, and with advances in artificial intelligence and machine learning, the human learner might come to be supported, inspired and guided by the learned learning machine and its supportive software.

Clearly, with the rate of information growth we currently experience and will undoubtedly continue, learning has to be managed somehow. If it is not managed we are in danger of suffering the *information anxiety* mentioned above, leaving us "...inundated with facts but starved for understanding" (Wurman 1989). Perhaps ironically that is why machines are not yet knowledgeable. They can increasingly handle massive amounts of facts, but they lack understanding – without, yet(?), suffering from it. To repeat: information alone is not knowledge and it has been some time since anyone believed that the tutor was the only one doing the teaching. Knowledge is created at the intersection between the educator and learner, it requires the combination of information and experience. If the sought-after information has been digitally stored and accessible, then the growth of knowledge and the solution to information anxiety must lie with effective learning management systems. Learners must be able to negotiate their own curriculum in truly open learning environments. This becomes especially complex (but nonetheless vital) in the management of what were

originally called ‘open hypermedia’ systems (Hall et al. 1992). Attempts were made early on to confront these problems so that, as in more traditional systems of information storage, the user's cognitive map and their spatial awareness of the location of elements within the system could be enhanced (Hill et al. 1992).

Sociopolitical Constraints with the Transposition of Learning

Over and above problems of organizing knowledge and navigation through it, attainment of the educational ideal is, as it always has been, constrained by politics, economics and culture. Recall the origins of the term ‘cyberspace’ in the political science fiction work of William Gibson in the early 1980s. His vision was of a virtual world in which there were no laws and no politicians – just raw, brutal, corporate power. Subsequent writers saw a potential for a new utopia in the Internet and Web – a new safe world in which our liberal dreams could be realised – a democratic, free and countercultural space running parallel to the real world. (See John Perry Barlow's ‘Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace’ at <https://www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence>.)

To take the political issues first. Running through each of four epistemological stages is a problem of social control: that is, who can or may (1) establish, (2) store, (3) access and (4) apply knowledge? Who is allowed or is seen as having the right to do each of these things? There may be unparalleled learning web opportunities in cyberspace, but governments have long been casting wary eyes on the vast reach of the Internet and the Web. There is a danger that it could become possible to ‘know too much’ through international networking. More recent and significant examples here include Edward Snowden's disclosures and Julian Assange's Wikileaks. Open ‘learning’ – the general and wide release of information – cannot yet be extended into open government. This is not even merely a concern with the growing power of the State but can be found in academic, professional and multinational corporate protectionism. Professionals cling to fears for their intellectual territory; lecturers still have a fear of becoming superfluous to requirements and corporations go to great lengths to secure rights to knowledge.

In a characteristically prophetic vein, Maurice Kogan once warned that “...if the new elites are educated within a do-it-yourself framework, it follows that authority in the larger society will equally well be diffused and up for recurrent tests, if not for permanent revolution” (Kogan 1978:102). Diffusion is not devolution. We have already witnessed problems with the locus of authority in the ‘revolutions’ which have taken place in recent years, such as the Arab Spring. The same is true of the USA now confronting a reactionary ‘counter-revolution’ as the Trump administration reverses climate change protections, the Affordable Health Care Act and a range of other civil protections that President Obama installed. Instability and uncertainty characterize these developments. I certainly would not want to re-impose outmoded hierarchies of learning, but neither do I believe the solution to lie in what counts as appropriate learning being decided by the vagaries of the market for, say, environmental, health, social care and education services.

As we move to Web 3.0 – or the Semantic Web – issues arise as to who has control of the required knowledge and skills to manage the massive developments in information-sourcing this implies. Halford et al (2012) are clear that: “It is important that we work to make the social construction of the Semantic Web visible: to ensure that the micro-politics of its

artefacts are understood *as politics*, representing choices and interpretations, rather than as neutral fact or engineering design.” (Halford, Pope and Weal 2012) There is, and will be, nothing ‘neutral’ or inert about it – but it is certain that it will be difficult to disclose its latent control structure – even if no ‘one’ actually controls ‘it’. It is in remaining aware as to how it can be accessed and manipulated by difficult to identify actors that some degree of power remains in public and in publicly controllable hands.

Cultural concerns hinge on how one establishes the criteria by which certain aspects of knowledge is valued and included in the corpus. Once again one cannot rely on market forces alone to establish these criteria. One cannot assume that the learner/consumer will independently come to value de-institutionalized learning. If anything, studies consistently suggest a growth in an instrumental attitude to learning across all social classes - most adults embark on courses in the interests of occupational advancement (ACACE 1982; McGivney 1990). Over many years of teaching I personally found students to be growing increasingly goal oriented. They became increasingly primarily concerned with passing the exam and gaining the qualification. An attitude which is by no means incongruent with pressures from Government and employers for more efficient ‘training’. As long as open learning is seen as alone holding the key to our educational future, then its ideals are bound to be sacrificed for the sake of educational goals which amount to no more than meeting training targets.

The reproduction of social inequalities in cyberspace have frequently been pointed out. There are technophobes and those unable to handle autonomous learning who may be found (though not exclusively) among the old, the lesser educated and the economically-deprived; sectors of the population who have continued to remain disadvantaged despite the growth in post-16 education in recent decades. There is a wide range of more individual barriers to learning which may even be exacerbated rather than relieved by opening learning opportunities (Rogers 1991: Ch.8). In fact those people who look to the possibility of enhancing interpersonal relationships via a collective educational experience may be sadly disappointed today. The growth of social networking via social media might have offered such opportunities, but not if the current motivation for their use is anything to go by. At ‘worst’ they seem to be used for chatting, meeting people and sharing images, at best they share emotional intimacies and political resonances (see Woodfield 2017). What has certainly grown is the spread of facility in the ability to employ the ‘basics’ of the technology, even amongst older people.

Framing both the political and cultural determinants of knowledge acquisition is a powerful economic argument. Access to information can be cheaper and therefore may be made more easily available to all. Here the continuing fallacy of the economic model of perfect competition and the free market reign. While it is true that “...the competitive marketplace is best served by all the participants knowing the rules” (Rein et al. 1987: 339), the problem arises in that not only do all participants not know the rules, very few rules have been established. Governments have funded initial capital investments but paid relatively scant attention to the latent costs of such developments, to the human resource requirements and certainly even less attention to the opportunity cost - what we could lose by moving entirely in one direction (Iphofen 1993).

In this market, due to the high capital expenditures required and despite some attractive packaging, principles of *caveat emptor* must be comprehensively applied. Indeed the classic marketing design response to the threat of product monopoly is not to challenge it, but to sidestep it - find the market niche and fill it! This might be acceptable with many economic goods and services, but there are dangers of doing this with intellectual property. History is replete with the disasters wrought as a consequence of the failure to confront an intellectual monopoly.

A particular feature of cyberspatial informatics is their similarity to popular television and audio technology. It could appear that the problems of users' confidence and intimidating unfamiliar formats are overcome and marketability increased by fitting it in to the existing domestic media infrastructure. Hypermedia should be easy to understand for a relatively sophisticated audience of television and audio/CD users. Once again the learning system is being dictated by technological developments harnessed to an established economic structure. As with all 'fashion' industries, the ICT market requires continuous product modification and refinement. New hardware and software, new apps, flood the market, requiring time spent learning and adapting – not to say purchasing – instead of enabling action based on what had already been learned. Clearly this could be seen to represent an improvement on the linear sequential thought processes implicit in printed media and it may even have helped overcome a learning passivity induced by broadcast television viewing (see for example Neil Postman 1985 and Jerry Mander 1991, 2013). Sadly the level of intellectual and political discourse has steadily been reduced to a shrinking, sound bite mentality as predicted by both Postman and Mander; employment of the visual grammar of entertainment-dominated television already accounts for the financial success of video based learning – look at the wealth of video-education available on YouTube; ordinary televisual attention spans prescribe five second cutting/editing principles - all the equivalent of the short, fragmentary paragraphing discussed earlier which now dominate texts in most fields. The range of sound-bite sized social media devices is testimony to how far along this lowest common denominator of 'fact' sharing we have become.

This view is not merely a protest at the lowest common denominator principle that pervades modern culture. What must be questioned are the unknown consequences of framing peoples' worlds in these ways. No more stark evidence of the power and concern of lowest common denominator soundbites has been the election of a US President who 'twittered' his way to electoral success and whose policy development continues to be contained in equally succinct 'tweets', not even going to the length of a decent 'blog'.

Imminent and Immanent Concerns

A future in which the focal learner is not the human being is not hard to imagine and elements of that are already with us. Such great strides have been made in artificial intelligence that the idea of an 'independent' learning machine is no longer such distant science nor fiction. Truly autonomous learning machines could only be said to exist if no human is involved in their *in vivo* decision-making. Thus, once released into the world, an autonomous learning machine is one which would be enabled to make its own decisions. Autonomous vacuum cleaners are already on the market. Driverless cars are being pilot road-tested. And, while at present, considerable attention is given to weaponised drones, they still require humans to select and action targets. But the prospects are so imminent that high level

discussions on international bans on autonomous lethal weapons – ones that could select and engage a target without human intervention – are already being considered.

Learning systems can be tested quite well in controlled simulated/laboratory conditions but cannot easily be tested in ‘the field’, in a real environment, since they have to operate in highly complex adaptive systems – that is, other adaptive systems constantly challenge the learning and actions of the machine; that includes humans and other animals as well as the changing physical environment. Driverless cars offer a useful example – they can learn/be taught about driving down a motorway lane – but cannot adjust to ‘edge-cases’ – say, for example, how they will fare with broken traffic light systems and emergency police or members of the public giving hand signals at the site of an unanticipated incident.

The problem gets even more complex if there are moral elements to that decision-making. Moral processing in humans alone is complex and unclear. We know little enough about how humans decide who is an ‘enemy’ and who might ‘legitimately’ be targeted. There are enough examples of non-combatants suffering ‘collateral damage’ (i.e. being maimed or killed) and allies subjected to ‘friendly-fire’. Such are the flaws in human decision-making that the idea that machines can learn morality seems far in the future – but that will not prevent some from trying.

Before we can morally guide learning machines, we have to have greater concern for how we guide our own moralities via ICT. It has always been a challenge to monitor the spirit of an ‘age’ or era since we can never be fully informed of its constitutive elements. The encyclopedist myth of the Internet and the Web led us to believe that if we search long and hard enough we can find the important things out. But take the example of the films of Adam Curtis (From *The Power of Nightmares: The rise of the politics of fear* 2004, to *HyperNormalisation*, 2016) that demonstrate how little we knew, when mass communications manipulations were being done, about how our world was being crafted by people greedy for power and/or money to form the world we bemoan today – a world of chaos and crisis, of terror and despair, of an unknowable and uncertain future: “...we have retreated into a simplified and often completely fake version of the world”. Islamic fundamentalism did not suddenly appear with the Arab Spring, it had been festering ever since the US under Kissinger tried to control the middle east for its own ends – i.e. oil supplies. It allowed Wahrabism to literally provide the fundamentals of a primitive, savage, medieval value system that opposed all the ideals of liberal civilisation. Not only did these messages not get through the more formal mass media outlets, they were not easily ‘discoverable’ on the Internet. What is particularly obscene about US President Donald Trump’s ‘tweet-like’ claim to ‘make America great again’ is the failure to remind us what that ‘greatness’ entailed: support for evil dictatorships, undermining of democratically elected governments, supply of weapons to whichever side offered the most immediate favours to US interests and so on. Worse, all of that allowed the banks and financial corporations and multi-nationals to manage the world in their own interests and even be rewarded for their failures (see e.g. Joan Smith 2001). Trump’s use of Twitter is such that it is almost impossible to pin him down on policy and if you do he could easily change his approach – not his ‘mind’ since we have no way of knowing what he is actually ‘minded’ to do. Indeed even if the ‘facts’ contradict his views, his press team appear ready to offer ‘alternative facts’ – provable lies – that enough of his popular supporters appear ready to accept. There is nothing new in that

approach and its accomplishment is facilitated by that well-worn 'field' metaphor. Keep on digging and you may 'find' something. "The word 'findings', implying that it is almost due to chance that certain information has come to light, misrepresents a deliberate search for certain data as against others. New knowledge is constructed not 'found'." (Webb, 1992: 749) Trump's misrepresentations do not constitute democratic accountability since such rapid, instant opinion does not have time to be fully formed, and it can easily be changed and amended if unsuited to the current climate since no sustained position has been established: "You always have to say something, even if you say the opposite the next day. On Twitter, who cares?" (Naughtie 2017). Trump's success has been attributed to the failure of journalism and the triumph of TV. (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-37952249>)

More likely it is the 'success' of the Twitter format and the easy growth of the 'fake news' phenomenon (BBC Trending 2016).

It is ironic that Trump and his press team challenge the media organisations and content that is critical of his administration with the charge of producing 'fake news'. The double irony is that news has always been 'fake' to some extent (Cohen and Young 1973) and the Trump electoral campaign was certainly complicit in the manufacture and spread of news that favoured him and denigrated his opponents. But the more serious concern is the deliberate growth of 'genuine' fake news: "...within social media real and fictional stories are presented in such a similar way that it can sometimes be difficult to tell the two apart and there is no way of knowing whether that is done deliberately or not...more of us are seeing - and believing - information that is not just inaccurate, but totally made up" (BBC Trending 2017). One could, of course, further pursue the adoption of narrative metaphors for news 'items' – they are all 'stories'.

While information conveyance to humans has always been best transmitted via a narrative medium, fake news intentionally employs this vehicle to generate sites imitating 'real' newspapers, government announcements, and some purporting to be satire while intentionally misinforming. One culprit is *The National Report* which advertises itself as "America's Number 1 Independent News Source" and was set up by Allen Montgomery (an alias). For example, *The National Report* aired a false scare about a US town being cordoned off due to a deadly epidemic. Montgomery's rationale being: "Beyond the headline and the first couple of paragraphs people totally stop reading, so as long as the first two or three paragraphs sound like legitimate news then you can do whatever you want at the end of the story and make it ridiculous." Profits are made from web advertising so most money is made from the most popular stories no matter how inaccurate. Many of the fake news websites appearing during the US election campaign were traced to a small city in Macedonia, Veles, where teenagers manufactured sensationalist stories drawing from right-wing websites again earning thousands from advertising (Kirby 2016). A similar process has been occurring during the French presidential elections, the enduring ability of five false stories illustrates: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39265777> But the serious concern is when the fake items are passed on via the major social networking sites. Facebook with 1.6 billion users has become an increasingly important outlet for news sharing news. More than 40% of the population of the United States say they get news on Facebook. The encyclopedist myth of the Internet continues to beguile, swamp and convince by circulation and repetition.

Conclusions

Throughout the mid-twentieth century it is true that any consensus about knowledge acquisition, about learning “...was often the least line of resistance rather than the critical path determined analytically” (Kogan 1978: 162). It continues to be important to guard against the complacency of learning developments driven by economics, technology and a reluctance to question the assumptions of an established cultural and political order. A broader access to information has clearly not de-institutionalized formal learning systems. It has the potential to do so but it still falls victim to all the myths which equate schooling with learning.

Understanding the personal, political and economic structures of cyberspace and our metaphors for the knowledge it contains, may help control to increasingly reside with the user. Information about what is on offer and how to access it cheaply must remain freely available. The management of knowledge innovation in cyberspace is vital; this is done in a rather random, haphazard way at present and is dependent on the curiosity and fanaticism of a few. Somehow a balance will have to be struck between the legitimate returns on R & D investment that an online/media company can expect and the danger of so tying up rights to knowledge that innovation is discouraged. Government must resist the temptation to clamp-down on the vitality of large and open data. Learning systems will have to be managed so that both freedom and efficiency can be maintained. It is vital that the essence of Socratic discourse is not lost; the special relationship between those with knowledge and the seeker of knowledge is part of the human value of learning; some direct access to tutors, educators, and/or authors needs to be maintained. That can be achieved by the right kind of open and full dialogue – even in cyberspace.

Although metaphor as a way of making sense of the world is inescapable since it ‘encases’ language, there is a way to a self-understanding that enables us to raise our consciousness of the analogic traps. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) advocate developing an awareness of the ‘metaphors we live by’ and of where they enter into and affect our lives and where they do not. They urge us to allow the experience of alternative metaphors and acknowledge the cultural part played by modern rituals in those experiences – perhaps this must even include the rituals of checking e-mail, the tweets, finding friends, blogging and liking/being liked on Facebook. Haraway (2017) rejects the self-reflection almost required of modern scholarship (reflexivity) preferring an alternative optical metaphor – diffraction. She writes of ‘situated knowledges’ which generate novel forms that are open to contest. Such a metaphor sidesteps the false choice between realism and relativism. Knowledge is always ‘located’ somewhere. Perspectives are necessarily partial.

There is hope. There are those who believe that in a ‘post-truth’ world that the correct use and interpretation of statistics can still offer essential service to the public (Pullinger 2017) “...the technology that has allowed us all to be so wonderfully connected has also allowed us each to live in our own world, separated from others. In our online lives, we risk connecting only with those with similar views to our own and not encountering those who think differently ...our real challenge is to take our statistics off the page and find ways to listen and connect with those people who have been left perplexed and disappointed by “experts”...our mission has to shift fundamentally, from being mere producers of numbers to providers of an essential public service.” Similarly the ‘Big Data’ opportunities for algorithms that capitalize upon the frequency of online interactions and cloud data capture

offer untold analytic possibilities. Both Facebook and Apple might have begun to recognize how they have become complicit and appear to be taking some responsibility for addressing it – Tim Cook, the head of Apple has charged that fake news is “killing people’s minds” and that firms such as his own need to create tools that help stem the spread of falsehoods, without impinging on freedom of speech. Sir Tim Berners-Lee has said he wants to put “...a fair level of data control back in the hands of people” and outlined a five-year plan in an appeal to web developers to help come up with practical solutions to make a web “that gives equal power and opportunity to all” (Berners-Lee 2017).

In some respects this appeal to ‘openness’, mirrors the attack on experts and expertise that surrounded the Brexit debate. “The internet is radically decreasing the costs of identifying diverse forms of expertise and segmenting audiences on the basis of credentials, experiences, skills and interests.” (Novack 2016: 7) Novack’s argument is that narrow and specific expertise can be ‘systematically searched for’ and that processes such as crowdsourcing can offer epistemic advantages – ‘building’ knowledge from missing information and generating ‘alternative’ hypotheses. The problem is that in this case the principle of equal opportunity is the very thing that allows unscrupulous actors with even minimal hacking and/or web-production skills to abuse those original aims to democratize knowledge acquisition. The belief in the ideal is blinding optimists to the reality of online knowledge sources – in the “ideologically localised echo chamber of the Internet” (Hooton 2016).

There are now many attempts at assessing the veracity of online information. The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, concerned for the accuracy of information during the French presidential election of April/May 2017, introduced a new tool, Decodex, aimed at helping readers check the reliability of information online: “In a digital world where the traceability of information is often confusing, or deliberately garbled” the *Le Monde* website stated: “...[we will] provide everyone with good practices for checking their sources.” In the US, Facebook is providing users with a service that allows them to highlight fake articles on their feeds as a hoax. Facebook has said that it will also work with organizations such as the fact-checking website Snopes, ABC News and the Associated Press to check the authenticity of stories (BBC News 2017).

The epistemological metaphor implied by the term ‘cyberspace’ is that of a systematic but infinite opportunity to expand knowledge. But ‘space’ is also a vacuum in which ‘time’ takes on another dimension. Other people’s time is simply not valued highly enough – especially if all those with the power only have to push a button to ‘take’ our time. People think twice about imposing on others if they have to make a telephone call or write a letter. Just because you ‘can’ do something does not mean that you ‘have’ to. When we are constructing challenging and exciting sites, we need to continually remind the information seeker and the provider that this may not be the only (or even the best) way to acquire knowledge. We need to remain aware of those that construct deliberate falsehoods. Of course that is no different to the way lies have always been spread – through trust in the authority of sources. It is just that the myth of online encyclopedism has beguiled us into a trust of sources that we would have withheld from even those we knew well – family, friends and educators as well as the popular press. Intellectual freedom does require that people should even be free to see and hear those falsehoods, to explore cul-de-sacs that others have already visited. Even if only metaphorically, it is important to leave some books on the shelves, so that the intellectual

hunter can still experience the sensuous delights of the ancient scholar who eyed an attractively embossed spine, held a finely tooled tome, blew the dust from the leaves and stretched their imagination in ways which produced new knowledge and which could not be expunged from the collective consciousness by the mere press of a button.

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Selling America: How Post-Recession Ads Told Americans the Story of Themselves

Adriana Mariella
New York University, USA

Abstract

This work argues that after the recession in 2007, a kaleidoscope of similar themes about industrial Americana and the beauty of work came to dominate representations of “Americanness” in advertising and pop culture. Brands like Levi’s, Walmart, and Chrysler depended on the careful overlaying of collective imagination with existent myths about work, class, and grit, to create a distinct picture of America’s industrial past and establish themselves as part of its heritage. In doing so, they helped populate American culture with a hegemonic sense of national identity. They depicted an America built from greasy hands on Rust Belt factory floors, “summed up” (as Jameson or Barthes might put it) in whiskey, grit, and the frontier, in skyscrapers and pick up trucks. In turn, this reconstructed past helped inform an understanding of what made America, America and the things that would keep it that way: labor, hard work, “making.” In a post-industrial economy where widespread anxiety about industrial decline helped wage a Presidential campaign on promises to restore America to its former industrial glory, the stakes for remembering our past in this way are particularly high.

To better understand how our past came to be remembered in this way, I look to modern culture’s blurred lines between entertainment and advertising, memory and fact, identity and myth, a phenomenon that has allowed advertising to disguise itself as historical fact and embed itself in collective memory. In capitalizing (quite literally) on anxieties of the modern moment to appeal to traditional American notions, it is able to reinforce and re-invent them in the process.

Keywords: (Collective) Memory, Identity, Nation, Politics, Media, (Popular) History.

Introduction

In the 2012 Superbowl, Chrysler ran a commercial, dubbed “Halftime in America,” as the second installment of its “Imported from Detroit” campaign. The spot repurposed the low-talking, Western icon Clint Eastwood into a representative of the grit of urban, industrial America. It came just four years after the official “end” of the 2007 recession, when car manufacturers were especially struggling to keep factories open (even despite government bailouts) and the American public—still feeling the effects of a dismal economy—was attempting to name the American Spirit and give it a visible representation onto which nostalgic sentiments could be focused and from which could be built an image of the future. The spot provided such a representation, locating that spirit in both the physical space and emotional register of the bygone industrial urban. It drew easy parallels (explicit, even) between the character of factory-laden Detroit and the character of Americans. Through these familiar themes, the car manufacturer struck emotional-political chords with its audience on advertising’s main stage, calling for a resurgence of the roar of both the country’s engines and its fighting spirit.

Chrysler’s America—like the America of other brands who tapped patriotism to build their brands during that decade—is a familiar one, drawing on and reinforcing longstanding American beliefs to build a new sense of collective memory and national identity, as well as fodder for new cultural discourse. Through an analysis of these brands themselves as well as an exploration of the relationship between identity and advertising, this work will interrogate how these types of ads may have helped Americans tell the story of themselves, creating implications for pop culture, politics, and mass consumerism in the process.

Mass Media in a Consumer Culture

In order to understand how advertising, arguably the basest of all modern media, could come to inspire such a sense of identity, we must first understand that advertising had continued to gain significance in American culture since WWII. Spurred by a new mass media climate and a post-war American public armed with newfound disposable income, it was a decade that saw not only the birth of modern American consumerism, but also the birth of modern American advertising.

During this time, the growing presence and influence of television made it easy for brands to move from isolated ads on the pages of local magazines and newspapers onto the main stage of American life, becoming household names. To do so, these big, now-classic brands (Coca-Cola, Kodak, Tide) developed brand identities that would be meaningful to the entire American public they were now able to reach. Today, we call this “lifestyle marketing.” Instead of pushing a myriad of product benefits through benefits- or claim-based advertising (“Buy this brand, or you’ll be sorry you didn’t!”), brands made themselves known to consumers through cohesive—often-catchy—brand narratives that endowed them with national meaning. A large swath of the nation could identify the Chevrolet jingle, Kellogg’s Rice Krispies’ animated spokespeople “Snap,” “Crackle,” and “Pop,” or a Coca-Cola ad.

Coca-Cola in particular, whose iconic ads not only established an iconic look for the

brand in its own time, but also a representation of the decade for posterity, serves as one of the best and most enduring case studies in lifestyle marketing. Its ads almost always featured a combination of smiling people, red Coca-Cola paraphernalia, and some kind of decade-specific setting—a soda fountain, a drive in, a vintage-looking vacation. They don't extol the virtues of Coca-Cola *itself*, but rather the values it aligns with, the kind of people who drink it, the feelings that surround it. From these ads, a *lifestyle* emerges in which smiling families, TV sets, jukeboxes, and station wagons abound. By now, ads like these are a familiar and predictable way of representing that 1950's way of life, so much so that the 1950's began to look a lot like a Coca-Cola ad, and Coca-Cola ads began to define the 1950's. As we'll see, the national culture constructed by the likes of Coke was one of consumer "plenty," a representation that would slowly reinforce the idea that this democracy of material things made America, America and Americans, American (Stieigerwald, Marchand, Sivulka, Cohen, McGovern 98).

This relationship between advertising and representation is particularly significant in what Lizabeth Cohen called the "consumer's republic," her term for the United States after WWII, when the country had put mass consumption at the forefront of economic and political policy, making consumption both the site and reward of participation in a shared American culture (Cohen). Lifestyle advertising not only *facilitated* this form of "consumer-citizenship," but also became a lens for understanding it (McGovern). By this, I mean that Americans came and still come to know themselves through this kind of advertising. As Lisa Lowe writes, it is through the "terrain of national culture that the individual subject is politically formed as an American citizen"—and in the consumer's republic, advertising is often indistinguishable from national culture (as quoted in McGovern, pg. 9).

As advertising continued to reflect culture and commercial culture began to overtake America's way of life, these cultural forces coalesced in a way that one could no longer separate American culture from consumer culture from mass media from advertising. Advertising's "sheer size" and sheer influence had grown to a point that one could no longer justify theories that separated it from culture, like those of Adorno and Horkheimer, but instead demanded scholarship that considered the relationship between the two (Purvis 19). This relationship would prove to be an enduring one, positioning advertising to maintain a significant role in culture for decades to come. As Chris Wharton's anthology—*Advertising as Culture*—reveals, that new role (which only continues to grow in today's digital mass media landscape) was to be the "very collective air of everyday life and relationships," to become an element so embedded in American culture that it is received "similarly to other cultural products, such as novels, films, actors, athletes and politicians," helping, as they do, to represent and form meaning in our culture (Bagust 205, Holt 359). Though some scholars disagree that commercial culture and popular culture are the same,ⁱ the differences between them are almost insignificant insofar as they relate to their roles in forming meaning in everyday American life. To form this meaning, ads use a set of cultural signs and symbols, a "set of themes," that help them to function quite like some of those cultural products Holt mentions: great American novels, iconic films, legendary American figures, which can all be powerful tools for transmitting meaning and establishing ideological identity (Hirschmann and Thompson 44).ⁱⁱ

This is one of the biggest strengths of lifestyle marketing for the brands that use it—through a familiar set of themes, it can help construct the ethos of a time, a people, a history. Using Coca-Cola as an example, if you had no information about life in the ten years between 1950 and 1960 and could use only their ads as information, you'd have a now-clichéd--but somewhat accurate--understanding of what the 1950's looked and felt like, which we'll explore in more depth in a later section. If taken at face value, you'd likely determine that in those ten years, everyone was happy, had a station wagon, and enjoyed simple pleasures like refreshing Coke. This is of course untrue, making it likely that these ads didn't connect with its consumers by directly reflecting their lives. So what about these ads connected with consumers? Why would Coke choose to reflect its moment so inaccurately? Was it purely aspirational, representing a life its consumers wish they had? Did it simply seek to reinforce a cycle of consumerism? Or, was it something else entirely?

In his introduction to *Advertising the American Dream*, Roland Marchand asked himself similar questions, noting that “day by day a picture of our time is recorded completely and vividly in the advertising in American newspapers and magazines...Were all other sources of information on the life of today to fail, the advertising would reproduce for future times, as it does for our own, the action, color variety, dignity, and aspirations of the American Scene” (Marchand xv). He finds that advertising is not “an authentic and uncomplicated social mirror” or a “profusion of documents aimed precisely at reflecting...social values and popular attitudes” (Marchand xv). Instead, it is a “Zerrspiegel,” distorting the things it sees, but nevertheless reflecting in some way everything “within its field of vision.” Therefore, it is not just through pure *reflection* that lifestyle marketing reveals important cultural truths—it is through this *distortion* that truths that would not otherwise be revealed tend to emerge. This is especially true in the case of Marlboro's “Marlboro Man” (1954), Coca-Cola's “Hilltop Ad” (1971, colloquially referred to as “I'd like to give the world a Coke”), and many other iconic campaigns of the creative revolution of the 1960's.ⁱⁱⁱ Their deliberate *lack* of reflection of their moments as they were is critical for understanding those moments as they *sought to be*, along with the underlying anxieties that fueled those aspirations. It is through this connection to their time that brands like Harley Davidson and Marlboro for Frank, and Coca-Cola, Nike, and Budweiser for Douglas Holt (which Holt has dubbed “identity brands”) have come to stand for more than their products alone (Holt 2004). By representing the past through powerful symbols and myths, they were able to “soothe collective anxieties resulting from acute social change,”^{iv} earning a meaningful place in the minds of consumers. In doing so, they produced Marchand's zerrspiegel, *reflecting* the underlying anxieties of a moment, through the exact opposite of a mirror image (Holt 11, Google Books).

This is precisely what the Marlboro cigarette company set out to do when it introduced its most enduring spokesperson—the Marlboro Man. It sought not to reflect American reality, but its deliberate opposite, calling on a well of symbols and myths to do so. A citizen of fictional Marlboro Country, removed from “the city's fouled social relations, compromised political affairs, and clogged streets,” the Marlboro Man was “a cultural symbol which speaks to the collective imagination of the American people” (Lohof 447). Marlboro Country represented the

“virgin frontier” and the fundamental values it produced, “reminding Americans of where they have been and inviting them to vicariously return,” all the while hinting at the stark contrast between that frontier and that moment’s “race riot[s]...ghetto[s]...mushroom cloud[s]” (Lohof 447-448). By the time the Marlboro Man emerged in popular culture, “Marlboro Country and the virtues which flourished therein” had all but disappeared, making the Marlboro metaphor all the more appealing to the American imagination, becoming a metaphor for “innocence and individual efficacy,” for a place “despoiled by technology” (Lohof 448). Marlboro Country imagined a simpler, more peaceful—though more unforgiving—nation that “evokes within the cultural consciousness a nostalgic and reverent image of its own mythical heritage” (Lohof 444-447). “Indeed,” Lohof writes “so envious are harried twentieth-century Americans of the pastoral ideal that it spills out of their serious art and across their commercial advertising” (Lohof 445). So does a cultural consciousness become culture itself, helping to define both a nation’s past and the “harried” present that longs for it. In this most “inaccurate” depiction of American life, we find an exceptionally *accurate* portrait of American hopes, fears, and values.

Similarly, the now landmark Coca-Cola “Hilltop” ad saw its moment at a critical distance, and capitalized on the insights afforded by such a perspective. Bill Backer, the man behind the ad, had a sophisticated understanding of the way brands could participate in national culture and conversation. During an emergency stopover in an Ireland airport, as he watched others enjoying Coca-Cola together, he realized that the product was “more than a drink.” And that the company’s tagline “Let’s have a Coke” could be seen as “a subtle way of saying, ‘Let’s keep each other company for a little while’... a tiny bit of commonality between all peoples” (Ryan). When Backer pitched the idea to the account’s music director, Roquel “Billy” Davis, Davis “wasn’t convinced that all people really need is some ice-cold carbonated sugar water” (Hartmann). If not a Coke, Backer asked Davis what he would buy the world instead. Davis responded with “I’d buy everyone a home first and share with them in peace and love” (Ryan). Though Davis didn’t see how Coke could fit into such a lofty transaction, Backer instructed him to write something with that home in mind, and a song—perfectly and organically in tune with collective emotions—was born. For Backer, Coke was both a commodity that could facilitate this peaceful sharing, and a brand that could bring that concept into national consciousness. It spoke directly to an eager public with this “higher meaning,” and became iconic because of it. When the ad was finally released (in one of the greatest examples of ads-becoming-culture), the song eventually became so popular that it was requested on the radio and rewritten as the well-known “I’d like to Teach the World to Sing” (not the other way around). The original reads:

I'd like to build the world a home and furnish it with love / grow apple trees and honey bees, and snow white turtle doves / I'd like to teach the world to sing in perfect harmony / I'd like to buy the world a Coke and keep it company / That's the real thing / What the world wants today / is the real thing (Ryan).

If you place the lyrics in their historical context—an economic crisis and the Vietnam War—they speak to the common wants, fears, and anxieties of a time. At a moment of social discord, here was a moment of perfect harmony, in both its ideas and its music. It participated in culture not just as a song on the radio, but also as a gauge of its moment, because in striving to

be one, it would inevitably become one. Moreover, it is a superb example of the way a product can sell its unique version of the American Dream, or at least the thing that everyone wanted—peace, safety, comfort—without *actually* selling it. The best “identity brands” do this well – they establish themselves as “political authorities” on threads of cultural discourse. For Budweiser it was “championing a world in which working men can be respected members of American society”, for Jack Daniel’s it was its connection to the frontier through its whiskey and those who drank it, for Levi’s, Walmart, and Chrysler decades later, it would be the preservation of American manufacturing heritage (Holt 2004, 125 and Holt 2006, 363-368).

These were big ideas – safety, security, a more rugged nation – all being communicated through commercial culture. Without the proper background, one might assume that advertising would be an unlikely outlet for these ideas, but advertising had begun to be part of the national conversation in this way since the Great Depression. For example, in 1934 when the J. Walter Thompson (JWT) agency took to advertising itself and the sheer value of advertising in a depression, it advertised that its “new campaigns promoted advertising as embodying fundamental political principles” and “great ideas of American history” like right to self-government, equality, and westward expansion. It showed these as “the great motivating ideas of American history and as the stuff of Thompson’s own work” (McGovern 227). Most interestingly, JWT compared its work to the work of landmark political ideas—in particular, the Gettysburg address. In one ad, JWT claims: “One basic idea is enough to overturn a government...to carry an inconspicuous product to leadership...Nothing else approaches the force of a basic idea because nothing else communicates itself to the minds of so many people. And in politics, war or plain selling, it is the minds of the plain people which must be reached” (McGovern 227). As a medium, “advertising carried important ideas of American history to the masses, leading and serving them at the same time,” capable of forging for an entire country an identity as strong as the one born of the greatest moments of American history (McGovern 227). Advertising could not only use the truth of a cultural moment to connect with consumers, but could tell the truth of a people in the process.

The self-consciousness with which JWT understood its role as both a creator and vehicle of cultural understanding implies advertising’s deep role in forming national identity and social discourse, particularly in a culture so inundated with consumerism. In Cohen’s consumer republic, the centrality of commercialism in American culture gave an agency like JWT—and the agencies and campaigns that would follow it—license to make such statements, affording advertising a voice and a larger role in American life, even beyond its consuming habits. In other words, brands began to sell more than products, or even the story of their time (as did Coke in the 1950’s) – *they began to sell Americans the story of themselves*.

Such stories—or narratives to use a better word—can help us form a “narrative identity,” something now sought-after by not just individuals, but by brands, institutions, and even nations.^v To build these identities, audiences look to mass media and advertising as a “symbolic resource” to “give sense to our life history,” *especially* as they relate to a larger national history of which we are part (Elliot and Wattanasuwan). As they make sense of that history, they must

participate in the ongoing process of collective memory and take on “prosthetic memories” (to borrow a phrase from Alison Landsberg) of their own.^{vi} These memories, when seen through “re-collection, re-remembering, and re-representation,” are “crucial in the mapping of significant historical moments and in the articulation of personal identity” (Johnson 317). Though the mapping Johnson refers to is physical—through monuments and public spaces of memory—her thesis rests on the notion that memory can be “ordered...around sites of collective remembrance.” Advertising, as I’ve demonstrated, can serve as such a site. Her understanding implies that people remember their collective past through the overlaying of individual identity with mediated representations of that past (323). Moreover, it is through the “putting together of [the past’s] constituent parts into a single, coherent narrative” that a “popular nationalist identity” is born (317). This is precisely the job that advertising has taken up in the past half a century, helping us (through the assemblage of decades of myths and symbols) to establish our place in an imagined community (Anderson) and find solidarity and identity in the past we collectively share.

Myth, Memory, and Meaning

In the years following the Recession, brands helped construct such a narrative identity by telling a new version of American history, based on established “truths” (myths) about work, grit, the middle class, and the making culture that once dominated the U.S. economy. Of course, not *all* brands from this time sought to construct such an identity—and the ads in the following section represent only a small subsection of the many ads that Americans were confronted with in the last decade—but the history they collectively construct is enough to serve as an example of how mass advertising can constitute a kind of public history, using the past (in ways somewhat unique to the medium)^{vii} to transform our understanding of it.

This is the focus of Holt’s 2006 exploration of Jack Daniel’s whiskey, which is perhaps the only academic work (in conjunction with his earlier 2004 book *How Brands Become Icons*) that attempts to unpack the unique significance of a given brand’s symbolism and mythology in the context of a larger national discourse, or the “particular role played by iconic brands in narrating the imagined nation” at a particular point in time (Holt 359). To do so, he analyzes nearly 50 years of the whiskey brand’s history, finally narrowing in on the brand’s use of the “gunfighter myth, an immensely powerful myth in the post-war era” as the thing that gave the brand its iconic potency (Holt 360). In the last decade, brands like Chrysler, Walmart, and Levi’s among others have used a cluster of similar symbols, myths, and values to not only establish distinct brand voices, but a distinctive voice for Americanness *itself*.

In an increasingly visual and aesthetic culture,^{viii} amplified by the speed and truncation of a technological world, the words and images an ad uses must be extremely illustrative so that they can be quickly read as an ethos (Sivulka 299). There is no time for consumers to wonder about the basic elements of the ad (who, what, where), and no time to explain to consumers what they already know.^{ix} Therefore, they rely on words, places, people, and things that already retain deep symbolic meanings in American culture to get their points across, some meanings of which advertising may have created in the first place.^x The meanings they stand for are largely myths,

which is defined by Holt as “imaginative stories that selectively draw on history as source material, which function to continually re-imagine and revitalize the nation’s ideology” (Holt 2006, 359).

To form this definition, he called upon the work of French literary theorist Roland Barthes who systematically outlined the nature of myths in his seminal work *Mythologies*. For him, the words or symbols (like factories, cars, or cowboys) that represent these myths function as “mythical signifiers,” filled with fabricated or nostalgic meaning, but emptied of most historical truth.^{xi} If we use this system to evaluate the Marlboro Man, we see how he symbolizes a “breed of humanity untarnished by—indeed ignorant of—the acrid fumes of modern civilization” that appealed to the “collective imagination” of a culture that was rapidly becoming post-industrial. With his reverence for the values of capitalism, hard work, and a “masterful grasp of material things,” the Marlboro Man became a “nostalgic and reverent image of [the nation’s] own mythical heritage,” celebrating and proving what Lohof would call the “folk myth of American labor” (Lohof 442-448). At the hands of such a symbolic figure and the equally symbolic land to which he belonged, real frontier history is nearly effaced altogether, though we do not notice. Marlboro Country *becomes* our history, our actual understanding of the frontier.

After the recession began in 2007, similar words and symbols began to circulate in advertising and culture, revitalizing old myths with new sets of meaning. Words like “factory,” “work,” and “frontier” came to inhabit not just their traditional place in American culture but became a bittersweet reminder of that heritage that had been lost and an invitation to return. Many of the myths these words represent are ones that Holt calls “critical for the nation to function” and have been called upon at critical moments in our history (Holt 57). Of course, one doesn’t need this paper to see *why* such symbols may have emerged at this time—the recession is reason enough^{xii}—the important thing to consider is *how* they use and construct an understanding of our past to affect change in the present and the way we will come to regard it in the future.^{xiii}

In that 2012 Chrysler SuperBowl ad discussed in the introduction, Clint Eastwood read the following two-minute manifesto:

It’s half time. Both teams are in their locker rooms discussing what they can do to win this game in the second half. It’s halftime in America, too. People are out of work and they’re hurting. They’re all wondering what they’re gonna do to make a comeback. And we’re all scared because this isn’t a game. The people of Detroit know a little something about this. They almost lost everything. But we all pulled together. Now Motor City is fighting again. I’ve seen a lot of tough errors, a lot of downturns in my life, times when we didn’t understand each other, it seems like we’ve lost our heart at times. The fog, the division, the discord, and blame made it hard to see what lies ahead. But after those trials, we all rallied around what was right, and acted as one. Because that’s what we do. We find a way through tough times and if we can’t find a way we will make one. All that matters now is what’s ahead. How do we come from behind? How do we come together? And how do we win? Detroit’s showing us it can be done, and what’s true about them, is true about all of us. This country can’t be knocked out with one punch. We get right back

up again and when we do, the world's gonna hear the roar of our engines. Yeah, it's halftime, America. And our second half is about to begin (Chrysler).

As a historical artifact, the ad is a profoundly successful account of the year and the nation's mood. At a moment where the failing automotive industry had become the poster child for the bleak state of work and economy in America, Chrysler—already part of the ephemera of Detroit automobile culture—employed that period of American industry (and the nostalgia for it) to write new meaning onto that automotive past. Through this, Detroit becomes an imaginary all its own. It at once represents a dead industry *and* the golden years of industry, decay but also prosperity. If we consider “Detroit” a “mythical signifier” in Barthesian terms, we can see that its “form is empty but present, its meaning absent but full” (Barthes 124). In order to make Detroit, in one word, stand for the loss of the once powerful auto-manufacturing industry *and* the overall tradition of American industry, one must “empty” Detroit of its history, keeping only the parts that contribute to proving this innate truth of American manufacturing.^{xiv} That said, it's not *really* about Detroit; rather, Detroit and its heritage provide a backdrop on which to craft a narrative. In other words, Detroit defined us once (by sheer size, economic power, and existing iconic meaning), and is re-defined to soothe our nostalgic longings and allow Detroit and its Motor City spirit functions as a metaphor for a *national* spirit.

The effectiveness of this ad, perhaps more so than the others I will discuss in this section, depends on what Raymond Williams understood as the dominant, residual, and emergent meaning of a word (Taylor, Williams). In this structure, there is a co-existence of meaning as new ones come into existence and old ones fade, all the while referring to one another. For example, one must know what the factory once meant—as both an institution and a (positive or negative, depending on who you were) symbol of the might of American industry—to understand its nostalgic transformation over the past decade and the longing for its triumphant return. The prior meaning does not disappear, in fact it's integral to the new meaning, but the old, purer meaning of “factory” can no longer be understood on its own. In this case, one must know Detroit's innovative, automotive heritage to understand the significance of its downfall and purported revival. Without this background, and the backdrop of the recession, the ad would not make emotional sense. As decades of messaging are added to collective memory, they create these kinds of layered meanings.

In that recession-laden backdrop, a near-obsession with “making” made its way into politics and advertising, though it's unclear which used it first. As more and more manufacturing jobs left the United States in the second half of the 20th century (presumably, and always vaguely, to China), the concept of “making” in the United States (or lack thereof) had become a familiar facet of political discourse. However, in the years after the recession, “making” began to take on a more substantial, almost moral meaning – it, like work, became a thing that made Americans, American. It was a political and economic value to be leveraged for political or economic gain by brands, personal or corporate. And it *was* leveraged, often and loudly.

For example, in his 2014 State of the Union Address, President Obama emphasized the need to prepare the workforce to capitalize on the next wave of technology manufacturing jobs. This not only speaks to the desire to keep alive an industrial way of life that helped make America prosperous in the 1950's, but also emphasizes the blue collar mentality of the President's voter base who view "making" as a fundamental component of a successful American economy. When he spoke to the resurgence of a making culture in Detroit ("the auto industry came roaring back, Andra Rush opened up a manufacturing firm in Detroit"), he perhaps unsurprisingly drew on the meanings of Detroit that Chrysler also used (CBS News).

That same year, the third installment of Chrysler's "Imported from Detroit" campaign, a Superbowl spot featuring Bob Dylan, demonstrated a similar fascination with "making." In it, Dylan read:

Is there anything more American than America? 'Cause you can't import original. You can't fake true cool. You can't duplicate legacy. Because what Detroit created was a first and became an inspiration to the rest of the world. Yeah Detroit made cars. And cars made America. Making the best, making the finest, takes conviction. And you can't import the heart and soul of every man and woman working on the line. You can search the world over for the finer things, but you won't find a match for the American road and the creatures that live on it. Because we believe in the zoom, and the roar, and the thrust. When it's made here, it's made with the one thing you can't import from anywhere else: American pride. So let Germany brew your beer. And Switzerland make your watch. Let Asia assemble your phone. We will build your car
(Chrysler).

The spot draws on an assumed understanding of an American heritage of making things, especially big things, tough things (not delicate things like watches and iPhones). It less explicitly references the fact that we make *less* things, but bestows a degree of importance to the sheer act of American making. Implicit in this understanding of "making" is expertise, or a superior level of quality and craft that Chrysler is associating with American cars (in comparison, we assume, to foreign makes). This creates an assumed history of craftsmen and "self-made" men, a history of "working men" and "men of action artisans," all archetypal myths adopted by iconic brands (Holt 57, 98).

For example, a lesser-known 2011 Jeep Cherokee spot called "The Things We Make, Make Us" also made use of a conglomerate of these myths. Unsurprisingly, it was created by Oliver Francois, the French then-president-CEO of Fiat's Lancia brand who also created Chrysler's "Imported from Detroit" campaign. The spot is laden with gritty Americana—men hammering in a railroad spike, a locomotive chugging by, sparking welding equipment, the Wright Brothers' airplane. A voiceover reads:

The things that make us Americans, are the things we make. This has always been a nation of builders, craftsmen. Men and women for whom straight stitches and clean welds are a matter of personal pride. They made the skyscrapers, the cotton gins, colt revolvers, Jeep 4x4's. These things make us who we are. As a people, we do well when we make good things, and not so well when we don't (Jeep Cherokee).

We see baseball, steel crossbeams being moved into place, more trains, a man swinging a pickaxe, the Empire State Building. The voiceover says, “The good news is: this can be put right. We just have to do it.” The word choice is powerful—it asserts definitively that a history of making has “always been” and therefore makes up the stuff of Americanness. It makes undisputable the heritage of hard work and a good hand, what Stanley would call a “grand narrative” that “makes it seem both normal and natural that certain things are associated with [the country]” (Stanley). This naturalization is required for myths to gain traction, making “unquestionable”^{xv} a history and heritage as they do (Barthes 100-102).

Jeep, like Chrysler and President Obama, recognizes not only the personal pride attached to details of manufacturing, but also the national pride associated with making things. It goes so far as to say that making is integral to the country’s success, that America is not America without its ability to “make.” Such a claim would be impossible to make without the widespread notion that America was *always* a making culture (akin to Barthes’ that which “goes without saying,” or Said’s that which “unquestionably is”^{xvi}) and that the flow of making jobs to foreign countries, namely China, by large corporations was a threat to American culture.

At the moment that these ads were being made, this was a topic that dominated social and political discourse, making it obvious why Walmart would choose to combat the notion that it opposed America's making by inviting it to make again in its 2014 “American Jobs” campaign, which was created to advertise Walmart’s pledge to buy \$250 billion of American-made products over the following 10 years, “honoring the men and women who make them” (Walmart).

To do this, it re-imagined the symbols of the factory and assembly line, drawing connections between previously established imaginings of work and the traditional aesthetics of the American Dream—portraying work as a builder of lives, families, and economies. It featured three ads: “Lights On” and “Working Man” (both which featured men and women on factory lines, the latter set to Rush’s 1974 homonymous song) and “I Am a Factory,” which is spoken from the perspective of a factory no longer in use. In its reverence for work’s fundamental role in American history, this third ad transforms the factory into a symbol, as a voiceover read:

At one time, I made things. And I took pride in the things I made.
And my belts whirred. And my engines cranked. I opened my doors to all. And together, we filled palettes and trucks. I was mighty. And then one day, the gears stopped turning. But I am still here, and I believe I will rise again. And we will build things. And build families. And build dreams. It’s to get back to what America does best. *Super*: Over the next ten years, we’re putting \$250 billion to work to help create new manufacturing jobs in America. *Voiceover*: Because work is a beautiful thing (Walmart).

Beyond a collage of things that *look* like what the American Dream *means*, it’s an allusion to a time when “things” were abundant and when the American Dream was made possible through those things. It uses decades of codes, connotations, and accumulated

understanding of the meaning of the factory and the assembly line to patch together an industrial past. Similarly, Chrysler's "Born of Fire" is a mish mosh of Diego Rivera's "Detroit Industry," steel mills, glowing heavy machinery, and a voice over that declares, "add hard work, conviction, and the know-how that runs generations deep in every last one of us—that's who we are" (Chrysler). It combines the connotations of pride and doing associated with "making" with the intrinsic value of a work ethic to create a new *vision* of work – at once reminding us of work's fundamental place in the US, but also of its disappearance (at least in its traditional, manual form). It seems obvious, then, that these brands would celebrate what Carlo Rotella would call a kind of good-with-your-hands-ness (Rotella). The years between 2007 and 2016 saw immense leaps in technology that significantly decreased both the need for certain manual trades and the overall value of manual craft in general. The demise of the old way of doing things seemed to be edging closer with every Tweet, every 3D-printer, and every new app. It wasn't just temporary economic decline—it was the decline of an entire industrial way of life, an entire making economy. For these brands, that way of life could still be preserved in a certain kind of person, and the rallying cry that they flock to—those who sustained the American spirit.

Perhaps predictably, this isn't the first time that reverence for work appeared in advertisements at time of economic distress. During the last recession in recent memory—the 1970's slump that saw massive inflation and unemployment rates—Budweiser hopped on the coattails of a burgeoning Reagan constituency in the American working- and middle-class and rode its way into the canon of brand iconography. With a "parade of blue-collar workers from all walks of life, each of whom practiced his trade with consummate skill and enthusiasm" and the tagline "This Bud's for You" Budweiser created a working-man's manifesto that saluted and rallied disillusioned working-class Americans. Like many of the brands we've seen, "Bud's vision of work directly opposed the economic realities of the times," presenting stories of a breed of men that many feared was disappearing (Holt 101). Unsurprisingly, this work forged for the brand an enduring association with Americanness, so much so that in 2016 in preparation for the nearing election, the brand changed its name simply to "America." Tosh Hall, the creative director on the project explained that after decades of America-laden advertising, the brand had license to associate itself with the nation. "We thought nothing was more iconic than Budweiser and nothing was more iconic than America," he said of the idea's inspiration (Wilson). In these few words, Hall demonstrates how the close connection between Budweiser and Americanness established not just another chapter for an iconic American brand, but also established America *itself* as a kind of iconic brand. The stuff of one made up the stuff of the other, layering and borrowing meaning between the two, establishing an understanding of America made up of Budweiser-ian vignettes from the past half a century. The can both forms an emblem of the country and encapsulates all that brands are capable of today.

Jack Daniel's also underwent a similar symbolic transformation after WWII, as consumers "demanded a revised version of the gunfighter myth" and as a "homogenized culture" and "economic reconfiguration" seemed to threaten "men's freedom." Suddenly, the brand stood for more than just good whiskey—it stood for the values of old Westerns, rugged individualism, and the American frontier (Holt 2006, 363). The campaign that resulted posed Lynchburg, TN

(the birthplace of Jack Daniel's) as the frontier, thereby championing a genre that "had become the most potent rebuke to the glossy modern suburbs as well as a nervous call-to-arms to revive the gunslinger to fight the commies" (Ibid 368).

If you consider all of this work in their contexts, their symbolism becomes abundantly transparent—not only were the companies behind the ads the kinds of big-business villains that sent their jobs to China for cheap labor and put thousands of American workers out of work, but they were also talking about work at a moment when work was not just a beautiful thing (to use Walmart's terms), but a scarce thing.

In the years leading up to the recession, it had begun to be scarcest in the Rust Belt, a place that would come to take on symbolic meaning in the years that followed. Geographically and historically, the Rust Belt refers to a large cluster of states spanning Michigan to Pennsylvania that were formerly hubs of industry and manufacture of heavy raw materials, who at the time of their prosperity were collectively referred to as the Manufacturing Belt, the Steel Belt, or the Factory Belt. As early as the first half of the 20th century, some of these areas began to experience the decline that would eventually result in the Belt's mass population and economic decline, loss of jobs, and the halting of machinery that would birth its new moniker, The Rust Belt. Yet in practice, "The Rust Belt" became almost metonymic for towns in economic decay after the recession, regardless of whether they were former steel towns or even fell into the correct region of the U.S. Many of the locations in the Chrysler commercial are not Rust Belt cities (they are Midwestern country roads, suburbs), but the commercial portrays them as if they were, likening the whole of the United States to Detroit and America to the Rust Belt. The actual history of the Rust Belt or its actual geographic location is replaced by a semblance of Rust Belt "values."

Levi's 2010 "Go Forth to Work" campaign similarly conflates geographic boundaries in order to associate the traditional significance of "the West" and the frontier with the brand's representation of work, determination, and the value of a pioneer spirit. The "Go Forth to Work" campaign was part of a larger "Go Forth" campaign that began the previous year, created to "infuse new energy into an authentic and beloved brand" by creating "a new portrait of America" "inspired by the passion Walt Whitman felt for the potential of America and promise of the future" (Wieden + Kennedy). In an effort to make good on that new American promise, the brand set its sights on Braddock, PA, a former steel town 10 miles outside of Pittsburgh that had seen the same fate as many a Rust Belt city—a massive decline in population, rows of abandoned homes and businesses, and a once hard spirit dulled into near nonexistence. There, Levi's would shoot a series of films and print ads and contribute more than a million dollars to the city's revitalization efforts (Elliot).

The print ads featured real citizens of Braddock and phrases like "Everybody's work is equally important" and "We are all workers." A two-minute film that accompanied them invoked Walt Whitman's "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" an 1865 poem that at the time of its publications spoke to the heart of would-be explorers, miners, and settlers, propelling them to explore the West and

establish the United States we know today, the kind of United States that Levi's extols. Stuart Elliott of the *New York Times* called the campaign a "salute to the pioneering spirit of young Americans," which seems an accurate appraisal of the film's copy. A haunting voiceover uses phrases like "We were taught how the pioneers went into the West" and "Maybe the world breaks on purpose, so we can have work to do," or "People think there aren't frontiers anymore. They can't see how frontiers are all around us" (Levi's).

By invoking Walt Whitman's "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" in this film, by overlaying scenes of depressed Braddock with an ode to the West in another, and by setting a third to an original wax recording of Whitman reciting his poem "America," the brand adopts and inhabits the figurative space of the West without ever showing it, or even being in it. There is a *character* that emerges from this work, one that was developed through "violent confrontations on the frontier" and is held by the "men that America relies on when the going gets tough" (Holt 362). In doing so, teenagers in blue jeans, bonfires, fireworks, and streets lined with average homes come to embody Levi's version of The West, superimposing new meanings onto old. This transformation of meaning is the work of most iconic modern advertising that I have discussed, assimilating traditional values and collective nostalgia into the everyday life of the consumer, both solidifying the values themselves, and those values' role in consumers' lives, providing a "material connection to myth" (Holt 2004, 60).

Levi's, more so than Chrysler or Walmart, makes an explicit attempt to retell (and *retail*) American history, or at least the values that spring from it. It draws on a pioneer past and the patriotism of Walt Whitman's America to create a historical account all its own. By using real historical documents, real American people, a real American town, and more "facts" than vague patriotic rhetoric, Levi's is able to tell a convincing, tangible story that one can locate in some kind of truth. Though it may use the West and the frontier as symbols, they are not symbols functioning apart from that which they symbolize – they are read within a material context, giving them a degree of credibility. As Jack Daniel's at one time used Lynchburg, TN as its un-"frontier," so does Levi's transform post-industrial Pennsylvania into a front for a new frontier and a backdrop for the performance of frontier values (Holt 368).

Imagined History: Aesthetics and Connotation

Moreover, it is not just the *words* in these ads that cue a new American history, but the aesthetics with which those words are represented. Jack Daniel's established its frontier not just through words, but also through evocative images of its rugged and straight-shooting Lynchburg (overalls hanging on a clothing line, "men overseeing charcoal burning") (Holt 369). In the work described in this section, the factory, the West, Detroit are not just represented by words, but also by the same gritty aesthetic, the same familiar themes. They create spatial imaginaries both for the things that come to mind when one encounters the words that represent them *and* for the way they are imagined visually.

To quote Chris Wharton, the "strategies of visibility and visualization at work in advertising and consumer culture" helps to promote "historically produced cultural knowledge,"

or, as I might put it, “culturally produced historical knowledge.” By this, I mean that a “knowledge” of the past is reinforced through repetition of cultural representations of a collective history (Wharton 19 and Hennessy, as quoted in Wharton).^{xvii} The way Detroit “looks” is a composite of geographical facts and its representations; the way the American industrial past looks to a modern consumer may well be a collection of gritty Chrysler-ian vignettes. Together, ads form what Sontag might have called a “portrait chronicle” of American history, providing not just the chronological facts of American history as understood through ads, but also a visual understanding of what that chronology looks like. Of course, this chronology is often filled with connotations rather than historical facts, creating an increasingly blurred line between historical reality and Hennessy’s cultural knowledge (Sontag).

Jameson, borrowing from Barthes, uses the concept of “connotation”^{xviii} to describe not just how things can be “summed up culturally,” but how the “history of aesthetic styles displaces ‘real’ history,” which is a process at work in almost all of these ads (Jameson 20). The “fifties” becomes a thing that can be named and visualized by “short haircuts, early rock and roll, longer skirts,” station wagons, and Tupperware (Jameson 279). Though these things are not “invented” and are therefore “in some sense authentic,” they are not “a list of facts or historical realities...but rather a list of stereotypes, of ideas of facts and of historical realities” (Jameson 279). Advertising often views “the ‘past’”—or, I would add, sometimes its own present—“through stylistic connotation, conveying ‘pastness’ by the glossy qualities of the image, and ‘1930s-ness’ or ‘1950s-ness’ by the attributes of fashion” (Jameson 19). These brands represent the past “as a kind of thing,” a thing “that can be dated and called the eighties or fifties,” and establishing their *representations* of historical moments *as history* (Jameson 284). For example, in the acclaimed TV series *Mad Men*, the late 1950’s and 1960’s is communicated through aesthetic markers that are stereotypical for the period:

Images and sounds from late 1950’s and early 60’s advertising: Doctor’s selling cigarettes. Athletes selling liquor. Bathing suit models with vacuum cleaners. And most importantly, proud Dads with their perfect wives and children driving their cars to some green suburban utopia. We get a sense of the time and its ideals (Set directions, *Mad Men*, Series One: Episode 1; opening set. Purvis 24).

These cues, with the help of decades of mass media representation, have come to define this era so that when *Mad Men*’s audience was confronted with them, they immediately recognized it as the 1950’s and 1960’s. More importantly, the set direction suggests that a historical moment can be communicated by a “sense,” thereby perpetuating these stereotypes by which we view the period. However, it’s worth noting here that we’re also intended to get a sense of the time’s *ideals*, not just the time itself—the symbols and aesthetics that are chosen carry with them a suggestion of a deeper meaning.

To better understand how this applies to ads, we can use the example of a 2011 Jack Daniel’s commercial, in which the brand lends an “aesthetic style” to the past it believes gave America its Americanness. Over a montage of American products—jazz guitars, televisions,

cars, blue jeans, cowboy hats—and the callous-handed people who make them—a gruff voice over read:

Americans, we're the creators of things born of an independent spirit, designers of the great, architects of the useful, composers of the loud, builders of the beautiful. We live in a country that lets people make things they believe in, and that's as American as, well, [Jack Daniel's]. *As a bottle of Jack Daniel's whiskey is placed on a counter, the words, "Here's to the American spirit" appear on screen.* (Jack Daniel's).

The spot creates a vision of down-home America that refers to no specific time or place, but to some past time that simply *feels* American. Using its existing brand legacy, it evokes the sense of West-ness and an authenticity that comes only with whiskey. Almost every product shown in the spot is vintage—the jukebox, TV, radio, and car all belong to a bygone era—presumably to indicate both that the time in which we made things has passed and to substantiate the “American spirit” in something material. The hardened voiceover helps animate an archetypal figure—the real, hard-working American. For Jack Daniel's, the formative parts of American history *are* Lynchburg, blue jeans, and the belief that the products Americans make say something about their history. This America, if it ever existed, was never the entirety of the country as Jack Daniel's might have you believe. In a new economy, Jack Daniel's didn't resort back to using the gunfighter myth that became popular in the years after WWII, but rather uses its accumulated political authority on rugged individualism and hard work to tap into Lohof's “folk myth of American labor.” Through this, it creates an understanding of authentic America, and the things that authentic America should produce.

For all of these brands, America is (and always was) a montage of Detroit, sparking factory equipment, pick-up trucks on country roads, and assembly lines. These things are modern incarnations of an America that has always existed; it doesn't matter that there was a time before the factory was part of American life—before it, there was the frontier, the farm, and the West, which maintain the same American values as the factory. They use film that is noticeably grey, gritty, and harsh, an aesthetic that characterizes all of the campaigns and gives tangible color to the American attitude they try to articulate. They all imagine the past in vignettes—snippets of historical scenes that simplify eras into images and give visual identity to popular myths about work, the factory, and the innate American entrepreneurial spirit. The series of images they present—railroads, pick-up trucks, skyscrapers of New York City—come to be seen as a timeline of landmark American moments, strung together not by historical chronology, but by a sense of patriotic historical significance. Most importantly, they give audiences a constructed sense of what the past *actually looked like*.

In these examples, the phrase “seeing is believing” takes on new meaning—we believe that we can understand what America is by visualizing our culture.^{xix} To see ourselves is to understand ourselves completely—we are content with substituting our complex identity with a simple “theme” that, through repetition, eventually comes to seem like truth (Wilson 14). Like for Fanon, who felt that he was constantly reduced to themes and connotations about his race, feeling “battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial

defects, slave ships, and above all: ‘Sho’ good eatin’” (Fanon), this type of “visualism in anthropology” ignores real history and replaces it with its nostalgic, idealized, or fetishized counterpart, built from decades of images and conceptions (Wilson 14).

To use Sontag’s phrase again, this constructs a “portrait chronicle of the past, a history *of* and *imagined in* advertisements. History becomes a series of the themes from ads – the 1950’s as suburbs and vacuum cleaners, the 1970’s as discord and calls for peace, the Old West as cowboys, gunslingers, and hard workers who built the country. Historical eras are likened to their representations, the “sets” on which we expect them to take place. As Jameson put it, they represent a “collective future,” a “vast collection of images, a multitudinous photographic simulacrum” (Jameson 12).

This is the kind of historical understanding that Peter Seixas recounts in an essay on public history and history education in Canada. When asked to identify the major events of the twentieth century, Grade 11 Canadian history students responded with answers that reflected an episodic view of history and suggest a visual, or at least thematic, understanding of the past. In one response, the “rise of convenience” is followed by “plastic is invented” (Seixas 20). One can see the visual thinking this student did, linking the image of a vacuum-wielding housewife to an image of a Tupperware set—the ethe of the two moments had been used closely and interchangeably to represent the Populuxe era, so it makes sense to use those images to sum up the progress achieved in those years. In the case of this student, “*history*” does not so much refer to actual history as it does to historical *representation*: the history he or she recounted is a retelling of the way ads see the present and the past.

In these situations, we are often entirely unaware that the narrative identity we derive from this history is more pastiche than it is simple fiction or nostalgia. Our “national purpose” is not so much based on historical events to which we’ve assigned meaning as it is on our *representation* of events to which we’ve assigned meaning. These ads present copies of a past that never existed, or worse, they re-present copies of themes that connote a past that never existed. We create a historical double-blind not just by repeating reality, but repeating its representations.

The Past in Pastiche

The real past gets lost in the pastiche—accessible only by things, people, and events untouched by national meaning-makers (movies, books, ads, politicians). As Jameson writes, “the past as ‘referent’ finds itself gradually bracketed, and then effaced altogether, leaving us with nothing but texts” it becomes a “series...of superseded genres, or simulacra” (Jameson 18, Felluga). We are left with nothing but pastiche, no substance behind the satire, no realization that it’s satire at all—we are drawn into these themes and reproduce them as fact, as guiding truths. “In such a world of pastiche, we lose our connection to history,” and we become unable to “understand the past except as a repository of genres, styles, and codes ready for commodification” (Felluga).

If the role of ads is to be what Jameson called a “schoolbook history manual”^{xx} for the production of knowledge and cultural know-how, then that figurative history book would contain a version of American history that is quite different from what actually happened – filled with excerpts from not just ads, but political speeches, Bruce Springsteen songs, and Ken Burns documentaries that all recycle the same now-cherished elements of Americana (Seixas, Jameson 23). The myths and symbols they leverage have not been proved by history, but by constant use and re-use.

Most importantly, this mediated understanding of our history influences the way we will change the course of that history in the future. If we are inclined to believe that an America without “making” is not an America at all, what choices will we make to maintain that? What leaders will we choose to represent us? If we cannot adapt to a post-industrialized economy, or risk abandoning what we understand to be our time-tested values, how can we succeed? What steps will we take to preserve those values in a new economy? Which brands will adopt this new Americanness and emerge as iconic in the future?

Though at the time of this publication, the implications of the Trump presidency are still unknown, the now-successful rhetoric that President Trump used throughout his campaign seems to support the idea that a large swath of Americans identify with the same blue-collar, “making” aesthetics leveraged by post-recession advertising. They are eager to rally around those themes rather than face an uncertain, post-industrial future. Though in this environment of mass media, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between fact and representation, Americans should be wary of the version of the American Dream that emerges from our popular culture when trying to navigate our collective future (Sivulka, Marchand).

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ⁱ McAllister argues that the two are distinct, but overlap in significant ways (McAllister 2003). In their 1997 work in the *Journal of Advertising*, Elizabeth C. Hirschman and Craig J. Thompson argued that advertising should not be treated as a “domain distinct from news and entertainment media” despite the fact that advertising researchers tend to treat it as such (Hirschman and Thompson 43). They argue that a “large body of work suggests that such distinctions are not relevant to the *ideological* aspects of consumer socialization” and that advertising has profound effects on the way consumers receive “non advertising forms of mass media” because of the “perceived meanings they derive from advertisements” (Ibid, 43). In seeking to create meaning and “[promote] a consumer mindset,” advertising is part responsible for establishing the “set of themes” and codes and “ideological systems” through which cultural meaning is read (Ibid, 44).

ⁱⁱ In 1997, Hirschman and Thompson sought to expand the body of work analyzing consumers’ processing of meaning in advertisements. They noted that a great deal of research “focused on the processes use[d] to decode the information conveyed in an advertisement or the situational factors that influence consumers’ processing strategies” but not much existed on the “influence of consumers’ background knowledge on the meanings they derive from advertisements” (Hirschman and Thompson 43). Their guiding thesis was that consumers “process advertising for meaning rather than information,” in ways similar to the way they process “the material in which they are embedded” (magazines, television, etc.) (Ibid 43). They conclude that the way consumers receive “non advertising forms of mass media” is an “essential aspect of the perceived meanings they derive from advertisements” (Ibid 44). In other words, the way consumers have learned to derive meaning from other forms of mass media has influenced the way they learn to derive meaning advertisements.

ⁱⁱⁱ The period between 1959 and 1970, dubbed the “Creative Revolution,” bred some of the most landmark campaigns of the 20th century, like Volkswagen’s “Think Small” (1959), Pepsi’s “Pepsi Generation” (1963), and President Lyndon Johnson’s “Daisy” Ad (1964). *AdAge* describes the period as “advertising’s ‘coming of age,’ when the industry mastered the language of TV, appropriated the medium of photography and produced work of unprecedented creativity” (AdAge 2003).

^{iv} In the book (2004), Holt “establishes the central role of national myth/ideologies in the development of American iconic brands,” but does not do the opposite, which is what this work intends to do. He takes an empirical, systematic approach to unpacking how certain brands have come to inhabit an iconic or symbolic place in American culture and how other brands can do the same, noting that the myths or “selective history” “function to continually re-imagine and revitalize the nation’s ideology” (Holt 2006, 359). In his later work on Jack Daniel’s he gets closer to the ways that advertisements form a symbiotic relationship with national myth and identity, but does not quite interrogate the imagined past that results from such a relationship, or the new set of myths that it creates. In all of this work, he makes unprecedented strides in demonstrating not only what the ideology of iconic brands are, but how the things going on in society and culture make those ideologies “appealing” and have a profound effect on consumers (Holt 2006, 358).

^v In a media-saturated and Internet-driven world of online personalities and PR stunts, personal branding has taken on a new importance for individuals and businesses alike (Montoya, Gabler).

^{vi} In her introduction to *Engaging the Past*, Landsberg lays out the foundation of her argument – that “one’s understanding of the complexities of the past, one’s image of it has inevitably been affected by the images and narratives that have circulated in mass culture.” For Landsberg, these are called “prosthetic memories,” personally felt public memories that result from the experience of a mediated representation of the past.” Though Landsberg’s book focuses largely on representations of the past that are intentionally historical (like *Mad Men*, etc.), this same kind of historical knowledge can come from representations, like the Chrysler ad, that are not “historical” in the same sense.

^{vii} In *Revenge of the Crystal*, published in 1999,^{vii} Jean Baudrillard dissects the system of myths and signs and “trademarks” in which advertising exists and which it perpetuates, exploring how meaning is assigned to objects, Americanness, and then again to the myths themselves. Advertising, which he calls “the most remarkable mass medium of our epoch,” does not simply speak to one object or product (as one would assume), but instead “to a totality of objects and a universe entirely made up of objects and trademarks” (Baudrillard 91) He describes a consumer society that is “engulfed by its own mythology” (82) in which objects, products, and brands gain meaning only in relation to other meanings and one another. In other words, distinct objects can no longer be seen for what they are themselves, but “disappear in a discourse of connotation,” understood only by the way they can be

interpreted as signs in a larger established system of signs, meaning, and connotation (80). In this culture (what he called 'Americanism'), "the truth of objects and products is their trademark" or brand (82).

^{viii} Sivulka quotes art critic Robert Rosenblum, who notes that the epochal introduction of the television at mass scale had shifted the nation from a "literary culture" toward a "more visual culture" (Sivulka 299).

^{ix} As John Tagg notes, "truth is circulated and consumed" through various forms of mass media, and gain credibility by repetition and cross-echoing by that media. (Tagg 265). When we are presented with a familiar image, like an image of victorious troops or an image of cowboys, this image "recalls" a "reservoir of similar 'texts,'" that reinforce each other and give the illusion of reality (Tagg 271). Though it seems that behind these familiar images there must be some kind of originating truth, "what lies 'behind' the image is not reality," but more references to other similar images, to a "complex fabric of notions, representations, images, attitudes, gestures and modes of action which function as everyday know-how," to a "whole hidden corpus of knowledge" (Tagg 271).

^x As Elliot and Wattanasuwan note, "advertising is recognized as one of the most potent sources of valorized symbolic meanings" (citing Grunert, 1986; Lannon and Cooper, 1983; Mick and Buhl, 1992; Sherry, 1987). They describe the dialectical relationship between advertising and culture – "advertising not only helps in creating, modifying and transforming cultural meanings for the consumer (Lannon and Cooper, 1983), but also represents cultural meanings taken from the consumer's world view and invested into the advertised product" (Elliot and Wattanasuwan 136). Therefore, advertising functions not just as a reflector of culture as I have mentioned before, but a creator – it is "both a means to transfer or create meanings into culture and a cultural product itself" (*Ibid*, 136).

^{xi} Barthes note that with the "mythical signifier," "its form is empty but present, its meaning absent but full" (124).

^{xii} When Holt diagrams the process by which brands utilize myths, he notes that there must be a myth market for them. These markets are subject to the winds of culture and politics, often propelled by major shifts in the status quo, causing widespread anxiety or emotions, as in the case of Budweiser and Jack Daniel's. When the dialogue changes, so must the myth (Holt 59).

^{xiii} Chrysler, Walmart, Levi's, Jack Daniel's, whether they knew it or not, had some kind of perception of the "futurepast" a term that Zeynep Gürsel coins in her book *Image Brokers*. The term more or less refers to the ability to anticipate how future generations of audiences and newsmakers alike will want to visualize the past (our present) in the future. They do not just add this moment's chapter on to the narrative of history, but also *alter* the existent narrative of the past by using it and manipulating it in the present.

^{xiv} Barthes mentions that cultural symbols or images imbued with meaning for a social purpose (like Detroit) are "deprived of their history, changed into gestures" (122). By this, he means that in order to use Detroit as a signifier for not just the city, but as an "alibi" for an industrial past, the fullness of its history must not be seen or mentioned.

^{xv} Edward Said, when discussing the nature of stereotypes and how they become naturalized, noted that they become that which "unquestionably 'is'" through a process of signification and mis-representation (Bhabha 373). They are no longer recognized as stereotypes, but as fundamental truths.

^{xvi} In *Mythologies*, Barthes advises that one should be wary of things that seem to "go without saying," as it is often those natural or "given" truths that are sites of myth (Barthes).

^{xvii} Though Hennessy originally intended the phrase to describe the method by which commodities in a capitalist system gain meaning and reality based on historical knowledge of those commodities resulting in a form of oppression, Wharton uses her phrase "historically produced cultural knowledge" to explain cultural know-how that is reinforced over the passage of time through advertising. Though the signs and symbols used in advertising do often fall into that category of things understood through repetition over time, in this case, I want to use almost the exact converse of his concept to get at a different knowledge production process—I use "culturally produced historical knowledge" to mean an understanding of the *past* that is reinforced through repetition in culture (Hennessy, as quoted in Wharton).

^{xviii} In the "The Romans in Films" chapter of *Mythologies*, Barthes addresses this idea of connotations and visual understanding, identifying a distinct "fringe" as the connotation of "Romanness," and sweat on one's brow as connoting deep thinking (Barthes 26-27). Jameson describes Barthes as showing "connotation as purveying of imaginary and stereotypical idealities: 'Sinité', for example as some Disney-EPCOT 'concept' of China" (Jameson 19).

^{xix} Fabian argues that one could understand a culture just by seeing it (Wilson). Barthes also explains how this

happens in Mythologies, mentioning that cultural symbols or images imbued with meaning for a social purpose are “deprived of their history, changed into gestures” (122).

^{xx} Jameson described mass media texts aimed at fostering an understanding of culture as “school book history manuals,” “devised” for transmitting historical know-how, something similar to the historically produced cultural knowledge Hennessy mentions (Jameson 23).

Reflections on the postcolonial novel: an interdisciplinary approach

Margarida Pereira Martins

Universidade Aberta, Lisbon

University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies, Portugal

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to propose an interdisciplinary reflection on how postcolonial fiction in English can help readers and scholars construct an idea of the post-colonial nation and the cultural identity of its people.

*This theory is part of a larger research project developed in my thesis *The Search for Identity and the Construction of an Idea of India in the novels of Arundhati Roy and Kiran Desai* (2016). As discussed in this paper, national history, identity and cultural representation are the three aspects which through an analysis of different artistic production, including narratives are crucial to the building of knowledge on a nation, its culture and people. Historical processes are the key to the unfolding of present circumstances and fundamental to the construction of a national identity with a collective feel. However, the perceptions of the past change according to philosophical and ideological trends, placing historical objectivity in the hands of its subjective counterpart. It is cultural theory and how it evolves in simultaneity with the world and its social, political, economic and technological development that in effect dictates the forms and expressions that give shape to societies, nations and identities.*

The function of the narrative, whether as text, visual arts, film, architecture, dance and other creative expressions of the self, is to tell a story. And every moment of every living being can be told in a story. History too is a story. Though it originally focused on the grand deeds of the European nations, with postcolonialism new stories began to emerge, revealing a world of diversity and deconstructing traditional views of history and power relations. However, this new approach to the historical, cultural and political dialectic was achieved through the effect of the postcolonial narrative which used Western forms and structures, such as the novel and the English language to achieve its aim. This appropriation of language and form resulted in an inversion of power relations as a cultural metaphor.

For the purpose of this debate, the present paper focuses on the theory surrounding the postcolonial novel and is divided into three main sections: a historical approach, postcolonial theory and the relation between anthropology and fiction.

Keywords: Postcolonial literature, history, culture, social anthropology, identity studies, India.

The general aim of this paper is to examine the concept of the 'postcolonial' as it has been represented through the literature of former colonised nations. As I will argue, it is through the representation of the postcolonial identity in literature in its multiple forms, more specifically fiction of Indian writers in English, that readers, scholars and postcolonial subjects themselves are able to better construct an understanding of their history, culture and nation, as well as the transformations each of these aspects of their identity experienced, and continues to experience following independence and decolonization.

The extended theme of this discussion was the subject of my doctoral thesis entitled: *The Search for Identity and the Construction of an Idea of India in the novels of Arundhati Roy and Kiran Desai* (2016) which analysed how postcolonial fiction in English can provide a passage way into the understanding of the history, culture and identity of a nation and its people. My research, as the title implies, focused on two novels by Indian female writers *The God of Small Things* by Arundhati Roy published in 1997 and *The Inheritance of Loss* by Kiran Desai published in 2006.

From nations such as India which reconstructed itself following movements of decolonization and independence from the British Empire emerged a literature which has been essential to the definition of the post-colonial territory, its people and culture. Postcolonial literature has raised debates relevant for the analysis of the literary, cultural and national identity of nations such as India because of its form and what it implies through its form. This is a literature which has been characterised by the language employed in the writing, the references to its colonial heritage, the depiction of characters and spaces and the writing and rewriting of historical events. Because of the fact that the postcolonial nation, its literature, culture and people are not only portrayed through writing in English which complies to its predefined form of 'postcolonial literature' the ongoing debate on how it is possible to define a category that embraces the nation and its people as a whole is still today a highly relevant one.

According to Stephen Selmon and as stated in his paper, "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World" (1990) the idea of the postcolonial, as a field for the interpretation of social, cultural or political forms "has always been Second-World *literary* writing rather than Second-World *critical* writing which has occupied the vanguard of a Second-World post-colonial *literary* or *critical* theory" (Selmon 1990:102). Following on from this idea, and as I will discuss, it is the writing which fits into the category of 'postcolonial fiction' that has influenced much of the theory in this field of study whose scientific nature stretches from history to literature, also exploring changes in language, in society and its people, in the economy and politics of India and other forms of cultural and artistic expression. Over the decades, it is mainly writers who have been defining and re-defining the idea of the postcolonial form and postcolonialism as theory, and how reflections on these ideas also serves the concept of nation-building, but simultaneously writers have also been defining and redefining themselves, their literary form and their identity as Indian, diasporic and global.

The ideas in my thesis, and in this paper, are worked through an interdisciplinary approach to the texts, focusing on three main theoretical perspectives, which were the three

chapters into which I organized my dissertation. These aspects which I have considered most relevant for a discussion on this debate and into which I have organised this paper are a) history; b) postcolonial theory and c) anthropology. Although in my thesis I analyse literary and narrative aspects of the novels *The God of Small Things* (1997) by Arundhati Roy and *The Inheritance of Loss* (2006) by Kiran Desai in greater detail, in this paper I am going to be mainly discussing theory and not the narratives themselves, even though references to specific passages from the novels are made and parts of the texts are quoted in support of my ideas.

It could be argued that the postcolonial novel because of what it is trying to portray, has a *tridimensional* role and form. By this term I mean that it is a work of fiction, an ethnography and a historical document. Therefore, these are the three theoretical perspectives through which I provide the basis for my interpretation of this literary form. In the theoretical approach I have developed, I apply these three perspectives to my discussion in the following ways. First, I look at how historical discourse, historical analysis and historical writing have shifted over the centuries adapting to new socio-cultural realities. Secondly, I explore how postcolonial theory has helped nations coming from a colonial past and the struggles of decolonization locate themselves on the global map creating the adequate space for cultural expression and an interpretation of its past, present and future. Thirdly, I explore the relationship between social anthropology and literature or more specifically between the ethnography and postcolonial fiction and the importance bridging these two disciplines has in cultural studies today.

However, I also propose the inverse: a construction of the history, of the post-colonial nation and its people and of the society and culture of India through an individual or personal experience and the subjectivities this involves, and naturally, through the creative power of fiction. Every history is also a story, and as such there are many possible interpretations, meanings and points of entry into the writing of events. In the two writers I chose to work on and in Rushdie's work, I found the literary support for the thesis I chose to defend. To quote Kiran Desai, "Never again could she think there was but one narrative and that this one narrative belonged only to herself, that she might create her own tiny happiness and live safely within it." (Desai 2006: 323). This citation endorses the idea that there are many different possibilities for an interpretation of any event and so many possible narratives and points of entry into the narrative. In the same line of thought, there are many possible narratives in the writing of any history, these stories are made up of personal experiences and perspectives, subjectivities, as I have called them which will be unique to each story-teller. In Arundhati Roy's words, "Little events, ordinary things, smashed and reconstituted. Imbued with new meaning. Suddenly they become the bleached bones of a story" (Roy 1997:33). History is also composed of the smaller events of everyday life and everyday people, including those who have been silenced over time or have not been allowed the opportunity to voice their experiences. And one final thought on this, it is not only the great events that give shape to history. In fact, it would be a very empty, vague and even inaccurate history if that were the case. History is also composed of fragments (the memories, experiences, stories) which are fundamental to the construction of our identity as individuals, and since, as human beings, our perception is incomplete (the cracked lens) and meaning is essential to life, we strive for coherence through the piecing together of those fragments. Rushdie illustrates this idea in this well-known quote:

But human beings do not perceive things whole; we are not gods but wounded creatures, cracked lenses, capable only of fractured perceptions. Partial beings, in all the senses of that phrase. Meaning is a shaky edifice we build out of scraps, dogmas, childhood injuries, newspaper articles, chance remarks, old films, small victories, people hated, people loved; perhaps it is because our sense of what is the case is constructed from such inadequate materials that we defend it so fiercely, even to the death. (Rushdie 2010:12)

As humans, we make sense of ourselves and our world at any given moment through the reconstruction of our experiences and past as meaningful within a broader context. The construction of a meaningful history, that which provides a structure for our present existence, is only possible through individual actions and experiences, as related to broader circumstances and contexts, and how these are interpreted individually and even reconstituted and reinterpreted through memory.

In the almost seventy years that have passed from the time of Independence in India, postcolonial writers have become agents for the global spread of Indian history, culture and identity. Recently, on August 5th 2017, *The Guardian* published an article entitled “Partition 70 years on: Salman Rushdie, Kamila Shamsie and other writers reflect” which supports the claim that writers are still important reference points for an understanding of the past, even if they did not experience it first-hand as in the case of Kiran Desai.

Fiction which is art has become an accepted form of depicting the postcolonial reality to a global audience (along with other art forms, practices and products, of course). As the demand and interest grew and continues to grow, for more, a market opened for this nation and its cultural metaphors. And along with the pleasure of reading these novels came the acquisition of knowledge of India leading to the creation of the academic and theoretical branch. Over the decades, postcolonialism has blossomed into a vibrant academic and theoretical field for research, and by now, well into the 21st century, it is inevitably beginning to raise debates of another nature that are necessary for the ongoing debate on how this historical fact has influenced the contemporary society undergoing constant social, cultural, economic and political changes, as I will go on to discuss further on in this paper.

Returning to the decades following the independence of India and the boom of postcolonial literature from this emerging nation and its people reconstructing their national and cultural identity, what characteristics did these novels possess that appealed to Western readers? To start, these narratives by writers such as Salman Rushdie, Anita Desai, Amitav Ghosh and others, were written in English, making them accessible as first-hand texts to the world, even though most did play with language and make use of linguistic devices that fuse Indian languages with English. This practice turned out to be a ‘trademark’ of much postcolonial and diasporic literature, not only of that which was of Indian origin, or of literature written in English¹. Postcolonial narratives challenged dominant discourses since although they did have a historical depth to their narrative content, it was mostly presented

¹ A good example of this is Dominican writer Junot Diaz’s novel *The Brief and Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* which fuses English with Spanish and with Dominican slang or creole.

through a subversive dimension. Memory, collective memory, family history and nostalgia were thoroughly explored and used in the reconstruction of the past and homeland. Therefore, these novels shed a new light on institutionalized ideas not only through a re-presentation and re-writing of history through a new form, but also by representing and giving voice to the experience of social and ethnic minorities (both creating and challenging stereotypes). With the rise of movements across borders and the settling of Indian nationals, and of other South East Asian countries, on new territories, these writers also began portraying hybridity, migration and other social realities of the contemporary society at home and in the host land. In sum, these narratives provided many global readers with subject matter they could relate to and so opening the market for “a pocket overview of twentieth-century Indian history” in the words of Kortenaar. (2004)

Although prior to Independence writers of the Indian subcontinent or of Indian descent were already writing in English, the dawn of this *movement* can be pin pointed to Salman Rushdie and his prize winning novel *Midnight's Children* (1981), and I quote *Granta* editor, Ian Jack in his introduction to the 2015 commemorative edition dedicated to India,

In 1980 Anita Desai became the first India-born and India-domiciled writer to have a novel selected for the Booker shortlist, her *Clear Light of Day*, but the big change came after Salman Rushdie published *Midnight's Children* the following year. The charge could be laid against him that, as a product of an English private school and an ancient English university who had settled in London, he too was an outsider. But he had grown up in Bombay and didn't approach his subject with a stranger's eye. A new post-imperial generation recognized themselves in a novel that brilliantly evoked the India in which they'd come of age, and its worldwide success encouraged young Indian writers to see that their country not only offered important things to describe but also that they might be the best people to describe them. (Granta 2015: 9-10)

What were the historical processes that led to the space created for the Indian postcolonial novel in English as a representation of the nation and culture? As analysed in greater depth in the first chapter of my thesis, it is possible to identify shifting ideologies from Orientalism, where ethnographic and historical records of India were voiced through British imperialism and philosophical perspectives which dominated in the 18th and 19th centuries, to Re-Orientalism, a term used by Lisa Lau and Ana Mendes (2011) to classify how Orientals have been defining, or re-defining the orient in a post-colonial context. Indian literature in English, as other postcolonial literatures ‘carved out’ a space for itself redefining the fictional narrative as a national allegory or postmodern ethnography, or what Tyler has called an ‘evocation’. (Tyler, 1986)

Postcolonialism which I like to consider not only as an era that proceeded colonialism, but also as the cultural space where new narratives emerge through the re-ordering and reassessment of culture and identity within a more global ideal, is the second theoretical approach I developed in my thesis. According to anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, cultural systems can only remain authentic by existing outside historical time. (Sahlins, 1995) In the same way, historical circumstances will have no effect on a culture unless they

cause a break and reconnection in the system. Furthermore, the course of history is also in the hands of individuals who have the agency to transform culturally imposed structures.

It seemed that history had to be kept at a distance, lest “system” be put at risk. As I say, action entered into account only as it represented the working out of an established order, the “stereotypic reproduction” (Godelier’s phrase) of existing cultural categories. This nonhistorical appropriation of action could be supported, moreover, by the sound argument that circumstances have no existence or effect in culture except as they are interpreted. And interpretation is, after all, classification within a given category. “It is not enough to say,” the philosopher tells us, “that one is conscious of something; one is conscious of something as being something” (Percy 1958:638, emphases added). The percept becomes a fact of human consciousness – or at least of social communication – insofar as it is embedded in a concept of which the perceiver is not the author. The concept is motivated in the culture as constituted. (Sahlins 1995:7)

Colonialism awoke in the indigenous subject a collective consciousness of the socio-cultural and political circumstances that defined them but which they were also able to redefine.

This socio-political consciousness also arose in the Western subject, however, in this case it was manifested through the idea that ethnic difference was not necessarily a phenomenon of civilization but rather that it had a cultural dimension which should be understood locally first, rather than through the imposition of a universal formula, and then acknowledged as one system among many others pertaining to the idea of a multicultural interconnected world. Consequently, through the postcolonial this process of shifting perspectives and transformations began to take shape as a cultural form.

Because history is largely based on interpretation it involves perspective, and an ongoing dialogue between present and past, historian (analyst) object of study and audience. The historian, therefore, is not only a medium through which historical facts are gathered and exposed, but also a creative interpreter of the past who has access to and is capable of gathering information and rearranging it so as to gain meaning within a cultural logic. The narrative gives meaning to the culture in question but it is also a product of the dominant forces that give it life. This was as true in imperial ideology as it is true today.

Meanings are not fixed, but ever changing. And time, though it does move forward, as human science and experience has determined, through memory and reinterpretation the past can be revisited, re-defined, re-created and re-ordered infinite times. So, the interpretation of history has moved closer to how human beings actually experience the passing of time.

The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again. “The truth will not run away from us”: in the historical outlook of historicism these words of Gottfried Keller mark the exact point where historical materialism cuts through historicism. For every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably. (The good tidings which the historian of the past brings

with throbbing heart may be lost in a void the very moment he opens his mouth.) (Benjamin 1977: 255)

Events are not only meaningful because they happened, but because of how they affect us as human beings, part of a collective reality. The claim Walter Benjamin is making is that historical materialism rests fundamentally on the premise that events in the past are historical if they are rendered meaningful in the present understanding of our world. The past stored in memory is an imaginary construction of reality as it relies on how an event is remembered by individuals. But this is history making and history writing in postmodern times. A moment in time may be forever lost to mankind if it is not captured and retold or recreated for a present audience. This is the process by which the past becomes history and by which history becomes historiography, historical writing or historical fiction.

“To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it “the way it really was” (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger. Historical materialism wishes to retain that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to man singled out by history at a moment of danger.” (Benjamin 1977: 255)

So, Jeannette Armstrong when researching on the Syilx (Okanagan) people asks the question, “What should a literature for our times be?” (Armstrong 2012: 355) The postcolonial created the possibility to tell old stories in a new language (in a literal and figurative sense), through a new narrative which may reach out to the people of today and the people who are in the process of becoming. And this process has affected former indigenous or colonized peoples differently of which Indian writing in English is just one among the others. What matters here is agency and voice and extending this possibility endlessly.

The postcolonial narrative emerges as a discourse for a national identity where the construction of a new society must go hand in hand with the reconstruction of a new ideal of society, whereby the past is not lost, and difference is not marginalized but both are re-worked and adapted to present circumstances.

Through postcolonialism, the national subject – individual or collective has become historical, and power has been re-asserted within those speaking out. Therefore, new subjective forms and interpretations of historical processes and culture keep emerging in order to provide coherence to the postcolonial nation and its people.

Because of the changes in the physical and symbolic geographies of nation, borders have opened to welcome and incorporate new realities. The core has expanded, just as what may have once been considered periphery has migrated inwards, redefining boundaries. And not only has the centre expanded to accommodate new realities but new spheres of action keep emerging. The focus is on present day society as the site where new cultural processes and transformations are occurring.

An important branch of postcolonial literature focuses on the diasporic subject. Diaspora is that space where hybrid identities and cultural practices gain shape. The fluid nature of societies results in the complexity of the diasporic subject with a fragmented sense of the self, caught between cultural roots, capitalist structures, tradition and progress, a nostalgia for the homeland, and the search for identity. Since a return to the homeland most of the times never happens, diasporic subjects create what Rushdie has timelessly termed 'imaginary homelands' where an ideal of the lost 'home', 'nation', 'culture' is recreated in the hostland or in the imaginary and this aspect becomes an important and nurturing factor of identity worked through the poetics of belonging. The text, along with other forms of diasporic creativity allows writers and readers to explore these feelings. Diaspora also raises questions on the coherence of the modern nation due to the scattering of people, the fusion of languages and cultures, the blurring of borders and the unstable nature of contemporary society. It is in the nation as space that the negotiation of these meanings takes place. And it is through this process that cultural metaphors emerge.

While dwelling in a sense of detachment, displacement and isolation, caught between the desire to move on and the need to hold on, the diasporic subject resides in that space between longing and loss in the attempt to fill the emptiness caused by separation from the homeland or loved ones. Desai sums this beautifully in the following quote:

"Could fulfillment ever be felt as deeply as loss? Romantically she decided that love must surely reside in the gap between desire and fulfillment, in the lack, not the contentment. Love was the ache, the anticipation, the retreat, everything around it but the feeling itself." (Desai 2006:2)

The two novels I have discussed in my thesis, as well as other examples from postcolonial literature, also enter the realm of the postmodern. By this I mean that, since contemporary art challenges standard forms, in doing so it also exposes the complex realities through which the world and its structures have been subverted. One of the main focus points of postmodernism is to question representation itself and then, to expose culture as a commodity. When dealing with the past, as Linda Hutcheon argues, the postmodern always involves a return, though not a nostalgic return as in the postcolonial, but a "critical reworking" (Hutcheon 1988, 2000).

Postmodernism's distinctive character lies in this kind of wholesale 'nudging' commitment to doubleness, or duplicity. In many ways it is an even-handed process because postmodernism ultimately manages to install and reinforce as much as undermine the conventions and presuppositions it appears to challenge. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to say that the postmodern's initial concern is to de-naturalize some of the dominant features of our way of life; to point out those entities that we unthinkingly experience as 'natural' (they might even include capitalism, patriarchy, liberal humanism) are in fact 'cultural', made by us, not given to us. Even nature, postmodernism might point out, doesn't grow on trees. (Hutcheon 2002: 2)

Postmodernist art reflects the fragmented nature of contemporary society, of history and of form and consequently of the individual caught in the middle of all this mess. The narrative style, the fictional content and the characters in these novels are good examples of these aspects of the postmodern since they fall neatly into the defining aspects of the form. And so postmodern art tries to represent the loss of coherence and familiarity, this fragmentary nature of existence and loss of meaning. It also represents the fact that meaning, interpretation and representation are in the hands of those who express and promote it through individually and subjectively chosen forms.

The postmodern narrative distorts standards of language use. This playing with form and expectations not only challenges institutionalized structures but also imitates new Englishes which are emerging around the world such as Hinglish or even aiming for postmodern versions of the oral tradition where the written word has sound, even an accent (Chantal Zabus, 2002) or even creating a sense of disorientation in the reader. The postmodern explores the open and incomplete nature of the narrative, a reflection of the world itself as an incomplete text, plays with creative processes that unbury the old and fuse it with the new, the local and universal, focuses on reproduction, experimentation and consumerism to both denounce and express the loss of value and references. There is a definite movement from the intended and idealized colonial order to represent a post-colonial disorder. This notion of “disorder” however is also intentional as a critique of colonialism and the historical consequences it carried with it. Postmodern narratives reflect life in its naked form since, to quote, James Clifford, “living does not easily organize itself into a continuous narrative.” (Clifford 1986:106)

The third and final approach to the analysis of the postcolonial novel as developed in my thesis, draws attention to the relationship between fiction and the ethnography. Because of the subjectivities involved in the act of observing and documenting human behaviour, anthropologists James Clifford and George E. Marcus edited a book called *Writing Culture* in 1986 in which the collected essays by different anthropologists focus on the narrative aspects of the ethnography and how close these come to fiction. As human beings performing cultural analysis we get caught in a world of subjectivities affected by intrinsic and extrinsic factors. In Roy’s words, “when I tell a story, I tell it not as an ideologue who wants to pit one absolutist ideology against another, but as a story-teller who wants to share her way of seeing. (Roy 2007:33)

The two novels by Roy and Desai, while portraying different aspects and practices of Indian culture may be acknowledged as ethnographic accounts. Our lives are composed of stories, and through storytelling we all contribute towards a broader knowledge of the world. Anthropology and History allow for an understanding of the processes that shaped the world, but fiction gives us the possibility to move in or out of fact and reality as outside observers, into the realms of the imaginary, the personal, the emotional, the private, the local and the forgotten adding new dimensions to the understanding of events, local realities or life in general. As I mentioned earlier when discussing history, following observation, the ethnography also involves the practice, or art of writing and here is where the narrative is a creative construction on the part of the ethnographer. The reader, as the audience are a fundamental part of this three-dimensional process as they are on the receiving end of the

interpretation or formulating new narratives and interpretations. Postcolonial fiction supports the idea of the indigenous ethnographer.

A new figure has entered the scene, the “indigenous ethnographer” (Fahim, ed. 1982; Ohnuki-Tierney 1984). Insiders studying their own cultures offer new angles of vision and depths of understanding. Their accounts are empowered and restricted in unique ways. Their diverse post- and neo colonial rules for ethnographic practice do not necessarily encourage “better” cultural accounts. The criteria for judging a good account have never been settled and are changing. But what has emerged from all these ideological shifts, rule changes, and new compromises is the fact that a series of historical pressures have begun to reposition anthropology with respect to its “objects” of study. Anthropology no longer speaks with automatic authority for others defined as unable to speak for themselves (“primitive,” “pre-literate,” “without history”). (Clifford 1986:10)

Local realities, practices and events are narrated or told through an insider perspective, beliefs and experience as opposed to the traditional role of the ethnographer who would do so as an outsider with a pre-defined idea. Whereas ethnographies provide an interpretation, fiction opens the door to interpretations. Postcolonial narratives not only expose the transformations in the traditional roles of the ethnography, anthropology or history but also become the site of multiple stories and endless possibilities of story-telling.

In conclusion, these reflections on the postcolonial have proposed an analysis of history, culture and identity through fiction, while exposing the difficulties and benefits in the methodologies because of the transformations cultures undergo at a constant rate. The discussion in this paper, which as I have repeatedly referred is more amply analysed in my thesis is also meant as a deconstructive effort challenging the fixed nature of concepts that have been used in the interpretation of cultures such as ‘history’, ‘postcolonial’, ‘authentic’, ‘objective’ and ‘ethnography’ to emphasize the importance of the individual, the subjective, interpretation and creativity, though always within a cultural logic. With decolonization the world witnessed the opening of new spaces for representation, new narratives coming from newly emerging nations and cultures, on the global map. Postcolonial fiction adopting the colonizer’s tongue and form defined an image for itself in the appropriation and re-writing of history, as a voice of resistance denouncing social and political inequalities and in the propagation of a national culture at home and in the diaspora. Studying fiction and art has been shifting perspectives but with further transformations in society resulting from the increasing movement of people throughout the world, technology, the diffusion and fusion of cultural forms and the commodification of cultures, what is the role of the postcolonial today? Does it lose itself in the theoretical abstraction of the concept or can it continue to make itself visible as an active form in contemporary global society and in a complex world where imperialism is still deep-rooted? In Desai’s words, the “truth is apparent. All you need to do is reach out and pluck it.”

I understand the postcolonial novel as a metaphor, an evocation, an idea of the nation, and as such a text open to endless interpretation, reflecting the inconsistencies of

history and modernity. Because culture itself is a process of ongoing transformations where neither the past, present nor future should be disregarded but rather engage in a constant negotiation of meaning in a rapidly moving world. And I end with a quote from Clifford when he states that “Cultures do not hold still for their portraits” (Clifford 1986:10).

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Etude comparative de l'image de la Femme chez les poètes mystiques iraniens

Sedigheh Sherkat Moghaddam

Maître assistante à l'Université Allameh Tabataba'i, Iran

Résumé

La femme symbole du bien et du mal a supporté des rôles différents et très contradictoires dans la littérature et la poésie persanes. Son image est à la fois enjolivée et dégradée : Mère, amante, source d'inspiration ou victime.

Cette recherche a pour objectif de chercher à analyser ces images en rapport avec un contexte historique bien défini. Le poids de l'imaginaire social dans la formation de l'image de l'autre, nous a poussés à développer la question du monde imaginaire ainsi que du monde imaginal pour comprendre la formation des images féminines chez les poètes mystiques iraniens. Le mysticisme et le soufisme ont un impact sur les poètes et même les écrivains contemporains. La place occupée par les femmes dans le monde mystique a également captivé notre attention. L'accent est mis encore une fois sur les conséquences de la présence des femmes dans la vie des hommes. C'est ainsi que la poésie et la littérature mystique se révèlent tel un outil de travail dans l'étude du statut de la femme au cours de l'histoire.

Nous proposons une étude comparative des images identifiées chez les poètes et les écrivains mystiques iraniens tels que Sana'i Ghaznavi, Attâr de Neyshabour, Mowlana Djalâl e-ddin Rumi et Ibn Arabi. Nous allons voir que malgré la diversité de ces images, la plupart d'entre elles, sont positives et symboles d'une qualité parfois surhumain de la Femme.

Mots-clés : Poètes mystiques, femme, Ibn Arabi, Sana'i, Attar de Neyshabour.

Introduction

Chaque créature dans le monde occupe une place particulière qui est entièrement propre à elle. Les lois établies, la valeur humaine et le domaine de travail de chaque individu dépend de ses propres qualités et ses propres caractéristiques, déterminant sa position dans l'existence.

Etant donné que la femme, en tant qu'un être humain, joue un rôle essentiel dans le monde, la connaissance de ses caractéristiques spirituelles et morales, ses capacités et sa place sociale, économique et culturelle, nous donne une conception globale de la société humaine.

Dans cette recherche, nous essayons de présenter l'image de la femme iranienne chez les poètes et les auteurs mystiques, en souhaitant révéler les images réductrices et clichés qui pèsent sur les femmes et mettre en scène la pluralité de l'imaginaire socioculturel des soufis au cours des siècles.

Malgré la diversité imaginaire et poétique de ces auteurs mystiques, ils présentent la plupart du temps une image positive et admirée de femme. On pourrait dégager à travers de leurs œuvres des images qui représentent la femme en tant que :

- Femme divine,
- Mère,
- Femme: symbole de la raison
- Femme: symbole de la connaissance
- Femme: symbole de l'amour
- Femme: symbole de pureté
- Femme: symbole de la création
- Femme: symbole de magnanimité
- Femme : symbole de l'incarnation divine sur la terre
- Femme soumise et Amant,

Cette étude a pour objectif de chercher à analyser ces images en rapport avec un contexte historique bien défini et la foi des poètes soufis. Le poids de l'imaginaire social dans la formation de l'image de l'autre, nous a poussés à développer la question du monde imaginaire ainsi que du monde imaginal pour comprendre la formation des images féminines chez les poètes mystiques iraniens. La richesse de l'héritage poétique iraniens et le mysticisme ont influencé les poètes et même les écrivains contemporains. La place occupée par les femmes dans le monde mystique a également attiré notre attention. L'accent est mis encore une fois sur les conséquences de la présence des femmes dans la vie des hommes. C'est ainsi que la poésie et la littérature mystique se révèlent tel un outil de travail dans l'étude du statut de la femme au cours de l'histoire.

Nous proposons une analyse globale des images identifiées chez les poètes et les écrivains mystiques iraniens.

1. Le développement et l'accroissement des images féminines chez les poètes iraniens

Les recherches démontrent l'importance de l'impact de l'imaginaire collectif et l'éducation familiale et sociale dans la formation des images de l'Autre chez les individus. Nous posons ici

la question sur la nature de l'image des femmes dans la poésie mystique d'Iran. Selon Leila fouladvand, «L'héritage littéraire et poétique, encore très présent dans la poésie iranienne, démontre l'influence d'un monde imaginal, crée et développé par les grands poètes et mystiques. La présentation de ce monde imaginal qui se distingue du monde imaginaire peut offrir une autre fenêtre pour s'ouvrir davantage à la culture iranienne.» (2007, 4) La formation des images féminines dans la poésie est directement en rapport avec la place de la femme dans l'imaginaire collectif et le monde imaginal des grands maîtres persans. Les stéréotypes de l'être féminin sont divers mais nous avons essayé de développer les plus remarquables, qui restent les plus courants. La poésie persane est l'expression la plus brillante et la plus riche du génie iranien. Née il y a plus d'un millénaire, elle s'est développée sans interruption jusqu'à nos jours. (Morakkabi, 2010, 18) Pour la compréhension de cette poésie et surtout son aspect mystique qui lui a donné beaucoup d'importance, la connaissance du « soufisme », est nécessaire.

2. Le Soufisme et les poètes soufis iraniens

Comme l'islam en général, le soufisme a pour objectif la soumission à la volonté de Dieu et la préparation pour la rencontre attendue avec lui. Mais, plus que les autres musulmans, les soufis insistent sur la nécessité de dompter en eux le nafs, le « moi » égoïste, fréquemment comparé à un cheval fougueux, et influencé par -Satan. Ce n'est qu'une fois que le nafs est maîtrisé qu'une place est libérée pour Dieu dans le cœur du croyant et qu'une rencontre, un dialogue deviennent alors possibles avec lui. (Hoffner, 2013)¹

On pourrait expliquer la conception idéaliste et universaliste du soufisme comme l'élan de l'amour jusqu'au renoncement extrême et au martyre, le désir irréprensible et parfois détourné de réaliser l'homme en Dieu et Dieu en l'homme. Voilà pourquoi la folie de la sagesse et la sagesse du désir se sont exprimées dans une littérature qui atteint les sommets de la poésie, de la philosophie et de la théologie, en exprimant les plus cruelles douleurs de l'amour jusqu'à la crucifixion du corps, du cœur et de l'âme.

2-1 Les poètes soufis

Sanâ'î Gaznavi était le pionnier de la poésie mystique. Sous l'influence des enseignements de divers maîtres soufis, il a énoncé avec concision la théorie d'une poésie mystique qu'il a exposé le premier dans son œuvre et qui a marqué le développement du genre littéraire soufi dans l'histoire de la littérature persane. Ce genre littéraire atteignait l'un de ses apogées avec 'Attar de Neyshâbour.

Au XIII^e siècle, l'influence du soufisme ne fit que s'étendre davantage et l'on peut dès lors considérer que les deux genres de la littérature mystique et de la littérature morale se confondirent en une seule tradition. (Morakkabi, 2010, 20) Sanâ'î et 'Attar avaient préparé la voie au plus grand poète mystique persan, Mowlânâ Djalâleddin Roumi, que l'on voit apparaître au cours de ce siècle. A partir de lui, la mystique en littérature devint un genre formel tout en influençant l'ensemble des genres littéraires persans ainsi que de nombreux poètes : on peut citer entre autres le poète Arâghi, pratiquant le ghazal d'inspiration mystique, Hâfez, l'initiateur d'un

¹ <http://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Spiritualite/Le-soufisme-langue-des-mystiques-musulmans-2013-10-18-1045832>

nouveau lyrisme intime et d'une poésie amoureuse-mystique, ainsi que le dernier grand poète classique, Abdol-Rahmân Djâmi. (*Ibid*)

Cependant, la majorité des maîtres soufis présentent l'amour sous la forme de la poésie. Toute leur poésie, pourrait-on dire, s'y rapporte, de près ou de loin.

Si les maîtres soufis donnent une telle importance à l'amour, c'est qu'ils considèrent la station spirituelle qui y est associée comme une des plus insignes qui soient. L'imam Al-Ghazâlî dit à ce sujet : « Aimer Dieu est l'ultime but des stations spirituelles et le plus haut sommet des rangs de noblesse. Il n'est de station au-delà de celle de l'amour qui n'en soit un fruit et un corollaire ».

(traduit par Idrîs de Vos)²

Les saints musulmans ont toujours conseillé l'amour des femmes, qui exprimerait la foi en Dieu. Plusieurs hadiths (parole prêtée au prophète) évoquent l'amour et le respect du Prophète de l'islam pour ses épouses : «Le Prophète aimait ses épouses. Il cherchait Dieu en elles. On ne peut pas concevoir Dieu autrement que par la voie de ses créatures.» Notre Prophète disait : «Je respecte mes épouses plus que vous ne le faites».³ (Sarami ; Rezai, 2008) Pour lui, l'amour du mari pour sa femme était l'un des signes de la foi de l'homme en Dieu, et c'est en ce qu'elle rapproche les hommes de Dieu que le rôle de la femme a le plus d'importance. Le Prophète disait encore : «De ce monde, je n'apprécie que trois choses : les parfums, la femme et la prière». Le deuxième calife, Omar, s'appuyant sur les enseignements du prophète, a dit : «Après la foi, le plus grand des biens pour les hommes est une bonne épouse».

Pour les soufis musulmans, Dieu créa l'Univers afin de se faire connaître. Cet argument est basé sur un *hadith* : à la question du Prophète qui demandait la raison de la création de l'Univers, Dieu aurait répondu : "*J'étais un trésor caché et j'aimais me faire connaître. Voilà pourquoi j'ai créé le monde*". (*Ibid*) Alors que le bien-fondé de ce hadith soit par certains critiques mis en doute, ces derniers sont unanimes pour assurer que les sourates coraniques affirment également le besoin de la connaissance de Dieu comme source capitale de la Création.

Toutes les créatures sont donc uniquement des miroirs destinés à Le refléter. Parmi elles, la femme, dont Dieu a choisi la beauté féminine pour Le représenter.

Si l'homme est l'incarnation de la raison, la femme est le symbole ardent de l'amour. L'amour le plus élevé n'est que l'amour maternel. La nature a fait de la femme un ermite. C'est la femme qui met l'enfant au monde, le nourrit et l'élève. Selon Sa'adi, le poète renommé iranien, le lait maternel est un sang sailli du cœur de la mère. Ainsi, bien que parfois pessimiste envers la femme, il la tient pour une alchimiste capable de faire de son époux pauvre et misérable, un homme riche et heureux :

«La femme bonne, obéissante et pieuse

fait du pauvre derviche son mari, un roi » (Boustan)

Ibn Arabi, l'un des soufis renommés iraniens considère la femme en tant que cause essentiel de la création du monde. En un mot, tout le processus de la création était tout entier sous l'influence de la féminité. En se référant à l'un des hadiths cité dans le livre intitulé *Djamé ol Hadith*, il

² https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amour_dans_le_soufisme

³ <http://www.teheran.ir/spip.php?article850#gsc.tab=0>

insiste sur le fait que Mahomet aimait trois choses:« La prière, le parfum et la femme» donc la connaissance de Dieu est possible par le biais de la connaissance de la femme. Selon lui, la femme est le représentant du pouvoir divin.

Dans le tableau ci-dessus, on schématise l'image de la femme chez Ibn Arabi :

Tableau I

Poète mystique	Image de la Femme	Personnages principaux
Ibn Arabi	Femme : symbole de la création Femme : symbole de la connaissance de Dieu Femme : symbole de l'incarnation divine Femme : symbole de la sagesse	Saint Marie : Mère de Jésus Fatemeh : Fille du prophète (Mahomet)

Sanaï Ghaznavi aussi était un poète soufi du XIIe siècle. Il était philosophe et scientifique, son œuvre a eu une influence considérable sur les poètes mystiques du Moyen-Orient particulièrement sur Jalâl ud Dîn Rûmî auteur du *Masnavi-I Ma'navi*. *Hadiqat al Haqiqa* est l'une des œuvres la plus connue, c'est-à-dire « Le jardin de la vérité », un poème de plus de 11 000 vers. Sa poésie est d'inspiration soufie.

Il a présenté dans ses poèmes deux images contradictoires de femme: femme indécence et le symbole de la calamité et du Malheur (image négative) et la femme le symbole de certitude, de sincérité, et d'amour.

Dans "*Eshghnameh*", il raconte l'histoire d'un homme amoureux qui traverse chaque nuit la rivière Tigre pour arriver chez son bien-aimé. La force de l'amour l'aidait à y traverser en pleine santé. Un soir, il a vu pour la première fois une tache sur le visage de sa dulcinée. Elle lui dit que cette signe existe depuis toujours sur mon visage tandis que tu l'as remarqué ce soir pour la première fois, cela montre que tu n'es plus amoureux de moi. Donc tu ne dois pas traverser la rivière. L'homme ne l'écoute pas et il est noyé.

Dans *Hadighath-o Haghgha*, il présente la femme d'une part comme l'incarnation de la sagesse et la raison et d'autre part le symbole de magnanimité et la générosité. Dans une autre histoire, il met en scène une épouse qui dirige son mari dans la voie de la connaissance. Dans un autre récit, il présente la femme en tant qu'une mère, mais cette image maternelle n'est pas toujours positive. Il précise qu'une mère est prête à sacrifier ses enfants pour ses avantages personnels.

Dans les tableaux suivant, on schématise l'image positive et négative de la femme dans les œuvres de Sana'i Ghaznavi :

Tableau II

Poète mystique	Image positive de la Femme	Personnages principaux
Sana'i Ghaznavi	Femme en tant que mère Femme en tant qu'épouse Femme: symbole de certitude Femme: symbole de sincérité Femme: symbole de l'amour Femme: symbole de la justice Femme: symbole de la sagesse	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Améné : Mère du prophète(Mahomet) 2. Batûle : Fille du prophète(Mahomet) 3. Eve : Epouse d'Adam 4. Khadijé : Epouse du prophète 5. Zoleikhâ 6. Sareh : Epouse d'Ibrahîm

Tableau III

Poète mystique	Image négative de la Femme	Personnages principaux
Sana'i Ghaznavi	Femme : symbole de volupté Femme : symbole de calamité Femme : symbole de la fourberie	1. Aïchah : Femme du prophète

Faridde-Din Attar est un poète mystique persan du XII^e siècle qui a écrit plusieurs poèmes moraux et mystiques, dont les plus célèbres sont : *le Pend-namèh*, ou *le Livre des conseils*, *le Manîq al-tayr* ou *La Conférence des oiseaux*.

La conférence des oiseaux est l'histoire d'une bande de trente mille oiseaux pèlerins partant sous la conduite d'une huppe fasciée à la recherche du Simurgh, leur roi. Le texte relate les hésitations, incertitudes des oiseaux. À l'instar d'autres récits orientaux, le récit est émaillé de contes, d'anecdotes, de paroles de saints et de fous qui les accompagnent. Un à un, ils abandonnent le voyage, chacun offrant une excuse, incapable de supporter le voyage. Chaque oiseau symbolise un comportement ou une faute. La tête de file est la huppe, le rossignol symbolise l'amant. Le perroquet est à la recherche de la fontaine de l'immortalité, et non pas de Dieu. Le paon symbolise les « âmes perdues » qui ont fait alliance avec Satan. Les oiseaux doivent traverser sept vallées pour trouver Simurgh⁴ :

- Talab (recherche, demande)
- Ishq (amour)
- Ma'refat (connaissance)
- Isteghnâ (détachement - se suffire à soi-même)
- Tawhid (unicité de Dieu)

⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/La_Conf%C3%A9rence_des_oiseaux

- Hayrat (stupéfaction)
- Faqr et Fana (pauvreté et anéantissement)

Ce sont les phases par lesquelles les soufis peuvent parvenir la vraie nature de Dieu.

Ce voyage est une expression poétique de l'itinéraire mystique du soufisme iranien, doctrine selon laquelle Dieu n'est pas extérieur ou en dehors de l'univers, mais dans la totalité de l'univers. À l'issue de leur périple, c'est leur moi profond que découvrent les voyageurs.

L'un des récits le plus connu de ce livre, c'est l'histoire de Sheikh San'an, un vieux soufi, ermite, ascète et maître de quatre cents disciples qui a fait le pèlerinage à la Mecque une cinquantaine fois. Une nuit, il rêve qu'il est en train de prier une idole en Grèce. Lorsqu'il se réveille, il comprend qu'un résultat néfaste l'attend. Donc il décide de partir pour Athènes. En route, il rencontre une belle femme jeune. Il tombe amoureux d'elle. Il avoue son amour et la fille accepte de devenir sa femme à condition qu'il fasse ses quatre propositions:

Voici mes conditions, dit-elle :

*Adore d'abord des idoles, ensuite brûle le Coran,
Bois du vin, je veux te voir ivre, enfin jette ta foi au feu.* (Traduit par Leili Anvar)

Le Sheikh, éperdu, accepte et accomplit les volontés de la bien-aimée. Puis la chrétienne lui annonce qu'elle réclame une dote élevée. Les adeptes du Sheikh se retirent pour se dévouer à Dieu pendant quarante jours et prier pour l'âme du Sheikh. C'est alors que le prophète Mohomet apparaît dans le rêve du plus fervent adepte du Sheikh et lui dit que celui-ci échappera au piège de la fille. A la fin de l'histoire, c'est la fille qui poursuit cheikh et devient musulmane.

Dans cette histoire la femme est en même temps le symbole du bien et du mal :

*Or, ils virent un jour, tout en haut d'un balcon
Une jeune fille assise. C'était une chrétienne
Un être à l'âme pure, avancée dans la gnose
Et dans la connaissance de la voie du Christ
Au ciel de la beauté, elle était un soleil
Mais un soleil de gloire qui n'a pas de couchant
Jaloux de son reflet, l'astre du jour était
Plus jaune que les amants languissant dans sa rue
Quiconque avait le cœur accroché à ses boucles
Ceignait dans son désir la ceinture des chrétiens
Quiconque posait son âme au rubis de ses lèvres
Perdait la tête avant même de faire un pas
Ses cheveux embaumaient la brise du matin
Et plongeaient tout Byzance dans un frisson de musc
Ses yeux jetaient le trouble en plein cœur des amants
Sous les deux arcs parfaits formés par ses sourcils
Un seul de ses regards décoché aux amants
Leur faisait oublier et leur âme et la vie
Arches sur son visage aussi beau que la lune
Ses sourcils attiraient tous les regards épris
Et quand elle accordait un regard de douceur
Elle prenait au filet centaines d'amoureux*

*Sous ses boucles de jais, son visage éclatant
Était telle une braise, d'ardeur débordante [...]*

(Réunion des oiseaux, d. 1214-1225)

Dans *Elahi Nameh*, Attar met en scène une femme vertueuse, jeune et belle qui souffre de difficultés mais il ne trahit pas son mari. Elle est le symbole de la pureté.

Attar raconte également l'histoire d'une femme qui atteint à l'amour éternel et il le présente en tant qu'un modèle pour les autres.

Dans une autre histoire constituent ce livre, il montre qu'Eve accepte la demande du Satan et commet le péché originel à cause de son amour à l'égard de ses enfants et pas par la fourberie du Satan.

Dans le 20ème article de ce livre, le protagoniste s'appelle Zobeidé. Une femme sage qui connaît la différence entre le faux amour et l'amour vrai.

Dans le tableau ci-dessus, on remarque l'image de la femme chez Attâr de Neyshabour :

Tableau IV

Poète mystique	Image positive de la Femme	Personnages principaux
Faridde-Din Attar	Femme : symbole de beauté Femme : symbole de connaissance Femme : symbole de l'amour vrai Femme et l'amour maternel Femme : symbole de la sagesse	Rabe'eh : femme soufi Zobeideh : Epouse de Haroun al-Rachid

Tableau V

Poète mystique	Image négative de Femme	Personnages principaux
Faridde-Din Attar	Femme : symbole du désir Femme : symbole de fourberie	Eve

Pour les soufis iraniens, la femme est la bénédiction de ce monde, comme l'homme en est le mouvement. Il faut donc accepter les attributs tels que la tendresse et l'abnégation pour des éléments féminins. En revanche, les massacres, déprédations, abominations et guerres seraient des symboles masculins. Ainsi, l'humanité espère toujours en un univers sans pillages, sans massacres et guerres, c'est-à-dire un univers féminin. La vérité de la femme est la paix et la résolution des problèmes. Si les hommes sont les promoteurs de la guerre, les femmes sont les porte-drapeaux de la paix.

Pour les mystiques iraniens, la raison, élément masculin, est impropre à la connaissance de Dieu, alors qu'ils réservent cette connaissance à la voie de l'amour, élément féminin. La beauté de Dieu est à découvrir dans la beauté de ses sujets.⁵(Gadamali, 2008, 5)

Ainsi, la femme et sa beauté sont le moyen métaphorique de l'approche de Dieu. Pour atteindre le paradis de la Vérité, ce point doit être acquis. "*L'amour, est une hypothèse pour l'homme. Si tu ne connaît pas l'amour de Dieu, essaie au moins d'aimer le peuple afin de pouvoir le comprendre*".

⁵ <http://www.teheran.ir/spip.php?article850#gsc.tab=0>

Selon Hossein Gâzorhâhi l'auteur de *Madjâles Ol-Oshâq* (Xe siècle HL/XVIIe siècle ap. J.-C.) :

*«Dans les deux mondes, Dieu aime les beaux visages
Malgré les malveillants, toi, fais la même chose que Dieu».*

L'amour pour Dieu est donc à l'origine de l'amour pour la femme. Selon Sheikh Bahâ'i, grand théologien de l'époque safavide :

*«Qui n'a pas été épris d'une femme belle
Ne mérite pas le nom d'être humain.
Une poitrine vide de l'amour des belles
Est un vieux sac usé plein d'os».*

Badi'oz-Zamân Forouzânfar, commentant des vers de Mowlânâ, écrit : *«La beauté féminine n'empêche pas les mystiques, qui ont abandonné aux autres les plaisirs corporels, sensuels et matériels, de s'approcher de Dieu. Au contraire, cette beauté est pour eux la représentation même de Dieu. Notre grand Prophète apercevait la beauté de Dieu dans le visage d'Aïcha».* (Sarami; Rezai, 2008)

Mohammad Ghazzâli écrivait à ce propos : *«Avant chaque Révélation, le Prophète demandait à sa femme Aïcha de dialoguer avec lui afin de le reconforter.»* Et Djavâdi Amoli philosophe contemporain, écrit en se référant aux versets coraniques : *«Les femmes sont plus méritant et honorable que les hommes de côtoyer Dieu».* (1999 :45)

En Islam, il y a peu de femmes mystiques iraniennes. Pourtant, toutes étaient de grands maîtres. Ainsi, Attâr, grand mystique du XIIe siècle, présente dans son *Tazkira al-Owlia* (Mémorial des Saints) cent soufis et mystiques dont une femme, Râbe'eh Adavieh. Il y évoque le récit des deux pèlerinages de Râbe'eh où, lors du premier, elle fut la bien-aimée de Dieu et lors du second, l'amoureuse de Dieu. Selon Attâr, elle fut la première femme accueillie par la Kaaba :

« On raconte qu'après avoir prié quatorze ans et traversé les déserts, Ebrâhim Adham, arriva enfin à la Kaaba. A chaque lieu de prière, il s'était arrêté et avait prié pour enfin y arriver. Mais arrivant là, il ne vit point la Kaaba. Il s'exclama : "Où est donc la Kaaba ?" Un héraut céleste lui répondit : "La Kaaba est allée à la rencontre d'une femme qui était partie vers elle". Ebrâhim Adham vit alors Râbe'eh s'approcher de lui. Et ce fut à ce moment que la Kaaba revint à sa place... Râbe'eh rentra à Bassora et passa une année en prière. L'année suivante, elle partit pour la Kaaba en disant : "L'année passée, elle vint m'accueillir. Cette fois, c'est moi qui irai à sa rencontre ». (Sarami, 2008,8)

Cela dit, même si les éloges, comme nous l'avons vu, ne manquent pas envers la femme, la littérature persane demeure cependant souvent teintée de pessimisme en la matière. Ceci est d'autant plus valable pour la littérature de l'époque classique persane où foisonnent les exemples de la méfiance des poètes et des auteurs envers les femmes.

Quoiqu'il en soit, la culture orientale, ainsi que les autres cultures, contient une sérieuse dose de misogynie. Il ne faut pas oublier que la culture dominante a toujours été phallocrate et que la littérature reflète souvent une image précise de la société. Ainsi, dans cette société où la femme n'avait pas droit au chapitre, la littérature lui réservait également une place exigüe et triste. Aujourd'hui, avec les modifications subies par le rôle social de la femme, sa place a également changé dans la littérature et l'on ne voit plus trace de misogynie dans la littérature contemporaine.

Conclusion

La littérature de chaque pays est le reflet de l'idéologie dominante et les réflexions de ses maîtres à penser. La société iranienne, à partir du IV^e siècle, s'est attirée à la culture mystique et les poètes et les écrivains, soit sous l'influence directe des enseignements mystiques, soit sous l'effet de l'atmosphère dominante, se sont penchés sur le mysticisme.

Dans cette recherche, nous avons remarqué la place et le rôle déterminant des femmes dans l'accomplissement du mysticisme. Selon les soufis, la femme est le créateur, car elle crée l'amour et la gentillesse dans le cœur de l'homme et le fait pousser à dialoguer directement avec Dieu. La puissance créative de la Femme entraîne la naissance de l'âme spirituelle chez l'homme.

La majorité des poètes mystiques idéalisent souvent l'amour à travers une femme idéalisée. Un amour divin qui aboutit à l'amour de Dieu. L'image mystique de la femme ne correspond pas à la vraie femme avec l'âme, le corps et l'esprit mais elle représente une imaginaire divine des poètes mystiques.

Pour les soufis iraniens, la femme est la bénédiction de ce monde, comme l'homme en est le mouvement. Il faut donc accepter les attributs tels que la tendresse et le dévouement pour des attributs féminins. En revanche, les massacres, pillages, haines et guerres seraient des éléments masculins. Ainsi, l'humanité espère toujours en un univers sans pillage, sans massacre et guerre, c'est-à-dire un univers féminin.

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Western Theatre and the Production Processes of *Ọkumkpọ* Masquerade Performance of *Akpọha-Afikpo*: A Study in Comparison

Bernard Eze Orji

Dept. of Theatre Arts

Federal University, Ndufu-Alike, Ikwo

P. M. B. 1010, Abakaliki, Ebonyi State, Nigeria

callobe@yahoo.com +234(0)8037494775 +234(0)9091108021

Abstract

*Masquerade performances transcend mere mask adornment. It involves preparations that take varying lengths of time and painstaking efforts. During the elaborate behind-the-scene pre-performance processes of mask and costume construction, musical and choreography practices, composition of new songs and tunes, making of props and floats; all participants showcase deep gestalt spirit and collaboration. Such energies are also found within the process of production in contemporary western theatre. Way beyond arguing whether masquerade performances qualify as theatre or not, this paper concerns itself with x-raying the procedures of staging *Ọkumkpọ* Masquerade of *Akpọha*, and determining how each of its segments (script consultation, audition, rehearsals, building and or hiring costumes, publicity, presentation) exhibit theatreness. The preferred tool for this enquiry is performance analysis because of its suitability for interrogating each individual aspect of a staged/live event. Interviews will also be employed as an auxiliary method for eliciting data from participants. This paper concludes that every aspect of the modern theatre directing reflects in *Ọkumkpọ* Masquerade theatre production processes.*

Keywords: Masquerade, *Ọkumkpọ*, Western theatre Directing, Production Process, Performance.

Introduction

Theatre production though a collaborative art has the director as the ‘know-all’ and ‘see-all’ persona. He champions the leadership of every other arts of the theatre and commandeers them in pursuant to a unified theatre experience. He assumes the scriptwriter sometimes, the audience in other times and a master designer in yet many other times. He towers above the production and yet works closely with every artist to achieve the vision and concept of the production and the thematic preoccupation of the playwright. Downs, Wright and Ramsey corroborate this position in these words:

In order to turn these decisions into reality, the director must guide and persuade every member of the theatre ensemble and oversee all the artistic and technical aspects of the production. The director must synthesize the work of the playwright, the designers, and the performers into a unique theatrical event. This coordination allows a production to speak with the unique voice of an individual artist (172).

The performance, now so complete and effortless, took many weeks of planning, preparation and rehearsal by an elaborate organization of many workers with special skills, all brought into focus in one overall art of the theatre. Such is the case even in traditional African theatre. Hence, Masquerade performance in our traditional settings and more so in recent times, take more than just mask adornment but rather involves deeper preparations, taking days, weeks and even months of painstaking and total involvement and attachment to both content and context of the performance idioms. Through the elaborate pre-performance processes of building masks, costumes, and musical arrangements, choreography practices, composing new tunes, and sculpting masks, props, and floats, the actants and participants of this performance showcase deep gestalt spirit and collaboration. Ottenberg and Binkley validate this assertion when they reveal that “African children develop aesthetic sensibilities at an early age, roughly from four to fourteen years. By the time they become full-fledged adolescents they may have had up to ten years experience with various art forms – masking, music, costuming, dancing, and performance” (*Playful Performers*, blurb). It is around these various arts that emphases are placed to guide (direct) both child and adult maskers in their mastery, hence a reflection of western theatre in the production processes of the Okumkpò masquerade performance. Okagbue believes that most African cultures south of the Sahara have a masking theatre tradition of one kind or another. Looking at African masking theatre across this vast geographical landscape and its contextual application, the practices show very close similarities in terms of their stories of origin, organizational structure and support, actual performance process, and social and aesthetic functions (13). It is against this background that this paper has set out to compare western theatre directing and the production processes of Okumkpò Masquerade theatre of Akpòha. The occasion for the presentation of masquerade performance differs from one socio-cultural setting to another. They are seen mostly during festivals, either annuals or seasonal, such as new-yam festivals, cult or professional celebrations, etc. On the other hand, play production is part of the pedagogical experience of students of theatre which may be occasional like the Convocation Command Performance, Class Production in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a course of study, a theatre workshop (like the Play Participation) involving the whole student of the Department of Theatre, Dramatic and Performing Arts. However, the production

processes of Okumkpò masquerade performance show a significant procedural semblance with today's western theatre directing.

Brief Components of Play Production Processes in Western theatre Directing

Play production processes according to Effiong Johnson “is meant the marriage of all theatrical activities by cast and crewmembers, towards realizing a show...the synergy of these blended parts into a wholesome piece is what is called production” (35). As a comparative study, it is also expedient to reveal that the definition above captures what goes on in Okumkpò masquerade performance production. According to Chief William Obasei an elder statesman from Akpòha, during an interview with this researcher, he revealed that Okumkpò masquerade tradition is deep in communal gestalt spirit enlivened by participation and commitment to successfully host its performance.¹ Ottenberg who had studied into the sociological aspect of Okumkpò masquerade had this to say:

The older adult Okumkpò players – the play leaders (Nade Okumkpò) and the ori – represent the highest development of aesthetic expertise in masquerades. There is a continuity here of creativity and artistic development from childhood to at least middle age, after which time direct participation in this play and in other masquerades usually ceases (although some older males play advisory roles (*Masked Rituals...*136).

It is against this backdrop that this paper shall delve into the stages involved in a play production bearing in mind those components that make up and reflect the Okumkpò masquerade production processes.

a. Script Selection

Every director who is worth his onions knows that he or she does not need to plunge into any kind of play. A lot of things are considered before a choice is made of a play to direct by the director. Amongst these considerations include; the relevance of the play to the society, the human resources (availability of actors), the finance, the play's stageability, the stage demands, the audience appeal, and even the political environment of the time. Ideally, it is the duty of the director to choose which play he wants to direct. But Effiong Johnson identifies a caveat, a situation where “a community, an institution or government can want a particular play produced to meet a given yearning. A director would have to respect the choice of the sponsoring body and bring his profession to bear in the production of the chosen play.” (37).

b. Audition

Play production activities or generally speaking, play directing processes start with making a choice of a play to be staged. When a director finds a play worthy and stageable, within the resources available; including finance and human resources, he calls for audition. Effiong Johnson defines audition as “arrangee market for the director to shop for his cast” (60). As a director, you must have read the play many times and made a mental picture of the kind of cast that you would want for the production. And so, calling for audition becomes easier as you direct your attention to those actors and actresses that will help you actualize the vision and concept of the play. With these people in mind a general audition will definitely be to fill

up other roles and or as understudy acts. Through the media, posters, or letters of invitation, audition is fixed and the selection process is finalized.

The emphasis in this paper is to identify and do an in depth analysis of those aspects of the production processes in Ọkumkpọ masquerade which play production entails, hence the paper may not give profound analysis of the stages identified in play production since the objective of the paper is to establish that even our indigenous performance forms undergo a production process as involved in western theatre directing.

c. Rehearsal

Rehearsal involves the coming together at one locale of all the chosen members of cast for the practical demonstration of the roles allocated to them in the script. This brief and layman's definition accentuates Derek Bowskill's advice to every actor after the audition, as part of the pre-rehearsal work of the actor; "to read the play a number of times for overall impact and assessment of rhythm and style...to research and study the play for its detailed structure and inner meaning" (272). Every performance undergoes a form of tearing out, sewing up, patching up, adding and removing the superfluous and unwanted elements in a bid to perfect its overall performance aesthetic value. This is what rehearsal entails. According to Effiong, "the rehearsal period is the most crucial in the construct of a performance. It is the precious moment of taking the script and its contents off the pages of paper to the real floor of the stage. The quality of most performances is not without spending quality time on the rehearsal venue, trying to flesh out the scripts." (72)

d. Audience

The audience in the performance chain is the last man standing. Every production process is geared toward his satisfaction. In conventional stage play, especially the proscenium seating arrangement, the audience who pays an entrance fees is boxed in a corner in the auditorium and peeps at the performance. In traditional theatre where the audiences surround the performers, the immediacy is over powering and the audience participation is more visible, since the performers can actually feel and see their approval or rejection in clear terms through jeers or boos or through claps and occasional monetary appreciations at the heat of the performance. Ottenberg captures the role of the audience in traditional African theatre especially the case study of this paper, Ọkumkpọ masquerade thus:

The play is performed before almost the entire community: the audience is not determined by ability to pay an entrance fee; the players are not restricted by the expenses of the masks or costumes. It is a popular drama for everyone, concerned with people and events of which the audience already have some knowledge...the audience especially the male members, shout approval and disapproval at will and with gusto...the audience members move about a great deal and talk to one another. There is an easy, jovial air, with frequent interaction between audience and players as individuals come out and give "dashes" to the players. The audience is very much a part of the play (*Masked Rituals*, 139 – 140).

However, while there are philosophical arguments which support the view that art can exist in vacuum, for most artists the audience is an integral part of an artistic experience. Only

when the public experiences what the artist wishes to communicate is the creative process complete. For artistic, social and economic reasons, the audience is therefore a vital element in a theatrical production, and hardly can any theatre organization survive if it cannot attract an audience. Even the traditional performers play to the admiration of the audience who doubles as critics and pass judgments on the performance. Peter Brook in a passing comment that has continued to reverberate the significance of the audience asserts that if someone called an actor crosses the stage and another called the audience watches him, a theatre event has taken place.

Components of Western theatre Directing found in Ọkụmkpọ Masquerade Production Processes

Literatures abound about the ubiquity of African cultures south of the Sahara having a masking theatre tradition of one kind or another. Looking at these traditions across this vast geographical landscape and its contextual application, the practices show very close similarities in terms of their stories of origin, organizational structure and support, actual performance process, and social and aesthetic functions. The occasion of its presentation differs from one socio-cultural group to another. They are seen mostly during festivals, either annuals or seasonal, such as new-yam festivals, initiation rites of members, cult or professional celebrations, etc. Okagbue maintains our position on the ubiquitous nature of the masquerade in Africa. He explores it inter alia:

The masquerade theatre is the form most likely to be found all over the African continent. The major extant masking traditions in Africa today are: in Nigeria, the mmonwu of the Igbo; the Egungun and the Gelede masquerades of the Yoruba; the Ekine of the Kalabari; the Okumkpo of the Afikpo; the Okonko and the Ekpe of Ngwa, Ohafia, Arochukwu and Arondizuogu, and the Ekpo of the Ibibio; in Sierra Leone, the Ode-lay and Mammiwata in Freetown; the Dana of Dogon, the Do and Koteba of the Bamana and the Bozo, all found in Mali; further afield in Eastern and Southern Africa, the Gule Wa Mkulu of the Chewa of Malawi and Zambia; the Makisi of Angola and Zimbabwe; the Nkonde of Mozambique and Tanzania (2007:13).

It is against this backdrop that this paper finds it worthy to investigate Ọkụmkpọ Masquerade Performance of Akpọha in Afikpo North Local Government Area of Ebonyi State within the stages involved in its production processes and in comparison to the conventional stages of western theatre directing. This masquerade performance has been studied by scholars like Simon Ottenberg (1975) within its sociological underpinnings, Okoye in its forms and processes (1999), Ossie Enekwe (2007), Okagbue (2007), and by the present researcher within its intercultural and hybrid paradigms (2012). Attention therefore, has shifted to investigate its production processes vis-à-vis the production processes involved in western theatre.

Ọkụmkpọ Masquerade Performance at a Glance

The Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance in Akpọha is a seasonal performance that takes place in dry season usually in November through to January, depending on when it is billed to perform and the readiness of the organizers. This is usually when all harvests from farm work

have been concluded and the people are at rest. Historically, it has been known to involve young agile men and the middle aged. It is an ensemble performance with several players costumed differently to represent their different acts; including the white couple, police or traffic warden, girls, newly wed, nursing mothers, little girl child, and most importantly the four main characters commonly known as (nnade Ọkumkpọ) as well as the chorus members. Ottenberg observed the importance of this masquerade and its place of pride among the people of Akpọha-Afikpo when he remarked that “there is a rich and exciting variety of masquerades at Afikpo. The most popular one, and the best known to outsiders, is the Ọkumkpọ” (*Masked Rituals*, 13). Ọkumkpọ masquerade production process involves well-orchestrated planning and execution in its performance hence it usually involves the whole community and more so in its bid to not only succeed but also to create an impression. This is because the concept of performance in traditional Africa goes beyond the surface name but demands a communal collaborative spirit and unity of purpose geared towards perfection as each performance is measured in time and space of the performers and their aggregate performance. Okoye reveals that, “performances themselves attest to a governing aesthetic framework which strives to make every performance a refreshing experience for the audience” (64).

In its preparation towards performance, the main four characters of Ọkumkpọ (nnade Ọkumkpọ) made up of the four actors and singers and the rest of the members of the inner circle who have at one time or another had the opportunity of wearing the sacred mask of the Ọkumkpọ will usually start early in the year to gather up pieces of ideas, through listening to gossips among families, quarrels at home-stead, along the way to the stream among girls, from the market or farm among the women or the village rest house among the men, anything picked up will present beats and scenarios that will be developed into a drama sketch, songs, mimes for ribald comedy, caricature, burlesque, buffoonery and satire for the Ọkumkpọ masquerade performance.

Since Ọkumkpọ masquerade revels in mimicry and lampooning of the members of the society who are found wanting in the ideal society, care is taken to save the main Ọkumkpọ (the four characters) from the evil machinations of those it has brought to public ridicule. Ọkumkpọ masquerades are therefore, activated and protected by supernaturally charged “medicines,” substances made from sacred materials that are placed on the masks or the bodies of the maskers. The medicine dispels and protects the maskers to avoid evil plans orchestrated against them by those to whom the songs and dramatic impersonations, scenarios and or caricatures are composed for. These medicines are the province of the men who care for the lives of the masquerades even when masquerades are spirits of ancestors.

Production Processes of Okumkpo Masquerade Performance

Theatrically, Ọkumkpọ masquerade employs different stages in its performance. Just like in the theatre, the playwright gathers his ideas from so many sources and happenings around him in his environment which serves as his themes and help shape the aggregate thoughts which he articulates and conveys to his audience. In likewise manner, the Ọkumkpọ maskers though in performance are regarded as the spirits of the ancestors who have come with message from the great beyond, practically and in the physical they assume human figures and reside among the people to be able to elicit the tiniest of facts and the happenings around

them in the society for that is how they weave up all the scenarios, songs, dances, mimes, that now turn to buffoonery, satire, jokes, caricature and drama in performance. Among the many stages of the Okumkpọ masquerade production process include:

1. Gathering of bits or general workshop theatre or scripting
2. Call for participation by age grades in the community (audition)
3. Onya-edu (Night Rehearsal)
4. Oozu Abali (Presentation before the Okumkpọ Elders for adjustments or try-outs)
5. Costuming and Performance (Orji, 63 – 72).

1. Gathering of Bits And Pieces:

The gathering of bits and pieces of ideas, information or scenario for the Okumkpọ masquerade performance comes as the first test of readiness for the performance. This as earlier pointed out involves sneaking in on the people, stalking, spying on some of their actions and inactions, quarrels, gossips without their knowledge of such motives. This stage provides the stingers, scouts and the other members of the main Okumkpọ on what should form the themes of the performance since it (performance) involves such major divisions such as; dramatic scenario or improvisation, dance, songs, question and answer sessions. These men are so gifted that they turn a simple remark to a story and weave songs around it to the consternation of everybody. They go from house to house and from one spot of the community to another, piecing information or ideas together to form scenarios for dramatization.

Hence it is often said in Akpọha that the walls have ears because the Okumkpọ is always eavesdropping (acting undercover) and nobody knows when it has come so close as to be an unseen guest at one's home. According to Ottenberg, "the content of the play falls into three broad categories: (1) the ridicule of persons who acted foolishly, (2) the criticism of leaders who do not lead properly, and (3) the maintenance of the relative roles of males and females." He went further to list out themes from which these categorizations were based and from where the Okumkpọ masquerade bases its performance. A few examples will suffice; "Henpecked husbands, man who becomes drunk at a title ceremony and defecates in his pants, man who returns home poor and sells his father's land, man who is stingy in marriage and with his mother-in-law and men who die young because they bring in foreign medicines and do not control them properly" (*Masked Rituals...* 129). All these themes and sub-themes permeate the scenarios and songs of the Okumkpọ masquerade performance even to the present times.

According to Omezue Oka Agha² Okumkpọ masquerade evolved as a retaliatory measure against the women whose folk-songs were satiric and critical of the men. Therefore, such themes and sub-themes about women traverse the performance; women who dominate henpecked men, women who are interested in the secret society even when it is a taboo, beautiful girls who reject suitors and wait for Mr.-right who never come, women who fail to get pregnant because they have had a close shave with the secret society. The main themes which are later developed in the performance are that women should behave like females, following the traditional sexual dichotomy, and that men should not behave like women or let females dominate them. These positions are captured by Ottenberg inter-alia:

The whole performance outwardly symbolizes the division of the sexes at Akpọha-Afikpo. Females are excluded from participation,

they do not contribute to the production of the play except for lending costume parts and serving as source material for songs and skits (*Masked Rituals*...132).

It is at this stage that every piece of the action is strung together for a unified whole sequel to the performance. These actions replicate a playwright's effort when trying his hands on the best theme to capture the needs of the society through his creativity. And when the play is ready, he shifts it to the director who calls for an audition to select a cast that will launch the vision of the playwright and that of the director.

2. Call for participation by age grades in the community (audition)

The next stage in the production process of Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance is the call for participation by various age grades identified by the elders as ripe for the performance. In an interview held by this researcher with ³Omezue Oka Agha (a retired member of the Ọkụmkpọ characters), he revealed that during their time, it was competitive amongst age grades, which one would be chosen by the elders to present the Ọkụmkpọ in a particular year. At the village square before the general assembly of elders, the four main characters who must of necessity be among the chosen age grade will present before them, the bits and pieces of scenarios gathered in the course of their two to three months scouting, stalking, stinging and sniffing around, among the village people. The elders will listen to the songs, drama sketches, character delineation among the main four characters and other improvising acts. When satisfied that they have enough that will last a full day's performance, they will select from three to four different age grades capable hands; who can sing, dance, mimic, drum as well as act and set them out on a one month's seclusion where they will fine tune all the pieces of bits and scenarios already in their kitty. This is the journey into the rehearsal stage. The Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance is a massive outing of a large retinue of maskers numbering well over fifty performers supporting the main four characters in all acts in the art of the performance.

3. Ọnya-Edu (Rehearsal)

This stage is very crucial among the other stages in the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance. The location for the piecing together of these bits are usually an area secluded and an exclusive preserve for the main Ọkụmkpọ masquerade members involving the old members (nnade Ọkụmkpọ) and the new ones. They gather here, all the old hands in the masking art of Ọkụmkpọ to create the sketches, bits and songs for the performance. This is a process of trial and error. It is the Ọkụmkpọ performance rehearsal period as all the requirements that will make it pass for a theatrical rehearsal are imbued in the process. From staying away from the prying eyes and itching ears of the general public to accepting some pieces of the bits and discarding some as well as the involvement of the old hands in the process all give clue to what theatre director does.

Just like in the theatre where rehearsals are exclusives of the cast and crew, in the same vein, Ọkụmkpọ masquerade during this period requires absolute freedom from interference to create its scenarios. They go into the bush tracks located within the precincts of the village at the dead of the night and away from people's attention. This will be their rehearsal venue till when they think it is ready for a preview and invite the older men in their secret society of Ọkụmkpọ main. It is from this point in their rehearsal that they will introduce drums (nkwa),

xylophone (ekwe), rattle gourd (ohia or shekere), metal gong (ogele) and any other percussive that will aid the performance values and aesthetics.

4. Oozu-Abali (Presentation before the Ọkumkpọ Elders for adjustments or Try-Outs)

After the bits and pieces have been put together, and it has come up to the point of polishing, it is taken to the older and elderly members of the inner secret society in the masking art of Ọkumkpọ, who consider the progress and work load remaining in order to announce to the community the day for the performance. Though still under the rehearsal period but this time it is with deftness and mastery of the integral make-up of the performance that is required. Elders, middle aged, young men, who are initiates into the Ogo cult, are now eligible to participate in this stage of fine-tuning the performance since they will form the bulk of the chorus like in the Greek drama. The rest of the dancers, vocalists and all the characters in the performance now form part of this rehearsal in order to align with the overall performance requirements as is the case in African total theatre concept. Music, dance and dramatization form the major performance.

During this preview, the Ọkumkpọ elders or old members of the main (Nnade Ọkumkpọ), make suggestions and useful comments on the songs, dances, the drama sketches and the general formation of the chorus. Remarks on who should be the lead vocalist and dancer, which song should come first, at what point is the riotous interlude (chorus) expected in the performance as is always the case, are considered, decided and concluded after many trials with the maskers involved in the performance. This is usually before the general assembly of all initiates. This pre-performance arrangement helps to enhance co-ordination, orderliness and good picturization in the general performance. At no point in the performance can any masker decide to thwart what has already been decided and arranged in the house (Ulo-Evo) as defaulters are heavily penalized and may not be involved in subsequent performances.

5. Characterization and Costuming (Technical or Dress Rehearsal)

The characters in the Ọkumkpọ masquerade are varied just like their roles in the play and significantly costumed to reflect their acts. From the main Ọkumkpọ characters who double as the lead vocalists, characters and impersonators in the improvised scenarios, they are costumed like the Greek actors of the 5th century, with padded jackets stuffed to give them larger than life frame, around them is a heavy blanket, their head-gear holding their mask is a wonder to behold as there is virtually nothing under the sun that is not represented on this head-gear; from cowries, snail shell, snake skin, dry agama lizard, dry rat and fresh leaves. Anything to show awe and ugliness, and with a long ugly mask, in the hand of their leader (nnade Ọkumkpọ) is a small hand rattle conically shaped out of basket-ware with tiny raffia grass hanging from it and filled with pebbles. This serves as percussive instrument which is used to coordinate the songs among the four. On the leader's neck also is hung a live rooster for strength and protection of their outing as it is believed that people use all sorts of evil machination to stop them from ridiculing them before the community members. Ottenberg (172), captured it succinctly when he pointed out that, "some of the dancers had protective charms tied around their upper arms, this is prepared by a diviner from magical substances, wrapped up in leaves, and tied on with still more leaves." It is to avoid ugly incidences like collapsing in the market, forgetting of lines, songs or scenarios, defecating as a masker or the voices of the main Ọkumkpọ characters becoming hoarse and out of tunes that warranted

going to Igwe, a very revered deity that is famous for its protective charms. Each of the four main characters have in their right hands a locally made hand-fan to reduce perspiration emanating from the over-padded costumes. There are the dramatizers who impersonate the different villagers whom they have brought to the market to ridicule.

Another set of characters in the *Ọkumkpọ* performance are the four middle-aged dancers called (*Nchatancha*). These dancers have a story line in their dance steps; the first starts with “*ejem je akuja nja*, (I will break this earthen-ware pot), the second will respond with steps “*biko akuja kwa*” (please don’t break it), the third will follow up with a question in his steps, “*ogini la eseri unu?*, (what is the problem with you two?), and the last of the four will answer the question still with his own dance steps thus, “*o bu nja!, o bu nja!!*” (It is the earthen-ware pot!). When these steps are consistently followed, it produces good rhythm in time and space (dance) that is pleasant to hear and see. Their costumes are usually white shorts (pants), raffia rolled waist pieces stringed together, a waistcoat over a shirt, ankle rattles for both hand and leg made of smaller-sized seeds, and their masks are either of carved variety or the skull variety following the head-gear made of hat-feather (*okpu-eba*).

The next set of characters are the youthful dancers or satirical scene of mock dancers costumed as; ladies (*nchekwa lugulu*), dressed like society ladies with wrapper or skate and blouse carrying umbrellas. Girls (*agboghọ lugulu*), with umbrella, high-heeled shoes and well formed breasts which occasionally attracts the four main *Ọkumkpọ* characters as they dash out to squeeze them while the girl masquerades bolt away, the audience would usually applaud this action. The nursing mothers (*nne omogho lugulu* or *nne omogho njagidi*), christened so because of the way ‘her’ breasts are left to dangle freely carrying her daughter around while dancing, others are costumed as the callous policemen, military officers, traffic warders, white men and their wives with their long noses represented on their masks, as well as fools and buffoons. Each of these characters is costumed to represent its role. In all, it can be safely said, that these costumes are carriers of acts in the art of the *Ọkumkpọ* masquerade performance ensemble.

The next group is the chorus and drummers who make up the line around the four main *Ọkumkpọ* masquerades at the centre. All of them have poles of palm-fronds with feathered masks and clothes of their choices and sing the chorus at signal of the main *Ọkumkpọ* characters or during interludes when the audience roars with laughter during any dramatization or impersonation of any person. They are ready to present their acts before the community audience on *ahor* (*afor*) day when every group of maskers has been properly costumed. The performance is after all, a guided painstaking collaboration where elders, the middle aged and youths exhibit commitment, dexterity and artistic prowess in a bid for the performance to succeed. It is a communal theatre whose performance is integrated through its organization into a pattern of standardized stages (as discussed already) whose general order and style are known to the community that represents the masquerade’s audience. Furthermore, it is held together through its close relationship to the people of the community, whose foibles and inactions it explores and exposes. *Ọkumkpọ* masquerade is entertaining, critical as it is satiric and topical in its treatment of societal issues.

Conclusions and Observations

This paper undertook to investigate the production processes involved in western theatre and how these same processes reflect in the production processes of an African indigenous performance form like the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade theatre of Akpoha in Afikpo North Local Government Area of Ebonyi State, Nigeria. Some of the play production components investigated included; scripting, auditioning, rehearsal, technical and dress rehearsal. At the end, it was obvious that the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade production processes truly reflects and are comparable to any western theatre production. Generally speaking, indigenous performance forms especially the masquerades have come under serious critical attacks by scholars both of African descent and beyond about their place in critical discourses. This study therefore, is an attempt to bury some of the views expressed about their viability and potency to attract diverse scholarly critical investigations. Hence this effort to investigate the production processes of the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade within directorial stages often seen in western theatre.

Notes:

¹In an interview held with an elderly man Chief William U. D. Obasi at his residence at Akpoha Central School Road, Akpoha on 21st June, 2016 with the researcher, he revealed amongst other things the different stages involved in Ọkụmkpọ masquerade production, why it has become difficult to embark on the performance in recent times, why women are usually excluded from Akpoha masking tradition even when their clothing form part of the costumes.

²Omezue Oka Agha is a core member of the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade elders. His remarks during the interview held in his residence at his Drinking Joint, Old Market Road, Ohanwegu, Akpoha, on 12th August 2016, revealed significantly why Ọkụmkpọ masquerade theatre needs more scholarly investigations about its performances.

³In another revelation by Omezue Oka Agha who is also a member of the inner circle of the Ọkụmkpọ masquerade, he averred that women were the major reason why men undertook the art of Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance. The reason being that women had in the past used their moonlight night folk-song (egwu ome) to cast aspersions and ridicule the men. In retaliation, Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance was introduced to take a swipe on the women.

I thank these men for clearing some doubts I had before now about Ọkụmkpọ masquerade performance and lately its production processes that are comparable to any western theatre production. Their contributions and suggestions during my visits for the interview gave this paper the needed depth.

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Le raisonnement démonstratif dans le *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* de J.-J. Rousseau

Béchir Saidi

Université de Sfax, Tunisie

Résumé :

Les modes de raisonnement démonstratif à savoir le raisonnement par la décomposition, le raisonnement par le syllogisme et le raisonnement par l'analogie permettent à Rousseau de convaincre un auditoire spécifique voire spécialisé. Cet auditoire est le jury de l'Académie de Dijon qui cherche une réponse convaincante à la question de l'origine de l'inégalité humaine. La réponse correctement justifiée à cette question permettrait à Rousseau de remporter le prix que ce jury va accorder pour celui qui va témoigner que l'inégalité humaine est autorisée par la loi naturelle. Mais Rousseau va au-delà de la réponse à la question de l'inégalité parmi les hommes car il ne cherche pas seulement le gain du prix accordé par les académiciens pour celui qui répondrait correctement à la question de l'origine de l'inégalité. L'intention de Rousseau est plutôt de persuader un lecteur plus vaste et plus général du rôle fondamental de la civilisation et de la socialisation dans l'apparition de l'inégalité et de l'injustice entre les hommes.

Mots clés : Académie/ Analogie/ Auditoire spécifique et spécialisé/ Auditoire général et vaste, Convaincre, Décomposition / Démonstration/ Discours, Inégalité primitive et naturelle/ Inégalité civile et sociale/ Intention, Persuader/ Prix, Raisonnement, Syllogisme.

Introduction :

Nous allons voir dans cet article comment les modes de raisonnement démonstratif à savoir le raisonnement par la décomposition, le raisonnement par le syllogisme et le raisonnement par l'analogie permettent à Rousseau de *convaincre* un auditoire *spécifique*, c'est-à-dire comment Rousseau pourrait-il, grâce à ces modes de raisonnement, remporter le prix que le jury de l'Académie de Dijon va accorder pour celui qui va répondre correctement à la question qu'elle a soulevée sur l'origine de l'inégalité humaine : « Quelle est l'origine de l'inégalité humaine et si elle est autorisée par la loi naturelle ? ».

I. Les modes de raisonnement démonstratif dans le Discours de Rousseau :

1. Le raisonnement par la décomposition :

Dès l'introduction de son Discours, Rousseau procède par décomposition¹ : il commence par l'évocation de l'inégalité en général. Ensuite, il évoque deux types distincts de l'inégalité. D'une part, il parle de l'inégalité naturelle ou physique qui est « établie par la nature » et qui « consiste dans la différence des âges, de la santé, des forces du corps, et des qualités de l'esprit ou de l'âme ». D'autre part, Rousseau évoque l'inégalité « morale ou politique » qui est « établie ou du moins autorisée par le consentement des hommes ». Celle-là se manifeste dans les différences de richesse, d'honneur, de puissance, etc. Il dit alors qu'elle « consiste dans les différents privilèges dont quelques uns jouissent au préjudice des autres comme d'être plus riches, plus honorés, plus puissants qu'eux, ou même de s'en faire obéir »².

En fait, le raisonnement par la décomposition opère par déduction, c'est-à-dire le sens global du Discours découle d'une démarche inférentielle qui doit être adoptée par le destinataire. De plus, le sens pragmatique du Discours est aussi le résultat d'une procédure inductive qui sera mise sur le compte du lecteur. Celui-ci va partir de l'hypothèse vers la confirmation et la généralisation de la conclusion.

Le schéma suivant permet de figurer le raisonnement par la décomposition dans le *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* de J.-J. Rousseau.

¹ Analyse du tout en ses parties (# synthèse ou composition)

² Béchir Saidi, *Les Stratégies discursives dans le Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité de Rousseau*, p. 66. Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Sfax 2010.

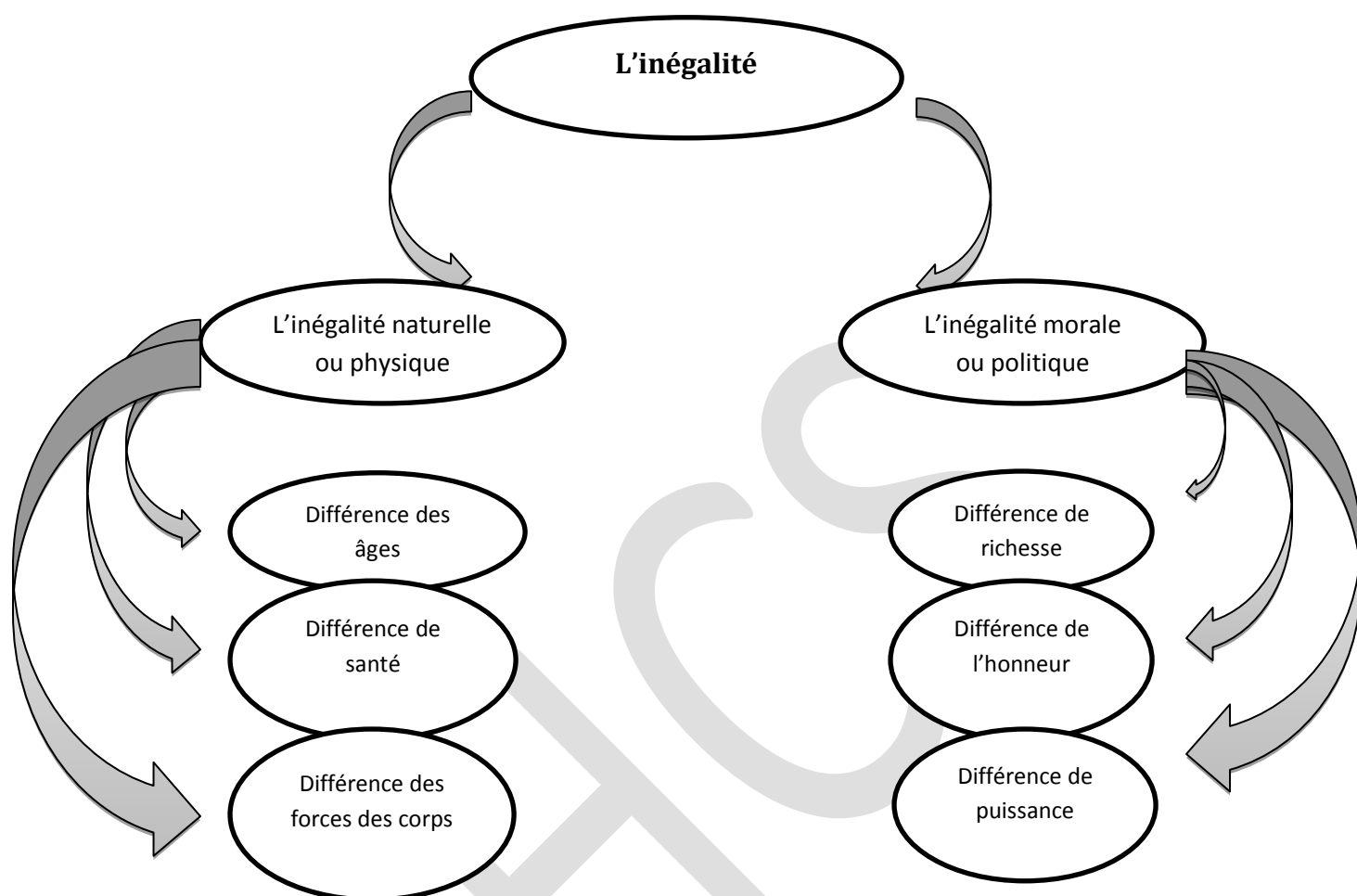


Schéma figuratif du raisonnement par décomposition dans le *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* de J.-J. Rousseau.

2. Le raisonnement par le syllogisme :

D'après le *Grand Robert de la langue française*³, le mot syllogisme est issu du latin *sylogismus* et du grec *sullogismos* et signifie « calcul, raisonnement ». C'est un « Raisonnement déductif rigoureux qui ne suppose aucune proposition étrangère sous-entendue ». C'est aussi une « opération par laquelle, du rapport de deux termes avec même un troisième appelé moyen terme, on conclut à leur rapport naturel ». Suivant G. Molinié, « Le syllogisme est un raisonnement logique, de forme précise et susceptible de types divers, dont la structure matérielle détermine l'efficacité, qu'Aristote a défini comme un discours

³ Le *Grand Robert de la langue française* (version numérique : <http://www.lerobert.com/le-grand-robert/>).

dans lequel, certaines choses étant posées, une autre chose différente d'elles en résulte nécessairement, par les choses mêmes qui sont posées »⁴.

En logique aristotélicienne, le syllogisme veut dire un raisonnement logique à deux prémisses valides menant à une conclusion vraie formellement. C'est le cas dans l'exemple suivant :

« Tous les hommes sont mortels » (prémisse majeure),
« Or Socrate est un homme » (la prémisse mineure),
Alors « Socrate est mortel » (la conclusion).

Pour nous, nous allons analyser un exemple de raisonnement syllogistique employé dans le *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* de J. J. Rousseau⁵.

A. Dans cet exemple, pour négliger le rôle de la médecine en nature, Rousseau utilise le syllogisme comme démonstration logique. Selon lui :

I. En société, il y a plusieurs maladies qui exigent des remèdes : 1^{ère} prémisse.

Or la médecine peut apporter des remèdes : 2^{ème} prémisse.

Alors la médecine est efficace pour guérir les malades vivant en société : conclusion I.

II. En nature, il y a peu de maladies qui ne nécessitent pas de remèdes : 1^{ère} prémisse.

Or la médecine a pour rôle d'apporter les remèdes : 2^{ème} prémisse

Alors la médecine n'est pas nécessaire au sein de la nature : conclusion II

En confrontant les deux conclusions I et II, nous allons remarquer que le raisonnement par le syllogisme permet à l'auteur d'exprimer sa vision de l'homme. Selon lui, la médecine est un art moderne qui vient pour diminuer les infirmités humaines au sein de la société. En revanche, dans la nature où ces infirmités sont rares, cet art moderne n'a pas d'efficacité ni d'intérêt. Il ajoute à ce propos : « Avec si peu de sources de maux, l'homme de nature n'a donc guère besoin de remèdes, moins encore de médecins ».

En somme, le raisonnement par le syllogisme constitue une stratégie discursive permettant au locuteur de construire le sens général du Discours. Cette stratégie permet également à l'interlocuteur de dépasser toute ambiguïté d'ordre sémantique et de dégager l'intention de l'énonciateur en suivant un *processus inférentiel* qui va des prémisses vers la conclusion.

3. Le raisonnement par l'analogie :

L'analogie⁶ est un mode de communication et de raisonnement qui va du particulier au particulier. C'est aussi une similitude qui s'établit entre deux éléments appartenant à deux domaines ou à deux champs différents. L'analogie a la structure suivante : A est à B ce que C est à D : l'ensemble des termes A et B s'appelle le *thème* et l'ensemble des termes C et D s'appelle *le phore*. Dans le *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, nous assisterons à l'exemple suivant, où il se trouve une analogie entre l'homme et l'animal en ce qui concerne leur passage de la nature à la société :

⁴ Georges Molinié, *Dictionnaire de rhétorique*, p. 313. Le Livre de Poche, 1992.

⁵ Béchir Saïdi, *Les Stratégies discursives dans le Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité de Rousseau*, p. 36, Mémoire de mastère. Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Sfax, 2010.

⁶ Du latin *analogia*, mot grec, de 1. *Ana-*, et rad. de *logos*. → Analogue. (Le Grand Robert)

« Le cheval, le chat, le taureau, l'âne même ont la plupart une taille plus haute, tous une constitution plus robuste, plus de vigueur, de force, et de courage dans les forêts que dans nos maisons ; ils perdent la moitié de ces avantages en devenant domestiques, et l'on dirait que tous nos soins à bien traiter et nourrir ces animaux n'aboutissent qu'à les abâtardir. Il en est ainsi de l'homme même : en devenant sociable et esclave, il devient faible, craintif, rampant, et sa manière de vivre molle et efféminée achève d'énerver à la fois sa force et son courage ».

Ainsi, ce passage de la nature à la société est à l'origine de la génération des conséquences nuisibles aussi bien sur l'homme que sur l'animal. La socialisation engendre la décadence morale du premier et l'altération de la vigueur et de la force du second, comme le montre le tableau ci-dessous :

	En nature	En société
1. L'homme	Force, courage, etc.	Faible, craintif, rampant, mollesse, etc.
2. L'animal	Robustesse, vigueur, force, courage	Perte de ces avantages, abâtardissement

II. L'intention de Rousseau : Convaincre le jury

1. Le jury comme auditoire spécifique :

Le jury de l'Académie de Dijon, qui a proposé une récompense pour celui qui va répondre correctement à la question qu'elle a soulevée sur l'origine de l'inégalité, constitue un auditoire spécifique et spécialisé que Rousseau cherche à *convaincre* à travers un raisonnement logique et valide. Les académiciens se représentent comme un auditoire-juge étant donné que ce sont eux qui vont « juger » l'adéquation de la réponse rousseauiste vis-à-vis de la question posée. Dans ce contexte, l'auteur atteste : « C'est de l'homme que j'ai à parler, et la question que j'examine m'apprend que je vais parler à des hommes, car on n'en propose point de semblables quand on craint d'honorer la vérité. Je défendrai donc avec confiance la cause de l'humanité devant les sages qui m'y invitent, et je ne serai pas mécontent de moi-même si je me rends digne de mon sujet et de mes juges »⁷. Perelman et Olbrechts-Tyteca se proposent d'appeler *convaincante* toute argumentation « *qui est censée obtenir l'adhésion de tout être de raison* »⁸. Ainsi, Rousseau ne s'adresse pas dans son Discours à un auditoire particulier mais à un auditoire universel spécialisé doué d'une raison et d'une instruction.

⁷ Introduction du *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*, p. 24. Paris, Éditions Hatier, 1999, 2000.

⁸ Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l'Argumentation*, p. 36. Éditions de l'université de Bruxelles, Belgique 1988, 1992.

2. Convaincre et non persuader :

L'auteur du *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* cherche à *Convaincre* (*convincere*, de *con-* et *vincere* « vaincre »⁹) le jury de l'Académie de Dijon, comme destinataire spécifique, de la véracité de sa réponse concernant la question de l'origine de l'inégalité. Les académiciens aspirent à ce que Rousseau dise que l'inégalité humaine est d'origine naturelle pour qu'il puisse remporter le prix. Cependant Rousseau propose que l'inégalité humaine est d'origine purement sociale voire civile. En réalité Montesquieu cherche à *convaincre* les académiciens de Dijon de la vraie origine de l'inégalité et non de les persuader. Pour ce faire, il tente d'adapter son discours à cette intention de conviction. De ce fait, l'enjeu du raisonnement conditionne les types d'arguments et par conséquent le type d'auditoire. Si l'enjeu est de convaincre, alors l'orateur s'adresse à un auditoire universel spécialisé. Par contre, s'il s'agit simplement de persuader, alors l'auditoire visé est particulier et non spécialisé. Dans cette optique Ch. Plantin nous dit que « La distinction des auditoires particuliers et d'un auditoire universel fonde la distinction entre les arguments seulement persuasifs, admis par un auditoire particulier, et les arguments convaincants, admis par l'auditoire universel, donc vrais »¹⁰.

De plus, Rousseau recourt à un mode de raisonnement démonstratif plus qu'argumentatif afin de réaliser son enjeu discursif à savoir la conviction d'un auditoire institutionnel et scientifique. En effet, ceux qui ont soulevé la question sur l'origine de l'inégalité ne sont pas des personnes normales mais des spécialistes : ceux-ci représentent l'élite philosophique et scientifique de la France au XVIII^{ème} siècle.

Conclusion :

Nous avons essayé d'étudier dans cet article l'aspect logique voire démonstratif du *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* de Rousseau. En effet, nous nous sommes intéressé à l'analyse des modes de raisonnement démonstratif mis par l'auteur au profit de la conviction d'un auditoire spécialisé et scientifique : c'est le jury de Dijon qui cherche une réponse déterminante à la question de l'origine de l'inégalité humaine. Dans cette perspective, nous avons vu les raisonnements par la décomposition, par le syllogisme et par l'analogie comme étant des modes de raisonnement démonstratif dont l'enjeu est la conviction. Mais Rousseau ne cherche pas seulement le gain du prix accordé par les académiciens pour celui qui répondrait correctement à la question de l'origine de l'inégalité, il va au-delà de ça afin de persuader un lecteur plus vaste et plus général de la cause capitale de la civilisation et de la socialisation dans la naissance de l'inégalité et de l'injustice parmi les hommes.

⁹ *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* (version numérique : <http://www.lerobert.com/le-grand-robert/>).

¹⁰ Christian Plantin, *Essais sur l'argumentation*, p. 16. Paris, Kimé, 1990.

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Problématique de négociation du sens dans la traduction

Farnaz Sassani

Assistant Professeur à l'université Allameh Tabataba'i, Iran
sassani@atu.ac.ir

Résumé

Le traducteur cherche toujours à transmettre le mieux possible le sens d'un texte, en faisant des paraphrases et expliquant le sens. Il essaie de recréer le texte de départ dans une autre langue et de négocier avec l'auteur pour rester fidèle dans la transmission du sens car la traductibilité absolue est impossible. La traduction représente un domaine créatif particulier des procédures de langue et elle consiste à produire dans la langue d'arrivée l'équivalent naturel le plus proche du message de la langue de départ, d'abord quant à la signification puis quant au style. Umberto Eco en évoquant les grands problèmes de la traduction insiste sur l'importance de la signification avant toute chose : la forme, le style et l'expression. Ainsi dans l'activité traduisante, ce qui est privilégié, c'est la transmission du sens du texte source dans le texte cible.

Dans cet article nous essaierons, en premier lieu, de situer la question de la négociation dans la traduction d'après les recherches d'Eco. Dans une deuxième partie, nous soulignerons les différentes procédures concernant l'interprétation et la négociation du sens afin d'explicitier les aspects fondamentaux de la problématique abordée pour démontrer que l'étude des processus de signification dans la traduction aide le traducteur à mettre au jour les différences et les convergences de chaque langue car la traduction est en même temps un dialogue entre la culture de l'auteur et celle du lecteur.

Mots clés : traduction, signification, interprétation, sens, problème traductif.

Introduction

Toute traduction c'est une opération effectuée exclusivement sur les langues et elle est appelée à désigner toute forme de médiation interlinguistique permettant de transmettre l'information entre les locuteurs des langues différentes. Le traducteur agit à titre de négociateur, représentant l'auteur pour transmettre le message ; il parle au nom de l'auteur sans avoir le statut officiel. C'est pourquoi le traducteur négocie en permanence. Pour Eco négocier implique d'évaluer les pertes et les compensations, nous savons que plusieurs solutions se présentent au traducteur lorsqu'il est placé devant le texte de départ ; il peut opter soit pour une traduction qui en suive de près la formulation, les mots, soit pour une démarche plus libre. Autrement dit, la lettre ou l'esprit. Traduire le texte pour en extraire sens et signification afin de produire une traduction satisfaisante du double point de vue de la lettre et de l'esprit est la fonction même du traducteur. Les transformations lors du processus de la traduction sont inévitables et ces transformations peuvent survenir à des niveaux différents de la langue : d'ordre grammatical, d'ordre stylistique et d'ordre lexical. Il est évident que le traducteur ne parvient jamais à transmettre toutes les connotations d'un mot, le rythme et la sonorité d'une expression ou d'une phrase mais ce qui compte pour lui c'est le *sens*, autrement dit le résultat, puisqu'il ne traduit pas pour comprendre, mais pour faire comprendre.

Depuis que les penseurs se sont penchés sur le sens de la "traduction", le problème traductif est devenu au centre des débats philosophiques. Comme le souligne Eco, traduire c'est « dire la même chose dans une autre langue » (Eco, 2006 : 7) et le problème vient de la transmission des opérations propre à l'activité de la traduction telles que signification, explication et reformulation. Si dans un texte français le traducteur persan traduisait littéralement la phrase : *il pleut des cordes* par *طناب می بارد*, pour le lecteur persan il y a beaucoup de perte de sens, ce qui illustre très bien la difficulté de dire quelle est *la chose* qu'un texte essaie de transmettre, et comment la transmettre pour reprendre les termes exactes chez Eco. Le traducteur pour transmettre le sens négocie, à sa manière, avec l'auteur pour dire *presque la même chose* dans la langue cible. Et c'est à ce stade que le problème de la traduction, et dans le cas de notre étude, le problème de transfert du sens se pose ; surtout en ce qui concerne les textes littéraires dans lesquels il n'est pas question de traduire d'une langue à une autre, mais entre systèmes sémiotiques différents de manière à pouvoir s'approcher d'une traduction absolue. D'après la vision de la traduction totale de Peeter Torop¹, cette traduction ne peut absolument pas être une traduction complète d'un point de vue théorique.

1. Peeter Torop (né le 28 Novembre 1950 à Tallinn, Estonie) est un sémioticien estonien. À la suite de Roman Jakobson, il a élargi la portée de l'étude sémiotique de la traduction pour comprendre la traduction intertextuelle et extratextuelle et soulignant la productivité de la notion de traduction en sémiotique générale. Il est largement connu dans les études de traduction avant tout pour son livre *La traduction totale*, publié en russe en 1995.

Il est évident que la traductibilité absolue est considérée comme une activité impossible, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas possible de prendre un texte de départ, et à travers un processus de traduction, le transmettre dans son intégralité originale dans un texte équivalent au premier, sans qu'il y ait perte

d'information ou d'ajout de sens, c'est pourquoi le traducteur fait appel à des stratégies de compensation. On ne peut décider de privilégier une traduction plutôt qu'une autre, mais chercher à comprendre quelles parties de la culture émettrice ont été traduites, et à l'inverse quelles sont les pertes d'information. Le travail que nous amorçons ici se déroulera sous l'effet de l'interpellation que provoque le mot sens et, a fortiori, le sens au regard de la traduction.

La question du sens

Dans l'activité traduisante la question du sens est au cœur de la traduction. Il est important de connaître ce qu'on choisit en traduction lorsqu'on affirme qu'on traduit le sens et chercher le rapport entre sens, signification et signifié. En effet, la traduction, dans le sens où il s'agit de transférer un texte dans une langue vers une autre, implique une dimension référentielle. Ici on parle du passage d'un message à l'autre et, surtout, la mise en équivalence de ces messages, malgré les langues en jeu. Le traducteur ne cherche pas simplement à juxtaposer des messages déconnectés l'un de l'autre, mais bien les mettre en relation. On peut imaginer difficilement que les traducteurs fassent ce qu'ils veulent avec les textes à traduire et produisent à leur goût des traductions qui n'auront aucun lien avec les textes de départ. Bien évidemment, la frontière varie d'une époque à l'autre sur ce que l'on entend par traduction et sur les pratiques que l'on peut observer, mais ce que l'on constate c'est que les débats concernent le plus souvent la distance ou la proximité avec le sens du texte de départ et des façons de le rendre dans la langue d'arrivée.

Il est vrai que le seul fait d'énoncer le terme *sens* ferait inévitablement penser au résultat d'un choix dans le binôme forme/sens. La primauté du sens, tout comme la bipartition forme/sens, témoigne d'une conception dualiste du signe issue du *Cours de Linguistique générale* de Saussure. Une telle visée débouche souvent sur des interprétations hâtives tendant à associer le signifié au sens et le signifiant à la forme, ainsi qu'à une bipartition tranchée de ces deux faces supposées du signe. Il est certain que le sens est un concept qui pose problème et que la pratique de la traduction met en lumière une telle problématique. La question de la signification est une problématique centrale que la tradition philosophique s'est posée de longue date. Aristote avait déjà conçu un triangle sémiotique : parole / concept / chose. Mais à l'époque, l'expérience du sujet individuel n'entraîne guère en ligne de compte : si le concept est bien de nature psychologique chez Aristote, il correspond aux états de l'âme, qui sont anthropologiquement partagés. Même si actuellement la plupart des langues tendent à assimiler ces deux termes (sens et signification) et à les employer indistinctement, dans le contexte de la traductologie, cette distinction pourrait aider à éclaircir certains points controversés dans le débat sur l'équivalence. On pourrait dire que le sens correspond à une instance interprétative découlant d'une articulation entre signe et référence, autrement dit, à un processus de traduction. Une telle visée ne serait pas loin d'une conception dynamique du sens, car elle suggère la mobilité du signe sous l'effet de l'interprétant.

En ceci, Jakobson en venait à suggérer que la traduction actualise le sens potentiel des énoncés, que le sens est une instance en devenir. L'approche linguistique de la traduction, qui a dominé pendant très longtemps le discours sur la traduction et qui le domine encore, traite, en définitive, de l'acte de traduire et de son résultat comme s'il s'agissait d'une opération linguistique

intralinguale. Ce terme a été défini en relation à la traduction par Roman Jakobson, d'après lui la traduction intralinguale ou reformulation consiste en l'interprétation des signes linguistiques au moyen d'autres signes de la même langue et la traduction interlinguale ou traduction proprement dite consiste en l'interprétation des signes linguistiques au moyen d'une autre langue. Comme on le voit, la traduction intralinguale et la traduction interlinguale consistent toutes les deux en l'interprétation des signes linguistiques au moyen d'autres signes, la différence étant de « langue », « code » ou « système ». Le traducteur est confronté à « des messages » et la traduction « implique deux messages équivalents ». D'autre part, si le traducteur interprète des signes dans des messages, le linguiste, quant à lui, se comporte en interprète de ces messages. On observe donc un chassé-croisé, une synonymie, entre les termes utilisés pour décrire la traduction et ceux employés pour définir l'activité du linguiste dans sa propre langue. Ce que Roman Jakobson avance dans sa théorie, synthétise ce qui sous-tend toutes les analyses linguistiques de la traduction, à savoir que traduire, c'est parler et que, de ce fait, la traduction est assignable au même type d'explication, avec quelques différences, que celle des faits langagiers.

Dans cette approche énonciativiste, la traduction n'est qu'un cas particulier de paraphrase, ce qui signifie que les principes qui président au fonctionnement d'un énoncé en français et à ses gloses possibles dans la même langue sont les mêmes que ceux qui déterminent le passage d'une langue à l'autre. Toutefois une question se pose : quel élément minimal de la langue doit servir de point de départ pour la traduction ? A partir de l'apparition de la théorie de la traduction un des problèmes clés débattus par les savants a été celui de *l'unité de traduction*. Apparemment, il serait judicieux de considérer *le mot* comme unité de traduction universelle. Cette hypothèse a été rejetée, d'emblée par certains linguistes (parmi eux : Vinay et Darbelnet, Eugène Nida, Daniça Seleskovitch, Marianne Lederer, Teodora Cristea). Mais il existe des savants qui considèrent que l'unité minimale de traduction c'est *le mot* (Georges Mounin, Roman Jakobson etc.). L'unité de traduction, c'est l'élément textuel doté d'un sens qui s'engendre, s'agence logiquement avec l'élément suivant et qui peut être rendu sans difficulté, sans ambiguïté dans la langue d'arrivée. On peut conclure que l'unité de traduction n'a pas de dimension concrète, bien délimitée. Parfois le mot et l'unité de traduction coïncident, mais il y a des fois où l'unité de traduction dépasse les limites d'un, de deux et même de plusieurs mots. Tout compte fait, la traduction est le fait d'interpréter la signification d'un document dans une langue et de produire un texte ayant un sens et un effet équivalents sur un lecteur ayant une langue et une culture différentes. Il faut savoir qu'on cherche constamment à comparer un texte et sa traduction d'un point de vue linguistique, pour le commenter, proposer d'autres solutions, corriger des erreurs, etc. Prenons l'exemple de la forme pronominale française qui peut être traduite par un passif en persan. Deux remarques peuvent être faites. D'une part, la forme réflexive en persan, même si elle est souvent possible, n'est pas forcément utilisée et on préférera d'autres formes pour exprimer ce que dit le français. Ainsi *se lever, se raser, s'évanouir*, etc. peuvent être rendus par des verbes intransitifs comme *بلند شدن, ریش تراشیدن, بیهوش شدن*, etc. D'autre part, le choix du passif, comme la forme pronominale, fait démarrer la relation prédicative par ce qui est l'objet du procès et non son agent. Cet exemple montre comment s'effectue une analyse linguistique, très sommaire il est vrai, d'une traduction. Le vocabulaire y est linguistique. On parle de phrase, de procès, de relation prédicative, de passif, de forme pronominale, etc. Et puis, on compare. On

trouve que telle forme en français a ou n'a pas le même sens qu'en persan, qu'on a modifié la perspective interprétative, qu'on eût pu dire la même chose en persan.

C'est ce que l'approche linguistique appelle traditionnellement le *sens*, aussi vague et problématique sa définition soit-elle. Si l'on accepte l'idée selon laquelle, le sens ne se construit pas seulement taxinomiquement à travers les mots, mais aussi générativement (dans la production du texte, c'est-à-dire sa génération) dans leur enchaînement, alors on admettra que la phrase française propose un sens différent de la phrase persane. Sans refuser ce débat, on peut cependant se demander si, aujourd'hui, on peut encore parler de la traduction en ces seuls termes. On est amené à penser être condamné à ne voir dans l'acte de traduire que la problématique de la construction du sens, de sa reformulation, et du rapport des textes entre eux.

Interprétation et négociation

Le traducteur bien souvent ne pouvant identifier le signifié par la synonymie, essaie de le comprendre comme ce qu'une entrée de dictionnaire fait correspondre à un terme donné. D'après Charles Sanders Peirce, l'interprétant (toute forme exprimée de signe) est une autre représentation référée au même *objet*. Donc pour établir le signifié d'un signe, il est indispensable de le remplacer par un autre signe ou un ensemble de signe (Eco, 2006 : 106). Au niveau lexical, l'interprétant peut même être un synonyme. Pour un mot on peut avoir une série de ses interprétants et le traducteur n'a qu'à rédiger leur liste pour définir toutes les connotations que le terme évoque. De toute évidence, le traducteur recourt à l'idée de négociation pour expliquer les processus de traduction. Donc il négocie la signification que la traduction doit exprimer car dans la vie quotidienne aussi, on négocie sans cesse la signification que l'on attribue aux expressions que l'on utilise. Le traducteur en choisissant le terme qui dans sa langue transporte le mieux le contenu correspondant et par fidélité aux intentions du texte, produit un implicite acte de négociation. Si Jakobson considérait surtout le cas de transmutation d'un texte verbal dans d'autres systèmes sémiotiques (comme un film ou un ballet), il ne prenait pas en compte un autre genre de transmutation.

Jakobson définit la traduction comme une *interprétation* : la traduction est par conséquent une sorte d'interprétation. L'association interprétation/traduction est due à l'influence de la pensée de Pierce, d'après lequel un signe est interprétable et, de ce fait, traduisible, par d'autres systèmes de signes. Cependant, Eco nous rappelle que le mot *interprétation* n'est pas simplement synonyme de traduction mais que face à un texte, il faut plutôt préalablement effectuer un *compromis*, une opération d'interprétation avant de le traduire. Il faut passer par ce que Eco appelle une *négociation*, la meilleure solution disponible dans la traduction d'un énoncé d'un auteur, dans l'objectif de rendre son texte. Cette négociation, consiste en une interprétation qui est le résultat de la mise en relation des composantes d'un acte linguistico-discursif dans l'objectif d'en faire ressurgir la signification (du texte, de l'acte communicationnel ou discursif) : la mise en scène discursive dépendrait de divers ordres d'organisations de la matière langagière, composés à leur tour de compétences linguistiques que le sujet exploite dans sa mise en scène discursive. Plus exactement, selon Eco une négociation de la part du traducteur tourne autour d'un processus pour obtenir quelque chose, en renonçant à quelque chose d'autre (Eco, 2006 : 18) : un bon

traducteur est nécessairement un bon interprète et, comme résultat de sa négociation personnelle de « l'intention du texte, il dira presque la même chose » de ce qui est exprimé dans le texte source ; ou il le dira dans une autre manière qui lui semble juste.

A titre d'exemple, le mot *rat* ou *souris* se traduit parfois indifféremment en persan *موش* et quand il s'agit de montrer une connotation négative de *rat*, cela complique la traduction. Pour ainsi dire, il y a parfois des pertes absolues dans les cas où il est impossible de traduire et c'est alors que le traducteur recourt à la note en bas de page ; par exemple dans le cas de la traduction d'un jeu de mot, il y a une perte absolue de sens et on laisse le lecteur à saisir le sens. Le lecteur – interprète - d'un texte n'est pas autorisé à le *sur interpréter* : la signification que l'interprète pense avoir découverte, doit être retrouvée quelque part dans le texte. Ces idées nous amènent inévitablement à considérer la traduction comme une sorte de reformulation. La négociation ne considère pas le principe de simple renvoi d'un signe linguistique d'une langue à un autre signe linguistique d'une langue différente, car le signifié du signe à traduire est intimement retracé dans le signe qui le traduit : « l'acte de traduction est le premier acte de signification [...] les choses signifient grâce à un acte de traduction interne entre elles » (Eco, 2006 : 296). D'après Eco, en définitive, la traduction est un *continuum* d'équivalences ou de réversibilité par négociation du sens, intra et/ou intersémiotique, d'un signe à l'autre, une opération parfois difficile ou effectuée de façon imprécise. L'opération d'interprétation anticipe celle de traduction, ainsi les deux opérations sont réellement distinctes, même si intimement reliées entre elles.

Dans n'importe quelle traduction, l'auteur décide d'explicitier tel ou tel élément du texte de départ, de manière consciente ou non, alors que dans certains cas, il est simplement contraint à le faire pour des raisons linguistiques. Ces choix, qui comportent une grande partie de subjectivité, sont sources de débat durant la phase suivante, la phase de révision, lorsque les choix linguistiques du traducteur sont mis en doute par le réviseur. Inutile de préciser que les traductions qui en découleront seront aussi nombreuses que les interprètes du texte, chacun se concentrant sur une certaine dominante, ou alors décidera d'adopter une stratégie de traduction dictée par ses propres critères de traductibilité, et il sera nécessairement contraint de sacrifier certaines caractéristiques du texte de départ pour réussir à rendre les autres. L'existence même de la structure du texte présuppose qu'on y trouve une hiérarchie de plans. Généralement, durant la conception du texte, il existe déjà dans l'esprit de l'auteur un élément dominant autour duquel gravitent une constellation d'éléments importants mais secondaires. À cette conception de processus de traduction s'ajoute une variété d'autres phénomènes distincts de la présence du texte de départ et du texte d'arrivée, d'un processus de transformation ou de la présence d'une composante variante ou invariante. Alors qu'il est acquis que le plaisir que l'on peut avoir à produire un document, une œuvre, un plat, etc. ne recouvre que très partiellement celui que l'on ressent à les goûter, dans le domaine linguistique, il n'est pas encore admis de tous que les mécanismes de production du sens ne recouvrent que très partiellement, eux aussi, les mécanismes de réception du sens. De telle façon, dans le domaine phonologique, l'analyse articulatoire n'a de sens que dans une logique de production. Il serait naïf et erroné de croire que le récepteur d'un message oral analyse ce qu'il entend à travers des données articulatoires. Ce qu'il analyse, lui, en revanche, c'est du son et sa discrimination phonologique repose sur ce même son, d'où un autre type de phonologie, acoustique celle-là et axée sur la réception du son.

On comprend donc que la logique du producteur n'est pas forcément identique à celle du récepteur, loin s'en faut, alors même qu'une grande majorité des théories linguistiques actuelles fait comme si tel n'était pas le cas. La traductologie ne fait pas exception à cette tendance, qui privilégie un point de vue, souvent celui du producteur, et, quand elle traite de la question du sens dans une démarche linguistique, donne l'impression que le sens produit par le traducteur se transporte plus ou moins égal à lui-même jusqu'au lecteur.

Le texte est un tissu de signes. Il est ouvert, interprétable, mais doit être entrevu comme un tout cohérent. Il construit son lecteur, et est davantage une totalité où l'auteur amène les mots puis le sens. Le texte est en fait une « machine paresseuse qui exige du lecteur un travail coopératif acharné pour remplir les espaces de non-dit ou de déjà-dit restés en blanc » (Eco, 1985 : 29). Par sa cohérence, un texte, en tant que système conventionné, peut réduire la possibilité de tenter certaines interprétations. Si quelqu'un écrit « Thomas étudie sérieusement sa... », on déduit que le mot suivant sera un nom, et que ce nom ne sera sans doute pas « mer ». Le lecteur ou destinataire doit donc exercer un jugement sémiotique, c'est-à-dire dans le but de saisir le sens d'un texte, le destinataire doit mettre en œuvre des processus de coopération interprétative qui lui sont propres. D'après le principe selon lequel le rapport signifiant-signifié (c'est-à-dire celui entre la forme du signe et son contenu) n'est pas figé, Eco formule une théorie de l'interprétation voulant qu'un texte soit interprétable de façon « plurivoque ». Par ailleurs, la chaîne signifiante produit des « textes » qui sont suivis par la mémoire de « l'intertextualité » qui les nourrit. Comme on peut l'apercevoir, l'interprétation selon Eco, implique le lecteur dans la construction du sens et met en jeu différents processus à différents niveaux. Ainsi, Eco fait valoir que les scénarios intertextuels ne sont pas partagés de tous et laissent donc ouverte la voie à des interprétations divergentes. C'est donc au lecteur de faire sens à partir de son savoir, de ses attentes en termes d'événements suscités par les indices textuels qui lui sont donnés par l'auteur. Toute compréhension est une reconstruction du sens, non pas à l'identique, mais selon l'expérience acquise et les schèmes d'interprétation que cela déclenche. Le texte littéraire montre par excellence que la signification est un processus indirect. L'analyse textuelle conduit le lecteur à y déceler l'implicite que les signifiés dénotatifs occultent, ainsi que des réseaux signifiants ou intertextuels : il faudra traduire tout ce qui se trouve *sous* les mots en empruntant des mécanismes analogues. Le texte construit un lecteur capable d'actualiser les divers contenus de signification de façon à décoder les mondes possibles du récit et ce lecteur remplit les multiples blancs du texte. Un texte est donc ouvert car toutes les interprétations sont potentiellement illimitées.

Conclusion

Une traduction nécessite des opérations interprétatives préalables (ou une négociation) et des objectifs à rejoindre : « le choix de s'orienter vers la source ou vers la destination reste en ce cas un critère à *négocier* phrase par phrase » (Eco, 2006, 227). Pour organiser la stratégie textuelle, un auteur doit se référer à une série de compétences qui confère un contenu aux expressions qu'il emploie. C'est pourquoi il prévoira un lecteur modèle capable de coopérer à l'actualisation textuelle de la façon dont lui, l'auteur, le pensait et capable d'agir interprétativement comme lui a

agi générativement. On ne reprochera pas à l'auteur d'employer le singulier plutôt que le pluriel pour parler des opérations à l'œuvre lors de la traduction, tant cela est devenu une habitude dans les études traductologiques, même lorsque l'on signifie qu'il y a plusieurs opérations. On ne s'attardera pas maintenant sur la question de la communication et du langage. Ce qui importe, ici, c'est de souligner que le point de vue adopté rattache la traduction à la linguistique et à son champ conceptuel.

La question n'est pas de délimiter la façon correcte de traduire ni de définir quelles sont les mauvaises manières de le faire, mais surtout d'attirer l'attention sur l'importance de bien regarder et de bien comprendre les différentes possibilités mises en place par la traduction et par conséquent montrer comment elles sont liées à une variété de résultats qui suivent une logique de tendances divisées en accord avec les catégories sémiotiques. Traduire consiste à mettre une époque, ses pensées et sa technique en contraste avec une nouvelle ambiance. La nécessité de réinventer fait partie de la conscience, du rôle du traducteur car on sait qu'il est impossible de reconstruire ou de revivre un moment, il ne reste qu'à l'inventer de nouveau, avec conscience et liberté. Il faut développer avec les traductions d'autres manières de penser vis-à-vis des moyens à notre disposition et ne pas se satisfaire simplement de la perception qu'ils proposent initialement. Pour ainsi dire une bonne traduction est toujours une contribution critique à la compréhension de l'œuvre.

Nous avons essayé, dans cet article, d'explicitier le travail d'interprétation du traducteur d'après le regard d'Umberto Eco. Pour lui le traducteur négocie les propriétés du mot original qui lui paraissent pertinentes par rapport au contexte et aux objectifs que le texte s'était fixés et il n'y a pas de règle à cela, les solutions doivent être négociées dans chaque cas, en fonction des possibilités, mais aussi en fonction de l'interprétation que le traducteur a faite de ce passage en particulier et de l'œuvre en général, de ses propres choix initiaux. Nous avons souligné que le processus traduisant est un processus extrêmement complexe qui implique tout un univers extralinguistique de la part du traducteur. C'est à partir de là qu'on peut redonner sens à l'exigence de fidélité car la fidélité est la conviction que la traduction est toujours possible si le texte source a été interprété avec une complicité passionnée, c'est l'engagement à identifier ce qu'est pour nous le sens profond du texte, et l'aptitude à négocier à chaque instant la solution qui nous semble la plus juste.

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Fictionalized Representation of Space in Amma Darko's *Beyond The Horizon*

Lèfara Silue

Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Côte d'Ivoire
lefaras@yahoo.com

Abstract

*This study permits to understand that the living place of Amma Darko's *Beyond the Horizon* is an unstable and fragmented universe. The protagonists Akobi and Mara freely roam in three places in quest of happiness. The representation of the German urban area reveals that Europe is not the "Eldorado" where gold and money flow in abundance. Beyond the portrayal of Akobi, Darko satirizes and denounces the bestiality of African immigrants in Germany. These African immigrants ask their wives to join them in Europe where they are used as sex-workers. In the text, the urban area and the rural living place are two contradictory and complementary universes. Germany is then seen as a symbol of the world of immorality whereas Naka is depicted as a symbol of African solidarity.*

Keywords: space, depersonalization, immigrants, immorality, micro-environment, universe.

Résumé

Cette étude permet de comprendre que l'espace vécu de Beyond the Horizon d'Amma Darko est un l'univers instable et fragmenté. Les personnages Akobi et Mara se vagabondent librement dans trois espaces en quête du bonheur. La représentation de l'espace urbain allemand démontre que l'Europe n'est pas « l'Eldorado » où l'or et l'argent coulent en abondance. Au-delà de la représentation Akobi, Darko critique et dénonce la bestialité des immigrants africains en Allemagne. Ces immigrants africains vont partir leurs femmes en Europe où elles utilisées comme des travailleuses du sexe. Dans le texte, L'espace urbain et l'espace rural sont deux univers qui s'opposent et se complètent. Ainsi, l'Allemagne est perçue comme un symbole du monde de l'immoralité alors que Naka est décrit comme un symbole de la solidarité africaine.

Mots-clés: espace, dépersonnalisation, immigrants, immoralité, micro-environnement, univers.

Introduction

Amma Darko is a famous Ghanaian female writer. Her novel *Beyond the Horizon* (1995) is about the plight of a Ghanaian lady, Mara in Germany. Mara has been deceived by her husband, Akobi, into coming to Europe to live in a paradise. When she reaches Germany, she realizes that she is trapped by her beloved one. She is then forced to become a sex worker in order to meet the expectations of her village Naka. Their journey from the village (Naka) to the city (Accra) and their illegal immigration in Germany reveals the importance of the theme of space in Darko's novel. As such, the study of space and its representations are necessary for a better understanding of the quintessence of any literary work. In Gérard Genette's view the understanding of a text depends on the understanding of the "resources known as visual written forms and pagination of the existence of the book as a sort of complete object" (Genette, *Figures II*, 1969, p.45, translation mine). The reader must pay attention to the "telescopic" feature of the novel. Furthermore, each novel has a specific map which gives it a particular tone. By implication, the writer is bound to place the plot and the characters in a true imaginary space. The literary conception of "carnival" space and time is ambivalent and it comprises two different principles: a destroyer principle which destroys the established order and a regenerator principle which turns its look towards the better future of man (Collington, 2006, p.69). The living place is made of the spaces of representation. In other words, it comprises all the spaces known through images and symbols (Westphal, 2007, p.128). In a novel, the plot can take place in a unique place. The plot can also continue its performance in several places or it can scatter in every horizons. In this perspective, Goldenstein asserts that "spatiality presents diverse dimensions of opening. One finds a limited, a closed or a suffocating space when the plot and the characters use an open place which enables the heroes to move freely, to travel or to wander" (1989, p.90). In this regard, the living space is then the place of revelation of the protagonists' desires and intentions. This is the reason why Akobi easily moves in three opposed imaginary places. The village (Naka) represents a "micro-universe" which is utterly different from the urban area. In this view, the fictitious Ghanaian city is also different from the European environment. Every space is then unique in its kind and plays a specific social role. Moreover, the strolling of the characters in different places permits to understand the discontinuity or instability of the living places of Darko's narrative. The aim of this paper is to show that space can have a great impact on the actions and the words of characters in a literary work. In our analysis, semiotic criticism will be used because in the mind of the semiotics, the meaning of events, codes and cultural incidents, verbal and visual texts, songs and advertisements and all types of literary pieces are represented by codes, signs and symbols. Semiotics helps us to analyze the ways various verbal and nonverbal discourses convey meaning to our interlocutors (Agyekum, 2006, p. 123). As such, our work will center on three points: the rural living place of Naka, Akobi's slum in the Ghanaian city and German urban area.

1- The Rural Living Place of Naka

In traditional African society, the village is a symbol of paramount importance. It is regarded as the first unity which transcends the family and the clan. In this sense, the narrator introduces Naka at the very beginning of the novel. In the narrative, Naka is the birthplace of the protagonists Akobi and Mara. Darko uses the image of Naka as a pretext to re-present the Ghanaian village in the subconscious of the reader. The Ghanaian village, Darko depicts is made of several important families or "macro-universes" which harmoniously and peacefully

coexist. This peaceful cohabitation constitutes the backbone of the village's social peace. The narrator refers to Naka through the use of the noun "village" which places us in the rural imaginary environment. As such, farming appears as the daily activity of the men of Naka:

Naka was a farming village, and Akobi's father, like most men in the village, was a farmer too. [...] one thing Akobi's father did not reckon with was that his son would refuse to return to the village and farm with him. Akobi had other plans. He had tasted town life and was craving to further it to city life. And returning to Naka to become a farmer like all the rest who hadn't been to school at all, or even as undertaker like his father, was for him out of the question. Naturally, his father was very disappointed for he was looking forward to the help of the son he had invested so much in, but Akobi successfully convinced him of the urgency of his intentions, of how he wanted to get on in life which was by no means possible if he returned to live in the village. That was how, with his father's reluctant blessing, Akobi left Naka to go and live in the big city. (pp. 4-5)

This passage clearly reveals that the lives of Naka's men are strictly linked to their land. Consequently, farming is not perceived as a chore or a punishment but it is rather seen as the "raison d'être" of men. Akobi's refusal to work in the farms of his father is the first forerunner sign of the family crisis in the traditional universe. The reader can see beyond this crisis, a questioning of the patriarchal ruling system which privileges men to the detriment of women. In this patriarchal society, women are regarded as second zone beings. As such, they do not participate in the decision-making which involves the life and survival of the village. The narrator talks about Mara's forced marriage as followed:

I remember the day clearly. I returned from the village well with my fourth bucket of water of the day when mother excitedly beckoned to me in all my wetness and muddiness, dragged me into her hut and breathlessly told me that the 'good news'. 'Your father has found a husband for you', she gasped, 'a good man!' (p. 4).

The unconscious of the text suggests that the heroine Mara does not participate in her marriage affair. This behavior of Mara can be explained by the fact that in Naka's collective consciousness marriage is a business of the Aged. This is the reason why every man is bound to find a wife to his son and a husband to his daughter. In the text, Mara's mother is very happy to see her husband perpetuating an old social practice. The enthusiasm of Mara's mother lets appear the debasement of women to their husbands. In the rural environment of Naka social facts play a significant part in the maintenance of harmony and "class division" (John Urry, 2005, p. 23). As such, cultural facts and social events are metaphorically the ideological tools used by the men of Naka to dominate women and to preserve their power.

In the narrative, the reader also sees through the representation of Naka, the image of post-independence African society. The living place of Naka is then an image of contemporary Africa which is corroded by the strife between modernity and tradition. In this social anomy, the village symbolizes hope, hospitality and shelter for town dwellers. Akobi always refers to his village whenever he needs financial assistance to survive in the Ghanaian referential capital Accra:

So he was soon back in Naka to borrow money from his father [...] The money he went borrowing from his father, he saved, and he set about searching for cheap accommodation compatible with his pocket. Several weeks later, with his heart torn in two, he showed up unexpectedly in Naka. (p.6)

Here, space implicitly expresses different social crisis and social contradictions linked to the behaviors of social actors (Sidibé Valy, 1999, p. 96). It is through the representation of the village of Naka that Darko reveals her ideology and Ghanaian traditional world view. Furthermore, Naka is seen as the ideal place of the enactment of the village's collective consciousness. This conception of the village can be justified if one regards the Ghanaian traditional village as "men living place and primitive ideological and religious unit" (Anozie, 1970, p. 93). Beyond farming, every man plays a particular social role which contributes to the protection of social cohesion. In this view, Akobi's father can be perceived as a village undertaker:

[...] Akobi's father, like most men in the village, was a farmer too. But unlike most men in the village, he was also an undertaker. And people feared him because he was a man who seldom issued threats but pitilessly carried out those he issued. A man who once shocked the entire village and beyond when he threatened to give the dying chief's linguist a 'banana funeral' because the old man owed him eight shillings and sixpence, and who, true to his word, presented the corpse on the funeral day wrapped in two large banana leaves. (p.4)

The above passage clearly shows the rapid change of the traditional elite into an unscrupulous business man in the rural area embodied by Naka. Akobi's father is seen in the text as a neurotic who regards money as the essence of life. As such, he trampled down all the cardinal values which strongly hold the imaginary space of Naka in harmony with its environment and its deities. The respect of the dead has no room in the imaginary corrupt Ghanaian society. Thus, the refusal of Akobi's father to bury the dead of the clan with dignity reveals the malice of the thirsty for power vis-à-vis the dead. Akobi's father is also parodied as an opportunist who takes advantage of the woe of his kinsmen to make money. He uses the pandemic of cholera as an alibi to extort money from the villagers. The narrator refers to the rampant corruption of the fictitious Ghanaian society when he asserts:

And when a nasty outbreak of cholera followed in the village, claiming the lives of many and increasing his income as the only undertaker, he earned even more respect for using the money to educate his son Akobi at the Joseph Father of Jesus Roman Catholic School, making his son the first child of Naka to earn a Form Four General Certificate. Of course, snide remarks were uttered that he was benefiting from the deaths of people, but who cared? The point was that his son had studied and got a certificate. They stood out in the village crowd and were held in high esteem. (p.5)

The analysis of this paragraph suggests that Akobi's father is the prototype of the Ghanaian traditional elite who uses his social status to abuse and blackmail the people. The increase of the undertaker's working time against the will of the villagers can be read as a form of corruption. This violation of tribal law by the custodian of tradition reveals the evil side of Ghanaian traditional aristocracy. In this fractured Ghanaian society, blackmail, corruption and cheating become fighting and protecting tools against the Establishment.

Every villager knows that Akobi's father does not give a damn to the squalor of Naka's inhabitants. The appearance of money in the rural area destroys Ghanaian and African togetherness. Consequently, the solidarity and unity which constitute the very lever of community life have vanished. This depersonalization of man in the rural area will be followed by the study of Akobi's slum in the Ghanaian city.

2- Akobi's Slum in the Ghanaian City

The analysis of Akobi's living place in the city is very important because as Michaël Hayat highlights, "the plot of a narrative creates an imaginary geography which portrays a real translation through interior space" (2002, p. 170). In this respect, the knowledge of Akobi's living conditions can also help the reader to understand the daily predicament of African immigrants in Europe. In the narrative, life in the urban place is totally different from the one of the rural area. When Akobi arrives in the capital Accra, he realizes that "all that glitters is not gold". In this view, the narrator asserts that "life in the city, Akobi soon realized, was not the glamorous days and nights he had seen in his dreams. Reality hit him and hit real hard (p.5)." The urban living place changes into alienation or self-destruction place for city dwellers. The narrator depicts the living place of Akobi as follows:

To say I was shocked when Akobi brought me to his home in the city would be an understatement. I was stunned. Our homes in the village were mud and leaves but no one needed to tell a visitor they were homes. Akobi had to tell me this was his home before I believed it. First, there wasn't the group of huts with compounds about them and backyard gardens that I was used to in the village, but a cluster of shabbily-constructed corrugated-iron sheet shelters that looked like chicken houses, while all about and between them shallow, open gutters wound their way. In these gutters, due to the lack of any drainage system, all the water from dirty washing and bathing, and urine too, collected and stayed until it evaporated. And since the rate of evaporation was slower than the rate at which the waste waters collected, the resulting standing water not only stank but also bred nasty shades of algae and generations of large flat mosquitoes that greedily fed on our blood at night. As if that wasn't enough, barely fifty yards away there was an unhygienic public toilet beside which was the area's only public dump. (p.8)

This paragraph suggests that Mara has come to stay with her husband Akobi in the Ghanaian capital, Accra. However the "paradise" of she dreamt about suddenly becomes a nightmare. The happiness of Mara to live the city turns into sourness. Mara is extremely shocked because Akobi lives in a shanty town ranging the capital. The architecture of the rooms is indescribable. Mara prefers life in the huts of Naka built with traditional materials. She dislikes the shacks built with bricks and covered with rotten and corrugated-iron sheet. Here, the urban area is a place of insecurity, insalubrity and pimping. Moreover, Mara ironically compares the accommodations of Akobi's suburb with hen houses. The closeness of the rubbish dump, waste waters and man waste with the accommodations exposes the dwellers of these dirty slums to dangerous diseases like cholera, fever and typhoid fever.

The insalubrity of Ghanaian urban environment permits to see the social class of the owners of the slums. In the text, all the barracks of this suburb belong to a so-called Alhaji. The pseudonym Alhaji, enables the reader to understand that only strangers coming from west Africa live in this suburb. These foreigners have come to make money in Accra. They then

live in filthy places of the capital in order to save their money. The poor image of Akobi's quarter explains the plight of the majority of Ghanaians in Darko's novel. As such, the city is portrayed as a place which comprises good and evil. The city or the urban environment is perceived as a source of happiness and sadness. It is also a place of self-knowledge and self-alienation. The depersonalization of the heroine's Mara in the urban universe can be seen in the following words of the narrator:

I, illiterate Mara, had turned into a modern woman, body and soul; a caricature pseudo-Euro-transformation that brought with it its caricature pseudo-high feel. I felt a new me. Much against my will, however (since I considered it incompatible with this new 'modern' and 'civilised' me), I visited the village medicine man a few days before my departure on the insistence of my mother. (p. 55)

In this extract, Mara regards her mental and physical alienation as a social success. This metamorphosis of the heroine can be seen through her ways of acting, dressing and speaking. Mara is very proud of her new social status of "emancipated woman" or so-called "European woman". Despite, the beauty of Accra, Mara considers the city as a kind of prison. The living place of Darko's text is then a stressing and suffocating one as seen in this paragraph:

Our room itself was just large enough for Akobi's dried-grass mattress, an old three-legged centre-table whose missing fourth leg had been substituted by a high pile of cement brick pieces, and an armchair. In one corner was Akobi's one and only portmanteau and my one and only wicker basket that served as my portmanteau. From one corner to the opposite corner was a short drying line on which Akobi always hung his grey trousers, white shirt and black tie that constituted his daily office wear, while below it his Beatles boots found their resting place. They were his pride. (pp.9-10)

Here, the poor living conditions of Akobi can be seen through the small size of his room. This room has very few things: a "dried-grass mattress", an "old three-legged table" falling apart, an "armchair", one "portmanteau", a "grey trousers," a "white shirt" and a "black tie". In the description of Akobi's living place each object of his room is mentioned once. As such, each element is then unique in its kind. The quality of the described furniture and the cloths is undesirable. Beyond this description, the narrator lays bare the misery of Akobi. The described room is compared to the accommodation of a single man or an unstable being in quest of his social references. Regarding the different elements mentioned in the above description, we note that the small size of Akobi's living place is an expression of difficult life in the city. By implication, the cohabitation of the couple seems to be much tensed. In a way, Akobi and Mara are deprived from their freedom of movement like prisoners. The precariousness of their accommodation is marked by the daily ill-treatment the "crazy husband" Akobi inflicts on Mara. The narrator highlights Mara's predicament when he argues:

'From now on you will throw Mama Kiosk's rubbish away for her and she will pay you with foodstuffs and vegetables. And since that means you need not go to the market often, I can also save by cutting down on the daily chop money I give you, you understand?' 'Yes' I replied, shaking all over. 'And sleep on your mat today. I

want to sleep on the mattress alone' he added. He hopped into bed. Seconds later, he was snoring away. I lay there on the mat spread on the hard floor, trying to tolerate the mice and cockroaches, my eyes wide open. I lay there like that until the first rays of the morning sunlight streamed through. (pp.11-12)

The analysis of this passage shows that the city is a place of social contradictions. In this imaginary "microcosm" without social norms, self-centeredness is the best way of life. It is for this reason that Akobi benefits from the submission and the naivety of Mara. He exploits and ill-treats her as he wants. Akobi undervalues Mara when he forces her to work for Mama Kiosk against food. Akobi accepts this underrating of his wife in order to save her daily food ration. As such, Mara is perpetually traumatized by Akobi. Mara trembles like a dead banana leaf whenever her husband Akobi calls her. Akobi has no consideration for his wife Mara. To show his bestiality, he compels her to sleep on the bare floor where she becomes a prey for mice, cockroaches and mosquitoes. The weight of suffering, humiliation and beating provoke in Mara's mind a yearning for returning home:

The situation was utterly depressing, the more so because I had yet to make friends with the occupations of the other shelters. 'And even though the thought of returning to the village crossed my mind, I knew it was something I could never do. Not only would I not be welcomed back into the family, but father would never be able to afford to refund my dowry, much he'd already squandered. So, come what may, I was stuck with the flies and the blood-sucking war the mosquitoes had declared on us. I was soon to discover that these would not be my only headache. (pp. 8-9)

This paragraph reveals that Mara's intention is mainly to return home. However, she knows that her father will never accept such a sudden change of the situation. Her father will not be able to refund Akobi's dowry. Mara finally decides to cope with her plight alone. As such, Mama Kiosk draws Mara's attention to the disastrous situation she is undergoing in the Ghanaian capital, Accra. In this view, Mama Kiosk tries to convince her to start selling boiled eggs. As the narrator puts it:

It was Mama Kiosk who suggested that I should take up hawking boiled eggs to travellers at the lorry station where she had her kiosk because it was a very popular snack with them. And when in the end no better alternative cropped up, I went to Akobi with this hint. He agreed that it was worth a try, and gave me the capital for my first batch of eggs plus the sieve container.[...] I began enjoying my trade very much and daily thanked Akobi in my head that he made me start work at all. (pp.18-19)

As revealed in the above extract, the urban area and its social realities force the heroine Mara to fight for her freedom and financial autonomy. In this sense, the selling of boiled eggs sets Mara free from the daily tension of their miserable single room. Every morning, she goes earlier to the lorry station where she sells her eggs. The different movements she daily performs between her living place and the lorry station help her to recover from the ill-treatment of Akobi. She then feels free whenever she is outside their house. Thus, the trade of eggs can be perceived as a source of liberation and unity for the couple who live in this very small single room like a hen house of Naka. In the text, the living

place is seen as fragmented place. In this perspective, the third part of our paper deals with German urban area.

3- German Urban Area

The fictionalized German universe of the text belongs to European referential space. In African unconsciousness, Europe is portrayed as a terrestrial paradise totally reserved to African wealthy leaders.

Europe to me was a place so special and so very, very far away, somewhere unimaginable, maybe even somewhere near Heaven, where not just anybody could go. A place where only the rich, those Ministers, the big doctors and lawyers who learned plenty of books and married white women could go. But Akobi? My own husband Akobi with this his two-by four corrugated-iron-sheet home situated by a public toilet and rubbish dump? (pp. 33-34)

In this paragraph, Mara considers Europe as a kind of “Eldorado” where African ministers, famous doctors and lawyers usually go to spend their holidays. Mara cannot imagine that poor people also live in this European referential “macro or micro-environment” (John Urry, 2005, p.89). This is the reason why she is very delighted when her husband Akobi informs her about her departure in Europe. “‘I am going to Europe to live there for just a year or two at most’ he began, and to work. Mara, do you know that there is so plenty factory and construction work waiting to be done there in Europe.” (p.34). Akobi brainwashes her parents into believing that job is waiting African immigrants in Europe. He illegally joins Germany in order to flee from the misery which corrodes contemporary Ghanaian society. Years later, he invites his wife Mara to come and stay with him in Germany. When Mara reaches Germany, she realizes that the brand image of Europe which African people can see through the press is a false representation of European social reality. In this paragraph, Osey words show that the urban space of Germany is a universe where xenophobia has become a social practice.

‘Mara, first we must tell you that life here in Germany for us black people, from Africa especially, is very very hard. In the eyes of the people here, we are several shades too black for their land. And many, not all, but many, don’t like us, because for them we are wild things that belong in the jungle. I told you they call us monkeys, didn’t I?’ [...] ‘Okay, resumed Osey, ‘it is like this: the German people, or at least those who represent them, don’t want too many of us here in their country, so they do all they can to make things very difficult for us, so that we will feel humiliated and think of returning to our homeland as a palatable alternative. Do you understand?’ (pp.76-77)

In this extract, we notice that the living conditions of African immigrants in Germany are very miserable. Furthermore, Germans treat Africans with contempt. They use the noun “monkeys” to refer to African immigrants. As such, Africans are compared to beats (monkeys) which live in German urban zone. The text also suggests that foreigners are considered as a serious threat for the social security of Germans. In addition, the qualified young Germans without job regard African immigrants as a main cause of their plight. To cope with international economic crisis, European political leaders put into force drastic measures to stop the massive coming of Africans in European. In this passage, Osey’s words show that African immigrants are not always welcomed in Europe:

‘Okay, Mara, let me put it this way. One or two monkeys about the civilized man’s house are acceptable, but when the monkeys send for their long line of relatives and friends, the “civilized” house owner begins to react. He is prepared to tolerate one or two monkeys about his house, even be kind to them to show what a good heart he has. But when the monkeys too get taken in by his pseudo-kindness and, encouraged by it, send for the others, the “civilized” man shows his real face. And it’s almost never a pleasant face, Mara. Do you get me?’ (p.76)

In a way, this text is an expression of Germans’ contempt vis-à-vis African immigrants. These immigrants are regarded as savages who pollute the peaceful atmosphere of Germany. By implication, their presence in this referential space provokes a real problem of cohabitation. African immigrants create transitional solutions to fight against xenophobia, hatred, poverty and humiliation. They use unusual methods to avoid the law against illicit immigration: organized prostitution, marriage on measure, illegal polygamy, stealing and falsehood. Additionally, the German living place reveals itself as a world of immorality. Mara’s reaction to the pornographic film highlights the bestiality of African immigrants in Europe:

The people on the screen, they were...that is to say, they were several men and women all together, about fifteen or so, among them, black women, Africans; and they were doing it there...there on the screen! They were actually doing the thing plain plain there on the screen before everybody. And there was no trace of shame or whatever on their faces. Not one bit! It was a shock for me, my first shock, my first horror. And yet, my first lesson too. It began to dawn on me that I was in a complete new society where the values were different from those at home. [...] Here, action film à la Osey, was raw obscenity. (pp. 61-62)

Here, Osey compels Mara to watch pornographic films. The lewd pictures of this film enable Mara to see German urban area as a place of self-destruction or self-alienation. Mara is then astonished to see African women who enjoy having sex with many men at the same time in the open air. As seen in these pornographic films, Africans women play very significant roles without fear or shame. This film can be regarded as a kind of initiation for sexology courses which Osey intends to implant in Mara’s mind. The objective of this movie is to prepare Mara’s mind to the working process of sex industry. Akobi turns Mara against her will into a “sex worker”. Osey’s wife Vivian helps Mara to better understand the role of African women in Germany. The unvoiced comment of Vivian’s words shows that African immigrants use fraudulent ways to bring their African wives in Europe where they used as sexual slaves. Vivian tries to encourage Mara to accept a position in the industry of sex when she asserts:

‘Mara, our life here is very hard, you know. But how can I return home empty-handed? It was Osey who made all the arrangements for me to come here. My brothers and my family only contributed to my fare. And you know the plenty money that goes into the passport. I came here full of hope and found that here, too, I have to continue depending wholly on Osey. He makes every arrangement and simply gives me orders. Even the money that I make, he controls it. I can’t buy anything without his consent, not even for my own mother at home.’

‘You work?’ I asked.

‘If what I do can be call work, then yes, I work’

‘Where do you work? What do you do? I asked.
‘I can’t tell you. Osey strictly forbids me to.’
Please, ‘I begged. ‘I won’t tell him you told me.’
‘No’, she replied firmly. And I knew that she wouldn’t tell me unless Osey ordered her to do so.

In this paragraph, German space is depicted as a world of evil where African immigrants use their wives as a means of exchange to cope with poverty. Here, Vivian is seen as a sexual object which Osey proposes to men to satisfy their sexual appetite against money. Osey believes that he can even decide the death of his wife Vivian.

Conclusion

At the end of this study, we realize that space can have a great impact on the actions and behaviors of characters. The living place of Amma Darko’s *Beyond the Horizon*, is an unstable and fragmented universe. This fragmentation of space compels the heroine Mara and her husband Akobi to travel in three different living places: the rural living place of Naka, Akobi’s slum in the Ghanaian city and German urban area. These different fictionalized places play specific social functions in the plot. Furthermore, all these spaces of representations full of imaginary and symbolism are originated from the history of the people (Lefèbvre, 1980, p.52). Amma Darko uses the representation of space to depict the bribery, the malice and the bestiality of African immigrants in Europe. Amma Darko through her narrative tries to break into pieces the patriarchal ruling system. She employs a highly subjective female standpoint which is expressed through verbal violence or language which is deflationary and condemnatory of men, including insults and curses. Mara’s realization to resist ideology is animated by her recognition of the loss of her dignity (Umezurike, 2015, p.157). Amma Darko’s text is then a quest for the restoration of women dignity and a yearning for cultural identity and democracy.

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On the Echoes of Henry James's *The Reverberator*: Reflections on Teaching Argumentative Research Papers in Undergraduate Classes on Literature

Dr. Nevena Stojanovic

Lecturer at West Virginia University, USA

Abstract

*In this essay, I reflect on the teaching experiment that I did several years ago in my class on transatlantic short stories and novels of the nineteenth century. As instructors of literature in a university setting, we often face the question of how to teach undergraduate students what a researched argument is and how to help them come up with effective thesis statements. The number of students, their different educational backgrounds, skills, and motivations can all be a challenge for instructors who need to make sure that everyone enrolled in the class understands the complex processes of research and argumentative writing before starting the draft. Our major concern, however, is how to keep students fully engaged in the processes of exploration, research, and drafting. Here I share my experience of teaching these processes in two 75-minute sessions. I include the methods of teaching and the homework and in-class prompts assigned to the class. I used the model similar to the one that Ashley M. Walter proposed in her thesis, which consists of discussion, providing students with a frame/stance, and transmediation. To this model, I added a mini-session on the in-class exploration of our library's databases and brainstorming thesis statements. I chose Henry James's brief and witty novel *The Reverberator* (1888) for the purposes of this process, mainly because this text has been neglected in the criticism on James's late work, and I wanted to see what kinds of arguments my students would come up with to recover it.*

Keywords: pedagogy, university/college education, innovative teaching practices, teaching literature, teaching research and argumentation.

As instructors of literature in a university setting, we often face the question of how to teach undergraduate students what an argumentative research paper is and how to help them come up with thesis statements that promise something new and provocative to the reader. Since I teach in a public research university, where there are up to 40 students in classes on literature, my challenge has been how to help every student in class—both literature and non-literature majors—understand the process of moving from the mere close reading to combining it with various theoretical and critical frameworks, with the purpose of shedding new light on the author's rendering of the themes. The number of students, their different educational backgrounds, skills, and motivations can all be a challenge for instructors who need to make sure that everyone enrolled in the class understands the complex processes of research and argumentative writing before starting the draft. Moreover, classes that last for either 50 or 75 minutes, depending on the assigned three-day or two-day weekly schedules, do not leave much space for experimentation, so we must ensure that the activities done in class really help students understand and practice new concepts so that they can apply them effectively in their essays.

Several years ago, I was in such a situation. I was assigned to teach a class on short story and novel, and since transatlanticism is one of my areas of interest, I themed the course "Short Story and Novel in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain and USA." This is a 100-level course, which means that it is introductory and that students should finish it with a sense that they have grasped the concepts of these two literary genres as well as methods for analyzing them and arguing about them. Throughout the semester, we were exploring transatlantic themes through discussions, comment cards, short responses to weekly questions, in-class exams, but the climax of our work was the final researched argument on a literary text in the syllabus. My challenge was how to effectively explain using the context in which the text was published, close reading of the text, literary criticism on it, and theoretical frameworks that we could apply in our analyses, with the purpose of making fresh arguments about the text. My crucial concern, however, was how to keep students fully engaged in all these important steps of the process. I taught the class twice a week, and each session lasted for 75 minutes, so I needed to cover all the segments of the process in one week in order to ensure that students can reflect on everything over the weekend and start experimenting with the texts that they have selected for the essay, which was due three and a half weeks later.

I was thinking for a while about what text to choose for explanation, illustration, and engagement in class, and I decided upon Henry James's brief novel *The Reverberator* (1888). Characterized as a *jeu d'esprit* by the author himself, this 142-page novel, which could easily be accessed and read via *The SUNY New Paltz Henry James Scholars' Guide*, seemed appropriate for the task at hand since it is not too long and since it is comic, so the students could finish reading it in one afternoon and fully engage in the tasks that I intended to assign. Moreover, this novel had been largely neglected in the criticism on James's late work, so I wanted to see what kinds of ideas my students would generate in order to recover the piece. For the pedagogical methods for teaching undergraduate students how to make arguments on literary texts, I used a model similar to the one that Ashley M. Walter proposed in her M.A. thesis. According to

Walter:

Critical reading is dependent on student ability to think metacognitively and comprehend a text. Metacognition and comprehension are best supported by specific strategy instruction and through questioning. Once students can think and read critically they need to be supported in developing an interpretation of text. Three key categories surface when examining the best ways to support students toward an interpretation. These areas are discussion, using a frame or stance, and transmediation. (Abstract)

Since we met on Tuesdays and Thursdays, on Thursday of the week before we started the discussion of *The Reverberator*, I provided my students with the information about the cultural climate in which James published the novel and explained the frame/stance that they should bear in mind while reading it. Afterwards, I divided the class in six groups, assigning each one a task that they would have to complete prior to coming to the following session. My students knew what group they were members of, but they were supposed to work on the tasks individually over the weekend and share their ideas with their peers at the beginning of Tuesday's session. As a group, they were supposed to compile a list of answers and when asked, share it with the whole class. Each group was aware of the prompts assigned to the other groups, which helped them think about the themes of the novel while reading it. They all knew what our in-class activities would focus on, and if they had any fresh observations regarding the prompts assigned to the other groups, they could share them with us during the discussion.

Step One: Establishing the Context

For the context in which James published the novel, I provided the information from James's letters since they are the most reliable sources for an analysis of his motives for writing and are usually cited by scholars as valuable material in the discussion of his oeuvre. I explained that in a letter to Robert Louis Stevenson, dated on July 31, 1888, just over a month after the *Macmillan Magazine* finished the serial publication of his comic novel *The Reverberator*, James criticized the popular press, particularly the *Daily News*, since it displayed "the lowest levels of Philistine twaddle" (3:240). This 1888 diatribe against the profanity of the well-known newspaper was largely motivated by the 1886 and 1887 press scandals that involved serious violations of different contemporary figures' privacies, even James's own. In the summer of 1887, Mrs. Sherman, James's acquaintance who once invited him for supper, sent a trivial account of their meal to American periodicals and even forwarded the published piece to James "as if [he] should be delighted to see it" (*Henry James Letters* 3:189). Such ugly episodes elicited James's aforementioned critique of the popular press, which gradually grew into his reflection on the overall state of Anglo-America, the cultural entity that he defined as a union of England and the United States as well as on his own role in that entity's reformation (*Henry James Letters* 3:244). In a letter to his brother William, dated on October 29, 1888, James explained that he "can't look at the English and American worlds, or feel about them, any more, save as a big Anglo-Saxon total, destined to such an amount of melting together . . . and that that melting together will come faster the more one takes it for granted" (3:244). The author believed that "Literature, fiction in particular, affords a magnificent arm for such taking for granted, and

one may so do an excellent work with it” (3:244). I pointed out that departing from his earlier writing agenda, focused on the issues of national descent and belonging, James decided to experiment with fluent and hybrid national identities and the elevation of public taste in his late works.

I also explained that this *jeu d’esprit* had been overseen by specialists on late James, very likely because of its brevity and the themes that he explored fully in his seminal works, and I pointed out that it deserved some critical attention.¹ For the readers of the journal who are not familiar with *The Reverberator*, this comic novel explores the relationships between Whitney, Delia, and Francie Dosson, the Bostonian family that resides in the mediocre urban Hotel de l’Univers et de Cheltenham, and their three Parisian friends: George Flack, a reporter for the American tabloid *The Reverberator*, Charles Waterlow, an American painter residing in Paris, and Gaston Probert, a descendant of the Gallicized American expatriates. Since the Dossons enjoy popular American tabloids, they quickly befriend George Flack, whose job is to collect and reveal gossips about the rich and the famous. When Flack takes the Dossons to Waterlow’s studio so that the aspiring impressionist painter could see Francie and decide whether she would be a proper model for a portrait, the family meets Probert, Waterlow’s close friend, who gradually falls in love with Francie even though he knows that his Gallicized family, keen on titles, formal etiquette, and traditions will not approve of the liberal, informal, and constantly moving Dossons. The crucial problem arises when Flack, whose love for Francie is unrequited since she will marry Probert, publishes the rumors about Probert’s family that Francie has naively conveyed to him. Even though Probert’s family is devastated, his love for Francie and for the Dossons’ flexibility and hybridity prevails.

Step Two: Establishing the Frame/Stance

After informing the class about the cultural climate in which the novel was published and influential criticism on James’s late works, I announced that the frame or stance that the class should bear in mind while reading the novel would be its recovery in a way that would provide future readers with an idea on how James promoted national fluidity and hybridity in the novel and to what extent he succeeded in criticizing profanity in Anglo-American popular culture. I explained that when trying to recover any literary text or make a fresh argument on it, we would have to answer some of the significant cultural questions that connected that text with the author’s larger oeuvre or culture of the day. Therefore, I assigned the following tasks to the groups, expecting that they would concentrate on them while and upon reading the novel: the first two teams were expected to examine James’s portrayal of the Dossons and the hotel, the next two were supposed to focus on James’s rendering of the Proberts and their residences, and the last two were asked to think about the ending of the novel and the ideological closure

¹For instance, in her book *Henry James and the Writing of Race and Nation*, Sara Blair cogently argues that James’s late engagement with the theater, drama, and theatrical novel, primarily through the publications of *The Tragic Muse* (1888,1891) and *Guy Domville* (1895), testifies to his culture-regenerating efforts, but she does not mention *The Reverberator* in her impressive study.

proposed in it. Of course, all the teams were welcome to discuss Flack and Waterlow in connection with the assigned prompts since these two characters permeate both communities with the intention to regroup them. What I wanted them to do was mark the passages that deal with these prompts, think about how those passages relate to the frame, and eventually share their observations with the other members of their teams.

Step Three: Discussion of Observations

During the following class period, we discussed the work done over the weekend. The first two groups noticed that James's fluid and hybrid community anchors and develops in the Hotel de l'Univers et de Cheltenham and initially consists of the Dossons only. These teams observed that the Dossons are portrayed as suitable occupants of the urban hotel of mediocre quality. As a backup, they used the narrator's voice:

The reading-room of the Hotel de l'Univers et de Cheltenham was none too ample, and had seemed to Mr. Dosson from the first to consist principally of a highly-polished floor. . . . It was composed further, to his perception, of a table with a green velvet cloth, of a fireplace with a great deal of fringe and no fire, of a window with a great deal of curtain and no light, and of the *Figaro*, which he couldn't read, and the New York *Herald*, which he had already read. (1)

They noted that the quoted passage portrays the reading room as clean and shiny but not luxurious, and as a common space that attends to the domestic and the foreign visitors alike through the magazines in French and English.

They further reflected on how the space and the Dossons mirror each other. Just like hotels are transitory spaces, Mr. Dosson gives the impression that he is an individual in a constant state of moving, passing by, and going to: "he had an impermanent transitory air, an aspect of weary yet patient non-arrival, even when he sat" (5). They observed that even though the Dossons enjoy traveling, they prefer hotels to private apartments since the former host a great number of people and provide opportunities for socialization. Again, they relied on the narrator's voice for the backup: "they expected to finish the winter in Paris, but had not taken independent apartments, for they had an idea that when you lived that way it was grand but lonely—you didn't meet people on the staircase" (84). They noted that though private rentals would be cozier than hotels, they would not offer the American family the opportunities to enlarge their cosmopolitan community.

These two groups agreed that the description of Delia Dosson reflects certain aspects of the urban hotel as well. They underlined the passage that depicts Delia's clothing style and posture as follows: "Elegance indeed had not been her natural portion, and the Bon Marche and other establishments had to make up for that. . . . She always looked the same; all the contrivances of Paris couldn't fill out that blank, and she held them, for herself, in no manner of esteem" (12). They observed that just like the hotel in which she currently resides, Delia is not elegant and has to use accessories to make herself more appealing. Similar to the standardized

hotel rooms, Delia gives the impression that her appearance is always the same. They noticed that the narrator's portrayal of Delia's countenance evokes the image of hotel conference salons: "It was a plain clean round pattern face, marked for recognition among so many only perhaps by a small figure, the sprig on a china plate, that might have denoted deep obstinacy; and yet, with its settled smoothness, it was neither stupid nor hard. It was as calm as a room kept dusted and aired for candid earnest occasions, the meeting of unanimous committees and the discussion of flourishing businesses" (12). Just like conference rooms, Delia's face was of mediocre beauty, but it provided a sense of warmth and tranquility. However, they noted that unlike her sister, Francie is very conspicuous. In the narrator's words, "The girl was exceedingly, extraordinarily pretty, all exempt from traceable likeness to her sister; and there was a brightness in her—a still and scattered radiance—which was quite distinct from what is called animation" (16-17). They concluded that reminiscent of the hotel chandeliers, Francie irradiates a special beauty and light, giving a unique touch to the hotel hallways and banquet rooms.

The two teams assigned to focus on the Proberts and their habitations came up with the following observations. Unlike the Dossons, who try to make a home in every single hotel in which they reside for a season or even longer, the Proberts have lived in their residences in Paris for a long time. While Mr. Dosson does not like collecting objects, Gaston's father is particularly keen on collecting books, periodicals, and antiques that deal with, discuss, or reflect a sense of the past and tradition. The reader realizes that Gaston's "family however had been so completely Gallicized that the affairs of each member of it were the affairs of all the rest, and his father, his sisters and his brothers-in-law had not yet begun sufficiently to regard this scheme as their own for him to feel it substantially his. It was a family in which there was no individual but only a collective property" (41). Gaston's family members are tightly connected with each other, bound by common sacred traditions and possessions, and almost tribal in their lack of permeability. Gaston is always aware of his dual identity—his American ancestry and his French destiny. In order to back this up, the members of these two teams referred to the narrator: "The young man therefore, between two stools, had no clear sitting-place: he wanted to be as American as he could and yet not less French than he was; he was afraid to give up the little that he was and find that what he might be was less. . . . At the same time he thought himself sure that the only way to know how it feels to be an American is to try it, *and he had had many a purpose of making the pious pilgrimage*" (41, my italics). I interferred here and underlined that James's language indicates that Gaston's forthcoming decision to propose to Francie, make his family accept the Dossons or at least tolerate their presence, and finally forgive Francie her "transgression" and marry her despite his family's anger, is a unique rite of passage: Gaston begins a pilgrimage through the world of the fluid Americans in order to build his own fluid identity, liberating himself from the Proberts' restrictive Gallicism.

The last two groups, which were supposed to think about the closing pages of the novel, came up with the following observations. The end of the novel celebrates freedom of choice, hybridity, and movement. The groups observed that the catalyst of Gaston's decision to go back to Francie is Waterlow, who encourages Gaston as follows: "Don't you see that she's really of the softest finest material that breathes, that she's a perfect flower of plasticity, that everything

you may have an apprehension about will drop away from her like the dead leaves from a rose and that you may make of her any perfect and enchanting thing you yourself have the wit to conceive?" (206). I interfered here and explained that James's language in the passage highlights Francie's beauty and chameleonic flexibility, her openness to growth and development, her recycling (of the found Tauchnitz editions in hotel lobbies) and passing (them) on, and her spreading of the mesmerizing light wherever she goes. The groups further noted that after Gaston joins the Dossons, they decide to move on together, although even at the moment of their departure, "they were even yet not at all clear as to where they were going" (212). The reader can presume that the travelers will temporarily settle in a different place and in a new hotel. Even though the Dossons are not sophisticated intellectuals and have the habit of reading the popular press, they are the winners in the social game portrayed in the novel because their warmth, sincerity, openness to different cultures, and acceptance of others, including the Proberts and Flack, make them appealing to both the author and the readers.

Step Four: Transmediation

After we finished the discussion, I wanted them to pause for several minutes, think about the transmediation of the novel, and discuss it briefly within the groups. What media of expression would be appropriate for adapting this novel and presenting it to the audience? I hoped that considering other genres for the conveyance of the same messages would help them think beyond the box and come up with working hypotheses that would play with the themes of the novel and visual or theatrical techniques that James used. Their ideas were amazing. Some groups suggested that we should create comics based on the novel since James's language is humorous, his observations about human behavior witty, and his casting of characters reminiscent of caricatures. I suggested here that the characters' ways of dressing, facial features, and mannerisms should be emphasized in the comics since that would elicit laughter from the readers and help them get James's messages about the state of popular culture. Some groups opined that this text could be rewritten as a graphic novel since the images of the spaces and even descriptions of cross-cultural encounters could be easily illustrated in shapes and colors and thus help the reader visualize different interiors and the characters' interactions. The other groups suggested that we should experiment with rewriting the novel as a script and casting it as a play, with the narrator who would insert James's metacommentary in the scenes from time to time.

By the time we finished discussing different options for transmediation, the class period had almost drawn to a close. I used the last couple of minutes to advise them to review their notes at home and bring electronic devices to the class on Thursday so that we could look for critical studies of the novel in the library databases and eventually generate potential thesis statements.

Step Five: Research and Brainstorming Thesis Statements

During the following class period, we looked for the scholarly works on this novel through the databases available on the university libraries' *EBSCOhost* list, and we found very few articles. We carefully read and discussed the abstracts, realizing that scholars had mostly written about James's criticism of people's willingness to share their privacy with journalists (Rubery) and about the hotel as a "disposable space" (Moore). We had to determine what claims

we could make that would open new windows of understanding this under-researched novel to prospective readers. Since envisioning the novel as comics in our transmediation activity helped us think about humor in new ways, a few groups opined that we could argue that James's humorous style, brevity, and presentation of characters as caricatures help him dispatch cultural criticism effectively to a wide audience, mocking the unscrupulous practice of tabloids to quickly disseminate offensive articles about people's private lives. Bearing in mind James's transatlantic mission and the possibility of dramatic adaptation of the novel, a few groups suggested that we argue that through the multicultural community residing in the hotel and through the hotel as a transient space, James promotes the dissemination of fluidity and hybridity and criticizes national isolationism. I suggested that they should look for Victor Turner's book *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, in which he defines the concept of "ideological communitas," or a formation that exists within a social structure but provides "the optimal conditions" for the cherishing and practicing of certain ideals and habits (169). So, together we were able to generate a few tentative thesis statements in class, and I was happy to offer the students some suggestions for further research.

My overall impression is that this model of interactive teaching helped students break down the scary process of writing an argumentative research paper into smaller segments and made it easier for them to complete the assignment. Through the combination of individual and collaborative work, homework and in-class activities, researching and analyzing some of the research in class, and brainstorming potential thesis statements within groups, students were able to engage more fully in every step of the process, with more enjoyment and less anxiety. Providing them with the frame/stance helped them think about the larger implications of the issues depicted in the novel and connect their close reading of the text with the author's motives and intentions. The transmediation activity stimulated provocative arguments on Jamesian aesthetics. By the time we finished work that week, they had been better equipped with the critical reading and research methods and more confident about making arguments that have the potential to open new doors of understanding the novel to its future audiences.

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A Study of the Complex Interiors of the Conscious and the Unconscious in Franz Kafka's *The Trial*

Aiman Reyaz

Jai Prakash University, India

Priyanka Tripathi

Indian Institute of Technology Patna, India

Abstract

*Born to respectable Jewish parents, Kafka received a thorough education in German schools. Soon after receiving a doctorate in law in 1906, Kafka worked for an insurance company and rose to the level of Vice Secretary in 1913- the year before he started writing his *The Trial*. In the novel, the protagonist, Josef K. is arrested for no apparent reason. His struggles are in vain because he does not know why he is being tried, when he will be tried and what he can do to untangle himself from the complex network of bureaucracy and judiciary. The aim of the paper is to highlight the condition of Josef. He is an epitome of the Modernist condition where the individual finds himself isolated and cut off from all traditional, conventional sources of support, the self that never grows up into conformity and cooperation with the established social order. Kafka employs nighttime logic in his writings and the condition of Josef is such that it resembles a nightmare from which it is impossible to awake.*

Keywords: Trial, Bureaucracy/Judiciary, Modern, Nightmare.

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“Block here?” he asked. This query delivered a virtual blow to Block...striking him in the chest and then in the back so that he stumbled, came to a stop with a deep bow, and said, ‘At your service.’ ‘What do you want?’ asked the lawyer; ‘you’ve come at an inopportune time.’ ‘Wasn’t I summoned?’ asked Block lifting his hands protectively and ready to retreat. ‘You were summoned,’ said the lawyer, ‘but you’ve still come at an inopportune time.’ And after a pause he continued. ‘You always come at inopportune times.’... ‘Do you wish me to leave?’ asked Block. ‘You’re here now,’ said the lawyer. ‘Stay’. One would have thought the lawyer had threatened to flog Block, not grant his wish, for now Block began to tremble in earnest. ‘Yesterday,’ said the lawyer, ‘I visited the third judge, my friend, and gradually brought the conversation around to you. Do you want to know what he said?’ ‘Oh please,’ said Block. Since the lawyer didn’t reply at once, Block repeated his entreaty, and stooped as if to kneel. But then K. lashed out at him. ‘What are you doing?’ he cried.”

Kafka, *The Trial*, 150-151

The man who lashes out at Block is Josef K., the doomed protagonist of Franz Kafka’s novel, *The Trial*, one of the most celebrated ones, published posthumously in 1925 by his friend Max Brod. Arrested one morning for reasons that are never explained to him, but allowed his freedom while his case is pending, Josef K has hired a lawyer named Huld, recommend by his uncle Albert, who has known the lawyer ever since they were school boys together. Though highly regarded as a defense council he suffers from a heart condition and stays in his bed in a dark gloomy room of his ground floor apartment in a suburb of an unnamed capital city where the plot of the novel is set. Huld has no office and in bed, he is attended by a nurse named Leni, who later turns out also to be his mistress.

By the time this scene takes place, the trial of Josef K. is six months old; but the English world *Trial* just roughly approximates the German word *Prozess* which can mean many things besides formal event in the court of law. In this context, it means, amongst other things, as a seemingly endless process of deepening bewilderment, a long ordeal of pseudo legal complication and a frustration leading finally to death. The translation of the term *Prozess* into *Trial* is partly correct however, the term is loaded with various meaning; the literal translation into English perhaps does not wholly capture the essence of the German term.

It’s already six months when Josef K. visits his lawyer. Realizing that the lawyer has done nothing for him, Josef K. decides to dismiss him because after all this time, Huld is still working under the first petition of the court. When he reveals his decision to the lawyer, Huld temporizes. He warns Josef K. not to be in haste. He complains that his labours in his special case has been misunderstood and offers to show Josef how he treats other defendants, such as a merchant named Block.

Before the lawyer summons Block for this purpose Josef K. has already learned certain things about him from the man himself. Block has been a grain dealer who has been on trial, awaiting justice for well over five years. Having drained his business and spent all of his money on his trial and having hired five shysters in addition to the lawyer he still has no firm date for formal proceedings. But he is so obsessed with his case that he has now practically taken up residence in Huld's apartment, where he sleeps in the maid's room, a tiny, low windless cube box, just to be ready for the lawyer's call at any hour of the day or night. So, when the lawyer tells Leny to get him, he comes immediately, even though its 10 O' clock at night. This minor instance shows the nature of helplessness of the common people at the hands of the all-powerful law.

From the moment he arrives, the lawyer twists him like a prick. Huld does everything possible to intimidate Block and exploit his own pathological dependence on the lawyer's goodwill. Instead of thanking Block for coming so promptly, the lawyer tells him that he has come at a bad time, *as always*. When Block offers to leave, the lawyer courtly tells him to stay and then tantalizes him with the news that the day before he discussed Block's case with a judge. When the lawyer asks Block if he wants to know what the judge said, Block, of course, begs him repeatedly to tell and nearly goes down on his knees. At this point, Josef K. lashes out at Block for his canine servility. Josef can't imagine how the lawyer would think that this little performance would impress him. Block, he thought, was no longer a client. He was the *lawyer's dog*.

To clinch this point the lawyer's account of what the judge said about Block's case hits a fawning merchant like a brick on the head. After desperately waiting to hear what the judge said, Block learns only that his remarks were not at all favourable for him or his trial. According to the judge, the bell that opens the trial still hasn't rung. Before Block could ask for an explanation the lawyer tells him that he is disgusted with Block's anxiety for it betrays a lack of faith in the lawyer's wisdom. The judge, he says, could be wrong, of what the ringing of the bell signifies. That teasing possibility is the only bone that Huld finally throws at Block who has no other choice but to chew on it, while literally groveling on the floor of the lawyer's bedroom.

This story of the total humiliation of a merchant whose life has become one endless trial is just one episode of the story of Josef K. who wakes up one morning to find himself suddenly under arrest. And then spends one full year in a futile effort to find out why.

“Someone must have slandered Josef K., for one morning, without having done anything truly wrong, he was arrested.” (Kafka: *The Trial*, 17)

Background

When Kafka started writing this novel, it was August 1914; he was 31 years old well established in business, known for a few published articles and already the author of several short stories, including “The Metamorphosis”, which would shortly be published. Born in Prague, he was the eldest son of an upwardly mobile Jewish couple. His ambitious father, one

time village peddler who managed to marry above him owned a fancy goods shop in the Jewish quarter of the city and as the business prospered they moved to better locations, such as Wenceslas Square, in the heart of the city. Though the Kafkas spoke Czech at home, they wanted their children to be educated in German. A young Franz was rigorously taught in the select, demanding Old City Secondary School of Prague, where he excelled. He then studied Law at German University in Prague, gained a Doctor of Law degree in 1906 and soon thereafter went to work for the Workers Accident Insurance Company for the Kingdom of Bohemia in Prague, where he was promoted to Vice Secretary of the company in 1913, the year before he started writing *The Trial* (Brod: 1960).

What does it all mean? It means that by 30, Franz Kafka seemed already to follow the script written for him by his upwardly striving parents to take his place among the gentiles, German speaking thoroughly respectable bourgeoisie of Prague. But Kafka simply could not play the conventional role assigned to him by his parents. For one thing, he could never entirely forget his Jewishness (Ningkang: 2016). Even though his parent did their best to ensure his assimilation, Kafka never became purely German.

The German he wrote was tainted, salted, one can say, not only by Czech idioms but also by Yiddish, a language that he knew well enough to give a lecture on. One such significant lecture he delivered was in 1912. Secondly, even as he rose through the ranks of the Workers Accidents Insurance Company, Kafka was pursuing his ambition to write. At age 21, in a story called "Description of a Struggle" he had already begun to forge a dream like language that could mediate between the conscious objective mind and the subjective unconscious even as he struggled for the conflict between his urge to create and his compulsion to succeed in conventional terms (Rolleston: 2002). In 1912, at the age of 29, he wrote two short stories: "The Judgement" and "The Metamorphosis" and thereafter, he started his first novel called *The Man Who Disappeared*, later christened as *Amerika*, when it was published in 1927. These three works could be considered examples of "fictive autobiography". A term generally referred to such works where the elements of personal life of the author are partially part of that particular work. Some examples of this genre can be Charles Dickens' *Great Expectations* and Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights* where the authors experience in their personal life found their way into their creative work.

The Modern Kafka and His Contemporaries

In other words, the kind of fictive autobiography that Kafka inherits from the 19th century narrates the story of rebellion and accommodation, disruption and restoration of the social order. But Kafka's first attempt at autobiography shows how this traditional formula broke down in the face of modernism (Glatzer & Updike: 1983).

To understand a writer or his/her idea, it is very important to understand the situation and the surrounding. In what age and in which socio-cultural background one comes from, speaks volumes about that person. So, it is also essential to briefly describe Modernism because Kafka wrote in that period. But before that, it is necessary to note that *Modernism* needs to be

distinguished from *Modernity*. Modernity is an historical condition largely defined and exemplified by advances in technology and fashion. The modern era, we can say, began with the invention of the automobile in the late 19th century or the invention of the airplane in the beginning of the 20th century.

Modernity can also be seen in the plunging necklines that irritate middle-aged Jon Forsytes in John Galsworthy's novel *To Let* (1921); or in the spectacle of young women making themselves up in public, something that bothers the middle aged Peter Walsh in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (1925).

Chronologically, these markers of modernity coincide with the advent of *Modernism*, but modernism is not an historical condition. It is rather a way of thinking and feeling collectively defined by leading writers, critics and artists of the first part of the 20th century; amongst them Kafka ranks as one of the best and most influential figures. Essentially, modernism spotlights the isolated self: the self cut off from all traditional, conventional sources of support, the self that never grows up into conformity and cooperation with the established social order (Childs: 2000).

It thus focuses the isolated self. We see in *The Trial* that the protagonist gets no help whatsoever. There is hardly any progress in his case and Josef K. feels helpless and impotent. Modernism recalls romanticism, which reinvented autobiography in works such as Wordsworth's *Prelude* and also celebrated the defiant individualism of figures like Byron's Childe Harold and Melville's Captain Ahab making the romantic individual empowered by heroic self-confidence or at least by the intensity of his vision. The modernist self feels drained of power; he feels helpless and vulnerable and therefore, entirely strips off all the ties. He is also pathetic and ridiculous like the title figure of T. S. Eliot's poem, *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* who worries that people will notice his baldness and who won't even try to pose overwhelming question at a tea party because he foresees that it will be simply dismissed.

Since the modernist self is isolated in this way, the modernist novel highlights radical subjectivity by using techniques such as the interior monologue and it challenges the conventional realism of time and space by making the present repeatedly giving way to memories of the past or with Kafka's Josef K. to a wrenching sense of disorientation. With or without the predictable security or realistic time and space, modernist hero is lonely. Some of the novels take the route to anti-novels, not in the sense of being against novel but in the sense of taking a different and new route that challenges the conventional authority. The protagonist or the hero is altered and has actually anti-hero characteristics.

In Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, which first appeared in 1899, Marlowe says, what Kafka might have said about his own story:

"It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream- making vain attempt, because no relation of a dream can convey the dream-sensation, that commingling of absurdity, surprise, and bewilderment in a tremor of struggling revolt, that notion of being captured by the incredible which is the very essence of dreams." (Conrad: *Heart of Darkness*, 172)

We notice that almost all the canonical writers of the age had the same sense of displacement and disorientation. It was the situation and the surrounding that led to the development of such kinds of state of mind. Be it Kafka, Joyce, Woolf, Conrad, Eliot etc., they all felt a sort of helplessness and a kind of existential crisis and that is why this particular aspect is reflected in their new kind of writing, which totally challenged the conventional modes of literature writing. Bound up with that essence is the sense of radical displacement. As has been stated earlier, the modernist self exemplified by Josef K. is a man radically deracinated, cut off from the reference points that traditionally define us. In some ways the story of Josef K. is the literary counterpart of abstract art which blanks out the realistic escapes that bind traditional art to the world we know, which plunge us into the world of colour and form, cut loose from the ground we tread on and from any object we might recognize.

Kafka wipes out most of Josef K.'s family name. We get just the first letter. Furthermore unlike Joyce's *Ulysses* and Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, both of which appeared around the same time and both of which are set in capital cities, Kafka's novel names only its characters. It never names the city where Josef lives, works; it never names anything in that city: not a building, not a monument, not a single street. The absence of such localizing information reinforces the sense of displacement and disorientation that we persistently get from this novel. Where courts of inquiry and legal consultations are held in places totally unsuitable for them like cramped bedrooms, and stuffy attics. The sense of dislocation begins with the opening sentence of the book:

"Someone must have slandered Josef K., for one morning, without having done anything truly wrong, he was arrested." (Kafka: *The Trial*, 17)

In another instance of dislocation, displacement and disorientation one can site Leopold Bloom, the protagonist of James Joyce's *Ulysses* who neither has father nor has son; his father committed suicide, his only son died in infancy. He feels so traumatized by that death that he has had no sexual intercourse with his wife for more than ten years. Bloom himself is a resilient survivor but the modernist self often is suicidal. In *Mrs Dalloway*, another defining work of Modernism, Septimus Smith takes a fatal leap out of a window because he feels irredeemably guilty; guilty of the incapacity to feel anything for any other human being. He has been psychically shattered by the First World War, which literally destroyed many of the institutions that once gave individuals their place in society, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire which started breaking up at the same time Kafka started writing *The Trial*.

So, the war and its outcome simply accentuated Kafka's sense of isolation and alienation as a misfit in society, masquerading as a promising young professional man. Though he never went to war, Kafka resembles in some ways to Septimus Smith. Like that 29 year old war veteran, who is highly regarded by the company that employed him, the 31 year old Kafka was steadily climbing the ladder of corporate bureaucracy. But in 1912, responsibility to take charge of running a family business prompted him to consider suicide. He also felt an aversion to the institution of marriage which was forced upon him by his parents.

Under pressure from them and especially from his overbearing father, he got himself engaged to a young lady from Berlin named Felice Bauer in June 1914. But the engagement soon fizzled. Just as Septimus Smith took no real solace from marriage that he made by simple reflex from the war, Kafka too could not bind himself to anyone and broke the engagement after just one month. Though, he corresponded with Felice for five years, was briefly re-engaged to her in 1917 and considered her a great friend he could not help but seeing this practical unimaginative woman as an enemy to his work. He could neither marry her nor any other woman to whom he got engaged two years later. And though he lived with a young woman in Berlin for a few months during the last years of his life, he never married. To some extent Josef K. reflects and expresses Kafka's profoundly ambivalent response to Felice Bauer as well as Kafka's general condition in 1914 (Frederick: 1991).

So, in the summer of 1914, when the war broke out, Kafka wanted to join the Austrian army, but with tuberculosis and a practical skeleton of 6 foot frame and bare minimum weight, he could scarcely qualify. Even if he had, he could have scarcely found his identity by fighting for Austria and Germany against Russia and the Serbs. Politically, Jewish Czechs had no place to go. On one hand, even if they spoke German like Kafka, they were considered anti-German; modernist enemies of the German people and homeland. On the other hand, they got small comfort from the Czech nationalists who sought to break away from Austria and who identified with Russia. When the Czechs first formed their first Republic in 1918, with the help of the US, they bound themselves to Slovaks who were virulently anti-Semitic.

Exploring the Sensual Kafka

While these social and political conditions prevalent in those times constituted the major part of his writing concern, the analysis of complex interiors of the conscious and the unconscious is incomplete without exploring the sensual side of Kafka. As he started to work on *The Trial* in August of that year, he had just turned 31 and was already Vice Secretary of the Insurance Company. His protagonist in this context is the chief financial officer of a large bank, who turns 30 on the day the novel begins. In some of the fragments of the book we find that Josef K has no real concern for any women in his life. He is indifferent towards them. Utmost he feels sexually aroused for the opposite sex, especially since some of the women that he meets such as Leni in the lawyer's apartment are openly erotic and even promiscuous. There are several illustrations in the novel that can underscore what might gel well with the Freudian theme, an important parameter of the sensual exploration.

In 1900, Sigmund Freud published his *Interpretation of Dreams* which argued that dreams express *desires* and wishes that we typically repress in our conscious well-behaved waking lives. In our dreams we can imagine whatever we like; especially the things that we want to do in our day to day lives but can't do because of the constraints of the society around us. So, when we are unable to satisfy our desires in the waking stage, we have our *wish fulfillment* in our dreams. Whether or not Kafka deliberately drew on Freud's theory of dreams, he could scarcely avoid his influence and the strange life of Josef K. sometimes seems to exemplify the same.

Ostensibly Josef is a proper and professionally diligent young man. He normally works at his office till 9 pm, takes a walk and sits in a tavern with a group of mostly older men till 11 pm. However, in the second chapter of *The Trial*, one finds him waking up at nearly midnight for Fraulein Burstner, the young typist who occupies a room next to his own in the boarding house where he lives. Waiting until she comes back from the night of the theatre, he wants to apologize for the disturbance made in her room by the men who used it to interrogate him in the morning and mixed up her collection of photographs. But instead of just quickly apologizing for the disturbance, or leaving her a note, Josef gets himself invited into the young lady's room. When he tells her that he's been interrogated by a commission of enquiry, she laughs at the idea that this gentleman could be guilty of anything.

Nevertheless, she doesn't believe that he is totally guiltless and settles with a thought that perhaps he could not have committed any *serious* crime. She does well to hatch her bet, for Josef eventually proves to be a pest. Late as it is, he keeps her up while he re-enacts the enquiry, showing her how the inspector moved her nightstand away from her bed so that it could be used as a desk and then shouted his name *Josef K.* Fraulein Burstner laughs at this theatrical performance. But when it provokes a loud set of knocks at the door from the next room where the landlady's nephew is staying she is so alarmed that she wants Josef to leave at once. "Go go... You're tormenting me". But Josef stays. "I'm not going," said K. (Kafka: *The Trial*, 37)

Seeing that she is alarmed by what the man next door can hear Josef says that she can tell everyone that he has assaulted her because he feels quite sure that nothing he does will change the good opinion of his landlady about him. When she calmly rejects the idea of spreading this insulting story around and tells him again to leave, he finally does so but only after assaulting her. Rushing out, he seized and kissed her on the mouth then all over the face like a thirsty animal lapping greedily like a spring found at last. Then he kissed her on the neck, right on her throat and left his lips there for a long time. Like in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde* where Dr. Jekyll turns into Mr. Hyde, from a proper young financial officer to a monster of sexual voracity, a vampire.

Such instances lack a logical explanation for they cannot be explained by the logic of daytime, like the whole experience of being rested and put on trial for a crime that is never spoken or specified. They make sense only if we envision Josef K. as caught up in a dream of his own making, a dream that liberates his deepest longings and anxieties and fears. On August 6 1914, as Kafka started work on *The Trial* he wrote in his diary:

"My talent for portraying my dreamlike inner life has thrust all other matters into the background, my life has dwindled dreadfully, nor will it cease to dwindle. Nothing else will satisfy me." (Leavitt:2012)

Therefore, Kafka's story of Josef K., a story of a man caught in a network of laws that he will never understand from which he will never escape. Kafka's story resembles a nightmare from which it is impossible to wake up.

Exploring Kafka's conscious self and law

Like so much else in this novel Josef K.'s crime or would be crime is never specified, it is never named. Since there is no moral place for Josef's guilt the reader is left to speculate about it. What has he done and why is the law against him? Is he in some sense having the trait of the original sin that we all inherit from Adam that the Bible teaches us? Is it something like the protagonists in Wordsworth's *The Prelude* and Dickens' *Great Expectations*, both of whom vividly recall feelings of guilt from their childhood? The answer is perhaps NO to all these conjectures.

Josef K. shows no consciousness of original sin and unlike Wordsworth and Pip in *Great Expectations*; he remembers absolutely nothing of any wrong that he has ever done. To the very first inspector who comes to interrogate him, he says "I've been accused of something but can't think of the slightest offense of which I might be accused"(Kafka: *The Trial*, 24).

Josef also has a habit of sounding self righteous, which is in fact, one of his faults in the long run. The very first sentence of the book portrays him as a victim of slander, but he himself comes near slandering Fraulein Burstner when he complains to the landlady about the late hour she keeps, thus prompting the landlady to cry her misconduct. Even though Josef angrily defends her against the landlady's suspicion he himself assaults her, and then walks off, pleased with his conduct. So, part of the novel shows Josef not entirely as innocent as he claims to be, especially when he flings accusations at others. While speaking to the examining magistrate at the attic court he complains that he was assaulted in the morning in bed by two guards who prove to be corrupt ruffians.

"They wanted bribes...they wanted money, supposedly to bring me breakfast, after they'd shamelessly eaten my own breakfast before my very (own) eyes."(Kafka: *The Trial*, 48)

Many times, he overstates the facts. One of the guards enters his bedroom after knocking, but no one assaulted him there or anywhere else. The guards did eat his breakfast but their demand for bribes amounted simply to offer him to buy him a breakfast from a coffee house if he would put up the money. One evening later on, when Josef looks at a junk row at the bank where he works, he finds the two guards, Franz and Willem with a flogger. Because of Josef's complaints against these two guards, they will not only be flogged but will also lose all prospects for advancement. Distressed by this news and convinced that only the high officials of the court are truly guilty, Josef offers to bribe the flogger which he has negated to the examining magistrate. He says, "I will reward you well if you let them go", however, the flogger is a man of principle and he replies, "I can't be bribed", "I have been hired to flog and flog I will" (Kafka: *The Trial*, 73). One can also bring in a kind of parallel nature in which when The Holocaust was carried out, the perpetrators who did this inhumane act responded by saying that they were merely following commands.

The whole scene bristles with irony. Though Josef K. believes that he has already begun to fight corruption and the judicial system, he himself tries to corrupt the flogger so as to thwart the consequences of his own complaints against the system. But before he can raise his offer, the flogger takes the rod to Franz, and Franz's inhuman scream makes Josef fear that other people in the building will come and find this dealing with the scummy trio in the mud room. So when Franz screams, Josef tells him not to do so; pushes him to the floor, steps out of the flogging room and slams the door. Josef is obviously flawed. No matter how self-righteously he tries to proclaim his innocence to fight the corruption of the legal system, he cannot avoid the taint of corruption himself. In Kafka's vision of the world, guilt is inescapably part of the human condition and certainly of his own life. And no matter how you try to protect yourself from corruption, the system is such that one is forced to get involved in corrupt activities, even minor ones, in order to thrive in the world.

Several months after starting work on *The Trial*, Kafka wrote in his diary "in the consciousness that my guilt is beyond question" (Leavitt: 2007). Does he feel guilty for failing to fight with the Austrian army or for breaking his engagement with Felice Bauer or for disappointing his father's expectation or for failing to write at more than what he calls "a miserable crawl"? Kafka does not answer this question any more for he tells specifically just what crime Josef K. has committed or whether he is guilty of anything at all.

But whatever he is, Josef is someone more than a spotless victim. He thrashes about in response to his flight and in the process, he hurts other people. And yet Josef hurts others, he himself is hurt most of all, relentlessly victimized by a legal system that makes him a defendant but indefinitely defers any chance of acquittal, or be even of a fair trial faced on specific charges.

As Josef is told by a painter named Tintorelli, who has learned about the law from the judges that he paints, there are just three possible way of settling the case against defendant: Actual Acquittal, Apparent Acquittal, and Protraction. After admitting that he has never seen a single case of Actual Acquittal the painter defines Apparent Acquittal as a merely temporary finding of innocence yielding a freedom that may end at any time. Such an acquittal may be followed by an immediate arrest, and even if the defendant gains a second acquittal, that too may be followed by an arrest and so it goes on endlessly. The only alternative is Protraction whereby the defendant keeps his case at the lowest stage by regularly visiting the judge and responding to interrogation. But whether the defendant gets Apparent Acquittal or Protraction he is sentenced to a life of paralyzing suspense. This is one reason why Josef K. decides to dismiss his lawyer and accept his execution. One can quote Judge Richard Posner to sum it up who writes, "Law in Kafka's fiction is, for the most part, not law as we think of it, a system of rules; it is a malevolent whimsy." (Posner: 1986)

Conclusion

In spite of the novel being titled as *The Trial*, the discourse of the trial never takes place in the novel. *The Trial* is not a trial, nor is it about due process, criminal procedure, or law at all; for Judge Posner-

“the heart of *The Trial* lies elsewhere...in K’s futile efforts to find a human meaning in a universe, symbolized by the court, that has not been created to be accommodating or intelligible to man but is arbitrary, impersonal, cruel, deceiving and elusive.” (Posner: 1998)

Legal delays in fiction have been dealt before Kafka wrote *The Trial*; as in Charles Dickens’ *Bleak House* (1851-52) to cite particularly. The case of John Jarndyce takes so many years to resolve it that it consumes all the money in dispute. Forty years after Dickens’ novel appeared, the real world furnished a celebrated instance of justice delayed in a criminal case. In 1894, a French Army captain named Alfred Dreyfus was convicted of espionage in a secret military court marshal that ignored his military protestations of innocence, and gave him no access to the evidence against him. Stripped of his rank and sentenced to life imprisonment he was vilified by anti-Semitic voices that all too readily identified his Jewishness with treachery, and then he had to wait 12 years for exoneration.

Josef K. is nowhere called Jewish but he was conceived by a Jewish writer and the burden of unspecified guilt that he is made to bear might be construed as signifying all the guilt that he’s been placed for centuries at the backs of the Jewish people. In any case, Josef K. is punished far beyond what he deserves and in a dream like world of Kafka’s novel his fate reveals how enigmatic, how illogical and how merciless the law may be. The function of *law* in Kafka’s works does not actually lead to justice, which actually should be the end of the Legal process; rather it leads to a sense of alienation. Hence, the individual feels totally drained of any kind of physical or emotional support. (Glen: accessed from Internet).

“Alienation refers to ‘man-alone’ in the world of the Other, a cry for freedom as an impotent act in a meaningless human world and the cry for the greatness, and dignity of the authentic self which is confined by the world of man. Kafka in *The Trial* shows this state of alienation in the darkest form, the alienation of an existential man like Josef K. is accosted by the invisible Other.” (Azizmohammadi et.al: 2012)

Kafka’s writing forecasts the Holocaust and Hiroshima. He gives us the world in which the law does not restrain absolute power in people, say for example in a person like Hitler, rather it sanctions it and even reinforces it by legalizing it. This is an uncomfortable condition which Kafka constructs in his works and unfortunately the world saw the fulfillment of his prophetic works when the world witnessed and suffered two horrifying World Wars and also saw the (ab)use of power because of the legal sanction of it. Therefore, the novel, *The Trial* forces the readers to think about the nature of law and its liaison with the system of bureaucracy. Theoretically, the law and the bureaucracy are for the benefit of the people, but in practice it has several deviations. The labyrinthine set of structures and procedures makes it almost impossible to access the law in its purest form. One is left wondering if law is really for the benefit of the common people or is it a tool to maintain the status quo of the haves and the have nots?

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Valeurs Et Valences De La Transpoétique Dans La Poésie De B. Dadié

Yagué Vahi

Université Félix Houphouët-Boigny
Abidjan, Cocody, Côte d'Ivoire
youlavahi@yahoo.fr
Tél. : (+225) 01 50 10 77

Résumé

Dans le discours poétique de l'ivoirien Bernard Binlin Dadié, plusieurs thèmes s'enchevêtrent et s'articulent autour de l'effondrement des frontières étatiques, linguistiques et surtout culturelles. Le sujet qui investit l'espace n'a pas de terre où il réside en permanence. Il anéantit la distance et le local pour s'envaser dans une mobilité constructive. Par conséquent, la culture qui est la sienne s'ouvre à d'autres cultures pour constituer le global. L'interpénétration et le brassage qui en découlent donnent naissance à un groupe déterritorialisé – une transpoétique – pourrait-on dire. Les valeurs et les valences – l'intensité et l'extensité – de cette transpoétique génère une illusion référentielle dont la signifiante est à élucider.

Mots-clés : transpoétique, valeurs, valences, global, signifiante.

Abstract

In the poetic discourse of Bernard Binlin Dadié, an Ivorian poet, several themes are intertwined and revolved around the collapse of state borders, especially linguistic and cultural ones. The subject who occupies the space has no land where he can permanently reside. He annihilates the distance and the space local silt up in a constructive mobility. Therefore, my culture is opened to other cultures to form the global culture. The interpenetration and brewing, which resulting from this, give birth to deterritorialised – a transpoetic – one might say. The values and valences – the intensity and extensity – of this transpoetic generate a referential illusion whose significance is unclear.

Keywords: transpoetic, values, valences, global, significance.

Introduction

Pour Hédi Bouraoui, « *Le poète nous aide à vivre en harmonie avec toutes les différences nourries assurément d'historicité et de divergences. Les relations humaines peuvent s'échanger ainsi le respect de l'autre.* »¹ Le poète, bien qu'étant natif d'un espace donné, géographiquement délimité ne se confine plus à faire partager ou à dialoguer l'héritage culturel de son pays. Il est contraint avec l'avènement des techniques de l'information et de la communication d'aller à la rencontre d'une communauté globale. Pour y parvenir, il transforme de fond en comble son langage poétique et s'évertue grâce à une révolution linguistique propre à lui de "vivre en harmonie avec toutes les différences" dans une dynamique d'ouverture artistique qui exalte "le respect de l'autre" en vue d'une prise de conscience individuelle au profit d'un environnement culturel de l'humanité.

Dans cette perspective, le local disparaît pour donner naissance à une "culture en transit"² – selon Walter Moser – où l'on est en présence de modalités d'expression variées qui s'enchevêtrent et forment un tout dans lequel chacun reconnaît son identité qui refuse surtout de se replier sur elle-même pour constituer une communication/communion.

Certes, nul n'ignore, aujourd'hui, que la poésie est moins lue parce que la société est écrasée par les préoccupations sociales et politico-économiques valorisées par un circuit mass-médiatisé. Mais cela n'empêche pas que des poètes lisent d'autres poètes ; ce qui les conduit à « *une transpoétique abolissant et transcendant les barrières continentales, spirituelles et économiques. Les poètes se mettent à dialoguer dans un contexte transculturaliste correspondant à ce que Léopold S. Senghor a appelé la civilisation de l'universel qui prend ses sources dans le réel particulier du terroir poétique de l'écrivain* »³. La transpoétique consiste à annihiler les "barrières continentales, spirituelles et économiques" ; en d'autres termes, elle s'assimile au brouillage des frontières identitaires et culturelles qui entravent l'ardeur du créateur à "dialoguer", à échanger avec l'autre dans tous les aspects de la vie en société. Une telle entreprise s'apparente au concept de la "civilisation de l'universel" de Léopold S. Senghor qui veut que les peuples de divers horizons, dans le respect de la différence, s'unissent et s'enrichissent mutuellement. La conjugaison de plusieurs cultures forme un tout que Senghor qualifie "d'universel" ; un brassage culturel qui garantit efficacement une cohabitation pacifique des peuples et des nations. Ce noble projet, pour se concrétiser, doit s'abreuver "dans le réel particulier du terroir" ; ce qui signifie que le poète doit d'abord comprendre sa propre culture et la transvaser aisément comme le souligne Hédi Bouraoui : « *Par transpoétique nous voulons surtout signaler le trans/vasement des cultures qui se chevauchent, se croisent et s'entrecroisent s'attirent et se repoussent dans un travail incessant qui crée un espace particulier du faire poétique* »⁴. Pour que la transpoétique s'accomplisse sans heurt, aucune culture ne doit rester statique. Dans un élan d'échanges

¹ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *Transpoétique Eloge du nomadisme*, Québec, Mémoire d'encrier, 2005, p. 16.

² Selon Walter Moser, le terme "culture en transit" est réservé à une approche différente mais complémentaire du même phénomène. Cette approche prend comme point de départ notre statut d'observateurs-participants dans la vie culturelle contemporaine. Elle se concentre sur la perception subjective de l'être-en-transit en prenant comme objet à analyser les différentes modalités d'expression de cette perception dans divers arts et médias : Walter Moser : *La culture en transit, Locomotion, Médiomotion, Artmotion*, voir site <http://www.sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/transferts> ; visité le 26 avril 2015.

³ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 42.

constants, elle – la culture – se transvide dans d'autres cultures. L'on parle alors d'un "trans/vasement", une transposition ou un transfert au cours duquel une culture empiète sur l'autre non pas pour provoquer une dichotomie mais plutôt permettre à chaque entité culturelle d'emprunter une même direction que celle d'en face tout en sachant au départ la présence prononcée des divergences. La transpoétique traduit, ce faisant, une volonté de partage, de cohésion, d'entente, d'union et surtout d'acceptation de l'autre malgré ses différences.

La transpoétique fait aussi appel au "nomadisme"; néologisme conçu par Hédi Bouraoui sur une base lexicale en l'occurrence "nomade". En effet, le nomade est une personne qui a comme espace de prédilection le désert. Assis, généralement sur le dos d'un chameau, il se déplace constamment à la recherche d'une terre généreuse. Par conséquent, le nomade est condamné à une vie d'errance, d'instabilité, de vagabondage.

A partir du substantif "nomade", Bouraoui propose le verbe "nomader" au lieu de "nomadiser" tel que le recommande la langue française. Pour lui, "nomader", renferme deux aspects majeurs : le besoin vital et l'aventure idéologique ou intellectuelle ; laquelle aventure débouche sur un autre concept : "la nomaditude".

La "nomaditude" consiste à se tenir toujours prêt afin d'aller vers un ailleurs qui fortifie la connaissance que l'on possède déjà ; c'est une quête incessante de l'inconnu. En nomadant, le poète explore un nouvel espace qui crée un effet de surprise, motive davantage celui-ci et confirme sa participation effective à un voyage initiatique mais « *la nomaditude ne se laisse pas enfermer dans une théorie immuable car on peut la saisir dans n'importe quelle étape de son parcours* »⁵. Inscrite dans la logique de la compréhension mutuelle, de la tolérance et du respect de la différence comme nous l'indiquions tantôt, la "nomaditude" ne s'identifie pas à une "théorie immuable" qui refuse tout changement parce qu'elle est "enfermée", repliée sur elle-même. Au cours de sa réalisation, elle peut subir d'éventuelles modifications ou avoir recours à d'autres réalités similaires. Ainsi donc, Bouraoui poursuit ses investigations en insistant sur les liens très étroits qui s'établissent entre la "nomaditude" et le "transculturalisme".

Cet autre concept de Bouraoui – le transculturalisme – ne s'assimile pas au multiculturalisme à la canadienne qui renferme les germes de l'exclusion avec la présence de "ghettos culturels". Il se veut surtout une pratique de la connaissance profonde de la culture d'origine afin de s'ouvrir aisément aux autres cultures dans le respect de la différence.

La transpoétique et ses corollaires (allusions faites au nomadisme et au multiculturalisme) ont un seul noyau sémique en commun – lorsque l'on s'en tient à leur analyse componentielle –. Il s'agit du déplacement. Lequel déplacement ne concerne pas le poète lui-même mais son écriture ; synonyme d'une « *nomaditude en actes et en parole* »⁶ qui se présente sous la forme d'un pont sur lequel doit circuler les valeurs du global.

⁵ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit*, p. 9.

⁶ *Idem*.

La présente contribution, au vu de ce qui précède, se propose de pénétrer la quintessence heuristique de la poésie de l'ivoirien Bernard B. DADIÉ, y déceler sa conformité avec la transpoétique qui tout en subissant une corrélation directe ou inverse en termes d'intensité et d'extensité (ou étendue) connaissent deux valeurs (ou dimensions) dont la signification est à élucider. Trois points permettent tour à tour d'y parvenir en l'occurrence l'écriture du désert ou l'écriture interstitielle, je est nôtre, la binarité infernale et la tolérance plus.

L'écriture du Désert ou L'écriture Interstitielle

Les travaux de Bouraoui s'inscrivent dans un projet de création ; création sans entraves orchestrée par une écriture qui s'ouvre sur un champ sémiotique dont la prolifération de sens à l'infini déborde d'exubérance ; c'est l'écriture du désert ou l'écriture interstitielle que Bouraoui définit en ces termes : « *L'écriture du désert c'est et surtout celle du silence avec ses immenses possibilités. Dans le désert, cette rareté de vie et de signe à la surface cache une intense activité en profondeur* »⁷ ; en d'autres termes, chaque accent rythmique en poésie constitue un temps fort du rythme et se trouve donc immédiatement suivi d'un temps de silence ou d'une pause porteuse de sens :

« Le taudis sans rideau
[...]
Les maternités sans lit
Les hôpitaux sans médicaments »⁸

La communauté globale est en proie, de nos jours, aux iniquités énormes qui fragilisent la cohésion sociale. D'un côté, une minorité vit dans l'opulence et la paillardise et de l'autre les marginaux croupissent dans les "taudis", les habitations précaires, abandonnés à eux-mêmes et exposés à toutes sortes d'épidémies aux conséquences meurtrières. La situation sanitaire est plus préoccupante dans les grandes agglomérations où les "maternités" et les "hôpitaux" manquent d'équipements et surtout de "médicaments". L'accent rythmique porté sur les lexèmes "taudis, maternités, hôpitaux", suivi oblique (,) – fait focaliser l'attention du lecteur sur les conditions exécrables de la vie que mènent les marginaux. Ici, le silence exprime l'étouffement d'une population indigente, lasse de subir les atrocités des nantis dont l'égoïsme et le sadisme s'accroissent indéfiniment comme l'espace abiotique qu'offre un désert. D'ailleurs, la "rareté" qui ponctue la vie des déclassés sociaux s'assimile à celle des nomades dans un désert. La redondance de la préposition "sans" dans "[...] sans rideau [...] sans lit [...] sans médicaments" renforcée par cinq (05) mesures aux vers 2 et 3 corrobore cette assertion. Les vers ci-dessous en disent davantage :

« Une étoile, et le troupeau qui rentre à l'étable
Le laboureur qui ne nourrit pas
Et la faim qui s'attable, se lève avec vous fidèle »⁹

⁷ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

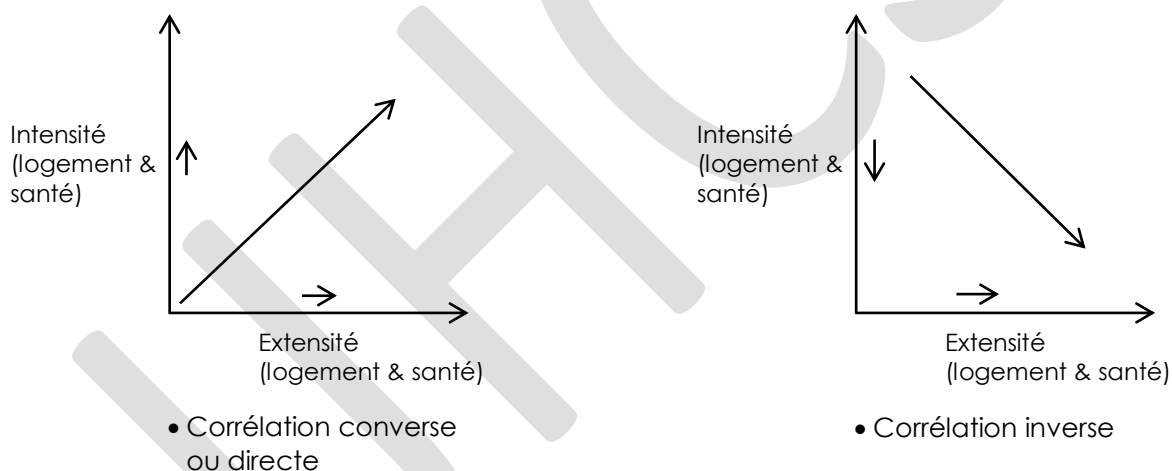
⁸ DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *Légendes et poèmes*, Abidjan, NEI, 2002, p. 153.

⁹ *Idem.*

Le nomade ou le berger n'a qu'une seule richesse : son "troupeau" de bovins ; mais celui-ci est menacé de mort par la sécheresse. Faute de subsistance, il – troupeau – est contraint de "rentrer à l'étable", de rejoindre le bâtiment qui lui sert de logement et ce, le plus tôt possible dès que la première "étoile" fait son apparition dans le ciel. Par conséquent, le nomade se rend à l'évidence que le "labeur", la tâche ; en un mot l'effort consenti s'effondre, "la faim", toujours "fidèle" au rendez-vous s'installe et "s'attable" avec le nomade ou le berger.

L'accent rythmique que portent les lexèmes "troupeau, labeur" et "faim" dans les vers 1-2-3 montre à quelle enseigne le poète tient à mettre en relief la précarité de la vie que mènent cette frange de la population. Le silence ou la pause placée tout juste après les accents rythmiques traduit la persistance de la prolifération de sens en contexte des lexèmes accentués, attestant ainsi la présence d'une écriture du désert ; une écriture dont l'interprétation sans borne séduit irrésistiblement l'analyste.

Soit un ensemble d'injustices sociales repérables dans les poèmes ci-dessus et que nous appelons : "Les conditions de vie des déclassés sociaux" représenté par les schémas tensifs indiqués infra :



Analyse

Dans cet ensemble sus-mentionné relevons les problèmes liés au logement et à la santé auxquels sont confrontés les déclassés sociaux. Dans le cas d'espèce, deux approches ou valences prises en compte, appellent chacune une valeur. Il s'agit d'une part de l'approche ou valence quantitative. A cet effet, les déclassés sociaux souhaitent vivement la construction de plusieurs logements ainsi que des infrastructures sanitaires en grand nombre.

Plus le nombre de logements et d'infrastructures sanitaires augmente, plus les déclassés sociaux jouissent d'un réel épanouissement. L'on dit que l'intensité et l'extensité connaissent une corrélation converse ou directe.

D'autre part, quant à l'approche ou valence qualitative, les déclassés sociaux s'attendent à ce que les logements aient des commodités acceptables. Ils espèrent également bénéficier

des soins sanitaires de très bonne qualité. Les "maternités" et "les hôpitaux" ne doivent pas souffrir de pénurie de "médicaments" comme l'indique le poète Bernard B. Dadié. Ainsi donc, moins la qualité de logements et des soins sanitaires diminue moins la qualité de vie des déclassés sociaux diminue aussi. Là, l'intensité et l'extensité connaissent une corrélation dite inverse.

Pour pénétrer la quintessence heuristique des poèmes sus-indiqués, l'analyse doit se référer à la connaissance du poète Bernard Dadié sur ce phénomène social en l'occurrence les problèmes de logement et de santé. L'intensité de ce phénomène s'applique à la profondeur de la connaissance et l'extensité à l'étendue du champ de connaissance. L'on distingue pour les deux valences des forces basses et élevées. Ici, il n'existe qu'un seul type de connaisseur et de connaissance. Il va sans dire que l'intensité est élevée et l'extensité est basse. Par conséquent le poète Bernard B. Dadié sait beaucoup sur peu puisqu'il ne s'agit que d'un seul phénomène qui n'englobe que deux problèmes : logement et santé.

Faisant toujours allusion à l'écriture du désert ou l'écriture interstitielle, Bouraoui poursuit « *La représentation ou la référentialité ne s'active qu'avec le dépassement des mots par un silence lourd de sens et vice versa, le blanc, le vide, le désert, le silence ne cède à ses trésors de sens ou ne se déploie polyphoniquement qu'au contact immédiat de sa différence* »¹⁰. Dans l'écriture interstitielle, les mots ne prennent leur assise réelle lorsqu'ils s'écartent de la représentation de la réalité ou de la référentialité pour épouser un contexte nouveau. Là, le lecteur découvre un interstice où le texte mimétique puis a-mimétique se croisent et font basculer les mots entre le sens et le non-sens :

« *Je te (Kouamé Amélan) sors
de l'ombre de l'oubli
[...]
Toi qui marches sur les prisons
Refaire de toi
dans ce clair obscur d'où va naître
l'aurore,
le flambeau de notre combat* »¹¹

Dans *Sémiotique de la poésie*¹², Michaël RIFFATERRE avance que le texte poétique génère sa propre grammaire. Par conséquent, l'on ne doit pas se préoccuper de la présence d'un écart provenant des règles extérieures préexistantes. Dans le cas d'espèce, le texte donne l'impression au lecteur qu'une règle est violée. Pourtant, il n'en est rien du tout. Il s'agit plutôt des éléments incongrus qui viennent perturber le système sémantique établi par "la référentialité" ou la mimésis que RIFFATERRE appelle "obliquité sémantique ou agrammaticalité". Celle-ci se manifeste dans le texte poétique par le biais du déplacement, de la distorsion et de la création du sens.

¹⁰ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit.*, p. 96.

¹¹ DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *Légendes et poèmes*, Abidjan, NEI, 2002, p. 153.

¹² DADIÉ, Bernard, Binlin, *Hommes de tous les continents*, Abidjan, CEDA, 1985, p. 34.

La distorsion – le seul aspect qui nous intéresse dans cette partie du travail – est mise en relief par le non-sens ; c'est-à-dire par une phrase, une proposition, un mot dénué de sens. Elle est synonyme d'aberration ou d'action contraire à la raison.

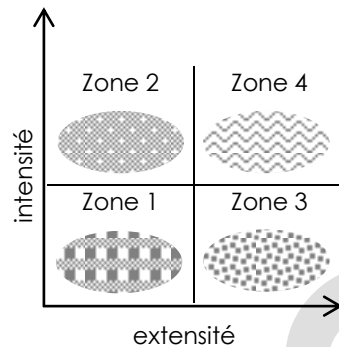
Dans le poème ci-dessus, deux lexèmes focalisent l'attention du lecteur : "obscur" et "clair". Si nous nous bornons à analyser ce poème du point de vue du sens ou n'étant qu'une succession d'unités d'informations, – ce qui est, d'ailleurs, déconseillé –, les lexèmes "clair" et "obscur" dans "Dans ce clair obscur d'où va naître l'aurore" signifient respectivement : "qui n'est pas éclairé" et "qui donne de la lumière". L'on constate que chacun des deux lexèmes développe une réalité diamétralement opposée ; contraire. Du point de vue sémantique, un interstice, un espace vide, blanc assimilé à une frontière apparaît entre les deux lexèmes sus-mentionnés. Lorsque l'analyste soumet le poème à une transpoétique, le blanc ou le vide auquel nous faisons allusion tantôt s'efface et l'on assiste à la naissance d'un tout sémantique unifié, un "trésor de sens" à décrypter. Dans le cadre de l'écriture interstitielle, ce processus s'assimile à celui des grains de sable dans un désert qui, sous l'effet du vent, s'amoncellent pour former une dune dans un espace qui s'étend à perte de vue. Cette dune s'identifie à une métaphore vive – pour parler comme Paul Ricoeur – perceptible dans ce poème de Bernard B. DADIÉ.

Kouamé Amélan est l'une des grandes combattantes de la liberté. Elle a participé à la marche des femmes ivoiriennes sur la prison coloniale de GRAND-BASSAM (Sud-Est de la Côte d'Ivoire) en vue de libérer les leaders politiques qui s'y trouvaient. Le poète DADIÉ l'un des prisonniers de cette époque refuse de s'enliser dans le mutisme. A sa manière, il veut célébrer cette héroïne afin que la jeune génération reconnaisse ses mérites. En effet, pour DADIÉ, le nom de Kouamé Amélan ne doit jamais sombrer dans "l'ombre de l'oubli" ; en d'autres termes, le peuple ivoirien et tous ceux qui sont épris de paix ont le même devoir de reconnaissance envers celle-ci qui, pour sa détermination, a pu briser les chaînes de l'oppression coloniale. Ainsi donc, Kouamé Amélan entre triomphalement dans l'histoire de la Côte d'Ivoire. Elle devient un "flambeau", une torche dont les reflets lumineux ne s'épuisera jamais ; d'où cette emphase : "Toi qui" dans "Toi qui marchas sur les prisons" ; emphase dont la portée laudative sur la personne de Kouamé Amélan n'échappe à aucun analyste.

A travers le lexème "clair", Kouamé Amélan s'identifie à une lumière par son acte hautement glorieux et noble. A l'opposé, le pouvoir dictatorial de l'opresseur – le colon – est "obscur", privé de lumière parce qu'il avilit et tue le peuple.

La surprenante alliance des lexèmes "obscur" et "clair" dans "Dans ce clair obscur..." traduit un non-sens. Elle insinue la victoire du bien sur le mal ; donc par ricochet Kouamé Amélan est une lumière qui irradie l'obscurité, le pouvoir colonial. Par sa volonté de faire triompher l'égalité des peuples, elle brise les frontières entre les nations afin que ne prévale le transculturalisme – une connaissance profonde de la culture originelle et ouverture aux autres cultures – à l'intérieur de laquelle navigue les valeurs culturelles de plusieurs continents ; ce qui appelle une écriture interstitielle que valorise Hédi BOURAOUI.

Pour mieux expliciter l'écriture interstitielle et ses ramifications sémantiques liées au contexte qu'impose le poème de DADIÉ, interrogeons le schéma de la sectorisation dyadique :



Analyse

Dans le schéma ci-dessus, une valence possède deux secteurs : un secteur de force basse ou secteur atone et un secteur de force élevée ou secteur tonique. Les combinaisons possibles entre les valences définissent autant de zones :

Zone 1 : intensité basse et extensité basse

Zone 2 : intensité élevée et extensité basse

Zone 3 : intensité basse et extensité élevée

Zone 4 : intensité élevée et extensité élevée

Soit la lutte politique des femmes ivoiriennes pour la libération des hommes incarcérés injustement dans les prisons coloniales de GRAND-BASSAM.

Dans la zone 1, nous plaçons "la lutte ordinaire" ; dans la zone 2, "la lutte politique" ; dans la zone 3, "les femmes politiquement inactives" ; dans la zone 4, "les femmes politiquement actives". Raffinons l'analyse. Distinguons en termes d'extensité d'une part "la lutte ordinaire" ; celle-ci s'assimile à un sport dans lequel deux adversaires armes cherchent à se renverser en combattant corps à corps ; et d'autre part "la lutte politique" qui se caractérise par le combat d'idées mené par un individu ou un groupe d'individus en vue de changer les conditions de vie des habitants de la cité. Cette dernière forme de lutte emporte entièrement l'adhésion de Kouamé Amélan et toutes les femmes dites actives parce qu'elles sont engagées politiquement. Les autres femmes qualifiées d'inactives sont celles qui acceptent passivement les conditions exécrables de la vie que leur imposent les décideurs. En termes d'intensité, moins l'engagement des femmes est faible ; donc bas moins les chances de libération des hommes incarcérés sont réduites, basses ; mais si l'engagement des femmes est très prononcé, élevé ; plus les hommes ont de grandes chances d'être libérés. Ce dernier aspect s'accorde parfaitement avec la détermination de Kouamé Amélan et ses camarades de lutte qui sont parvenues à libérer effectivement les hommes incarcérés dans les prisons de GRAND-BASSAM.

Au terme de la première partie de cette étude, retenons que l'écriture interstitielle forge un espace nouveau où le vide se mêle au condensé, le silence à l'agitation, le sens au non-sens pour converger et traduire une acceptation mutuelle, parfaitement conjuguée. A cet endroit (l'interstice), toutes les préoccupations humaines se croisent, se neutralisent et se liquéfient dans un global qui transcende le local, les frontières des Etats. Les poèmes de DADIÉ en disent davantage à travers les dénonciations des inégalités sociales et la lutte pour

la liberté ; somme de réalités transpoétiques dont l'intensité et l'extensité en termes de valeurs et valences ont été élucidées. Dans la même poésie de DADIÉ, un autre aspect de cette transpoétique se révèle au lecteur sous une autre dimension.

JE EST NÔTRE

Hédi BOURAOUI affirme « *J'avais lancé la notion "je est nôtre", ce qui multiplie les altérités dans le contexte du "je pensant, sentant, écrivant". Cette pluralité introduit la multiplicité culturelle qui travaille notre être et notre corps textuel, d'où la notion de transpoétique. Le "je" et "nôtre" instaurent la copule qui déplace et distancie les deux catégories du sujet "je" et du pronom personnel "nôtre" »¹³. Le "je" renferme en son sein d'autres "je" qui constituent un ensemble appelé "nôtre". Ce faisant, le "je" est certes un "moi" ; mais un "moi pluriel". Le poète DADIÉ en tant qu'un "je pensant, sentant" et surtout "écrivain" se substitue-t-il à un "je" perçu comme un "nôtre" qui signifie en contexte ? :*

« Une larme, une sueur
C'est le peuple qui travaille
[...]
Et le Nègre tremble sur ses jambes de fer
Tout autour les ténèbres
Je veux l'audience du monde,
Pour lui crier la détresse
du cœur et de l'âme
monter
haut
dans l'azur
Pour clamer au monde
La détresse des hommes »¹⁴

Le vers 5 du poème débute par le pronom personnel de la première personne "je", pronom de la présence et substitut du poète DADIÉ. Celui-ci, en situation de communication, s'adresse à un récepteur ; en l'occurrence le "monde" représenté par le pronom de l'absence "lui" dans "Pour lui (monde) crier la détresse" (V6). Le contenu du message de cette communication – pour être compris sans heurt – a besoin que l'on se réfère à une période historique ; celle des années où sévit la colonisation avec son cortège de travaux forcés en Afrique.

Le poète DADIÉ est profondément sidéré par "la détresse des hommes", les souffrances atroces que le pouvoir colonial inflige aux siens. Les lexèmes "ténèbres" et "détresse" l'attestent. Las, il ne lui reste qu'à "crier/haut" et fort pour exprimer son indignation face à l'intolérance. En effet, le Nègre "travaille" sans relâche pour le colon sans profiter de la moindre retombée. Le corps trempé de "sueur" et exténué, il "tremble" désespérément "sur ses jambes de fer" qui, même endurcies n'arrivent plus à résister à la pénibilité des travaux qui l'assaillent. Décontenance, le Nègre s'aperçoit qu'aucune issue favorable ne s'affiche à

¹³ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

¹⁴ DADIÉ, Binlin Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

l'horizon en vue d'améliorer sa condition de vie, car "tout autour" de lui, s'étalent "les ténèbres", un univers infernal ; alors, il fond en "larmes", pleure sans retenue.

Nul n'ignore que le contexte politique, idéologique et social de cette période triste de l'histoire du Nègre, a contraint certains éveilleurs de conscience comme le poète DADIÉ à se révolter contre l'autorité coloniale afin que cesse cette ignominie ; d'où son engagement total et surtout son implication personnelle à cette lutte noble. Le verbe modalisateur "vouloir" précédé du pronom de présence "je" dans "Je veux l'audience du monde", l'atteste.

Le poète DADIÉ se bat farouchement contre l'oppression coloniale, certes, mais aussi contre l'oppression sous toutes ses formes ; d'où qu'elle vienne. Il s'en prend, ce faisant au « *primordialisme, cette tendance à indexer les représentations identitaires sur ce qui constituerait un fondement primitif et intangible : les liens de sang, l'ancrage au territoire, la langue* »¹⁵ ; en d'autres termes, l'appartenance au groupe ethnique qui valorise le sentiment basé sur la parenté, le sang, la lignée, plus souvent des "représentations identitaires" source de violence, de génocide, de xénophobie ; autant de maux qui accentuent "la détresse des hommes" et que refuse d'admettre le poète DADIÉ. D'ailleurs, celui-ci est le porte-parole du peuple auquel il s'identifie. Ce faisant, il n'hésite pas à solliciter "l'audience du monde", il n'hésite pas à solliciter "l'audience du monde", à attirer l'attention de l'humanité sur la maltraitance que les pays nantis infligent aux siens et par ricochet à lui-même. Ainsi donc, il peut "crier la détresse/du cœur et de l'âme", fustigea avec une détermination sans faille la souffrance qui les – son peuple et lui – avilit. Par conséquent, les déterminants "du" et "de" dans "du cœur" et de l'âme "définissent une idée d'inclusion qui veut que le "je" soit perçu comme "nôtre". Là, le sujet local s'efface au profit du global, de l'homogénéisation d'un "je" pluriel comme c'est le cas dans cet autre poème :

*« Je n'aime pas le cri du corbeau
Sur les villes en fête
Je n'aime pas voir
Les larmes aux yeux de l'enfant,
Les cernes aux yeux de la mère,
les têtes que soutiennent les bras,
les têtes penchées de soucis,
des visages crispés d'épouvante,
Une femme en loques
Un homme en guenilles
[...]
Je n'aime pas voir
l'enfant mendier »*¹⁶

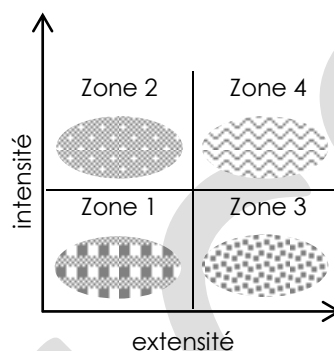
Dans ce poème, le pronom "je" dans "Je n'aime pas le cri... / Je n'aime pas voir..." est un sujet parlant qui dispose de deux identités : l'identité personnelle et l'identité sociale. Le texte poétique se déploie dans un contexte qui contraint l'analyste à considérer la fusion des

¹⁵ APPADURAI, Arjun, *Après le colonialisme Les conséquences culturelles de la globalisation*, Paris, Payot & Rivages, 2005, p. 206.

¹⁶ DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *La Ronde des jours*, Abidjan, NEI, 2003, pp. 47-48.

deux identités. En effet, il existe, souvent dans le monde, des personnes dont l'altruisme déborde d'exubérance. Cette catégorie de personnes – et le poète en fait partie – n'admet pas qu'une frange de la société s'enlise dans la misère alors que d'autres baignent dans l'abondance.

Le schéma de la sectorisation dyadique explicite mieux ce phénomène :



Analyse

Soit un groupe de maux que nous appelons « Les iniquités sociales ». Dans la zone 1, nous plaçons la vie de la population dans l'espace urbain et dans la zone 2, les indigents et les opulents.

En raffinant l'analyse en termes d'extensité, l'on s'aperçoit que l'urbanisation galopante dans plusieurs pays du monde en général et dans les pays africains en particulier donne à découvrir deux réalités sociales majeures. D'une part, des bidonvilles naissent et grandissent au rythme de l'élargissement des villes. Là, les indigents – qui constituent souvent la plus grande partie de la population urbaine – n'ont pas d'autre choix que d'habiter dans cet espace maudit où la vie rime avec l'insalubrité, la précarité, la promiscuité, la pauvreté, la faim et la maladie.

D'autre part, les opulents ; ceux qui forment la classe bourgeoise vivent dans des quartiers résidentiels où toutes les commodités sont réunies. Ils ne manquent de rien et font croire aux observateurs non-avertis que tout marche à merveille ; pourtant, la majorité de la population en l'occurrence les indigents n'entendent que le "cri du corbeau" ou le croassement lugubre d'un oiseau rapace qui annonce les lendemains tristes. En termes d'intensité, nous distinguons d'une part que, plus les villes s'agrandissent plus les bidonvilles font leur apparition monstrueuse avec leur cortège de maux à ne point finir.

Dans la zone 3, nous plaçons "Les conditions de vie sociale des populations fragiles" et dans la zone 4, "Les femmes et les enfants". En terme d'extensité, il faut souligner la présence des conflits et des guerres dans certains pays du monde. Les pays africains ne sont pas totalement épargnés par la folie meurtrière des tragédies sus-indiquées. Des violences physique et morale, des meurtres, des exils et des déplacements forcés sont autant de maux

qui vicie l'existence d'une frange de la population dite fragile : les femmes et les enfants. Les associations de lexèmes : "Les larmes aux yeux de l'enfant/Les cernes aux yeux de la mère/Les têtes que soutiennent les bras/Les têtes penchées de soucis/Des visages crispés d'épouvante" corroborent cette assertion.

Face aux maux dont souffre le peuple, le poète DADIÉ refuse de sombrer dans un mutisme irresponsable synonyme de soumission, de résignation. Il exprime ouvertement sa désapprobation en ces termes : "Je n'aime pas...". Ici, le pronom personnel "Je" bien qu'il soit le substitut du poète DADIÉ, ne doit pas être perçu comme un "je" individuel puisqu'il prend toute sa signification dans un "nôtre" collectif, une conscience sociale pourrait-on dire. En effet, aucun individu épris de paix et soucieux du respect de la vie d'autrui ne peut admettre qu'une partie de la population, aussi nantie soit-elle, assujettisse et chosifie les économiquement faibles.

Le "je" pluriel – qui fait allusion au poète DADIÉ et au peuple du monde – est aussi perceptible dans les vers ci-dessous :

*« Je place l'homme au dessus des pyramides
des tombes creusées dans la mémoire des peuples
[...]
Je suis aussi du troupeau menée de pâturages en pâturage
par tous les bergers du monde. »¹⁷*

Le lexème "tombe" dans "tombes creusées" désigne une fosse dans laquelle est enseveli un mort. Pour confectionner une "tombe", il faut ouvrir un trou béant dans la terre jusqu'à une profondeur adéquate afin d'y déposer un corps sans vie. Mais dans le cas d'espèce, cette "tombe est creusée" dans un espace inhabituel et inapproprié en l'occurrence "la mémoire des peuples" comme pour dire que "les peuples" sont confrontés à d'incessants traumatismes léthifères assimilés à "une pyramide", un tas, un amoncellement de tortures morale et psychologique qui perturbent "la mémoire" desdits "peuples" incapables désormais de se souvenir convenablement de la moindre représentation du passé ; ce qui équivaut à un handicap sérieux à surmonter. Malgré cette situation exécrationnelle, le poète reste confiant et espère que "l'homme" ne périra point puisqu'il le "place" – quoi qu'il advienne – au dessus des "pyramides" de malheurs ; donc hors de tout danger. D'ailleurs le poète est déterminé à défendre la cause "des peuples" ; peuples que certains individus lugubres animalisent comme "troupeau" de bêtes sauvages sous la conduite des "bergers du monde" qu'ils prétendent être. L'emploi d'un "je" inclusif synonyme d'un "nôtre" dans "Je place..." et "Je suis aussi..." l'atteste.

A l'issue de la deuxième partie de cette contribution, retenons que le poète ivoirien Bernard DADIÉ est un fidèle porte-parole du peuple. Il vit au quotidien dans, pour et avec ce peuple. Par conséquent, le "je" qu'il emploie représente à la fois un pronom de la présence et de l'absence pour se muer en un "nôtre" globalisant dont la valeur et la valence – l'intensité et l'extensité – se plient volontiers aux exigences d'une transpoétique – transvasement – des préoccupations où ne prévaut qu'une seule richesse : l'homme dans toutes ses dimensions

¹⁷ DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

plurielles qui n'exaltent que la cohésion sociale dans une vraie tolérance plus loin de toute binarité infernale.

La Binarité Infernale et la Tolérance Plus

Dans "Je est nôtre" – l'intitulé de la deuxième partie de cette contribution –, des poèmes largement décryptés annonçaient déjà sans toutefois le nommer, le phénomène de la binarité infernale qui constitue à ne point douter – compte tenu de son occurrence avérée –, l'un des sujets favoris du poète Bernard B. DADIÉ. La présente partie du travail va s'y atteler.

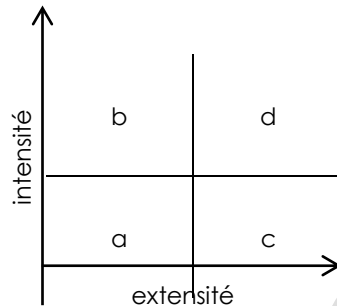
L'ambition de faire converger toutes les cultures vers une communauté globale et éviter aux sujets qui l'animent de sombrer dans un réductionnisme idéologique source de conflit, conduit Hédi BOURAOUI à proposer à la réflexion collective la pratique d'une écriture interstitielle – concept déjà élucidé dans la première partie de ce travail – plutôt qu'une écriture du désert assimilable à un expansionnisme aux frontières démesurées et susceptible de prôner une éventuelle domination d'une culture sur une autre comme c'est le cas dans la binarité infernale. Laquelle binarité qui, selon Fadéla HEBBAB « *prend son sens dans le champ d'une dialectique de conflit renvoyant aux rapports des dominants et dominés, des colons et colonisés, des maîtres et des esclaves* »¹⁸ ; en d'autres termes, l'entreprise coloniale est fondée essentiellement sur une économie mercantile où la rentabilité, le gain et le bénéfice avec leur corollaire d'exploitation sauvage sont au rendez-vous. Dans cette perspective, les communautés en présence se confinent en se constituant en une sorte d'isolats favorables à la culture de la haine de soi et de l'autre, au renfermement, à l'aliénation sous toutes ses formes. Par conséquent, le local – comme il faut s'y attendre – s'enracine davantage suite à l'iniquité qui fait rage :

*« Les bonnes essuient, nettoient
Et il n'y a personne
Les tirailleurs par les grands boulevards, vont chantant
Et il n'y a personne
Dockers, peintres, chauffeurs, maçons
Tous ouvriers de la peine
D'ombres habillés et de toisons de jais coiffés
Triment
Et quand l'homme blanc embrassant la foule d'un regard
de dieu,
À la tourbe d'esclaves soumis pose l'éternelle question :
- il n'y a personne ?
- c'est-à-dire un Blanc
[...]
Car le nègre ployant sous le joug des maîtres
du cuivre et des épices
Est-il encore une personne ? »¹⁹*

¹⁸ HEBBAB, Fadéla, <http://blogs.mediapart.fr> consulté le 18 juin 2015.

¹⁹ DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 159.

L'entreprise coloniale en Afrique – que Hédi BOURAOUI appelle "binarité coloniale" – a favorisé l'émergence d'un rapport social unique en son genre. La configuration tensive d'accroissement de la puissance en dira plus :



Analyse

Soit un groupe d'accroissement de la puissance que nous appellerons "territoire soumis à un autre pays". Au sein de ce groupe, nous distinguons uniquement en termes quantitatifs des territoires qui regorgent de nombreuses richesses du sous-sol ainsi que certaines cultures de rente utiles au bon fonctionnement des industries européennes. Nous n'ignorons pas pour autant l'approche qualitative qui consiste à ne considérer que les territoires où les matières recherchées par les colons soient de bonne qualité.

L'axe des intensités se rapporte à l'intensité, à la cadence effrénée avec laquelle les colons s'investissent dans la recherche des matières premières qui puissent alimenter les industries de la métropole et l'axe des étendues, aux nombres de territoires à la cause des colons. En prenant en compte une partition en quatre zones, l'on distingue deux types de territoires qui engendreront respectivement deux types de politique d'administration.

Dans la zone un, nous placerons (a), le territoire autonome ou indépendant ; dans la zone deux (b), les conditions de vie des habitants de ce territoire dit indépendant ; dans la zone trois, (c), territoire soumis à un autre pays ; dans la zone quatre (d) ; les conditions de vie des habitants de ce territoire soumis à un tiers pays. Raffinons l'analyse.

Plus l'autonomie d'un territoire est prononcée (a), plus les citoyens jouissent de la liberté de parler, de penser, de circuler... donc l'égalité qui en découle ne souffre d'aucune contestation. L'on parle souvent d'un pays de droit (b). Cependant si le territoire croupit sous la domination politique et économique d'un autre pays, des difficultés liées aux rapports sociaux surgissent. Le poème DADIÉ investit cette triste réalité. En effet, la colonisation en Afrique a eu des conséquences négatives dans la vie du citoyen nègre. D'un côté, il y a "l'homme blanc", l'unique détenteur de tous les pouvoirs de décision. Il est le "maître" incontesté du territoire qu'il est venu occuper de force. Ce faisant, les richesses que l'on y trouve comme le "cuivre" et les "épices" sont sa propriété. Dans ce complexe de supériorité qui l'anime il estime être une "personne" ou l'être humain à proprement parler. Le poète l'assimile même à un "dieu", le tout puissant créateur de toutes les créatures qui de son piédestal détient tout y compris la vie du prochain.

De l'autre côté, l'indigène ; c'est-à-dire le Nègre, le sous-Homme ; celui que l'homme blanc refuse d'appeler une "personne", est contraint d'exercer des métiers à faible

rémunération tels que : "bonne, docker, peintre, chauffeur, maçon". Cette frange de la société n'est qu'au service du "maître" ; c'est lui qui jouit des fruits du travail du sujet, du sous-homme en l'occurrence le Nègre. Elle – cette frange de la société – s'enlise au quotidien dans l'indigence et la souffrance. Les isotopies de "l'impétuosité" obtenue à partir des lexèmes : "peine, triment, esclave, ployant, joug" dans "Tous des ouvriers de peine/D'ombres habillés...de jais coiffés triment/[...] à la tourbe d'esclaves soumis/[...] ployant sous le joug du maître" corroborent cette assertion.

L'entreprise coloniale a mis en place dans certains pays du continent africain, une société inique dans laquelle l'on aperçoit le maître et l'esclave, le dominant et le dominé ; le colon et le colonisé. Elle est basée sur un rapport malsain où le plus fort écrase le plus faible ; lequel rapport est appelé "binarité infernale" par Hédi BOURAOUI. L'adjectif "infernale" s'explique par la cruauté avec laquelle cette entreprise d'accroissement de la puissance occidentale s'est imposée à la population nègre.

La binarité infernale encourage l'identité personnelle, raciale et nationale. Elle est source de conflit, de guerre, de haine et de refus systématique de la différence. Pour l'annihiler, BOURAOUI propose la tolérance-plus. Alors que la tolérance est « *une affaire qui tourne autour du "moi", sa souffrance et sa sensibilité, sans sens de justice et ses opportunités* »²⁰, la tolérance-plus « *n'est que le début des changements de la personne pour qu'une métamorphose s'accomplisse dans son for intérieur afin que le "Moi" retrouve le sens de la responsabilité collective* »²¹. La tolérance s'effectue dans un champ social plus restreint. Elle est l'apanage d'une seule personne qui, suite à ses expériences vécues décide selon ses "sensibilité", son état d'âme et surtout son sens d'humanisme de compatir à la "souffrance" d'autrui, aux peines que celui-ci endure et faire en sorte que la "justice", l'équité s'établisse dans la société. La tolérance s'assimile à la manifestation d'une volonté individuelle. Elle peut ne pas atteindre l'objectif visé parce que cette volonté qui devrait solidifier l'assise de cette tolérance demeure encore fragile et donc susceptible de sombrer inopinément faute de soutien ; en l'occurrence autrui ou la présence d'un "moi" voire de plusieurs "moi".

A l'opposé, il y a la tolérance-plus qui transcende la simple tolérance. S'exerçant dans un champ beaucoup plus étendu, elle contribue à la "métamorphose", à la transformation de la "personne" qui dorénavant s'ouvre à son prochain pour qu'ensemble "la responsabilité collective", l'engagement de plusieurs identités s'accomplisse en vue d'accepter l'autre dans sa différence :

*« Les lignes de nos mains
ni Jaunes
Noires
Blanches
ne sont point des frontières
des fossés entre nos villages
des filins pour lier des faisceaux de rancœurs
Les lignes de nos mains,*

²⁰ BOURAOUI, Hédi, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-65.

²¹ *Idem.*, p. 65.

sont des signes de vie
[...]
d'Amour
de douces chaînes
qui nous lient »²²

Le poète DADIÉ veut une interaction globale entre les peuples de divers horizons. Pour lui, il est plus que nécessaire de briser les tensions raciales en s'inspirant des "lignes de nos mains" qui ne sont "ni Jaunes, Noires, Blanches" mais tendent à l'émergence des "signes de vie", d'une symbiose parfaite de toutes les races où ne prévalent que "l'amour" et la tolérance-plus. Désormais, il n'y aura ni "frontière" ni "fossé entre nos villages". Le local disparaîtra au profit d'un groupe racial, ethnique, religieux homogène, déterritorialisé et lié par de "douces chaînes" de solidarité qui fait table rase du "primordialisme" – ce vilain sentiment, cette tendance à privilégier les liens du sang, du territoire et de la langue –.

La dernière partie de cette contribution fustige la colonisation ou plutôt la binarité infernale vécue par le peuple nègre. Les conséquences néfastes de cette pratique sont mises à nu. Les solutions susceptibles de l'endiguer participe à l'avènement d'une communauté globale et par ricochet de la tolérance-plus.

Conclusion

En définitive, l'analyse des valeurs et des valences – de l'intensité, de l'extensité, de la corrélation inverse et converse – de la transpoétique dans la poésie de Bernard DADIÉ se déploie dans un champ scriptural riche et varié. D'abord elle se laisse découvrir par et à travers un éclatement des frontières des Etats ; donc à la déterritorialisation. L'on assiste, ce faisant, à l'apparition d'un espace nouveau où les cultures se transvasent et s'acceptent dans la différence afin que la tolérance-plus – une tolérance qui se confond aux sommets des monts – s'installe réellement dans le cœur des Hommes.

²² DADIÉ, Binlin, Bernard, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

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British military operation at Sheikh Sa'id in the First World War

Abdol Rauh Yaccob & Sulaiman Dorloh

Faculty of Shariah and Law, Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University (UNISSA),
Brunei Darussalam

Abstract

It is a difficult task to measure the importance of South West Arabia to the Ottomans and the British prior to and during World War I. Early history of imperial expansion in the area which followed by constant conflicts and involved a considerable amount of diplomacy and intrigues with the natives may suggest that South West Arabia was considered as equally as important to other areas within the empire. However from the beginning of the 20th century South West Arabia was considered something of a backwater. It may also be observed that during the First World War the position of South West Arabia to these powers in relation to other war theatres remained practically the same except in the episodes of British action at Sheikh Said and the Ottomans advance at Lahej. The Indian authorities who believed that the Ottomans were contemplating a move to Sheikh Sa'id with the aim of acting against British Perim with the telegraphic communication, convoys and shipping, only two miles away, took the opportunity of the movement of the troops through the Red Sea to attack the fort of Sheikh Sa'id. The action was quickly taken before obtaining official approval from the Admiralty and the India Office in London. The action was taken due to the persistent reports of the Ottoman reinforcement with guns had been sent to Sheikh Sa'id, further to take advantage of the presence of transports with troops for Egypt. Subsequently future military operations at Sheikh Sa'id and the Red Sea appeared to dominate the discussions among the authorities at the India Office, the Admiralty, the Indian authorities and the Resident at Aden throughout the war without materializing any further military action.

Keywords: The British, the Ottoman, military operation, Sheikh Sa'id and Aden.

Introduction

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the Imperial Powers, the Ottomans and the British had officially settled their boundary disputes in the Yemen notably after the Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission was ratified on March 18, 1914. The ratification of the boundary indicated that both imperial governments were prepared to accept their early arrangements on the limit of their sphere of influence in the Yemen. The British under the new Liberal Government adopted in 1906 a policy of non-intervention in the Aden Protectorate, placing upon London and Istanbul direct and greater responsibilities for settling future dispute in a friendly atmosphere. Coincidentally, the Ottomans, under the Young Turks also moved in the same direction, when they prepared in 1913 to recognize the autonomy of the Zaidi Imam in the Yemen highlands in accordance to the Treaty of *Da'an* dated 1911.

The Treaty of *Da'an* put an end to the maintenance of mass Ottoman forces in the Yemen. Since then the Ottomans depended mainly upon the 7th army corps stationed in the *vilayet* of Yemen and were located at Sana'a to confront the rebellious tribe of Zaraniq in the Tihamah and the Idrisi in Asir. As regards the British, the policy of non-intervention in the Aden Protectorate had ended any attempt to extend their sphere of influence beyond the border. Within the border they were further restricted from interfering with tribal affairs. In addition they was the withdrawal of the Political Officer and troops from Dali'. Long before the outbreak of the First World War, both the Imperial Powers had limited their activities in South West Arabia, a place of no less strategic interest to either party.

At the beginning of the First World War, the British had no accurate information on the strength of the Ottoman forces in South Arabia. The Romanian Military attaché at Istanbul reported in December 1914 that the total strength of the Ottoman forces was thirty-three battalions (between 13,000 to 16,000 men). (L/MIL/17/5/3955, War Diary, 21/1/1915.) Later estimate furnished to the Admiralty that the Ottoman strength was about 37,000 men. (Adm 137, 31/12/14.) Another estimate provided by Major Bradshaw, General Staff Officer at Aden that the strength was 15,000 men. (L/MIL/17/5/3957, War Diary, 20/3/15.) Jacob concluded that the strength of the 7th army corps at about 35 battalions, numbering about 14,000 men. (Jacob, 1923: p.168.)

On the other hand, the number of the British forces at Aden was comparatively small, two infantry Battalions, (a British and an Indian), three companies of the Royal Garrison Artillery, the 23rd (Fortress) Company of the Bombay Sappers and Miners and the Aden Troop of one hundred sabres. (Bidwell, 1982. pp.171) Early in August 1914, the Aden Brigade numbered only 1081 British troops and 1055 Indian troops. (L/MIL/17/15/1198, 1/8/1914.) Early in November 1914, 23rd Sikh Pioneers were sent to Aden for reinforcement which increased the strength of the Indian troops to 1974 men. The existing British battalion, the Lancashire Fusiliers, was replaced in December 1914 by the Brecknockshire Battalion of the South Wales Borderers, which raised their number only to 1188 men. (L/MIL/17/15/3954, War Diary, 16/12/14.) Thus the total strength of the British forces at Aden was a little over 3,000 in contrast with 14,000 to 15,000 of the Ottomans in the Yemen. It was not surprising therefore that

throughout the war requests for reinforcement were frequently made by the Aden authority for defensive and offensive measures in the area.

British military operation at Sheikh Sa'id

The Ottoman Government did not officially enter the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary against the Allies until November 5, 1914. But the British suspected the Ottoman intention to join the war when in September that year it was reported that the Ottoman troops were secretly concentrating near the Egyptian border. The following month saw reports of the concentration of the Ottoman troops in Syria, Palestine and Arabia.

Early in October, the Assistant Resident reported at Perim that two Ottoman officers had arrived at Manhali (Manhali and Turba were two Ottoman forts at Sheikh Sa'id) to inspect fort Sheikh Sa'id opposite Perim, a British island in the Red Sea with cable installations, coaling depot and lighthouse. Meanwhile another source which brought news from Hudaydah indicated preparations by the Ottomans for war and troops were being moved from Asir to Hudaydah and Jeddah. (L/P&S/10/558, 9/10/1914.) A further report from the Resident, Sir J. Bell showed that the Ottomans were also prepared to move to Yemen-Protectorate border with the aim to act against the Aden Protectorate, and to enlist the co-operation of the Arab tribes at the border. (L/P&S/10/558, 11/10/1914.) At the end of October, it was further reported that two Regiments of the Ottomans troops at Ta'iz with their military equipment and artillery were ready to proceed to Sheikh Sa'id. (R/20/A/1319, 24/10/1914.)

The above reports might have provided the Indian authorities with proofs of the validity of their belief that the Ottomans were contemplating a move to Sheikh Sa'id with the aim of acting against Perim in the Red Sea at the entrance of the Ottomans into the First World War. Even before the Ottomans officially entered the war, the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, suggested on September 4, 1914 to occupy Sheikh Sa'id for the safety of Perim and the Red Sea.

Following the reports of the preparation of the Ottomans at Sheikh Sa'id, the Indian authorities secretly planned to destroy them. This was in order to avoid any possible interference with the British telegraphic communication, convoys and shipping at Perim, only two miles away. The movement and the strength of the Ottoman troops in that area was cautiously watched by the Indian authorities, and information on landing places at Sheikh Sa'id was immediately requested from the Resident for the purpose of attacking the place. (L/MIL/17/5/4056, War Diary, 23/10/1914.)

In the meantime it had been decided by London that should the Ottomans enter the war against the Allies, the policy would be that the Government should avoid action against any ports in the Red Sea in an attempt to gain the co-operation of the Arab chiefs, notably the Zaidi Imam and the Idrisi, against the Ottomans. The Indian authorities were aware of the policy and on November 4 such instructions were sent to India (L/P&S/10/558, 4/11/1914) but, as will be shown, they were ignored.

The Indian authorities, however, took the opportunity of the movement of the troops through the Red Sea to attack the fort of Sheikh Sa'id. The action was quickly taken before obtaining official approval from the Admiralty in London. The Viceroy presumably might have thought that action in the Red Sea was still within his discretion. Therefore, as early as November 3, 1914 orders were sent to General H.V. Cox, commanding the 29th Brigade, to seize Sheikh Sa'id on his way to Egypt. (L/MIL/15/4056, War Diary, 3/11/1914.) The following day the orders were amplified as follows:

“The operation is intended to capture Sheikh Said and to destroy the Turkish works, armaments and wells there. Reports indicate the Turkish forces at Sheikh Said number 500 men with 6 or 7 guns. The operation will be carried out by the following units of the 69th Punjabis, the 89th Punjabis, on Transports “City of Manchester” and “Edavana” accompanied by 23rd Pioneers on Transport “Nurani”. The whole under the command of Brigadier-General H.V. Cox. General Commanding Officer, Aden will detail his General Staff Officer, Major Bradshaw only on him and no other individual at Perim or Aden is to be informed of these orders. Sheikh Said will be evacuated after destruction of the Turkish works, armaments, and wells. Having re-embarked the troops of the 29th Brigade, the ships will then proceed to Egypt, the 23rd Pioneer on the “Nurani” will return to Aden”. (L/MIL/17/5/4056, War Diary, 4/11/1914.)

The proposed operation was secretly circulated in India and Aden. A copy was sent to the Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies, Bombay, Rear-Admiral Pierse to secure naval co-operation in the proposed operation, namely the assistance of the ship, “Duke of Edinburgh”. Another copy was sent to the Resident at Aden and reminded him not to disclose the plan to anyone but Bradshaw, for the purpose of providing detailed information of the operation. Only on November 5, was the Secretary of State, Crewe, informed of the plan when Hardinge, the Viceroy, telegraphed him privately that he had told the Commander-in-Chief that:

“In view of the fact that we know the Turks have been erecting some heavy guns at Sheikh Said, opposite Perim, it would be advisable, when transporting a regiment of troops from India to Aden, to take the opportunity for an escorting ship to bombard and destroy the guns, and for the Infantry regiment to land and to blow up the buildings and destroy the water-supply. It will have an excellent effect in that part of Arabia and will protect our telegraph station at Perim from attack”. (Hardinge Papers, 120, 5/11/1914.)

Crewe, however, did not discuss the proposed plan in his succeeding communications with Hardinge, nor did he consult the Admiralty, War Office or Foreign Office on the matter for their views. The Admiralty was also not informed by the Commander-in-Chief of East Indies, Rear-Admiral Pierse, when he agreed to co-operate with the Viceroy in the operation. On November 9, Pierse wired the Admiralty informing them of a plan for the movement of ships, including “Duke of Edinburgh”, to Suez but yet he did not mention the proposed operation at Sheikh Sa'id.

Only on November 11, when the action at Sheikh Sa'id had taken place, did Pierse inform the Admiralty of the involvement of “Duke of Edinburgh”, and this caused surprise

among the officials at the Admiralty. It seems that none of them knew of the operation and even Admiral Slade had insufficient knowledge to explain it. He remarked "I suppose this operation was carried out at the instance of the Resident at Aden. The initiation of operations in this region has been left to the Resident at the request of the India Office on account of the importance of securing the adherence of the Arabs. This fort is in the territory claimed by the Imam". (Adm 137/97, 11/11/1914.) At Aden, Jacob was duly not informed on the operation at Sheikh Sa'id. Not surprisingly he regarded the operation as folly for its main result was to irritate the Imam who resented it as an assault upon his territory. (Bidwell, 1982: p.172.)

Detailed operation at Sheikh Sa'id was finally disclosed. Initially on November 4, Brigadier-General Cox received orders from the Chief of the General Staff. At 11 pm November 6, Cox left for Aden with the Transport *Edavana* to enable him to pick up Major Bradshaw. The ship arrived at 5.30 pm November 8. Meanwhile at 6 pm November 8, "Duke of Edinburgh" with "City of Manchester" and "Nurani" left for Aden and arrived at Aden at 10 pm November 9. At 5 pm November 9, the convoy left Aden for Sheikh Sa'id and arrived there at 1.45 am November 10. At day-break the operation was carried out. (Adm 137/899, 14/11/1914.)

The news of the successful operation was officially telegraphed to London by Hardinge on November 11, stating that:

"We thought it desirable in consequence of persistent reports to the effect that Turkish reinforcement(s) with guns had been despatched to Sheikh Said, to take advantage of presence en route of transports with troops for Egypt, General Cox was accordingly instructed to land a small force to destroy the works there, afterwards continuing his journey. Sheikh Said is within artillery (range) of the Perim cable station and commands the eastern passage at Perim". (L/MIL/17/5/4056, War Diary, 11/11/1914.)

At the India Office, London, news of the operation at Sheikh Sa'id did not surprise the officials there, presumably they were informed earlier by Crewe. They, however, believed that the withdrawal from Sheikh Sa'id after the occupation was a mistake. The India Office favoured holding that place, and Admiral Slade had even suggested asking the Arabs to hold Sheikh Sa'id for the British, in an attempt to bring them into the British camp. (L/P&S/10/558, 18/11/1914.) On November 22, the India Office telegraphed the Viceroy suggesting the Resident should take steps in negotiating with the Arabs to hold Sheikh Sa'id on behalf of the British, but it was too late as Sheikh Sa'id was reported to have been reoccupied by the Arabs before the arrangement could be made. (L/P&S/10/558, 5/12/1914.)

As a result of the operation at Sheikh Sa'id, the Admiralty adopted a definite policy with regard to the naval operations in the Red Sea. On November 15, the First Lord of the Admiralty sent a letter to Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, Lord Kitchener at the War Office and Lord Crewe at the India Office to obtain their views regarding the policy that all naval operations in the Red Sea should be concerted between the General Officer Commanding and Senior Naval Officer Egypt, and preventing the Government of India from issuing orders through the Admiral at Bombay. This was agreed, but Crewe added that his Office should be consulted, especially as regards Arab policy as well as Muslim sentiment. Accordingly on November 17, the Admiralty

telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief, East Indies that “naval operation in the Red Sea and Egypt cannot be directed from India”. (Adm 137/97, 17/11/1914.)

Under the new arrangement control of operations in the Red Sea was now in the joint hands of the Admiralty and the General Officer Commanding, Egypt. This arrangement was initiated by the Admiralty in consequence of the events at Sheikh Sa‘id and agreed by the Foreign Office and the India Office though on conditions. Sir Beauchamp Duff, Commander-in-Chief, India informed Hardinge that he was not satisfied with the new arrangement. He argued that

“... it is true that India, or perhaps more correctly the Resident at Aden, is to be consulted before anything is done which affects Indian interests, but I do not like the position. It seems to me that Your Excellency will have no real control, and that things (can/may?) easily be done through ignorance which may involve us in the most serious trouble and make it imperative on us to try and pull them out of some mess at whatever risk to ourselves”. (Hardinge Papers, 120, 27/11/1914.)

It was not clear how far the Viceroy shared the views of the Commander-in-Chief concerning the new arrangement for the control of the Red Sea. Later evidence shows that the Viceroy had become a stumbling-block to the forward policy in the Red Sea proposed by London. Perhaps the new arrangement did not satisfy him as he always believed that any successful operation should be handed to the officials on the spot, and not be in the hands of the Home authorities.

As regards the Ottomans, the attack at Sheikh Sa‘id provided them with an opportunity for attempting to persuade the chiefs of the Aden Protectorate to co-operate with them on religious ground against the British. Jacob, acting political Resident wrote to warn the British Government that the bombardment of Sheikh Sa‘id by the British on November 10, had caused suspicion among the Arabs about British policy. Jacob reported that Shaykh Ahmad Nu‘man, the Ottoman official (*qa’immaqam*) of Hujariyah had written to the ‘Abdali Sultan saying that:

“... by their attack on Sheikh Said, the English had shown their desire to destroy Islam. Actuated by ties of my friendship towards you and bonds of Islamic brotherhood I write to ascertain your mind and to tell you that both Shafai and Zaidi tribesmen are collecting at the orders of the Turkish Government to defend their religion and country”. (L/P&S/10/558, 17/11/1914.)

Jacob suggested to announce a proclamation to the Ottoman Arab leaders declaring British inclination towards the Arabs, denying British desire for more territory, expressing surprise of the Arab friendship with the Turks, their real enemy, and warning them against violation of British territory. Jacob also suggested to include the Imam who had been apprehensive of the Christian designs on Islam and its territories. The India Office approved Jacob proposal and the following proclamation was issued:

“The British Government do not entertain any desire to extend the frontiers of their territory, and feel confident that Arabs will not league themselves with the Turks, who

are the real enemies of Arab progress and welfare, against English who are determined to maintain rights of Islam and respect holy places and who have invariably defended Arab interests. There must at the same time be no violation of British border. In the establishment of that peace and order which alone can further Arab prosperity and progress the British Government count on the cooperation of the Arabs chiefs. If any Arabs violate British territory and are so foolish as to join Turkish cause their hostility will be punished by force". (L/P&S/10/558, 23/11/1914.)

Accordingly the Abdali Sultan and other prominent chiefs in the Aden Protectorate had been informed by the Resident immediately after the action at Sheikh Sa'id took place, describing it as necessary owing to the menacing attitude of the Ottomans there, without harming the local Arabs with whom the British had no quarrel. (R/20/A/1319, 21/11/1914.) The Abdali Sultan who remained loyal to the British expressed his pleasure at the success of British action at Sheikh Sa'id. Further the Sultan informed Aden that he had also written to Ahmad Nu'man and other Arab-Ottoman officials assuring them that the British action at Sheikh Sa'id was occasioned by the menacing attitude of that fort towards British shipping. (L/P&S/10/558, 17/11/1914.)

In the meantime a concerted policy concerning action in the Red Sea had been discussed in London. On November 16, Sir George Clerk of the Foreign Office, Admiral Slade of the Admiralty, and Arthur Hirtzel of the India Office proposed to occupy Sheikh Sa'id, though the Ottoman post there had already been destroyed, arguing that it was necessary to occupy it to prevent a revival of the French claim; at the same time Kamaran, the Farasan islands and Hudaydah should also be occupied. Jacob, acting Resident, did not, however, agree to the proposal to occupy Hudaydah on the grounds that:

"... being a town on the mainland, as belying our assertion that we have no desire for extension of our territory. We proved by our abandonment of Sheikh Said, after the destruction of the fort, that we have no ulterior aim. A reply from Imam is still awaited by us, and if we occupy Hodeida, prior to its receipt, the Imam would misunderstand our action. Hodeida is the port for Sana'a, and generally for the territory of the Imam. Our plan, until it is proved futile, is to work against the Turks by Arab agency... promising them reasonable assistance and assuring them of our support after the conclusion of hostilities to secure autonomy. It was the Arab under Turkish lead who bore the brunt of the defence at Sheikh Said. I do not advocate occupation unless a further menace takes place. Kamaran is an island and belongs to Turkey and is connected with pilgrim traffic. Sanitary methods introduced there by Turks were very drastic and all Moslems would appreciate a change of hands. Farsan was formerly Idrisi's but it is now Turkish, and it is open to Government after the British flag has been hoisted there, to consider the advisability of restoring it to Idrisi". (L/P&S/10/559, 24/11/1914.)

All those proposals by Jacob were agreed by the Bombay Government. The Viceroy too agreed but not on the restoration of Farsan islands to the Idrisi. Concerning the operation at Sheikh Sa'id, Hardinge, the Viceroy, argued that "further until we know definitely the attitude of the Imam, Idrisi and Turkish Arabs generally, occupation of

Sheikh Said and Hodeida appears premature.... Unless therefore Turkish Arabs adopt definitely threatening attitude, I deprecate any action as regards Sheikh Said and Hodeida for the present". (L/P&S/10/558, 29/11/1914.)

However, towards the end of November 1914, a large force of Arabs were reported to have reoccupied Sheikh Sa'id. Consequently the new Resident, Major General D.G.L. Shaw, proposed to occupy it if the enemy attacked Perim, and this was initially agreed by the Viceroy. The India Office too were of the opinion that once the Ottomans were turned out from there the Arab could not be allowed to occupy it on their behalf. Later after he was informed that it was impossible to transport heavy guns by land to Sheikh Sa'id, the Viceroy opposed its reoccupation arguing it was unnecessary and undesirable not only because it would lock up troops there who were better employed elsewhere but it would also tend to irritate the tribes and render an isolated garrison at Sheikh Sa'id a greater source of anxiety than Perim now was. (L/P&S/10/558, 3/12/1914.) After receiving the views of the Government of India, the India Office, on the other hand, preferred to occupy it. They noted that this department remained of the opinion that sound policy would have been either preferably to have held Sheikh Sa'id when we took it from the Turks on November 10, or to have opened negotiations with the Arabs, before they have time to reoccupy it, or asking them to hold it in our behalf. (L/P&S/10/558, 5/12/1914.). However, they agreed with the Government of India that the present position now was unfavourable as there were no troops available. The plan to occupy Sheikh Sa'id was, therefore, dropped.

But when the India Office was informed of the presence of the Ottomans at Sheikh Sa'id, Crewe immediately telegraphed Hardinge to ascertain definitely whether the Ottomans were there or not. "If they are, and you cannot furnish troops, I will approach War Office though at present it might not be easy for them to detach any considerable force from Egypt". (Hardinge Papers 120, 11/12/1914.) Accordingly, Hardinge telegraphed London on December 13, informing him of a report from Aden that there were 300 Ottoman regulars and two to three thousand Arabs at Sheikh Sa'id in addition to 250 regulars and 1,000 Arabs in support at Mukha. However the action proposed by Crewe was not clear to the Viceroy as he stated "it is not clear what action your proposal should be taken: whether you mean a permanent occupation of that place or merely a raid such as lately made". (Adm 137/899, 13/12/1914.) The Viceroy did not agree to the former, not only because he certainly could not supply troops, but also due to the lack of drinking water, even if troops were found by Egypt. He instead preferred a raid as this he thought he might be able to carry out as five British Infantry Battalions including the Lancashire Fusiliers from Aden would rendezvous at or near Aden for next naval escort homewards on December 14. This force could be accompanied by part of the 23rd Pioneers from Aden for demolition work but the latter must at once return to Aden. Hardinge, however, did not see any permanent advantage which would be obtained from a raid unless there were really heavy guns to be destroyed and this he found difficult to believe. (Adm 197/899, 13/12/1914.)

The official in Aden was very curious about the military action taken against the Arabs as this could jeopardise the policy of avoiding jihad from the minds of the Muslims. The Resident did not agree with the proposal to attack Sheikh Sa'id arguing that:

“... from a political point of view if no reinforcement can be expected it is objectionable by attacking Sheikh Said to chance raising hostilities of Arabs in the Yemen because Turks were enabled by the last bombardment to take advantage of this to give Arabs to understand that British now clearly wished to annex Arabian soil and proclaim Jihad (jihad) against them. So far Arabs generally have not received Jihad (jihad) well... If we now attack without reinforcements having been sent to Aden, Protectorate will be rendered liable to attack by the Turks who will be probably be able to proclaim Jihad (jihad)”. (L/P&S/10/559, 13/12/1914.)

London, however, took a different view. In reply to Hardinge, Crewe explained that he was strongly opposed to the occupation of Sheikh Sa'id and nor did he approve a military raid similar to the last one which did not bring effective results. He, therefore, proposed to undertake a naval bombardment and to station a small warship at Perim to prevent any attempt to attack that place. (L/P&S/10/559, 13-14/12/1914.)

The alternative proposal from London did not change the views of the local authorities. Shaw, the Resident believed that a purely naval bombardment without combined naval and military action would not bring any definite result. (L/P&S/10/559, 15/12/1914.) The Admiralty agreed to the proposal of the Resident and were prepared to welcome a joint attack as apparently suggested by the Resident. (Adm 137/899, 18/12/1914.) Accordingly, due to the obstructive views of the Resident and the Viceroy, the India Office informed the admiralty that it was not expedient to take any aggressive action against the Ottomans at Sheikh Sa'id which would conflict with those views or with the policy they represented. (Adm 137/899, 22/12/1914.)

Conclusion

The British military operation at Sheikh Sa'id requires a second look. Bidwell and Baldry were of opinion that the operation was taken on a decision from London, and Aden was not consulted. This was obviously incorrect due to incomplete information available at the India Office. The political department at the India Office, London did not record any minutes or discussions on the proposed action at Sheikh Sa'id prior to the operation. It looks as if the India Office was not officially consulted. The War Diaries of the Government of India, on the other hand, contain full information about the plans at Sheikh Sa'id. From the War Diaries, it appears that discussions on the proposed plans at Sheikh Sa'id had taken place between the Viceroy, Hardinge, the Resident at Aden, Bell, Brigadier-General Cox who was in command of the operation, and Rear-Admiral Pierse, the Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies. The War Diaries, therefore, indicate that the plans were initiated by the Viceroy, and he instructed the Resident to keep the plans secret at Aden except for communication with Bradshaw whose cooperation in the execution of the operation was needed. The Viceroy further communicated with the Rear-Admiral Pierse in order to obtain the cooperation of the “Duke of Edinburgh” to escort and assist the operation on its way to Egypt. Records of the Admiralty finally provide a complete account of the operation at Sheikh Sa'id. From minutes and notes at the Admiralty the operation at Sheikh Sa'id was apparently taken without approval from

London notably from the Admiralty. The Admiralty was not even informed about the proposed operation, and initially believed after the action had taken place that the operation was carried out at the instance of the Resident at Aden and this was obviously incorrect.

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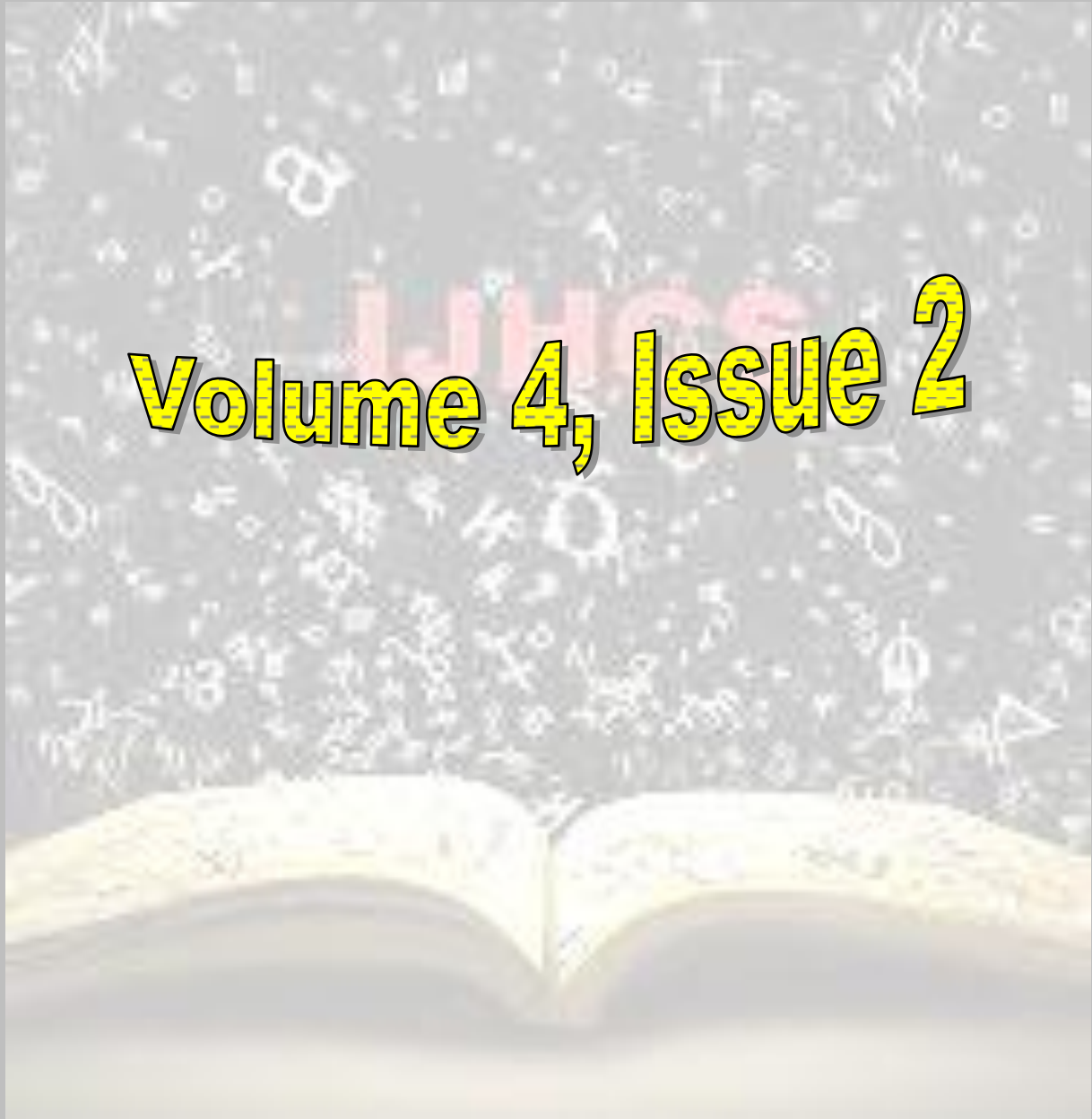
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